

# Domestic Work in California

workplace  
justice lab



March 2026

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School of Management  
and Labor Relations

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## Executive Summary

Families across California rely on more than 330,000 domestic workers to care for their loved ones and keep their homes clean. **Yet we find that 67,000 domestic workers in the state lost an average of more than \$282 million each year from being paid below the California state minimum wage.**

This study uses 2014-2023 data from both the Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) and Current Population Survey Merged Outgoing Rotation Groups (CPS-MORG) to better understand the domestic workforce in the state of California. We define domestic workers as including three major occupational groups consistent with previous profiles on domestic work. *Childcare providers* take care of children within the home (rather than at childcare or day care centers); *House cleaners* help keep homes clean, healthy and safe; and *homecare attendants* provide personal or health-related care to persons with disabilities or who are ill. Homecare attendants may be employed directly by private households (i.e., nonagency-based) or employed by agencies (i.e., agency-based).

Other key findings of the report include:

- An estimated 20 percent of domestic workers were paid below the minimum wage during this 10-year period, including 28 percent of childcare providers and 32 percent of house cleaners. A domestic worker experiencing these violations on average loses \$4,197 in earned wages a year if working year-round.
- The state minimum wage nearly doubled over this period from \$8 in 2014 to \$15.50 in 2023 thanks to the organizing and advocacy done by economic justice organizations across the state, leading wages to grow for all domestic worker groups and other workers. Yet the median wage for domestic workers of \$15 in 2019-23 was still 40% below the median wage of \$25 for all other California workers during this period.
- Eighty percent of California domestic workers speak English well, and nearly half (46%) have attended or graduated from college.
- Two-thirds of California domestic workers are employed through agencies as homecare attendants.
- An estimated 127,000 domestic workers live in the Los Angeles metro area.
- The majority of California domestic workers (54%) were born outside of the U.S. The most common places of origin include Mexico (21%), Central America (9%), and the Philippines (7%).
- Nearly 75% of California domestic workers are U.S. citizens; 47% were citizens at birth while 27% were naturalized.
- Most domestic workers are also people of color. Nearly half of all domestic workers identify as Latine, and another quarter identify as either Asian or Pacific Islander (API) or Black.
- Most California domestic workers are female (84%), with household cleaners and childcare providers particularly likely to identify as female.



**Andrea, Housecleaner.** “I live in Los Angeles, California, and I have been cleaning houses for 10 years. As domestic workers, we face many risks, and we do not have any protection. We get sick and injured every day, and our employers have no responsibility for our safety.” *Photo by Riccardo Stanley Mejia*

## Introduction

Families across California rely on more than 330,000 domestic workers to care for their loved ones and keep their homes clean. Yet we find that 67,000 domestic workers in the state lost an average of \$4,200 each year—more than \$282 million combined—from being paid below the state minimum wage.

This study uses 2014-2023 data from both the Census Bureau’s American Community Survey (ACS) and Current Population Survey Merged Outgoing Rotation Groups (CPS-MORG) to better understand the domestic workforce in the state of California. We define domestic workers as including three major occupational groups consistent with previous profiles on domestic work (see Figure 1 on page 2).<sup>i</sup> *Childcare providers* take care of children within the home (rather than at childcare or day care centers); *House cleaners* help keep homes clean, healthy and safe; and *homecare attendants* provide personal or health-related care to persons with disabilities or who are ill. Homecare attendants may be employed directly by private households (i.e., nonagency-based) or employed by agencies (i.e., agency-based).

The report begins by providing an overview of domestic worker employment throughout the state. Domestic worker wages are then discussed, with a particular focus on those who have been paid below the state minimum wage. The report finishes with demographic information on the state’s domestic workforce.



**Maria Elena, Homecare Worker.** “I worked with a family for 8 years. When COVID-19 appeared, the father, who I was taking care of, went to live with his children, and I lost my job.” *Photo by Joe Ramos*

**67,000 domestic workers in California lost an average of \$4,200 each year—more than \$282 million combined—from being paid below the state minimum wage.**

Cover Photo: **Iris, Domestic Worker.** “I have been a domestic worker for 17 years. I am a homecare worker taking care of the elderly, and I also work as a housecleaner.” *Photo by Riccardo Stanley Mejia*

**Figure 1. Domestic Worker Occupational Groups**

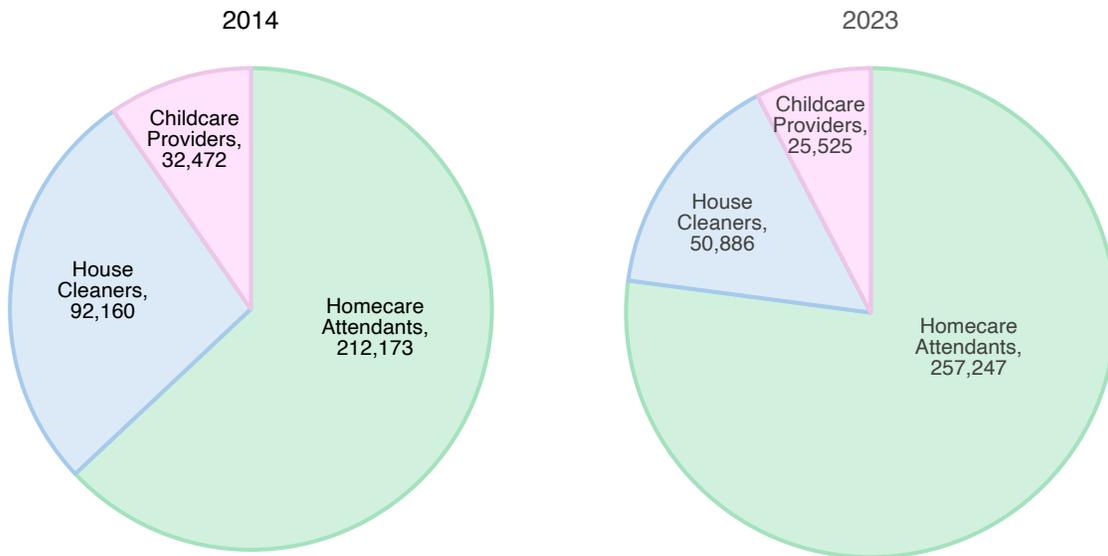
Occupation	Examples of Job Duties	Definition
<p><b>Homecare Attendants</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Administer bedside or personal care, such as ambulation or personal hygiene assistance</li> <li>• Perform housekeeping duties such as cooking, cleaning, washing clothes or dishes, or running errands</li> <li>• Participate in case reviews to evaluate the client’s needs and plan for continuing services</li> <li>• Supervising, keeping safe</li> <li>• Toileting, bathing, dressing, personal hygiene</li> <li>• Preparing food and feeding</li> <li>• Supporting and providing companionship for activities</li> <li>• Lifting or transferring and support with mobility and walking</li> </ul>	<p><i>Household-based:</i> Those working in the “private household” industry and classified as “home health aides” (Census occupation code 3600) or “personal care aides” (Census occupation code 4610); or those working in “employment services” and classified as “personal care aides”</p> <p><i>Agency-based:</i> Those working in either the “home health care services” (Census industry code 8170) or “individual and family services” (Census industry code 8370) industries and classified as “home health aides” or “personal care aides”</p>
<p><b>House Cleaners</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clean rooms, hallways, and other areas</li> <li>• Sweep, scrub, vacuum, wax or polish floors</li> <li>• Clean rugs, carpets, furniture and draperies</li> <li>• Wash windows, walls, ceilings, etc.</li> <li>• Dust and polish furniture and equipment</li> <li>• Keep storage areas clean and tidy</li> <li>• Empty wastebaskets</li> <li>• Laundry</li> <li>• Washing dishes</li> <li>• Cleaning outdoors</li> <li>• Cleaning after pets</li> <li>• Cleaning kitchen (including sink, oven, stove, and appliances)</li> <li>• Cleaning bathroom (including tubs, sinks, toilets, floors)</li> </ul>	<p>Those working in the “private household” industry (Census industry code 9290) and classified as “maids and housekeeping cleaners” (Census occupation code 4230)</p>
<p><b>Childcare Providers</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Observe and supervise children’s activities</li> <li>• Prepare food and feed children</li> <li>• Dress children and change diapers</li> <li>• Maintain a safe play environment and ensure children are safe at all times</li> <li>• Support children’s emotional and social development</li> <li>• Communicate with children’s parents or guardians about child behavior</li> <li>• Take and pick up children from school or extracurricular activities</li> </ul>	<p>Those working in the “private household” or “employment services” industries (Census industry code 7580) and classified as “childcare providers” (Census occupation code 4600; excludes those who work in child daycare centers)</p>

## Overview

There were around 334,000 domestic workers employed in California households in 2023. More than three quarters of these workers—or roughly 257,000—were employed as homecare attendants. Most of these homecare attendants (around 227,000) were employed by agencies, while the other 30,000 were employed directly by

households. We estimate that another 51,000 domestic workers in 2023 were employed as house cleaners and 26,000 were employed as childcare providers. Strikingly, there was a decline of more than 40,000 house cleaners and 6,000 childcare providers since 2014, while during the same period, the number of homecare attendants increased by more than 45,000 workers.

**Figure 2. Employed Domestic Workers by Year, California, 2014-23**



**Table 1. Employed Domestic Workers by Year, California, 2014-23**

Year	Homecare Attendants	House Cleaners	Childcare Providers	Total CA Domestic Workers
2014	212173	92160	32472	336805
2015	228216	79708	30358	338282
2016	237272	79005	33845	350122
2017	251010	80049	34143	365202
2018	218031	91329	29666	339026
2019	234710	59271	31571	325552
2020	241146	49915	24324	315385
2021	245638	51935	25227	322800
2022	244238	60416	29452	334106
2023	257247	50886	25525	333658

**Table 2. Domestic Workers by Metro Area, CA, 2019-23**

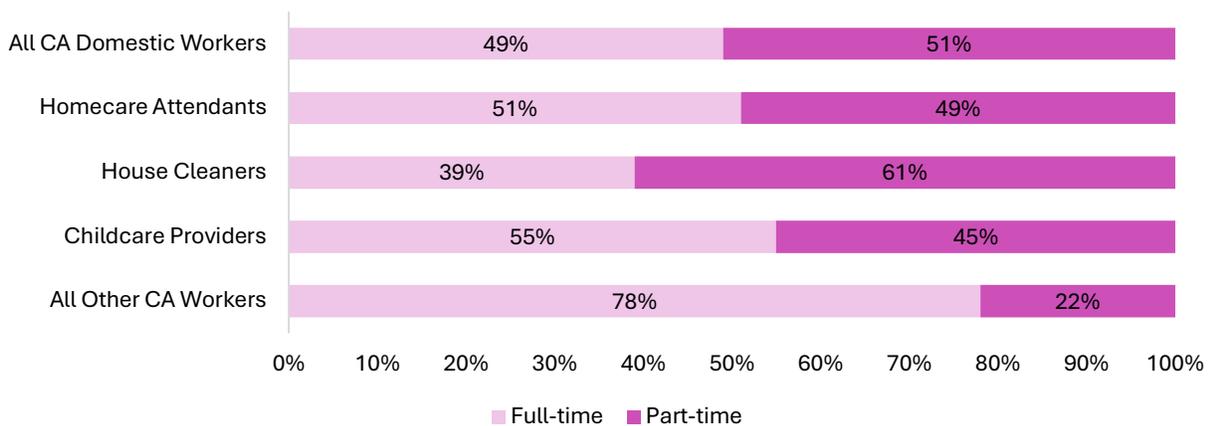
Metro Area	Population Estimate
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim	127,257
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont	39,156
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario	32,630
San Diego-Chula Vista-Carlsbad	22,841
Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom	19,578
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara	13,052
Fresno	13,052
Bakersfield-Delano	6,526
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura	6,526
Stockton-Lodi	6,526
Other areas of state	39,156

Table 2 above shows domestic workers by metro area of residence. Domestic workers are particularly concentrated in southern California, with an estimated 127,000 living in the Los Angeles metro area. Another 39,000 live in the San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont metro area, and 32,000 live in the Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario metro area. Other notable concentrations of

domestic workers live in the San Diego, Sacramento, San Jose, and Fresno areas.

Domestic workers are more likely to work part-time than other California workers (see Figure 3 below). Around half of all domestic workers work part-time compared to just 22 percent of other California workers, though the percentage working full time has risen in recent years from 45% in 2014-18 to 49% in 2019-23 (see Appendix II for more).

**Figure 3. Full/Part-Time Status by Type of Domestic Worker, CA, 2019-23**



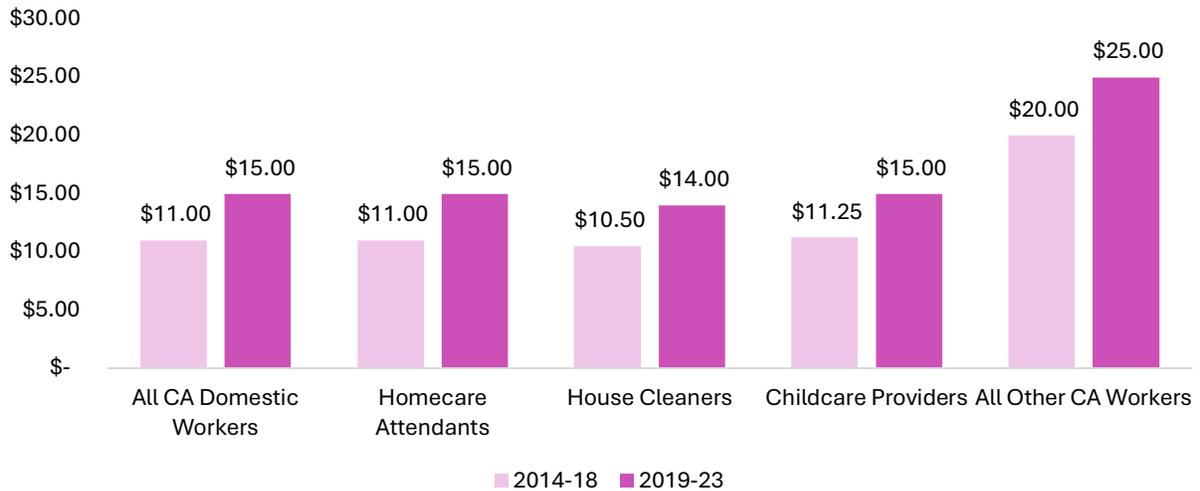
## Wages and Earnings

Median wages are shown in Figure 4 below. The state minimum wage nearly doubled over this period from \$8 in 2014 to \$15.50 in 2023 thanks to the organizing and advocacy done by economic justice organizations across the state, leading wages to grow for all domestic worker groups and other workers. The median wage for domestic workers of \$15 in 2019-23 was still 40%

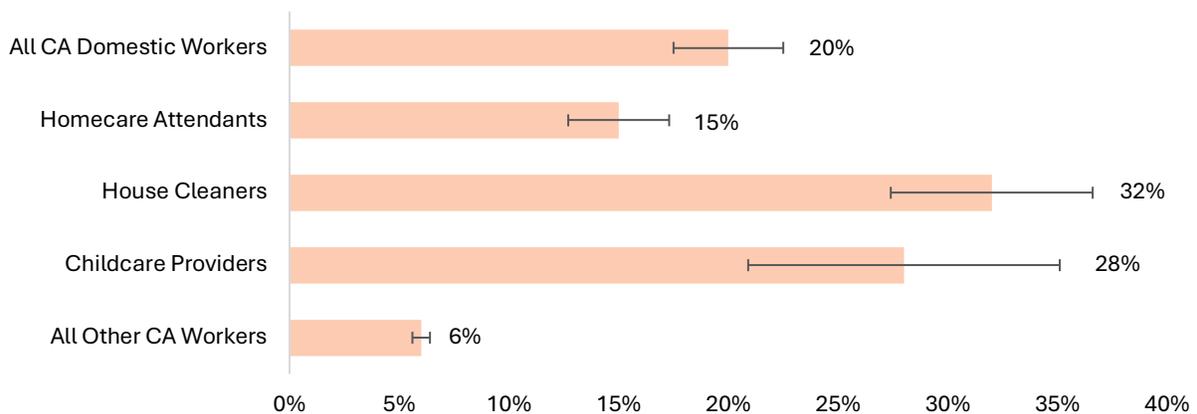
below the median wage of \$25 for all other California workers during this period.

Figure 5 below shows the rate at which domestic workers were paid below the state minimum wage during the study period. As shown, domestic workers of all types are much more likely to be paid below the minimum wage than other California workers. We estimate that 20% of all California domestic workers—or 1-in-5 workers—were paid below the state

**Figure 4. Median Wages by Type of Domestic Worker, CA, 2014-2023**



**Figure 5. Minimum Wage Violation Rates, CA, 2014-2023**



minimum at some point between 2014 and 2023.

**In all, we estimate that more than 67,000 domestic workers in California lost an average of more than \$282 million each year from being paid below the state minimum wage.** Workers who experienced wage theft on average lost nearly \$4,200 a year from being paid below the minimum wage if working year-round.

House cleaners and childcare providers are around 5 times as likely to be paid below the minimum wage as other California workers, while homecare attendants are around twice as likely to be paid below the minimum wage as other workers. Given that many California cities and counties have minimum wages above that of the state, these estimates provide a conservative estimate of actual violation rates.

Those who are not U.S. citizens and who have less than a high school education are particularly likely to be paid below the minimum wage (see Appendix III for more).



**Rosalie, Homecare Worker.** “In 2018, I came from the Philippines to the US and married my fiancé. I lived with my husband in LA but divorced after emotional and psychological abuse and came to San Jose. Since 2019, I have been working as a homecare worker for agencies who would assign me to 1-on-1 caregiving duties in private homes.” *Photo by Joe Ramos*

**Table 3. Minimum Wage Violation Summary, CA Domestic Workers, 2014-2023**

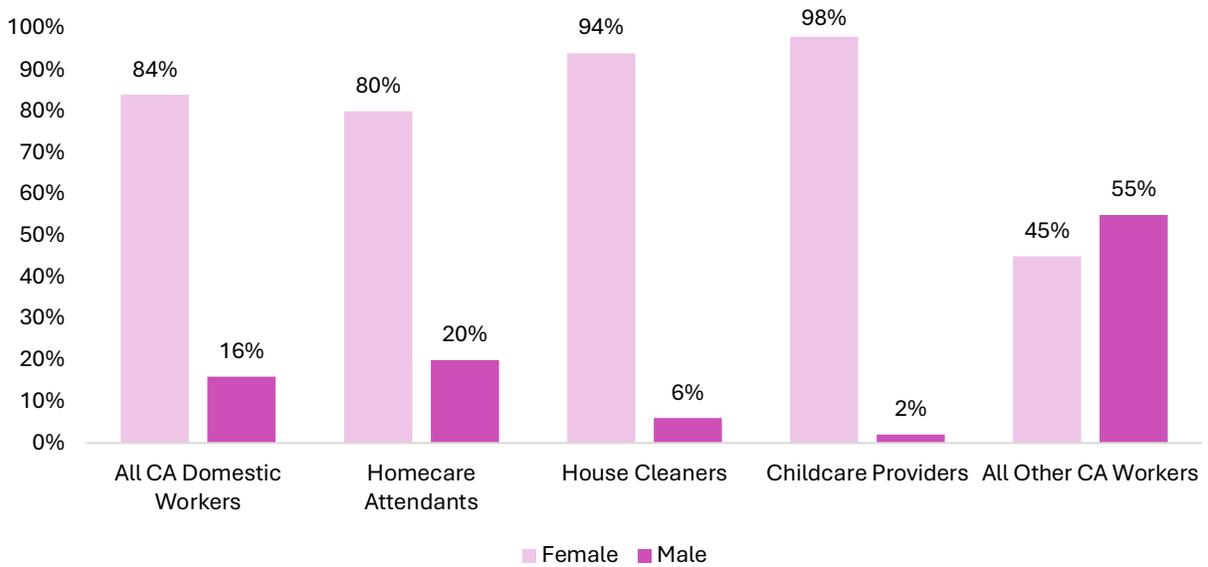
Average number of CA domestic workers per year	<b>336,094</b>
Average number of underpaid CA domestic workers per year	<b>67219</b>
Share of CA domestic workers underpaid	<b>20%</b>
Average share of income lost	<b>22%</b>
Average wage of underpaid CA domestic worker	<b>\$9.19</b>
Average amount lost per hour	<b>\$2.52</b>
Average amount lost per year	<b>\$4,197</b>
Total estimated losses per year	<b>\$282,117,304</b>
Total estimated lost by CA Domestic Workers, 2014-23	<b>\$2,821,173,036</b>

## Demographics

It comes as no surprise that domestic work in California is highly gendered. Eighty-four percent of California domestic workers identify as female, compared to 45 percent of other California workers. Just 6 percent of house cleaners and 2 percent of childcare providers identify as male.

The majority of domestic workers are also people of color (see Table 4 below). Nearly half of all domestic workers identify as Latine, and another quarter identify as either Asian or Pacific Islander (API) or Black. Over 90 percent of house cleaners identify as Latine. Black and A/PI workers are more likely to be employed as homecare attendants than house cleaners or childcare providers.

**Figure 6. Gender by Type of Domestic Worker, CA, 2019-23**



**Table 4. Race/Ethnicity by Type of Domestic Worker, CA, 2019-23**

	Latine	White	API	Black	Other
<b>All CA Domestic Workers</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>4%</b>
<b>Homecare Attendants</b>	40%	24%	22%	10%	4%
<b>House Cleaners</b>	91%	6%	1%	0%	1%
<b>Childcare Providers</b>	48%	32%	9%	4%	6%
<b>All Other CA Workers</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>4%</b>

**Table 5. Place of Birth by Type of Domestic Worker, CA, 2019-23**

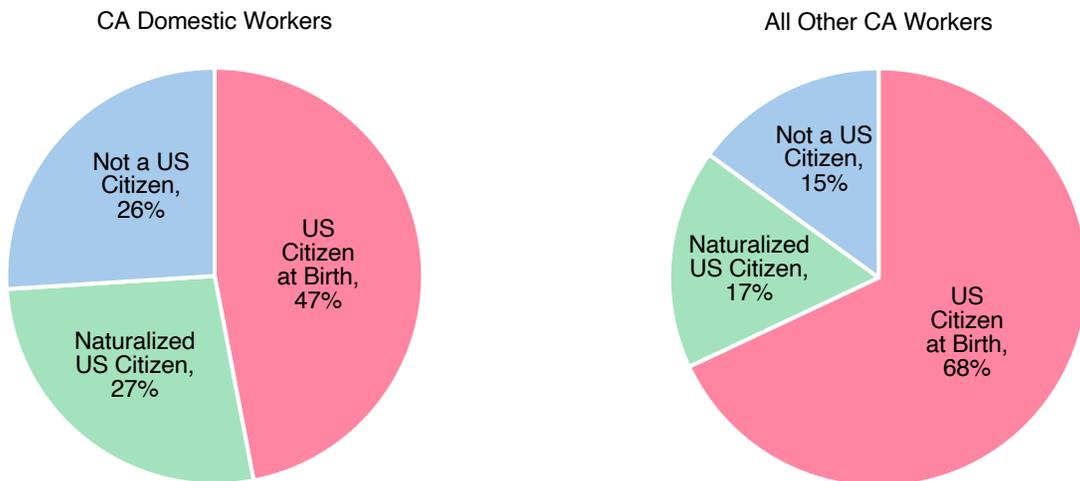
	US	Mexico	Central America	Philippines	China	Vietnam	South America	Africa	Other
<b>All CA Domestic Workers</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>9%</b>
<b>Homecare Attendants</b>	52%	14%	5%	8%	4%	3%	1%	1%	10%
<b>House Cleaners</b>	17%	52%	26%	0%	1%	0%	2%	0%	2%
<b>Childcare Providers</b>	52%	14%	12%	2%	1%	0%	7%	1%	10%
<b>All Other CA Workers</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>8%</b>

California domestic workers are more likely than other workers to be born outside of the U.S. (see Table 5 below). Around half of domestic workers were born outside of the US, compared to a third of other California workers. Of those who were born outside of the U.S., half are naturalized citizens and half are not (see Figure 7 below). Domestic workers who were born outside of the U.S. are primarily from Mexico (21% of all CA domestic workers), Central America (9%) and the Philippines (7%). More than half of house cleaners in California were born in

Mexico. The estimated percentage of California domestic workers born in the U.S. notably grew from 42% in 2014-18 to 46% in 2019-23 (see Appendix II for 2014-18 vs. 2019-23 comparisons).

House cleaners are far less likely to be U.S. citizens than other domestic worker occupations. We estimate that 57 percent of house cleaners are not U.S. citizens, compared to 30 percent of childcare providers and 19 percent of homecare attendants.

**Figure 7. U.S. Citizenship of Domestic v. Other Workers, CA, 2019-23**



**Table 6. English Proficiency by Type of Domestic Worker, CA, 2019-23**

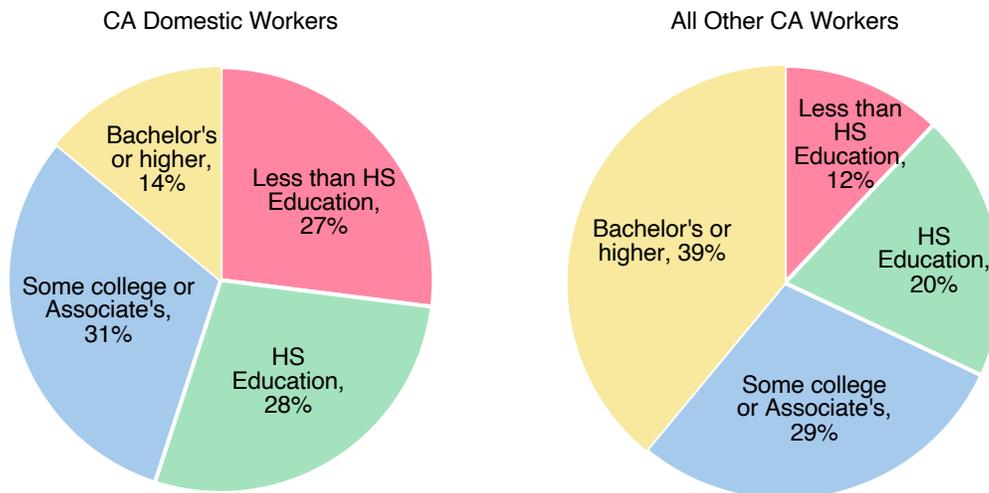
	Does not speak English	Yes, speaks only English	Yes, speaks very well	Yes, speaks well	Yes, but not well
<b>All CA Domestic Workers</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>15%</b>
<b>Homecare Attendants</b>	4%	41%	28%	15%	11%
<b>House Cleaners</b>	12%	13%	19%	22%	34%
<b>Childcare Providers</b>	3%	45%	26%	16%	9%
<b>All Other CA Workers</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>6%</b>

**Eighty percent of California domestic workers speak English well** (see Table 6 above). Childcare providers and homecare attendants are more likely than house cleaners to speak English, with just 54% of house cleaners speaking English well. The estimated percentage of California domestic workers that either do not speak English or do not speak it well declined from 25% in 2014-18 to 20% in 2019-23.

**Nearly half of California domestic workers have gone to college.** Fourteen

percent of domestic workers in the state hold a bachelor’s degree or higher, while 31% have either an associate’s degree or some college experience without a degree (see Figure 8 below). Domestic workers are more than twice as likely not to have a high school diploma than other California workers (27% v. 12%), though the share of domestic workers without a diploma has gone down slightly in recent years from an estimated 31% in 2014-18.

**Figure 8. Educational Attainment of Domestic v. Other Workers, CA, 2019-23**



## Conclusion

More than 2 million households across California rely on domestic workers to care for their loved ones and keep their homes safe and clean.<sup>ii</sup> While median wages have gone up significantly for domestic workers over recent years due to organizing and advocacy to raise the minimum wage by economic justice organizations, they remain far below what is needed to live comfortably. According to the Living Wage Institute at MIT, the living wage in California in 2023 was \$21.24 for a single adult and \$43.44 for a single parent with one child; as of February 2026, these numbers have risen to \$30.48 and \$53.54, respectively.<sup>iii</sup> These numbers suggest it is already difficult to support oneself and raise a family on the current California minimum wage of \$16.90. For the tens of thousands of domestic workers being paid below the minimum each year, it is even more challenging.

Caring for our children and our elderly is not unskilled labor. Nearly half of domestic workers in the state have attended or graduated from college, yet our findings suggest that many are not compensated for their education and training. Domestic workers are playing essential roles in growing sectors of the labor market, and their wages should reflect that.

## About the Authors

**Jake Barnes** is the Research Program Manager at the Workplace Justice Lab @ Rutgers University (WJL@RU) and a Ph.D. candidate at the Rutgers School of Management and Labor Relations (SMLR).

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## Acknowledgments

The authors would like to gratefully acknowledge Megan Whelan Escobar from the California Domestic Worker Coalition (CDWC) for her comments on the report and Lucero Herrera from the UCLA Labor Center for her insight on the industry and data sources. We would also like to thank CDWC for providing all photos included in the report.

All data analysis was conducted independently by the Workplace Justice Lab.

## About Workplace Justice Lab

The Workplace Justice Lab (WJL) is a multi-institutional partnership that conducts research on workers' rights and economic inequality and collaborates with state and local government agencies as well as worker centers, unions and legal nonprofits. It is anchored by [WJL @ Rutgers University](#) and includes [WJL @ Northwestern University](#) as well as the [Pilipino Workers Center of Southern California](#).

At the lab, we go beyond talking about what government should do, to focusing on how government should do it. Through our strengthening labor standards enforcement program, we work to reimagine the public enforcement of workers' rights laws. By proactively targeting the sectors with the worst problems and involving those directly impacted in enforcement, we help agencies realize the intended impact of innovative labor standards legislation.

## Appendices

### Appendix I. Data & Methodology

#### *Data & Definitions*

The estimates presented in this report were developed using both the American Community Survey (ACS) and the Current Population Survey Merged Outgoing Rotation Groups (CPS-MORG). Data from the ACS 1-year files for 2014-23 are used to

develop the population estimates by year. For the demographic estimates, we used the ACS 5-year files from 2014-18 and 2019-23 to ensure that findings are robust and standard errors remain relatively small.

CPS-MORG data is used to develop all estimates related to earnings and hours.<sup>iv</sup> The most important difference in our analyses of the ACS and CPS-MORG data is that self-employed workers are included in the demographic estimates from the ACS, but are not included in the wage data and minimum wage violation estimates derived from CPS-MORG.

Our definition of “domestic worker” is consistent with previous profiles:

- House Cleaners: Those working in the “private household” industry (Census industry code 9290) and classified as “maids and housekeeping cleaners” (Census occupation code 4230)
- Childcare Providers: Those working in the “private household” or “employment services” industries (Census industry code 7580) and classified as “childcare providers” (Census occupation code 4600; excludes those who work in child daycare centers)
- Homecare Attendants (household-based): Those working in the “private household” industry and classified as “home health aides” (Census occupation code 3600) or “personal care aides” (Census occupation code 4610); or those working in “employment services” and classified as “personal care aides”
- Homecare Attendants (agency-based): Those working in either the “home health care services” (Census industry code 8170) or “individual and family services” (Census industry code 8370) industries

and classified as “home health aides” or “personal care aides”

Note that just 0.5% of domestic worker respondents are coded as employed in “employment services.”

In California, identifiable exemptions constitute a miniscule fraction of the estimated total workforce (.04%). We are unable to identify immediate family members, apprentices, “learners” in their first 160 hours of employment in a new field, and mentally or physically disabled employees.

We report 95 percent confidence intervals for all point estimates in the appendices.

We use the integrated IPUMS CPS and ACS data generated by Flood et al. (2024).<sup>v</sup> All population estimates use the appropriate weights for the ACS Files, while all wage and hour data use the appropriate weights for the Merged Outgoing Rotation Groups.<sup>vi</sup>

### *Estimating Minimum Wage Violations*

Measuring the scope and depth of “wage theft” is difficult. No single data source systematically and reliably tracks the incidence of wage theft and records the precise amounts of money that are not being paid. Early studies of minimum wage compliance used data provided voluntarily by employers to the Bureau of Labor Statistics,<sup>vii</sup> but employer-reported data is not reliable, as employers who violate the law cannot be trusted to report that information to government agencies.

Workers can report wage theft by filing lawsuits and/or lodging complaints with federal, state, and local enforcement agencies. But lawsuits are often too

expensive for minimum-wage workers and the costs of litigation frequently exceed the amounts of back pay owed. Complaints are also problematic measures because the workers who are more likely to be exploited are also more likely to be unaware of their right to complain (whether due to language barriers, lack of information and knowledge, or fear of retaliation, termination, or deportation). Lawsuits and the complaints government agencies receive thus provide inaccurate and unreliable portraits of the actual number of violations. We must therefore turn to alternative methods to more accurately detect and measure violations. Survey data on hours and earnings are invaluable in this regard, as they enable us to estimate the true underlying incidence wage violations indirectly.

The CPS data has many advantages: it is gathered via extensive interviews with around 60,000 U.S. households per month; it is representative at the state and national levels (unlike other survey data, such as the Survey of Income and Program Participation [SIPP]); and its individual-level responses permit us to estimate earnings and minimum wage violations relatively easily across a number of individual and job characteristics. The biggest downside is measurement error—as with any survey—though recent research suggests that the effects of measurement error in this case (i.e. measuring subminimum wage payment using CPS data) are relatively low.<sup>viii</sup>

The methodological approach employed here is consistent with previous research.<sup>ix</sup> A few key points to keep in mind:

For hourly wages, we use variables that include wages earned from overtime, tips, and commissions (OTC) for both hourly and

non-hourly workers. The CA Labor Commissioner’s Office (LCO) includes overtime, tips and commissions in their calculation of wages. This method is also preferable to the alternative which excludes OTC for hourly workers while including it for non-hourly workers (for whom different sources of wages are not distinguished). Efforts to estimate and subtract OTC from non-hourly workers adds unknown quantities of additional measurement error to this key variable, and is not recommended.<sup>x</sup>

To ensure our estimates of wage violations are conservative underestimates, we follow Cooper and Kroeger (2017) in taking the higher of the reported wage (hourly wage or weekly pay divided by hours worked) for hourly workers who reported both hourly and weekly earnings.

Minimum wage violations are dichotomous measures of whether an individual’s hourly wage was lower than the applicable state minimum wage.

“Amount lost” is calculated based on the applicable minimum wage as of the date (month) effective.

#### *Measurement error*

The estimates presented here are based on imperfect survey data that we know contains measurement error about this population of interest and thus must be considered rough estimates of the domestic workforce.<sup>xi</sup> While we apply the appropriate weights here to reduce error such as response bias, we cannot be sure how existing measurement error is ultimately distributed. For example, despite going to great lengths to reach them, both Latines and undocumented immigrants

are underrepresented in the CPS;<sup>xii</sup> because we know Latine and undocumented workers are at higher risk of experiencing minimum wage violations than others,<sup>xiii</sup> the estimates of violations reported here are very likely to be low and should be considered conservative estimates.<sup>xiv</sup> Moreover, in Bollinger’s study of measurement error in the CPS, he finds a “high over reporting of income for low-income men” driven by “about 10% of the reporters who grossly over report their income,” thus potentially biasing estimates for wages upward and for minimum wage violations downward.<sup>xv</sup> Roemer does find that the CPS reaches more “underground” workers than other large-scale surveys and is less biased than alternatives.<sup>xvi</sup> But given the high rates of violation discovered in the Bernhardt et al. 2009 innovative survey of hard-to-reach workers in the “informal” labor market—higher than the estimates presented here—there is reason to suspect that these findings underestimate the prevalence of minimum wage violations across the board.<sup>xvii</sup>

Because the CPS-MORG survey asks workers to report their hourly wages as part of a larger battery of demographic and other neutral questions—and does not mention wage theft, working conditions, or ask any other leading questions about the respondent’s industry or occupation—it is safe to assume that respondents are not “primed” to report lower wages than what they actually earned. Indeed, some research finds that certain respondents tend to report higher earnings (Bollinger 1998).

To address measurement error and conduct sensitivity tests regarding minimum wage underpayment estimates, following ERG

(2014), Galvin (2016), and Cooper and Kroeger (2017), we:

- Exclude unemployed and self-employed workers
- Exclude all observations of workers not specifying hourly/nonhourly status
- Exclude observations of nonhourly workers with weekly earnings less than \$10
- Exclude observations of workers with hourly wages less than \$1.

These considerations notwithstanding, the fact that measurement error surely exists recommends using caution when working with the point estimates reported.

**Appendix II. Detailed ACS Estimates (inc. 95% confidence intervals)**

All CA Domestic Workers (2014-18)				All CA Domestic Workers (2019-23)			
	Estimate	CI Low	CI High		Estimate	CI Low	CI High
<b>Sex</b>				<b>Sex</b>			
Male	14%	14%	15%	Male	16%	16%	17%
Female	86%	85%	86%	Female	84%	83%	84%
<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>				<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>			
Latine	51%	50%	52%	Latine	49%	48%	50%
White	23%	22%	24%	White	22%	21%	22%
API	16%	16%	17%	API	18%	17%	19%
Black	8%	7%	8%	Black	8%	7%	9%
Other	2%	2%	3%	Other	4%	3%	4%
<b>Nativity</b>				<b>Nativity</b>			
U.S.-born	42%	41%	43%	U.S.-born	46%	45%	47%
Foreign-born	58%	57%	59%	Foreign-born	54%	53%	55%
<b>Citizenship</b>				<b>Citizenship</b>			
US Citizen at birth	43%	42%	44%	US Citizen at birth	47%	46%	48%
Naturalized US Citizen	26%	25%	27%	Naturalized US Citizen	27%	26%	28%
Not a US Citizen	31%	30%	32%	Not a US Citizen	26%	25%	27%
<b>Birthplace</b>				<b>Birthplace</b>			
USA	42%	41%	43%	USA	46%	45%	47%
Mexico	24%	23%	25%	Mexico	21%	20%	22%
Central America	11%	10%	12%	Central America	9%	8%	9%
Philippines	6%	6%	7%	Philippines	7%	6%	7%
China	3%	3%	3%	China	3%	3%	3%
Vietnam	2%	2%	3%	Vietnam	2%	2%	3%
South America	2%	2%	2%	South America	2%	2%	2%
Africa	1%	1%	1%	Africa	1%	1%	1%
Other	9%	8%	9%	Other	9%	9%	10%
<b>Years in the US</b>				<b>Years in the US</b>			
0-5	7%	6%	8%	0-5	8%	7%	9%
6-10	9%	9%	10%	6-10	7%	6%	7%
11-15	12%	12%	13%	11-15	10%	9%	11%

Workplace Justice Lab

	Estimate	CI Low	CI High		Estimate	CI Low	CI High
16-20	13%	12%	14%	16-20	12%	11%	13%
21+	58%	56%	59%	21+	64%	62%	65%
<b>English Proficiency</b>				<b>English Proficiency</b>			
Does not speak English	7%	6%	7%	Does not speak English	5%	5%	6%
Yes, speaks only English	35%	34%	36%	Yes, speaks only English	37%	36%	38%
Yes, speaks very well	23%	22%	24%	Yes, speaks very well	26%	26%	27%
Yes, speaks well	17%	16%	18%	Yes, speaks well	16%	16%	17%
Yes, but not well	18%	18%	19%	Yes, but not well	15%	14%	16%
<b>Education</b>				<b>Education</b>			
Less than HS Education	31%	30%	31%	Less than HS Education	27%	26%	28%
HS Education	28%	27%	29%	HS Education	28%	27%	29%
Some college or Associate's	29%	29%	30%	Some college or Associate's	31%	30%	32%
Bachelor's or higher	12%	11%	12%	Bachelor's or higher	14%	13%	15%
<b>Attending School</b>				<b>Attending School</b>			
Attending school	8%	8%	9%	Attending school	9%	8%	9%
Not attending school	92%	91%	92%	Not attending school	91%	91%	92%
<b>Age</b>				<b>Age</b>			
16-24	8%	8%	9%	16-24	8%	8%	9%
25-39	24%	23%	25%	25-39	21%	20%	22%
40-54	37%	36%	38%	40-54	32%	31%	33%
55-64	23%	22%	24%	55-64	25%	24%	26%
65+	8%	8%	9%	65+	12%	12%	13%
<b>Employment Status*</b>				<b>Employment Status*</b>			
Employed	94%	93%	94%	Employed	94%	93%	94%
Unemployed	6%	6%	7%	Unemployed	6%	6%	7%
<b>Full v. Part-time (35 hrs)</b>				<b>Full v. Part-time (35 hrs)</b>			
Full-time	45%	44%	46%	Full-time	49%	48%	50%
Part-time	55%	54%	56%	Part-time	51%	50%	52%
<b>Self-employed</b>				<b>Self-employed</b>			
Self-employed	33%	32%	34%	Self-employed	26%	25%	27%
Works for wages	67%	66%	68%	Works for wages	74%	73%	75%
<b>Metro</b>				<b>Metro</b>			
Not in Metro Area	2%	2%	2%	Not in Metro Area	2%	2%	3%
In Metro Area	98%	98%	98%	In Metro Area	98%	97%	98%

Workplace Justice Lab

	Estimate	CI Low	CI High		Estimate	CI Low	CI High
County				County			
N/A	3.0%	2.7%	3.4%	N/A	3.1%	2.7%	3.5%
Alameda	3.8%	3.5%	4.2%	Alameda	3.6%	3.2%	4.0%
Butte	0.7%	0.5%	0.9%	Butte	0.7%	0.5%	0.9%
Contra Costa	2.8%	2.5%	3.1%	Contra Costa	2.9%	2.5%	3.4%
El Dorado	0.3%	0.2%	0.5%	El Dorado	0.3%	0.2%	0.4%
Fresno	2.3%	2.0%	2.7%	Fresno	3.2%	2.8%	3.6%
Humboldt	0.4%	0.2%	0.5%	Humboldt	0.7%	0.5%	1.0%
Imperial	0.8%	0.6%	1.0%	Imperial	1.0%	0.7%	1.2%
Kern	1.2%	1.0%	1.5%	Kern	1.9%	1.6%	2.3%
Kings	0.3%	0.2%	0.4%	Kings	0.4%	0.3%	0.5%
Los Angeles	33.2%	32.3%	34.1%	Los Angeles	31.9%	30.9%	32.8%
Madera	0.2%	0.1%	0.3%	Madera	0.3%	0.2%	0.5%
Marin	0.9%	0.7%	1.1%	Marin	0.8%	0.6%	1.1%
Merced	0.7%	0.6%	0.9%	Merced	0.4%	0.3%	0.6%
Napa	0.4%	0.3%	0.5%	Napa	0.3%	0.2%	0.4%
Orange	7.1%	6.6%	7.6%	Orange	6.9%	6.4%	7.4%
Placer	0.8%	0.6%	1.0%	Placer	0.7%	0.5%	0.8%
Riverside	5.1%	4.7%	5.6%	Riverside	5.6%	5.1%	6.1%
Sacramento	3.9%	3.5%	4.3%	Sacramento	4.2%	3.8%	4.7%
San Bernardino	4.0%	3.6%	4.5%	San Bernardino	4.6%	4.2%	5.1%
San Diego	8.3%	7.8%	9.0%	San Diego	7.2%	6.6%	7.8%
San Francisco	2.5%	2.3%	2.9%	San Francisco	2.2%	2.0%	2.6%
San Joaquin	1.2%	1.0%	1.4%	San Joaquin	1.5%	1.3%	1.8%
San Luis Obispo	0.5%	0.4%	0.7%	San Luis Obispo	0.5%	0.3%	0.6%
San Mateo	2.3%	2.0%	2.6%	San Mateo	2.1%	1.8%	2.5%
Santa Barbara	1.2%	1.0%	1.4%	Santa Barbara	1.2%	1.0%	1.5%
Santa Clara	4.3%	3.9%	4.7%	Santa Clara	4.4%	4.0%	4.9%
Santa Cruz	0.6%	0.5%	0.8%	Santa Cruz	0.6%	0.5%	0.8%
Shasta	0.5%	0.4%	0.7%	Shasta	0.4%	0.3%	0.6%
Solano	1.0%	0.8%	1.3%	Solano	1.2%	1.0%	1.5%
Sonoma	1.5%	1.3%	1.8%	Sonoma	1.4%	1.1%	1.7%
Stanislaus	1.2%	1.0%	1.4%	Stanislaus	0.9%	0.7%	1.0%
Tulare	0.6%	0.4%	0.7%	Tulare	0.8%	0.6%	1.1%
Ventura	1.8%	1.6%	2.1%	Ventura	1.8%	1.5%	2.1%
Yolo	0.4%	0.3%	0.5%	Yolo	0.6%	0.4%	0.8%

Workplace Justice Lab

House Cleaners (2014-18)				House Cleaners (2019-23)			
	Estimate	CI Low	CI High		Estimate	CI Low	CI High
<b>Sex</b>				<b>Sex</b>			
Male	6%	5%	7%	Male	6%	5%	8%
Female	94%	93%	95%	Female	94%	92%	95%
<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>				<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>			
Latine	87%	86%	88%	Latine	91%	89%	92%
White	9%	8%	10%	White	6%	5%	8%
API	2%	2%	3%	API	1%	1%	2%
Black	1%	1%	1%	Black	0%	0%	1%
Other	1%	1%	2%	Other	1%	1%	2%
<b>Nativity</b>				<b>Nativity</b>			
U.S.-born	15%	14%	17%	U.S.-born	17%	15%	19%
Foreign-born	85%	83%	86%	Foreign-born	83%	81%	85%
<b>Citizenship</b>				<b>Citizenship</b>			
US Citizen at birth	16%	15%	17%	US Citizen at birth	17%	15%	20%
Naturalized US Citizen	24%	22%	25%	Naturalized US Citizen	26%	24%	29%
Not a US Citizen	60%	58%	62%	Not a US Citizen	57%	54%	59%
<b>Birthplace</b>				<b>Birthplace</b>			
USA	15%	14%	17%	USA	17%	15%	19%
Mexico	52%	50%	54%	Mexico	52%	49%	55%
Central America	26%	24%	28%	Central America	26%	24%	29%
Philippines	1%	0%	1%	Philippines	0%	0%	0%
China	1%	0%	1%	China	1%	0%	1%
Vietnam	0%	0%	0%	Vietnam	0%	0%	1%
South America	3%	2%	3%	South America	2%	2%	3%
Africa	0%	0%	1%	Africa	0%	0%	0%
Other	2%	2%	3%	Other	2%	1%	3%
<b>Years in the US</b>				<b>Years in the US</b>			
0-5	4%	3%	5%	0-5	6%	4%	7%
6-10	7%	6%	8%	6-10	4%	3%	5%
11-15	14%	12%	15%	11-15	9%	7%	11%

Workplace Justice Lab

16-20	15%	14%	17%	16-20	15%	13%	18%
21+	59%	57%	62%	21+	66%	63%	69%
<b>English Proficiency</b>				<b>English Proficiency</b>			
Does not speak English	13%	12%	15%	Does not speak English	12%	11%	14%
Yes, speaks only English	12%	11%	13%	Yes, speaks only English	13%	11%	15%
Yes, speaks very well	17%	15%	18%	Yes, speaks very well	19%	17%	21%
Yes, speaks well	22%	21%	24%	Yes, speaks well	22%	19%	24%
Yes, but not well	35%	33%	37%	Yes, but not well	34%	31%	37%
<b>Education</b>				<b>Education</b>			
Less than HS Education	56%	54%	57%	Less than HS Education	56%	53%	58%
HS Education	27%	25%	28%	HS Education	28%	26%	30%
Some college or Associate's	13%	12%	15%	Some college or Associate's	12%	10%	14%
Bachelor's or higher	4%	4%	5%	Bachelor's or higher	4%	3%	5%
<b>Attending School</b>				<b>Attending School</b>			
Attending school	2%	2%	3%	Attending school	2%	1%	3%
Not attending school	98%	97%	98%	Not attending school	98%	97%	99%
<b>Age</b>				<b>Age</b>			
16-24	2%	2%	3%	16-24	3%	2%	4%
25-39	24%	22%	26%	25-39	18%	16%	20%
40-54	50%	48%	52%	40-54	46%	43%	49%
55-64	20%	19%	22%	55-64	25%	23%	28%
65+	5%	4%	5%	65+	9%	7%	10%
<b>Employment Status*</b>				<b>Employment Status*</b>			
Employed	94%	93%	95%	Employed	93%	92%	94%
Unemployed	6%	5%	7%	Unemployed	7%	6%	8%
<b>Full v. Part-time</b>				<b>Full v. Part-time</b>			
Full-time	38%	37%	40%	Full-time	39%	36%	42%
Part-time	62%	60%	63%	Part-time	61%	58%	64%
<b>Self-employed</b>				<b>Self-employed</b>			
Self-employed	80%	78%	82%	Self-employed	82%	79%	83%
Works for wages	20%	18%	22%	Works for wages	18%	17%	21%
<b>Metro</b>				<b>Metro</b>			
Not in Metro Area	1%	1%	2%	Not in Metro Area	1%	1%	2%
In Metro Area	99%	98%	99%	In Metro Area	99%	98%	99%

Workplace Justice Lab

Childcare Providers (2014-18)				Childcare Providers (2019-23)			
	Estimate	CI Low	CI High		Estimate	CI Low	CI High
<b>Sex</b>				<b>Sex</b>			
Male	3%	2%	4%	Male	2%	1%	3%
Female	97%	96%	98%	Female	98%	97%	99%
<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>				<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>			
Latine	49%	46%	52%	Latine	48%	45%	52%
White	39%	36%	42%	White	32%	29%	36%
API	7%	5%	8%	API	9%	7%	11%
Black	3%	2%	4%	Black	4%	3%	6%
Other	3%	2%	4%	Other	6%	5%	8%
<b>Nativity</b>				<b>Nativity</b>			
U.S.-born	52%	49%	55%	U.S.-born	52%	48%	55%
Foreign-born	48%	45%	51%	Foreign-born	48%	45%	52%
<b>Citizenship</b>				<b>Citizenship</b>			
US Citizen at birth	53%	50%	56%	US Citizen at birth	53%	49%	56%
Naturalized US Citizen	19%	17%	22%	Naturalized US Citizen	18%	15%	20%
Not a US Citizen	28%	25%	31%	Not a US Citizen	30%	26%	33%
<b>Birthplace</b>				<b>Birthplace</b>			
USA	52%	49%	55%	USA	52%	48%	55%
Mexico	16%	14%	18%	Mexico	14%	12%	17%
Central America	14%	12%	17%	Central America	12%	10%	14%
Philippines	2%	1%	2%	Philippines	2%	1%	3%
China	2%	1%	3%	China	1%	1%	2%
Vietnam	1%	0%	1%	Vietnam	0%	0%	1%
South America	5%	3%	6%	South America	7%	6%	10%
Africa	0%	0%	1%	Africa	1%	1%	2%
Other	9%	7%	11%	Other	10%	7%	12%
<b>Years in the US</b>				<b>Years in the US</b>			
0-5	16%	13%	20%	0-5	23%	19%	28%
6-10	11%	8%	14%	6-10	7%	5%	10%
11-15	10%	8%	14%	11-15	9%	7%	13%

## Workplace Justice Lab

16-20	<b>12%</b>	10%	15%	16-20	<b>11%</b>	8%	15%
21+	<b>50%</b>	46%	55%	21+	<b>49%</b>	44%	54%
<b>English Proficiency</b>				<b>English Proficiency</b>			
Does not speak English	<b>4%</b>	3%	5%	Does not speak English	<b>3%</b>	2%	5%
Yes, speaks only English	<b>47%</b>	44%	50%	Yes, speaks only English	<b>45%</b>	42%	49%
Yes, speaks very well	<b>23%</b>	21%	26%	Yes, speaks very well	<b>26%</b>	23%	29%
Yes, speaks well	<b>15%</b>	13%	17%	Yes, speaks well	<b>16%</b>	13%	19%
Yes, but not well	<b>11%</b>	10%	14%	Yes, but not well	<b>9%</b>	8%	11%
<b>Education</b>				<b>Education</b>			
Less than HS Education	<b>19%</b>	17%	22%	Less than HS Education	<b>19%</b>	16%	22%
HS Education	<b>24%</b>	22%	27%	HS Education	<b>21%</b>	18%	24%
Some college or Associate's	<b>37%</b>	33%	40%	Some college or Associate's	<b>36%</b>	33%	40%
Bachelor's or higher	<b>20%</b>	17%	22%	Bachelor's or higher	<b>23%</b>	21%	27%
<b>Attending School</b>				<b>Attending School</b>			
Attending school	<b>24%</b>	21%	27%	Attending school	<b>21%</b>	18%	24%
Not attending school	<b>76%</b>	73%	79%	Not attending school	<b>79%</b>	76%	82%
<b>Age</b>				<b>Age</b>			
16-24	<b>30%</b>	27%	33%	16-24	<b>29%</b>	26%	32%
25-39	<b>28%</b>	25%	31%	25-39	<b>33%</b>	29%	36%
40-54	<b>23%</b>	21%	26%	40-54	<b>21%</b>	18%	24%
55-64	<b>15%</b>	13%	17%	55-64	<b>14%</b>	12%	16%
65+	<b>3%</b>	2%	5%	65+	<b>4%</b>	3%	6%
<b>Employment Status*</b>				<b>Employment Status*</b>			
Employed	<b>91%</b>	89%	92%	Employed	<b>91%</b>	88%	92%
Unemployed	<b>9%</b>	8%	11%	Unemployed	<b>9%</b>	8%	12%
<b>Full v. Part-time</b>				<b>Full v. Part-time</b>			
Full-time	<b>50%</b>	46%	53%	Full-time	<b>55%</b>	51%	58%
Part-time	<b>50%</b>	47%	54%	Part-time	<b>45%</b>	42%	49%
<b>Self-employed</b>				<b>Self-employed</b>			
Self-employed	<b>49%</b>	46%	52%	Self-employed	<b>48%</b>	44%	52%
Works for wages	<b>51%</b>	48%	54%	Works for wages	<b>52%</b>	48%	56%
<b>Metro</b>				<b>Metro</b>			
Not in Metro Area	<b>1%</b>	0%	1%	Not in Metro Area	<b>1%</b>	1%	3%
In Metro Area	<b>99%</b>	99%	100%	In Metro Area	<b>99%</b>	97%	99%

Workplace Justice Lab

Homecare Attendants (2014-18)				Homecare Attendants (2019-23)			
	Estimate	CI Low	CI High		Estimate	CI Low	CI High
<b>Sex</b>				<b>Sex</b>			
Male	20%	19%	21%	Male	20%	19%	21%
Female	80%	79%	81%	Female	80%	79%	81%
<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>				<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>			
Latine	36%	35%	37%	Latine	40%	38%	41%
White	27%	25%	28%	White	24%	23%	25%
API	24%	23%	25%	API	22%	22%	23%
Black	11%	10%	12%	Black	10%	9%	11%
Other	3%	2%	3%	Other	4%	3%	4%
<b>Nativity</b>				<b>Nativity</b>			
U.S.-born	51%	50%	52%	U.S.-born	52%	51%	53%
Foreign-born	49%	48%	50%	Foreign-born	48%	47%	49%
<b>Citizenship</b>				<b>Citizenship</b>			
US Citizen at birth	52%	51%	53%	US Citizen at birth	53%	52%	54%
Naturalized US Citizen	28%	27%	29%	Naturalized US Citizen	28%	27%	29%
Not a US Citizen	20%	19%	21%	Not a US Citizen	19%	18%	20%
<b>Birthplace</b>				<b>Birthplace</b>			
USA	51%	50%	52%	USA	52%	51%	53%
Mexico	14%	13%	15%	Mexico	14%	13%	15%
Central America	5%	4%	5%	Central America	5%	4%	5%
Philippines	9%	9%	10%	Philippines	8%	8%	9%
China	4%	4%	5%	China	4%	3%	4%
Vietnam	3%	3%	4%	Vietnam	3%	3%	4%
South America	1%	1%	2%	South America	1%	1%	2%
Africa	1%	1%	2%	Africa	1%	1%	2%
Other	10%	9%	10%	Other	10%	9%	10%
<b>Years in the US</b>				<b>Years in the US</b>			
0-5	8%	7%	9%	0-5	7%	6%	8%
6-10	11%	10%	12%	6-10	8%	7%	9%
11-15	12%	11%	13%	11-15	10%	9%	11%

Workplace Justice Lab

16-20	12%	11%	13%	16-20	11%	10%	12%
21+	58%	56%	59%	21+	64%	63%	66%
<b>English Proficiency</b>				<b>English Proficiency</b>			
Does not speak English	4%	4%	5%	Does not speak English	4%	3%	4%
Yes, speaks only English	42%	41%	43%	Yes, speaks only English	41%	40%	42%
Yes, speaks very well	26%	25%	27%	Yes, speaks very well	28%	27%	29%
Yes, speaks well	15%	14%	16%	Yes, speaks well	15%	15%	16%
Yes, but not well	13%	12%	13%	Yes, but not well	11%	11%	12%
<b>Education</b>				<b>Education</b>			
Less than HS Education	22%	21%	23%	Less than HS Education	21%	20%	22%
HS Education	29%	28%	30%	HS Education	29%	28%	30%
Some college or Associate's	35%	34%	36%	Some college or Associate's	35%	33%	36%
Bachelor's or higher	14%	13%	14%	Bachelor's or higher	15%	15%	16%
<b>Attending School</b>				<b>Attending School</b>			
Attending school	8%	8%	9%	Attending school	9%	8%	9%
Not attending school	92%	91%	92%	Not attending school	91%	91%	92%
<b>Age</b>				<b>Age</b>			
16-24	7%	7%	8%	16-24	8%	7%	8%
25-39	23%	22%	24%	25-39	21%	20%	22%
40-54	34%	33%	35%	40-54	30%	29%	32%
55-64	25%	24%	26%	55-64	27%	26%	28%
65+	10%	10%	11%	65+	14%	13%	15%
<b>Employment Status*</b>				<b>Employment Status*</b>			
Employed	94%	93%	94%	Employed	94%	94%	95%
Unemployed	6%	6%	7%	Unemployed	6%	5%	6%
<b>Full v. Part-time</b>				<b>Full v. Part-time</b>			
Full-time	48%	46%	49%	Full-time	51%	50%	52%
Part-time	52%	51%	54%	Part-time	49%	48%	50%
<b>Self-employed</b>				<b>Self-employed</b>			
Self-employed	12%	11%	13%	Self-employed	10%	10%	11%
Works for wages	88%	88%	89%	Works for wages	90%	89%	90%
<b>Metro</b>				<b>Metro</b>			
Not in Metro Area	2%	2%	3%	Not in Metro Area	3%	2%	3%
In Metro Area	98%	97%	98%	In Metro Area	97%	97%	98%

Workplace Justice Lab

All Other CA Workers (2014-18)				All Other CA Workers (2019-23)			
	Estimate	CI Low	CI High		Estimate	CI Low	CI High
<b>Sex</b>				<b>Sex</b>			
Male	55%	55%	55%	Male	55%	55%	55%
Female	45%	45%	45%	Female	45%	45%	45%
<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>				<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>			
Latine	37%	37%	37%	Latine	38%	38%	39%
White	40%	40%	40%	White	36%	36%	36%
API	15%	15%	16%	API	16%	16%	17%
Black	5%	5%	5%	Black	5%	5%	5%
Other	3%	3%	3%	Other	4%	4%	4%
<b>Nativity</b>				<b>Nativity</b>			
U.S.-born	66%	66%	66%	U.S.-born	66%	66%	66%
Foreign-born	34%	34%	35%	Foreign-born	34%	34%	35%
<b>Citizenship</b>				<b>Citizenship</b>			
US Citizen at birth	67%	67%	67%	US Citizen at birth	68%	67%	68%
Naturalized US Citizen	17%	17%	17%	Naturalized US Citizen	17%	17%	17%
Not a US Citizen	16%	16%	16%	Not a US Citizen	15%	15%	15%
<b>Birthplace</b>				<b>Birthplace</b>			
USA	66%	66%	66%	USA	66%	66%	66%
Mexico	14%	14%	14%	Mexico	12%	12%	13%
Central America	3%	3%	3%	Central America	3%	3%	3%
Philippines	3%	3%	3%	Philippines	3%	3%	3%
China	3%	3%	3%	China	3%	3%	3%
Vietnam	2%	2%	2%	Vietnam	2%	2%	2%
South America	1%	1%	1%	South America	1%	1%	1%
Africa	1%	1%	1%	Africa	1%	1%	1%
Other	8%	8%	8%	Other	8%	8%	9%
<b>Years in the US</b>				<b>Years in the US</b>			
0-5	9%	8%	9%	0-5	9%	8%	9%
6-10	9%	9%	9%	6-10	9%	9%	9%

## Workplace Justice Lab

11-15	9%	9%	10%	16-20	15%	15%	15%
16-20	13%	13%	13%	21+	55%	54%	55%
21+	60%	59%	60%				
<b>English Proficiency</b>				<b>English Proficiency</b>			
Does not speak English	2%	2%	2%	Does not speak English	3%	3%	3%
Yes, speaks only English	54%	54%	54%	Yes, speaks only English	55%	55%	55%
Yes, speaks very well	29%	29%	29%	Yes, speaks very well	27%	27%	27%
Yes, speaks well	9%	9%	9%	Yes, speaks well	9%	9%	9%
Yes, but not well	6%	6%	6%	Yes, but not well	7%	6%	7%
<b>Education</b>				<b>Education</b>			
Less than HS Education	12%	11%	12%	Less than HS Education	13%	13%	13%
HS Education	20%	20%	20%	HS Education	20%	20%	20%
Some college or Associate's	29%	29%	29%	Some college or Associate's	32%	32%	32%
Bachelor's or higher	39%	39%	40%	Bachelor's or higher	36%	36%	36%
<b>Attending School</b>				<b>Attending School</b>			
Attending school	10%	10%	10%	Attending school	11%	11%	11%
Not attending school	90%	90%	90%	Not attending school	89%	89%	89%
<b>Age</b>				<b>Age</b>			
16-24	12%	11%	12%	16-24	12%	12%	12%
25-39	36%	36%	36%	25-39	36%	36%	36%
40-54	31%	31%	31%	40-54	32%	32%	32%
55-64	16%	16%	16%	55-64	15%	15%	15%
65+	6%	6%	6%	65+	5%	5%	5%
<b>Employment Status*</b>				<b>Employment Status*</b>			
Employed	95%	95%	95%	Employed	95%	95%	95%
Unemployed	5%	5%	5%	Unemployed	5%	5%	5%
<b>Full v. Part-time</b>				<b>Full v. Part-time</b>			
Full-time	78%	78%	78%	Full-time	78%	78%	78%
Part-time	22%	22%	22%	Part-time	22%	22%	22%
<b>Self-employed</b>				<b>Self-employed</b>			
Self-employed	11%	11%	11%	Self-employed	11%	11%	11%
Works for wages	89%	89%	89%	Works for wages	89%	89%	89%
<b>Metro</b>				<b>Metro</b>			
Not in Metro Area	2%	2%	2%	Not in Metro Area	2%	2%	2%
In Metro Area	98%	98%	98%	In Metro Area	98%	98%	98%
11-15	13%	13%	13%				

**Appendix III. MW Violation Rates, CA Domestic Workers vs. Others, 2019-23**

All CA Domestic Workers (2019-23)				All Other CA Workers (2019-23)			
	Estimate	CI Low	CI High		Estimate	CI Low	CI High
<b>Sex</b>				<b>Sex</b>			
Male	20%	15%	27%	Male	6%	6%	6%
Female	24%	21%	27%	Female	7%	7%	8%
<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>				<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>			
Latine	29%	25%	33%	Latine	9%	8%	9%
White	20%	15%	25%	White	5%	4%	5%
API	16%	11%	23%	API	5%	6%	6%
Black	15%	8%	24%	Black	10%	8%	11%
Other	24%	9%	52%	Other	6%	5%	8%
<b>Citizenship</b>				<b>Citizenship</b>			
US Citizen at birth	19%	16%	23%	US Citizen at birth	6%	6%	6%
Naturalized US Citizen	21%	16%	25%	Naturalized US Citizen	6%	6%	7%
Not a US Citizen	33%	28%	38%	Not a US Citizen	9%	9%	10%
<b>Education</b>				<b>Education</b>			
Less than HS Education	36%	30%	43%	Less than HS Education	16%	15%	17%
HS Education	21%	17%	26%	HS Education	9%	9%	10%
Some college or Associate's	21%	17%	27%	Some college or Associate's	7%	7%	8%
Bachelor's or higher	14%	10%	20%	Bachelor's or higher	3%	3%	3%
<b>Age</b>				<b>Age</b>			
16-24	25%	18%	35%	16-24	14%	14%	15%
25-39	23%	18%	28%	25-39	5%	5%	5%
40-54	25%	21%	30%	40-54	5%	5%	6%
55-64	20%	16%	26%	55-64	6%	5%	6%
65+	24%	16%	33%	65+	10%	9%	11%
<b>Full v. Part-time (35 hrs)</b>				<b>Full v. Part-time (35 hrs)</b>			
Full-time	21%	17%	24%	Full-time	5%	5%	5%
Part-time	27%	23%	31%	Part-time	12%	12%	13%
<b>Paid by the hour?</b>				<b>Paid by the hour?</b>			
No	39%	32%	46%	No	6%	6%	6%
Yes	20%	17%	23%	Yes	7%	7%	7%

## Appendix IV. MW Violation Rates, CA Domestic Workers, 2014-18, 2019-23

All CA Domestic Workers (2014-18)				All CA Domestic Workers (2019-23)			
	Estimate	CI Low	CI High		Estimate	CI Low	CI High
<b>Sex</b>				<b>Sex</b>			
Male	14%	9%	21%	Male	20%	15%	27%
Female	17%	15%	20%	Female	24%	21%	27%
<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>				<b>Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>			
Latine	19%	16%	22%	Latine	29%	25%	33%
White	11%	8%	15%	White	20%	15%	25%
API	15%	11%	20%	API	16%	11%	23%
Black	23%	16%	32%	Black	15%	8%	24%
Other	15%	5%	39%	Other	24%	9%	52%
<b>Citizenship</b>				<b>Citizenship</b>			
US Citizen at birth	15%	12%	18%	US Citizen at birth	19%	16%	23%
Naturalized US Citizen	15%	11%	20%	Naturalized US Citizen	21%	16%	25%
Not a US Citizen	21%	17%	25%	Not a US Citizen	33%	28%	38%
<b>Education</b>				<b>Education</b>			
Less than HS Education	25%	20%	29%	Less than HS Education	36%	30%	43%
HS Education	18%	15%	23%	HS Education	21%	17%	26%
Some college or Associate's	12%	9%	16%	Some college or Associate's	21%	17%	27%
Bachelor's or higher	9%	5%	14%	Bachelor's or higher	14%	10%	20%
<b>Age</b>				<b>Age</b>			
16-24	22%	15%	30%	16-24	25%	18%	35%
25-39	14%	10%	18%	25-39	23%	18%	28%
40-54	20%	16%	24%	40-54	25%	21%	30%
55-64	13%	9%	17%	55-64	20%	16%	26%
65+	17%	11%	26%	65+	24%	16%	33%
<b>Full v. Part-time (35 hrs)</b>				<b>Full v. Part-time (35 hrs)</b>			
Full-time	16%	13%	19%	Full-time	21%	17%	24%
Part-time	17%	14%	20%	Part-time	27%	23%	31%
<b>Paid by the hour?</b>				<b>Paid by the hour?</b>			
No	35%	29%	41%	No	39%	32%	46%
Yes	13%	11%	15%	Yes	20%	17%	23%

<sup>i</sup> While other occupations such as groundskeepers, drivers or cooks may also be employed in private households, we are unable with available data to analyze these relatively much smaller workforces. See Saba Waheed, Lucero Herrera, Reyna Orellana, and Tia Koonse (2016), *Profile, Practices and Needs of California's Domestic Work Employers*, UCLA Labor Center; and Asha Banerjee, Katherine deCourcy, Kyle K. Moore, and Julia Wolfe (November 2022), "Domestic Workers Chartbook 2022", *Economic Policy Institute*.

<sup>ii</sup> Waheed et al. (2016).

<sup>iii</sup> Living wage data sourced from the Living Wage Institute via <https://livingwage.mit.edu/states/06> (accessed on March 3, 2026).

<sup>iv</sup> The U.S. Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division uses CPS-MORG to identify "priority industries" for investigations and which remains the top choice of every social scientist who has sought to develop national or industry-specific estimates of FLSA noncompliance since the 1970s. See Orley Ashenfelter and Robert S. Smith (1979), "Compliance with the Minimum Wage Law", *The Journal of Political Economy*, 333-50; Ronald G. Ehrenberg and Paul L. Schumann (1982), "Compliance with the Overtime Pay Provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act", *The Journal of Law & Economics*, 25(1), 159-181; Brigitte H. Sellekaerts and Stephen W. Welch (1984), "An Econometric Analysis of Minimum Wage Noncompliance", *Industrial Relations* 23(2), 244-259; Stephen J. Trejo (1991), "The Effects of Overtime Pay Regulation on Worker Compensation", *American Economic Review*, 719-740; Stephen J. Trejo (1993), "Overtime Pay, Overtime Hours, and Labor Unions", *Journal of Labor Economics* 11(2), 253-278; Richard Fry and B. Lindsay Lowell (1997), "The Incidence of Subminimum Pay among Native and Immigrant Workers", *Population Research and Policy Review* 16(4), 363-381; David Weil and Amanda Pyles (2005), "Why Complain? Complaints, Compliance, and the Problem of Enforcement in the US Workplace", *Comp. Lab. L. & Pol'y. J.* 27, 59; U.S. Department of Labor (Prepared by Eastern Research Group, Inc.) (2014), *The Social and Economic Effects of Wage Violations: Estimates for California and New York*, Washington, DC; Daniel J. Galvin (2016), "Deterring Wage Theft: Alt-Labor, State Politics, and the Policy Determinants of Minimum Wage Noncompliance", *Perspectives on Politics* 14(2), 324-350; and David Cooper and Teresa Kroeger (May 2017), "Employers steal billions from workers' paychecks each year," *Economic Policy Institute*.

<sup>v</sup> Sarah Flood, Miriam King, Renae Rodgers, Steven Ruggles, J. Robert Warren, Daniel Backman, Annie Chen, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, Megan Schouweiler, and Michael Westberry. IPUMS CPS:

Version 12.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.18128/D030.V12.0>

<sup>vi</sup> For more on CPS weights, see [https://cps.ipums.org/cps/sample\\_weights.shtml](https://cps.ipums.org/cps/sample_weights.shtml) and U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey Design and Methodology Technical Paper 77, October 2019.

<sup>vii</sup> Albert Zuckerman (1973), "Minimum Wages and the Long-run Elasticity of Demand for Low-wage Labor", *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 87(2), 267-277.

<sup>viii</sup> Jeffrey Clemens and Michael R. Strain (2022), "Does Measurement Error Explain the Increase in Subminimum Wage Payment Following Minimum Wage Increases?" *Economics Letters*, 217.

<sup>ix</sup> In particular, Galvin 2016; U.S. Department of Labor 2014; Cooper & Kroeger, 2017.

<sup>x</sup> U.S. Department of Labor 2014.

<sup>xi</sup> For more on the design and methodology of the CPS, see U.S. Census Bureau 2019. For an excellent discussion of the advantages and limitations of using the CPS data to estimate minimum wage violations given the existence of measurement error and other issues, see U.S. Department of Labor 2014, Appendix B.

<sup>xii</sup> Ruth B. McKay (1992), "Cultural Factors Affecting within Household Coverage and Proxy Reporting in Hispanic (Salvadoran) Households: A Pilot Study," In *Proceedings of the Section on Survey Research Methods*, American Statistical Association. As Bernhardt et al. 2009 write: "standard surveying techniques—phone interviews or census-style door-to-door interviews—rarely are able to fully capture the population that we are most interested in: low-wage workers who may be hard to identify from official databases, who may be vulnerable because of their immigration status, or who are reluctant to take part in a survey because they fear retaliation from their employers. Trust is also an issue when asking for the details about a worker's job, the wages they receive, whether they are paid off the books or not, and their personal background" (56). Annette Bernhardt, Ruth Milkman, Nik Theodore, Douglas Heckathorn, Mirabai Auer, James Defilippis, Ana Luz González, Victor Narro, Jason Perelshteyn, and Diana Polson (2009), "Broken Laws, Unprotected Workers: Violations of Employment and Labor Laws in America's Cities," National Employment Law Project, New York: NELP.

See also U.S. Census Bureau, "Coverage Ratios," <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/cps/technical-documentation/methodology/coverage-ratios.html>

<sup>xiii</sup> See past WJL studies at <https://smmr.rutgers.edu/wjl-ru/beyond-bill-studies>

<sup>xiv</sup> McKay, 1992; Bernhardt et al. 2009; U.S. Department of Labor 2014.

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<sup>xv</sup> Christopher R. Bollinger (1998), "Measurement Error in the Current Population Survey: A Nonparametric Look," *Journal of Labor Economics* 16(3), 576-94.

<sup>xvi</sup> Marc Roemer (2002), "Using Administrative Earnings Records to Assess Wage Data Quality in the

March Current Population Survey and the Survey of Income and Program Participation," U.S. Bureau of the Census.

<sup>xvii</sup> Bernhardt et al. 2009.