



Protecting Undocumented Workers on the Pandemic's Front Lines

Immigrants Are Essential to America's Recovery

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Introduction and summary

Across the United States, Americans continue to face the harsh reality of life amid a global pandemic and the ensuing economic fallout. More than 7 million people have lost their jobs since February 2020.¹ Americans are worrying about whether and when their children can safely return to school; they have watched their favorite restaurants close, first temporarily and then permanently; and they have been forced to spend holidays without their families and loved ones. And with cases continuing to rise, this public health crisis is far from over.

Among those Americans bearing the brunt of the pandemic and its economic fallout are 10.4 million undocumented immigrants.² At the same time, over the past nine months, millions of these immigrants have worked alongside their neighbors to keep the country functioning and safe. They have worked as doctors and nurses caring for loved ones and fighting this pandemic, but these unique times have also highlighted their crucial work as agricultural workers harvesting Americans' food; clerks stocking grocery shelves; and delivery drivers bringing food to the safety of people's homes. After decades of taking these jobs for granted, the country has come to realize just how essential these individuals and their contributions are.

The Biden administration and Congress must take decisive action to control the coronavirus pandemic and provide a path for the country to recover economically from the pandemic-induced recession. This will not be an easy task, and any approach must give special consideration to the communities hit hardest by the coronavirus crisis, including undocumented immigrants. Lack of access to health care, ineligibility for many government relief payments, and job instability leave undocumented immigrants especially vulnerable amid the pandemic.³ Providing a path to legal status for undocumented Americans is a key tool that the next administration and Congress should utilize as they work to fight the coronavirus and rebuild the country and its economy.

For years, all Americans have relied on the outsized impacts that undocumented immigrants' contributions bring to the economy. But the reality is that the U.S. immigration system has not seen meaningful reform for 30 years. For undocumented immigrants—who on average have lived in the country for 15 years—and their 10.2 million family members, the future is tenuous.

It doesn't have to be that way. Undocumented immigrants and their families are a part of the social fabric of the country. Recognizing that value first and foremost, this report looks at the role of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. workforce, their fiscal and economic contributions to the country, and how an estimated 5 million undocumented immigrants—nearly 3 in 4 undocumented immigrants in the workforce—are keeping the country moving forward as essential workers in the face of the pandemic. A path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants is not only the right way to honor these members of the American family, but it would ensure these contributions are not lost for all in the United States. It would also grow those contributions and help to ensure that the nation's recovery is as bold, dynamic, and equitable as it must be to meet the challenge that the country collectively faces.

Undocumented immigrants in the U.S. workforce

Undocumented immigrants make up approximately 3.2 percent of the U.S. population, but 4.4 percent of the country's workforce. There are more than 7 million undocumented immigrants working in the United States.

The same is generally true when looking at the states. In every state, undocumented immigrants make up a larger share of the workforce than they do the total population. California and Texas are home to the largest undocumented workforce, with 1.4 million and 1.2 million undocumented workers, respectively. But every state relies on undocumented workers. In 41 states and Washington, D.C., there are more than 10,000 undocumented workers, and in 16 states that total is greater than 100,000.

It is important to recognize that undocumented workers do not take jobs from U.S.-born workers, a myth that has been consistently debunked through years of economics research.⁴ The reality is that undocumented immigrants fill crucial gaps in the workforce, largely not competing with U.S.-born workers but complimenting them and creating greater economic activity—activity and productivity that can help the country grow out of this pandemic-induced downturn.⁵

The next sections of this report discuss the sectors in which undocumented immigrants play a particularly large role and which of those occupations are likely to see the most growth in the future.

TABLE 1

16 states are home to more than 100,000 undocumented workers

Undocumented workforce, by state

State	Number of undocumented workers	Share of the workforce
Alabama	36,100	1.7%
Alaska	6,400	1.8%
Arizona	161,600	4.9%
Arkansas	44,200	3.3%
California	1,441,900	7.5%
Colorado	109,200	3.6%
Connecticut	79,100	4.3%
Delaware	16,000	3.4%
District of Columbia	10,500	2.7%
Florida	512,400	5.2%
Georgia	239,000	4.8%
Hawaii	26,300	3.6%
Idaho	23,000	2.8%
Illinois	312,100	4.9%
Indiana	67,500	2.1%
Iowa	32,100	2.0%
Kansas	49,600	3.4%
Kentucky	32,000	1.6%
Louisiana	37,800	1.8%
Maine	3,200*	0.5%
Maryland	154,500	4.9%
Massachusetts	104,300	2.8%
Michigan	65,800	1.4%
Minnesota	55,700	1.9%
Mississippi	13,600	1.1%
Missouri	33,700	1.1%
Montana	1,200*	0.2%
Nebraska	28,600	2.8%
Nevada	122,700	8.4%
New Hampshire	7,900	1.1%
New Jersey	294,000	6.5%
New Mexico	34,000	3.7%
New York	474,500	4.9%
North Carolina	214,900	4.3%

TABLE 1

16 states are home to more than 100,000 undocumented workers

Undocumented workforce, by state

State	Number of undocumented workers	Share of the workforce
North Dakota	4,600*	1.1%
Ohio	63,400	1.1%
Oklahoma	60,300	3.3%
Oregon	74,500	3.7%
Pennsylvania	114,000	1.8%
Rhode Island	16,100	3.0%
South Carolina	57,600	2.4%
South Dakota	5,100	1.1%
Tennessee	90,400	2.8%
Texas	1,159,000	8.4%
Utah	69,100	4.4%
Vermont	2,900*	0.9%
Virginia	191,000	4.4%
Washington	189,400	5.0%
West Virginia	2,100*	0.3%
Wisconsin	51,900	1.7%
Wyoming	4,300*	1.5%
United States	7,001,000	4.4%

Note: Asterisk (*) indicates that the estimate is based on a small sample size.

Source: Center for American Progress analysis of pooled 2018 and 2019 1-year American Community Survey microdata, accessed via Steven Ruggles and others, "Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, U.S. Census Data for Social, Economic, and Health Research, 2018 and 2019 American Community Surveys: 1-year estimates" (Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, 2020), available at <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/>.

Looking at undocumented workers by industry and occupation

When considering the workforce, there are two frames that are used to discuss workers: industry and occupation. Simply put, the industry represents where someone goes to work, and an occupation represents what someone does while they are at work. For example, someone who works at a hospital works in the "health care and social assistance" industry, while someone who works in a school works in the "educational services" industry.⁶ A registered nurse falls under the "healthcare practitioners and technical occupations," while a teacher is considered among "educational instruction and library occupations."⁷

This report categorizes industries based on the 2017 North American Industry Classification System and occupations based on the 2018 Standard Occupational Classification system.⁸

First, consider the data at the broad industry level—groups of workers in different settings who fit into similar categories. More than 1.4 million undocumented immigrants work in construction, accounting for 13 percent of all construction workers. Nearly 1 million immigrants work in accommodation and food services, approximately 8.4 percent of all workers in the industry. Meanwhile, 710,000 undocumented workers make up 10 percent of the administrative and support and waste management industries, and another 489,000 undocumented workers in nonpublic administration services are also overrepresented in the field. (see Methodological Appendix)

When it comes to broad occupational categories, again aggregating many different roles into generalized groupings, undocumented immigrants are overrepresented in six categories, aligned closely with the industries mentioned previously. Approximately 25 percent of workers in farming, fishing, and forestry occupations are undocumented, as are 16 percent of workers in construction and extraction occupations; 15 percent of workers in building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations; 8.7 percent of workers in food preparation and serving-related occupations; 7.7 percent of workers in production occupations; and 5.6 percent of workers in transportation and material moving occupations. (see Appendix Table 2)

Occupational data can be especially rich at more detailed levels. Table 2 shows the 15 largest occupations for undocumented immigrants, 14 of which have more than 100,000 workers.

Nearly 1 in 5 landscaping workers, maids or housekeepers, and construction laborers are undocumented immigrants. Nearly 30 percent of agricultural workers or painters are undocumented.

The undocumented agricultural workforce

This analysis uses data from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS), and there is an important item to note about the survey with respect to agricultural workers. The ACS is administered throughout the year, which poses difficulty for capturing highly seasonal work such as agriculture. Depending on the time of year a respondent completes the survey, the ACS likely undercounts the actual number of workers in the sector. Combined with the ACS' difficulty in measuring certain populations, including undocumented immigrants, the estimate of undocumented farmworkers presented here is likely to be lower than reality.⁹ To that account, the most recent U.S. Department of Agriculture Census of Agriculture estimates that there are 2.4 million farmworkers in the United States, compared with the ACS' estimate of 1.6 million, and the U.S. Department of Labor's National Agricultural Workers Survey finds that 49 percent of workers in the field are undocumented.¹⁰

TABLE 2
Undocumented immigrants are overrepresented in many of the occupations where they also make up a large number of workers

15 occupations with the most undocumented workers

Occupation code	Title	Number of undocumented workers	Share of workers who are undocumented
6260	Construction laborers	450,200	23%
4230	Maids and housekeeping cleaners	344,600	22%
4020	Cooks	333,500	14%
4220	Janitors and building cleaners	264,100	10%
4251	Landscaping and groundskeeping workers	255,000	21%
6230	Carpenters	234,200	18%
6050	Other agricultural workers	233,100	29%
9130	Drivers/sales workers and truck drivers	176,500	4.7%
6410	Painters and paperhangers	171,300	28%
4720	Cashiers	142,000	4.3%
4110	Waiters and waitresses	138,500	6.2%
9620	Laborers and freight, stock, and material movers, hand	135,600	5.6%
8990	Miscellaneous production workers, including equipment operators and tenders	113,600	8.5%
9640	Packers and packagers, hand	100,000	18%
4030	Food preparation workers	98,100	9.4%

Source: Center for American Progress analysis of pooled 2018 and 2019 1-year American Community Survey microdata, accessed via Steven Ruggles and others, "Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, U.S. Census Data for Social, Economic, and Health Research, 2018 and 2019 American Community Surveys: 1-year estimates" (Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, 2020), available at <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/>.

Looking toward the future

Each year, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) publishes lists of the 20 fastest-growing occupations and the 20 occupations projected to have the most job growth over the next decade, several of which have sizeable undocumented populations.¹¹ Although published amid the pandemic in September 2020, these projections recognize that the U.S. economy will at some point recover and the basic demographic changes facing the country are inevitable. As Baby Boomers across the United States continue to age, the country will need more care workers to meet the needs of the aging population. The BLS projects that the United States will add 1.2 million new home health and personal care aides between now and 2029. It also projects large additions of fast food workers (461,000), restaurant cooks (327,000), freight and stock laborers (126,000), landscaping and grounds-keeping workers (120,000), and janitors (106,000)—all occupations with already large numbers of undocumented workers.

Fiscal and economic contributions of undocumented workers

Beyond their presence in the workforce, undocumented workers make major contributions to the U.S. economy through the taxes they pay and their spending. Center for American Progress analysis finds that each year, undocumented workers and their households pay \$79.7 billion in federal tax contributions and \$41 billion in state and local tax contributions. These tax dollars fund public schools, infrastructure repairs for roads and bridges, and the military. Immigrants are not just economic producers, but consumers as well.¹² These households hold \$314.9 billion in spending power, and every grocery or small-business purchase made is money that is infused into local economies. Undocumented immigrants own 1.6 million homes, paying \$20.6 billion in mortgage payments each year, while other undocumented workers pay \$49.1 billion in rental payments annually.

On top of their federal tax contributions, undocumented workers also buoy the social safety net; their employers annually contribute payroll taxes totaling \$17 billion for Social Security and \$4 billion for Medicare, for which undocumented immigrants are ineligible. For state-level data, please see Appendix Table 3.

A note about the data

The data presented in this report come from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2018 and 2019 1-year ACS public use microdata, which include the most recent data available but does not account for the millions of Americans—both U.S.-born and foreign-born—who have lost their jobs as a result of the pandemic and its economic devastation. Undocumented status further clouds the understanding of employment losses among these immigrants during the pandemic because the lack of immigration status places such individuals at heightened risk of being exploited. Undocumented immigrants are simultaneously vulnerable to being coerced into accepting dangerous work situations and may be among the first workers to be laid off, particularly if they raise concerns.¹³ Regardless of their current work status, this report analyzes the undocumented U.S. workforce as it existed before the pandemic-induced economywide job losses.

The most important thing that the next administration and Congress can do for the American people is to put the country on a path to recovery. Legalizing undocumented immigrants will advance this effort in myriad ways. As this analysis shows, undocumented workers are valuable contributors to the workforce and the economy, and legalization will provide greater security for millions of individuals in the workforce who are playing an essential role during the current pandemic. But these workers are also family members to millions and neighbors to even more. A pathway to citizenship for these individuals ensures not only that the undocumented community will not be left behind as the economy rebounds, but also that they can fully participate in and contribute to the recovery.

Undocumented immigrants on the front lines of the pandemic response

In March 2020, as the United States first recognized the coronavirus spread and state and local governments began to issue stay-at-home orders, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA) published guidance on essential critical infrastructure workers, introducing a list of workers in roles that were deemed vital for continuity of public health and safety.¹⁴ This first iteration of critical infrastructure focused on those workers who would still need to access their workplaces despite locally enacted shelter-at-home orders.

These workers have put their safety on the line to help other Americans. In over-capacity intensive care units, doctors, nurses, and aides have treated COVID-19 patients as the understanding of how the coronavirus spreads and how to treat it has evolved. Farmworkers have picked crops; despite outbreaks, workers in meat processing plants have continued their work; and truckers have hauled food across a network of highways to ensure there would never be a food shortage.

According to the National Conference of State Legislatures, at least 42 states adopted official essential worker orders, with 20 using the CISA framework and 22 shaping their own guidelines.¹⁵ States that created their own critical infrastructure lists tended to add sectors that CISA did not originally include. For example, more than half of states included child care providers in their critical infrastructure lists, while other states adopted broader consideration for new construction as opposed to solely repair and maintenance of critical facilities.¹⁶

As of November 2020, CISA had expanded this guidance three times. Now in its fourth iteration, released in August 2020, the guidance on the critical infrastructure workforce has been broadened.¹⁷ CAP estimates that 5 million undocumented workers—nearly 3 in 4 undocumented immigrants in the workforce—were employed in these sectors at the beginning of the pandemic. Alongside their colleagues, these undocumented essential workers keep critical operations such as energy and telecommunications running, hospitals staffed, and grocery shelves stocked.

Indeed, undocumented immigrants employed in critical infrastructure work in a wide range of jobs. An estimated 1.7 million work in the nation's food supply chain—from 358,000 farmworkers and food processors to 154,000 working in supermarkets, grocery stores, and convenience stores.

Nearly one-quarter of a million—236,000—undocumented immigrants are working in a health care provision role, from 15,000 registered nurses and licensed practical nurses, to 19,000 lab and diagnostic technicians, to 139,000 home health aides, nursing assistants, and personal care aides. But beyond that, another 188,000 undocumented immigrants are working as custodians, food servers, and administrative workers to keep hospitals, nursing homes, and labs functioning.

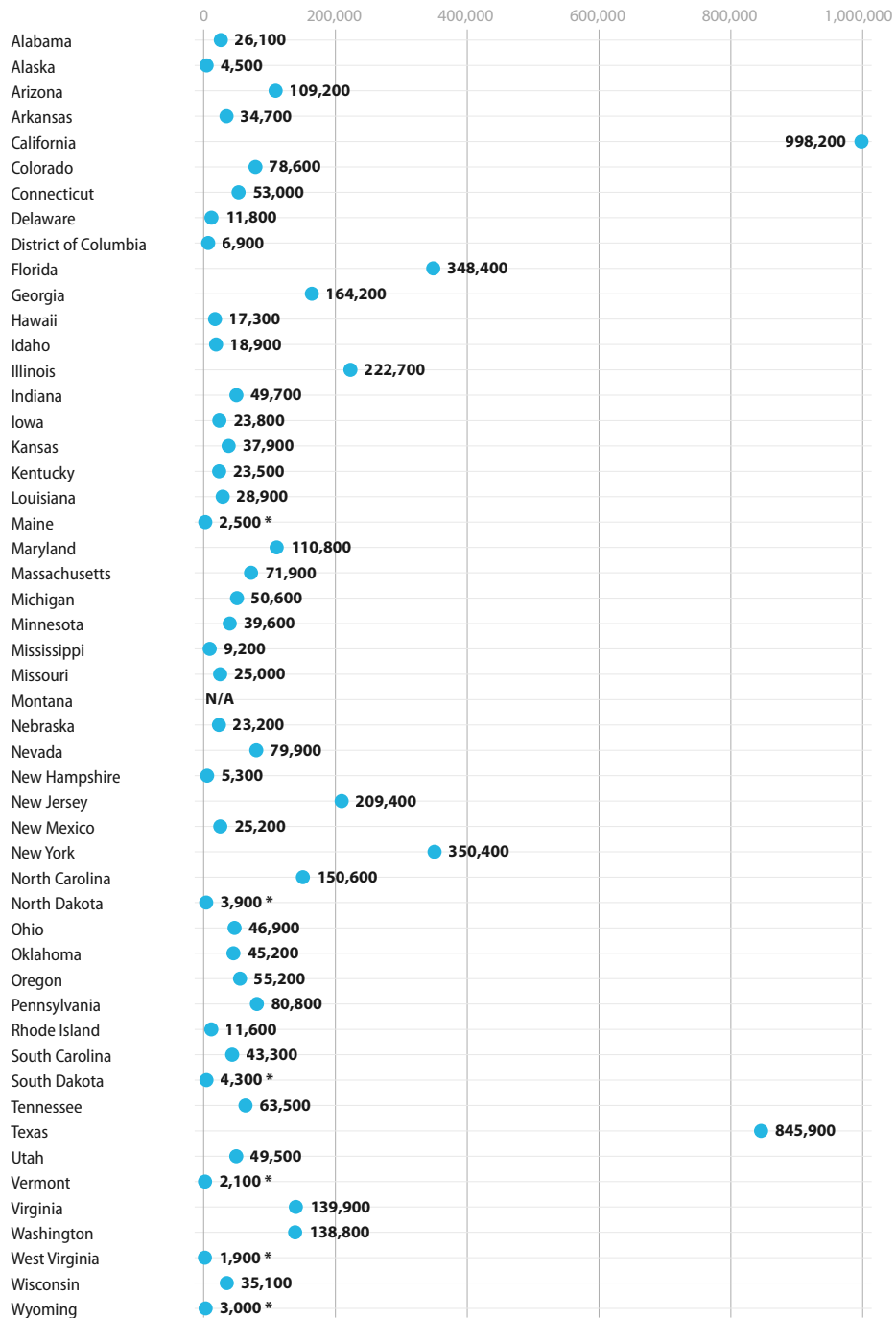
The latest CISA guidance attempts to balance the end of stay-at-home orders, a continuing health crisis, and a desire to take steps to jump-start economic growth, resulting in an additional 1.7 million undocumented immigrants being considered essential to maintain the nation's critical infrastructure since the guidance's inception. For example, household appliance and electronics stores, along with other stores providing household goods, were added to the list, while the construction and child care definitions were widely expanded.

The workers in this expanded guidance can help transition the United States from treading water to growth. Many working parents—especially women—can only return to their jobs if they can safely send their children back to care facilities.¹⁸ Opening construction widely can create jobs and bring investment that translates to economic growth.¹⁹

FIGURE 1

Undocumented immigrants are working across the country to fight the coronavirus pandemic

● Number of undocumented immigrants in critical infrastructure roles



Notes: Critical infrastructure roles are based on the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Agency's memorandum on identification of essential critical infrastructure workers during the COVID-19 response; data are presented where available. An asterisk (*) indicates that the estimate is based on a small sample size.

Sources: Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, "Guidance on the Essential Critical Infrastructure Workforce: Ensuring Community and National Resilience in COVID-19 Response Version 4.0" (Washington: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2020), available at https://www.cisa.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Version_4.0_CISA_Guidance_on_Essential_Critical_Infrastructure_Workers_FINAL%20AUG%2018v3.pdf; Center for American Progress analysis of pooled 2018 and 2019 1-year American Community Survey microdata, accessed via Steven Ruggles and others, "Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, U.S. Census Data for Social, Economic, and Health Research, 2018 and 2019 American Community Surveys: 1-year estimates" (Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, 2020), available at <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/>.

Positioning the United States for recovery means including undocumented immigrants

The most important thing the next administration and Congress can do is to get the spread of the coronavirus under control and create a path for the country to recover economically from the pandemic. Legalizing undocumented immigrants in the labor force is a tool to make this happen. And recognizing that undocumented immigrants have built lives in the United States, such an effort should extend to those immigrants' undocumented spouses and minor children to preserve family unity. In the case of undocumented workers on the front lines of the pandemic, that would be 1.3 million spouses and minor children.

Regardless of their status, over the years, immigrants have shaped the course of the economy—both in recoveries from economic downturns and by supporting a positive trajectory through population growth.

Immigrants are job creators, starting businesses at a higher rate than the U.S.-born population, and they revitalize neighborhoods with local-serving businesses.²⁰ They are consumers, they seek out and create opportunities, and they increase housing values.²¹ All of these contributions remain crucial as federal and state governments face massive budget shortfalls brought about by the pandemic.²²

In part because of the demographic changes the United States faces—most importantly, the aging and retirement of the Baby Boomer generation—immigrants and their families will bolster the country's future.²³ Researchers estimate that without population growth from immigrants and their children, the working-age population in the United States would contract by 4 percent—7 million workers—between 2015 and 2035, contributing to an economic decline.²⁴ But with new Americans, along with Americans whose parents were born abroad, the working-age population will grow by 10 million.²⁵

This trend is borne out throughout the country. In major metropolitan areas such as New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, a growth in the foreign-born population counterbalanced the shrinking U.S.-born population in the urban core and suburbs.²⁶ This is also the case among rural communities, where population declines were largely—though not entirely—offset by new Americans.²⁷

Recognizing the essential role that undocumented immigrants have played in keeping the country running during the pandemic—as well as the important role that they will continue to play in keeping up the fight and helping the country rebuild—the U.S. House of Representatives twice passed legislation earlier this year to protect these workers. The Health and Economic Recovery Omnibus Emergency Solutions (HEROES) Act, which passed in May, and a slimmed-down version passed in October, both include provisions that would provide temporary protection from deportation and work authorization to undocumented immigrants working in the critical infrastructure roles detailed above.²⁸ Both bills also separately extend protections for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) recipients and people with Temporary Protected Status (TPS).

These attempts to provide temporary legal protection are only the latest pieces of legislation offering legal status to a large population of undocumented immigrants to have passed one chamber of Congress in the past 15 years. The U.S. Senate passed large-scale legalization programs included in bipartisan comprehensive immigration reform bills in 2006 and 2013. In the past two years, the House passed two additional pieces of legislation on a bipartisan basis that would provide permanent legal status to smaller groups of undocumented immigrants.

In June 2019, the House passed H.R. 6, the American Dream and Promise Act.²⁹ The bill would extend a pathway to citizenship for up to 2.5 million undocumented immigrants, including those who arrived in the United States as children, many of whom were protected under DACA, along with immigrants eligible for TPS; the Trump administration has spent four years trying to terminate both programs.³⁰

Later that year, the House passed H.R. 5038, the Farm Workforce Modernization Act, which, among other reforms to agriculturally related immigration, would introduce a pathway to permanent residency for longtime undocumented agricultural workers.³¹ While the House sent both of these bills to the Senate, neither bill has been brought to a vote.

Legalization, followed by a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants, will have long-reaching benefits for the U.S. economy. Such reforms would increase earnings and productivity for undocumented workers, eventually leading to increased tax contributions and local spending, along with increasing job creation, wages for U.S.-born workers, and gross domestic product (GDP).³²

While Congress should include a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants in future legislation, the incoming administration itself also could exercise its authority under Section 212(d)(5) of the Immigration and Nationality Act to parole in place on a case-by-case basis individuals who would provide a significant public benefit to the country—for example, by continuing to work in jobs recognized by CISA as essential to the critical infrastructure of the country—or otherwise grant such individuals deferred action.³³

These actions would benefit the economy as well. Take, for example, the Obama administration's efforts to implement the Deferred Action for Parents of Americans (DAPA) initiative and to expand DACA. The White House Council on Economic Advisers estimated that granting protection from deportation and work authorization to the 5 million people eligible for these initiatives would yield increases in productivity and wages not just for those eligible, but also for the U.S.-born workforce over the next decade.³⁴ CAP models projected these actions would boost GDP by \$164 billion, increase American incomes by \$88 billion, and result in the creation of more than 20,000 jobs each year for the next decade.³⁵

Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush exercised another example of executive action to protect undocumented immigrants in the United States. The Family Fairness program, in place from 1987 to 1990, extended protection from deportation to undocumented spouses and children of immigrants eligible for legalization under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.³⁶ The program remained in place until Congress passed legislation offering protections to the estimated 1.5 million undocumented individuals—approximately 40 percent of the undocumented population—who qualified for Family Fairness relief.³⁷

The vast majority of undocumented immigrants—93 percent—are people of color.³⁸ COVID-19 harshly hits communities of color, especially Black, Latinx, and Native American individuals, who experience disproportionate case and death rates and are less likely to be able to work remotely.³⁹ Creating a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants is not just a necessity for economic recovery—it is an issue of economic and racial justice for communities that have been the most vulnerable to the crisis.

More than eight months into the coronavirus pandemic, the federal government has not only largely ignored undocumented immigrants, but also locked their U.S. citizen spouses and children out of direct cash payments.⁴⁰ These payments were a lifeline to financial stability for many through the spring and summer, but they

excluded 5.5 million U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents who are spouses to or children of undocumented immigrants.⁴¹ Many undocumented individuals remain largely unable to access necessary health care.⁴² They are more likely to face wage theft and discrimination on the job, and without federally recognized identification documents, they have difficulty accessing financial institutions, exacerbating the racial wealth gap.⁴³ As workers, they are ineligible for Social Security or Medicare but pay millions of dollars into these programs each year.⁴⁴ Future recovery efforts must address status for undocumented immigrants in order to remove the structural barriers these individuals face in the United States.

Conclusion

For Americans across the country—regardless of immigration status—the coronavirus has completely upended day-to-day life. Whether working in person or remotely, facilitating virtual school lessons and caring for loved ones, the country is waiting for the pandemic to end and the economy to be headed toward recovery.

Over the past eight months, undocumented workers have already played an integral role in fighting the pandemic and keeping the country moving, and in the months ahead, the country will count on them to continue this work and contribute to the collective effort to recover and rebuild. As farmworkers, construction laborers, custodial staff, and home health or personal care aides, 7 million undocumented workers lift up major sectors of the workforce—including the 5 million on the front lines of the coronavirus pandemic response. Each year, undocumented immigrants and their households contribute billions of dollars in taxes, pay billions in housing payments, and spend billions more in their communities.

As the incoming Biden administration and Congress tackle the coronavirus response and economic recovery, they cannot ignore the many ways undocumented workers keep the country running or what they mean to their families and communities. In designing legislative and administrative programs to deliver relief to all Americans and help the country get back on the path to prosperity, providing legal status to undocumented immigrants must be considered a key tool to ensure the recovery is sufficiently robust and resilient, equitable and inclusive.

About the author

Nicole Prchal Svajlenka is the associate director for research on the Immigration Policy team at the Center for American Progress. At CAP, Svajlenka works on a diverse set of immigration issues, ranging from enforcement to relief, all with a particular focus on data and quantitative analysis. Svajlenka has spent a decade working in think tanks, including at the Brookings Institution, where she conducted research on immigration, human capital, and labor markets in metropolitan areas across the United States, and The Pew Charitable Trusts, where she examined the relationships between federal, state, and local immigration policies. A Chicagoland native, Svajlenka holds a Master of Arts in geography from George Washington University and a Bachelor of Arts in environmental geography from Colgate University.

Methodological appendix

The findings presented in this report are based on CAP analysis of pooled 2018 and 2019 1-year American Community Survey microdata, accessed via the University of Minnesota's IPUMS USA database.⁴⁵

Household tax contributions and spending power estimates are based on methodology developed by New American Economy and include all households that contain an undocumented household member.⁴⁶ The tax rates applied to the microdata come from the Congressional Budget Office and the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy.⁴⁷ Spending power is measured as household income after federal, state, and local tax contributions; these data are based on household incomes, which are available in the ACS microdata.

The analysis calculates mortgage and rental payments for households in which an undocumented immigrant is the head of household or the spouse or unmarried partner of a head of household. Monthly payment information is aggregated from the ACS microdata.

Medicare and Social Security payments are calculated as 6.2 percent and 1.45 percent, respectively. The 7.65 percent tax that undocumented immigrants pay is included in their federal tax payments, but employers also pay an additional 7.65 percent per employee in Social Security and Medicare taxes.⁴⁸

The text box below shows the occupations and industries coded as essential based on CISA's "Guidance on the Essential Critical Infrastructure Workforce: Ensuring Community and National Resilience In COVID-19 Response."⁴⁹

Occupations and industries that CISA considers part of critical infrastructure, by title and occupational code

The following industries and occupations are considered part of critical infrastructure.

The coding is based on IPUMS' IND and OCC variables.⁵⁰

Occupation codes and titles

205	Farmers, ranchers, and other agricultural managers	3120	Podiatrists
310	Food service managers	3140	Audiologists
350	Medical and health services managers	3150	Occupational therapists
420	Social and community service managers	3160	Physical therapists
425	Emergency management directors	3200	Radiation therapists
510	Buyers and purchasing agents, farm products	3210	Recreational therapists
1340	Biomedical and agricultural engineers	3220	Respiratory therapists
1430	Industrial engineers, including health and safety	3230	Speech-language pathologists
1520	Petroleum, mining and geological engineers, including mining safety engineers	3245	Other therapists
1600	Agricultural and food scientists	3250	Veterinarians
1900	Agricultural and food science technicians	3255	Registered nurses
2012	Health care social workers	3256	Nurse anesthetists
2015	Probation officers and correctional treatment specialists	3258	Nurse practitioners, and nurse midwives
2016	Social and human service assistants	3261	Acupuncturists
2100	Lawyers, and judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers	3270	Health care diagnosing or treating practitioners, all other
2105	Judicial law clerks	3300	Clinical laboratory technologists and technicians
2145	Paralegals and legal assistants	3310	Dental hygienists
2170	Title examiners, abstractors, and searchers	3321	Cardiovascular technologists and technicians
2180	Legal support workers, all other	3322	Diagnostic medical sonographers
2205	Postsecondary teachers	3323	Radiologic technologists and technicians
2300	Preschool and kindergarten teachers	3324	Magnetic resonance imaging technologists
2310	Elementary and middle school teachers	3330	Nuclear medicine technologists and medical dosimetrists
2320	Secondary school teachers	3401	Emergency medical technicians
2330	Special education teachers	3402	Paramedics
2350	Tutors	3421	Pharmacy technicians
2360	Other teachers and instructors	3422	Psychiatric technicians
2545	Teaching assistants	3423	Surgical technologists
2555	Other educational instruction and library workers	3424	Veterinary technologists and technicians
3000	Chiropractors	3430	Dietetic technicians and ophthalmic medical technicians
3010	Dentists	3500	Licensed practical and licensed vocational nurses
3030	Dietitians and nutritionists	3515	Medical records specialists
3040	Optometrists	3520	Opticians, dispensing
3050	Pharmacists	3545	Miscellaneous health technologists and technicians
3090	Physicians	3550	Other health care practitioners and technical occupations
3100	Surgeons	3601	Home health aides
3110	Physician assistants	3602	Personal care aides
		3603	Nursing assistants
		3605	Orderlies and psychiatric aides

3610	Occupational therapy assistants and aides	4461	Embalmers, crematory operators, and funeral attendants
3620	Physical therapist assistants and aides	4465	Morticians, undertakers, and funeral arrangers
3630	Massage therapists	4600	Childcare workers
3640	Dental assistants	5220	Court, municipal, and license clerks
3645	Medical assistants	5250	Eligibility interviewers, government programs
3646	Medical transcriptionists	5730	Medical secretaries and administrative assistants
3647	Pharmacy aides	6005	First-line supervisors of farming, fishing, and forestry workers
3648	Veterinary assistants and laboratory animal caretakers	6010	Agricultural inspectors
3649	Phlebotomists	6040	Graders and sorters, agricultural products
3655	Other health care support workers	6050	Other agricultural workers
3700	First-line supervisors of correctional officers	6115	Fishing and hunting workers
3710	First-line supervisors of police and detectives	6660	Construction and building inspectors
3720	First-line supervisors of firefighting and prevention workers	6730	Highway maintenance workers
3725	Miscellaneous first-line supervisors, protective service workers	7320	Home appliance repairers
3740	Firefighters	7410	Electrical power-line installers and repairers
3750	Fire inspectors	7420	Telecommunications line installers and repairers
3801	Bailiffs	7800	Bakers
3802	Correctional officers and jailers	7810	Butchers and other meat, poultry, and fish processing workers
3820	Detectives and criminal investigators	7830	Food and tobacco roasting, baking, and drying machine operators and tenders
3840	Fish and game wardens and parking enforcement officers	7840	Food batchmakers
3870	Police officers	7850	Food cooking machine operators and tenders
3945	Transportation security screeners	7855	Food processing workers, all other
4000	Chefs and head cooks	8600	Power plant operators, distributors, and dispatchers
4010	First-line supervisors of food preparation and serving workers	8610	Stationary engineers and boiler operators
4020	Cooks	8620	Water and wastewater treatment plant and system operators
4030	Food preparation workers	9040	Air traffic controllers and airfield operations specialists
4055	Fast food and counter workers	9110	Ambulance drivers and attendants, except emergency medical technicians
4110	Waiters and waitresses	9410	Transportation inspectors
4120	Food servers, nonrestaurant	9800	Military officer special and tactical operations leaders
4130	Dining room and cafeteria attendants and bartender helpers	9810	First-line enlisted military supervisors
4140	Dishwashers	9825	Military enlisted tactical operations and air/weapons specialists and crew members
4150	Hosts and hostesses, restaurant, lounge, and coffee shop	9830	Military, rank not specified
4160	Food preparation and serving related workers, all other		
4240	Pest control workers		

Industry codes and titles

170	Crop production	570	Electric power generation, transmission and distribution
180	Animal production and aquaculture	580	Natural gas distribution
280	Fishing, hunting and trapping	590	Electric and gas, and other combinations
290	Support activities for agriculture and forestry	670	Water, steam, air-conditioning, and irrigation systems
370	Oil and gas extraction	680	Sewage treatment facilities

690	Not specified utilities	2870	Structural metals, and boiler, tank, and shipping container manufacturing
770	Construction (the cleaning of buildings and dwellings is incidental during construction and immediately after construction)	2880	Machine shops; turned product; screw, nut, and bolt manufacturing
1070	Animal food, grain and oilseed milling	2890	Coating, engraving, heat treating, and allied activities
1080	Sugar and confectionery products	2970	Ordnance
1090	Fruit and vegetable preserving and specialty food manufacturing	2980	Miscellaneous fabricated metal products manufacturing
1170	Dairy product manufacturing	2990	Not specified metal industries
1180	Animal slaughtering and processing	3070	Agricultural implement manufacturing
1190	Retail bakeries	3080	Construction, and mining and oil and gas field machinery manufacturing
1270	Bakeries and tortilla manufacturing, except retail bakeries	3095	Commercial and service industry machinery manufacturing
1280	Seafood and other miscellaneous foods, n.e.c.	3170	Metalworking machinery manufacturing
1290	Not specified food industries	3180	Engine, turbine, and power transmission equipment manufacturing
1370	Beverage manufacturing	3291	Machinery manufacturing, n.e.c. or not specified
1870	Pulp, paper, and paperboard mills	3470	Household appliance manufacturing
1880	Paperboard container manufacturing	3570	Motor vehicles and motor vehicle equipment manufacturing
1890	Miscellaneous paper and pulp products	3580	Aircraft and parts manufacturing
2070	Petroleum refining	3590	Aerospace products and parts manufacturing
2090	Miscellaneous petroleum and coal products	3670	Railroad rolling stock manufacturing
2170	Resin, synthetic rubber, and fibers and filaments manufacturing	3680	Ship and boat building
2180	Agricultural chemical manufacturing	3690	Other transportation equipment manufacturing
2190	Pharmaceutical and medicine manufacturing	3770	Sawmills and wood preservation
2270	Paint, coating, and adhesive manufacturing	3780	Veneer, plywood, and engineered wood products
2280	Soap, cleaning compound, and cosmetics manufacturing	3790	Prefabricated wood buildings and mobile homes manufacturing
2370	Plastics product manufacturing	3960	Medical equipment and supplies manufacturing
2380	Tire manufacturing	4070	Motor vehicle and motor vehicle parts and supplies merchant wholesalers
2390	Rubber products, except tires, manufacturing	4170	Professional and commercial equipment and supplies merchant wholesalers
2470	Pottery, ceramics, and plumbing fixture manufacturing	4195	Household appliances and electrical and electronic goods merchant wholesalers
2480	Clay building material and refractories manufacturing	4265	Hardware, and plumbing and heating equipment, and supplies merchant wholesalers
2490	Glass and glass product manufacturing	4270	Machinery, equipment, and supplies merchant wholesalers
2570	Cement, concrete, lime, and gypsum product manufacturing	4380	Drugs, sundries, and chemical and allied products merchant wholesalers
2590	Miscellaneous nonmetallic mineral product manufacturing	4470	Grocery and related product merchant wholesalers
2670	Iron and steel mills and steel product manufacturing		
2680	Aluminum production and processing		
2690	Nonferrous metal (except aluminum) production and processing		
2770	Foundries		
2780	Metal forgings and stampings		
2790	Cutlery and hand tool manufacturing		

4480	Farm product raw material merchant wholesalers	6695	Data processing, hosting, and related services
4560	Alcoholic beverages merchant wholesalers	6770	Libraries and archives
4580	Miscellaneous nondurable goods merchant wholesalers	6780	Other information services, except libraries and archives, and internet publishing and broadcasting and web search portals
4690	Automotive parts, accessories, and tire stores	6870	Banking and related activities
4770	Furniture and home furnishings stores	6880	Savings institutions, including credit unions
4780	Household appliance stores	6890	Nondepository credit and related activities
4795	Electronics Stores	6970	Securities, commodities, funds, trusts, and other financial investments
4870	Building material and supplies dealers	6991	Insurance carriers
4880	Hardware stores	6992	Agencies, brokerages, and other insurance related activities
4890	Lawn and garden equipment and supplies stores	7680	Investigation and security services
4971	Supermarkets and other grocery (except convenience) stores	7790	Waste management and remediation services
4972	Convenience Stores	7970	Offices of physicians
4980	Specialty food stores	7980	Offices of dentists
4990	Beer, wine, and liquor stores	7990	Offices of chiropractors
5070	Pharmacies and drug stores	8070	Offices of optometrists
5080	Health and personal care, except drug, stores	8080	Offices of other health practitioners
5090	Gasoline stations	8090	Outpatient care centers
5170	Clothing stores	8170	Home health care services
5180	Shoe stores	8180	Other health care services
5190	Jewelry, luggage, and leather goods stores	8191	General medical and surgical hospitals, and specialty (except psychiatric and substance abuse) hospitals
5275	Sporting goods, and hobby and toy stores	8192	Psychiatric and substance abuse hospitals
5280	Sewing, needlework, and piece goods stores	8270	Nursing care facilities (skilled nursing facilities)
5295	Musical instrument and supplies stores	8290	Residential care facilities, except skilled nursing facilities
5370	Book stores and news dealers	8370	Individual and family services
5381	Department stores	8380	Community food and housing, and emergency services
5391	General merchandise stores, including warehouse clubs and supercenters	8390	Vocational rehabilitation services
5593	Electronic shopping and mail-order houses	8470	Child day care services
6070	Air transportation	8680	Restaurants and other food services
6080	Rail transportation	8770	Automotive repair and maintenance
6090	Water transportation	8780	Car washes
6170	Truck transportation	8891	Personal and household goods repair and maintenance
6180	Bus service and urban transit	9070	Drycleaning and laundry services
6190	Taxi and limousine service	9470	Justice, public order, and safety activities
6270	Pipeline transportation	9670	U. S. Army
6290	Services incidental to transportation	9680	U. S. Air Force
6370	Postal Service	9690	U. S. Navy
6380	Couriers and messengers	9770	U. S. Marines
6390	Warehousing and storage	9780	U. S. Coast Guard
6670	Broadcasting (except internet)	9790	Armed Forces, Branch not specified
6672	Internet publishing and broadcasting and web search portals	9870	Military Reserves or National Guard
6680	Wired telecommunications carriers		
6690	Telecommunications, except wired telecommunication carriers		

A worker is considered essential if they meet the criteria for a code in each of the following lists:

Occupation codes and titles

230	Education and childcare administrators	4200	First-line supervisors of housekeeping and janitorial workers
1821	Clinical and counseling psychologists		
1822	School psychologists	4210	First-line supervisors of landscaping, lawn service, and groundskeeping workers
1825	Other psychologists		
2001	Substance abuse and behavioral disorder counselors	4220	Janitors and building cleaners
2002	Educational, guidance, and career counselors and advisors	4251	Landscaping and groundskeeping workers
2003	Marriage and family therapists	4252	Tree trimmers and pruners
2004	Mental health counselors	4255	Other grounds maintenance workers
2005	Rehabilitation counselors	5710	Executive secretaries and executive administrative assistants
2006	Counselors, all other		
2011	Child, family, and school social workers	5720	Legal secretaries and administrative assistants
2013	Mental health and substance abuse social workers	5740	Secretaries and administrative assistants, except legal, medical, and executive
2014	Social workers, all other		
2435	Librarians and media collections specialists	9121	Bus drivers, school
2440	Library technicians		

Industry codes and titles

7860	Elementary and secondary schools
7870	Colleges, universities, and professional schools, including junior colleges
7880	Business, technical, and trade schools and training
7890	Other schools and instruction, and educational support services

APPENDIX TABLE 1

Undocumented immigrant workers by two-digit North American Industry Classification System sectors

	Industry	Number of undocumented workers	Share of workers who are undocumented
11	Agriculture, forestry, fishing, and hunting	299,200	15.1%
21	Mining, quarrying, and oil and gas extraction	26,200	3.3%
22	Utilities	15,100	1.2%
23	Construction	1,413,700	13.0%
31-33	Manufacturing	820,200	5.2%
42	Wholesale trade	192,700	4.9%
44-45	Retail trade	574,300	3.3%
48-49	Transportation and warehousing and utilities	303,500	4.0%
51	Information	76,300	2.5%
52	Finance and insurance	136,700	1.9%
53	Real estate and rental and leasing	77,300	2.6%
54	Professional, scientific, and technical services	280,500	2.4%
55	Management of companies and enterprises	4,500	1.8%
56	Administrative and support and waste management services	710,100	10.5%
61	Educational services	96,700	0.7%
62	Health care and social assistance	393,200	1.8%
71	Arts, entertainment, and recreation	91,600	2.6%
72	Accommodation and food services	994,900	8.4%
81	Other services, except public administration	489,000	6.4%
92	Public administration	5,000	0.1%

Note: Asterisk (*) indicates that the estimate is based on a small sample size.

Source: Center for American Progress analysis of pooled 2018 and 2019 1-year American Community Survey microdata, accessed via Steven Ruggles and others, "Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, U.S. Census Data for Social, Economic, and Health Research, 2018 and 2019 American Community Surveys: 1-year estimates" (Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, 2020), available at <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/>.

APPENDIX TABLE 2

Undocumented immigrant workers, by Standard Occupational Classification System major groups

Major group	Title	Number of undocumented workers	Share of workers who are undocumented
11-0000	Management occupations	292,900	1.8%
13-0000	Business and financial operations occupations	105,700	1.2%
15-0000	Computer and mathematical occupations	173,100	3.4%
17-0000	Architecture and engineering occupations	61,500	2.0%
19-0000	Life, physical, and social science occupations	39,300	2.5%
21-0000	Community and social service occupations	42,400	1.5%
23-0000	Legal occupations	8,800	0.5%
25-0000	Educational instruction and library occupations	38,600	0.4%
27-0000	Arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations	103,000	3.2%
29-0000	Health care practitioners and technical occupations	51,700	0.5%
31-0000	Health care support occupations	184,600	3.5%
33-0000	Protective service occupations	28,200	0.8%
35-0000	Food preparation and serving-related occupations	784,700	8.7%
37-0000	Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations	918,100	15.2%
39-0000	Personal care and service occupations	183,700	4.1%
41-0000	Sales and related occupations	472,600	3.0%
43-0000	Office and administrative support occupations	356,700	2.1%
45-0000	Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations	263,900	25.1%
47-0000	Construction and extraction occupations	1,311,600	15.9%
49-0000	Installation, maintenance, and repair occupations	211,400	4.3%
51-0000	Production occupations	683,800	7.7%
53-0000	Transportation and material moving occupations	684,600	5.6%

Source: Center for American Progress analysis of pooled 2018 and 2019 1-year American Community Survey microdata, accessed via Steven Ruggles and others, "Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, U.S. Census Data for Social, Economic, and Health Research, 2018 and 2019 American Community Surveys: 1-year estimates" (Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, 2020), available at <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/>.

APPENDIX TABLE 3

Annual fiscal and economic contributions of undocumented immigrants and their households

State	Amount paid in federal taxes	Amount paid in state and local taxes	Spending power	Employers' Social Security payments	Employers' Medicare payments	Mortgage payments	Homes owned	Rental payments
Alabama	\$261.4 M	\$126.6 M	\$1.2 B	\$66.4 M	\$15.5 M	\$49.0 M	11,400	\$146.3 M
Alaska	\$53.2 M*	\$11.0 M*	\$230.9 M*	\$17.0 M	\$4.0 M	\$8.7 M*	700*	\$23.8 M*
Arizona	\$1.4 B	\$795.8 M	\$6.7 B	\$325.2 M	\$76.1 M	\$456.3 M	56,700	\$805.1 M
Arkansas	\$333.4 M	\$211.6 M	\$1.6 B	\$95.7 M	\$22.4 M	\$97.1 M	15,400	\$160.2 M
California	\$20.4 B	\$9.7 B	\$74.1 B	\$3.9 B	\$906.5 M	\$5.0 B	249,900	\$13.2 B
Colorado	\$1.1 B	\$528.4 M	\$4.8 B	\$253.3 M	\$59.2 M	\$348.0 M	28,900	\$735.5 M
Connecticut	\$1.2 B	\$629.2 M	\$4.0 B	\$220.3 M	\$51.5 M	\$258.9 M	13,800	\$672.5 M
Delaware	\$220.3 M	\$68.4 M	\$853.1 M	\$49.6 M	\$11.6 M	\$63.0 M	4,600	\$106.1 M
District of Columbia	\$296.3 M	\$116.7 M	\$810.5 M	\$39.1 M	\$9.1 M	\$38.9 M*	1,400*	\$87.7 M
Florida	\$4.0 B	\$1.7 B	\$18.6 B	\$978.7 M	\$228.9 M	\$1.0 B	96,000	\$3.5 B
Georgia	\$2.0 B	\$1.1 B	\$9.0 B	\$529.4 M	\$123.8 M	\$590.4 M	60,600	\$1.3 B
Hawaii	\$421.5 M	\$220.8 M	\$1.4 B	\$58.1 M	\$13.6 M	\$40.7 M*	2,200*	\$201.2 M
Idaho	\$158.0 M	\$87.5 M	\$818.7 M	\$43.4 M	\$10.2 M	\$45.2 M	7,900	\$71.1 M
Illinois	\$3.5 B	\$2.2 B	\$13.6 B	\$775.7 M	\$181.4 M	\$1.0 B	86,500	\$1.7 B
Indiana	\$575.0 M	\$356.1 M	\$2.7 B	\$139.5 M	\$32.6 M	\$179.6 M	23,600	\$351.6 M
Iowa	\$269.7 M	\$181.9 M	\$1.3 B	\$65.9 M	\$15.4 M	\$89.2 M	10,600	\$144.6 M
Kansas	\$374.1 M	\$247.7 M	\$1.8 B	\$99.3 M	\$23.2 M	\$101.3 M	16,500	\$210.0 M
Kentucky	\$288.3 M	\$172.2 M	\$1.3 B	\$61.6 M	\$14.4 M	\$72.3 M	7,200	\$174.7 M
Louisiana	\$218.7 M	\$138.3 M	\$1.1 B	\$68.1 M	\$15.9 M	\$49.5 M	7,600	\$205.8 M
Maine	\$77.1 M*	\$36.7 M*	\$270.7 M*	\$12.0 M*	\$2.8 M*	\$22.5 M*	1,300*	\$25.9 M*
Maryland	\$1.9 B	\$1.0 B	\$6.9 B	\$391.2 M	\$91.5 M	\$578.1 M	31,400	\$1.1 B
Massachusetts	\$2.2 B	\$927.0 M	\$7.4 B	\$369.4 M	\$86.4 M	\$591.0 M	24,100	\$1.0 B
Michigan	\$990.5 M	\$460.6 M	\$3.9 B	\$181.3 M	\$42.4 M	\$258.9 M	26,700	\$360.1 M
Minnesota	\$714.4 M	\$374.3 M	\$2.8 B	\$148.3 M	\$34.7 M	\$187.2 M	15,700	\$338.3 M
Mississippi	\$101.7 M	\$56.9 M	\$485.0 M	\$29.2 M	\$6.8 M	\$17.7 M	3,300	\$60.3 M
Missouri	\$336.7 M	\$180.6 M	\$1.5 B	\$74.6 M	\$17.4 M	\$95.3 M	11,000	\$174.0 M
Montana	\$10.1 M*	\$4.8 M*	\$56.6 M*	\$1.7 M*	\$400,000*	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nebraska	\$229.0 M	\$146.1 M	\$1.1 B	\$60.0 M	\$14.0 M	\$38.9 M	8,900	\$153.6 M
Nevada	\$1.0 B	\$404.0 M	\$4.7 B	\$253.6 M	\$59.3 M	\$267.3 M	26,800	\$712.4 M
New Hampshire	\$147.6 M	\$44.1 M	\$539.3 M	\$27.1 M	\$6.3 M	\$36.1 M*	1,900*	\$55.2 M*
New Jersey	\$4.5 B	\$2.2 B	\$15.7 B	\$865.0 M	\$202.3 M	\$1.0 B	42,400	\$2.9 B
New Mexico	\$215.4 M	\$145.4 M	\$1.1 B	\$64.5 M	\$15.1 M	\$61.7 M	13,800	\$113.8 M
New York	\$7.7 B	\$4.6 B	\$25.5 B	\$1.4 B	\$325.7 M	\$1.2 B	54,400	\$5.0 B
North Carolina	\$1.6 B	\$892.5 M	\$7.7 B	\$456.0 M	\$106.6 M	\$453.2 M	59,000	\$1.0 B

APPENDIX TABLE 3

Annual fiscal and economic contributions of undocumented immigrants and their households

State	Amount paid in federal taxes	Amount paid in state and local taxes	Spending power	Employers' Social Security payments	Employers' Medicare payments	Mortgage payments	Homes owned	Rental payments
North Dakota	\$27.6 M*	\$18.2 M*	\$172.7 M*	\$9.0 M*	\$2.1 M*	N/A	N/A	\$34.2 M*
Ohio	\$831.9 M	\$452.0 M	\$3.3 B	\$164.3 M	\$38.4 M	\$199.5 M	15,700	\$432.7 M
Oklahoma	\$354.5 M	\$251.9 M	\$1.9 B	\$105.6 M	\$24.7 M	\$101.5 M	19,400	\$250.4 M
Oregon	\$789.0 M	\$401.2 M	\$3.3 B	\$179.8 M	\$42.1 M	\$211.8 M	18,300	\$491.7 M
Pennsylvania	\$1.4 B	\$745.1 M	\$5.4 B	\$307.2 M	\$71.8 M	\$340.4 M	22,500	\$814.8 M
Rhode Island	\$130.9 M	\$74.2 M	\$585.5 M	\$36.5 M	\$8.5 M	\$41.0 M*	2,900*	\$102.8 M
South Carolina	\$433.7 M	\$219.0 M	\$2.1 B	\$114.4 M	\$26.8 M	\$92.8 M	12,900	\$318.5 M
South Dakota	\$34.1 M*	\$20.7 M*	\$191.3 M*	\$8.7 M	\$2.0 M	N/A	N/A	\$23.1 M*
Tennessee	\$643.0 M	\$288.4 M	\$3.1 B	\$178.8 M	\$41.8 M	\$176.8 M	18,600	\$525.2 M
Texas	\$9.5 B	\$5.2 B	\$44.1 B	\$2.5 B	\$578.8 M	\$3.1 B	367,500	\$5.9 B
Utah	\$613.0 M	\$289.1 M	\$2.7 B	\$140.4 M	\$32.8 M	\$201.7 M	18,300	\$320.2 M
Vermont	\$51.0 M*	\$26.9 M*	\$195.2 M*	\$7.3 M*	\$1.7 M*	N/A	N/A	\$14.6 M*
Virginia	\$2.3 B	\$1.1 B	\$8.7 B	\$458.6 M	\$107.2 M	\$687.5 M	39,600	\$1.4 B
Washington	\$3.1 B	\$1.3 B	\$10.9 B	\$556.1 M	\$130.1 M	\$929.0 M	52,300	\$1.4 B
West Virginia	\$19.2 M*	\$10.6 M*	\$95.7 M*	\$5.2 M*	\$1.2 M*	\$9.7 M*	900*	\$10.7 M*
Wisconsin	\$526.1 M	\$314.5 M	\$2.3 B	\$119.5 M	\$28.0 M	\$122.1 M	13,400	\$298.0 M
Wyoming	\$27.4 M*	\$13.6 M*	\$151.7 M*	\$8.7 M*	\$2.0 M*	\$3.0 M*	1,000*	\$30.6 M*
United States	\$79.7 B	\$41.0 B	\$314.9 B	\$17.0 B	\$4.0 B	\$20.6 B	1.6 M	\$49.1 B

Notes: Data presented where available. An asterisk (*) indicates that the estimate is based on a small sample size.

Source: Center for American Progress analysis of pooled 2018 and 2019 1-year American Community Survey microdata, accessed via Steven Ruggles and others, "Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, U.S. Census Data for Social, Economic, and Health Research, 2018 and 2019 American Community Surveys: 1-year estimates" (Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, 2020), available at <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/>.

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As progressives, we believe America should be a land of boundless opportunity, where people can climb the ladder of economic mobility. We believe we owe it to future generations to protect the planet and promote peace and shared global prosperity.

And we believe an effective government can earn the trust of the American people, champion the common good over narrow self-interest, and harness the strength of our diversity.

Our Approach

We develop new policy ideas, challenge the media to cover the issues that truly matter, and shape the national debate. With policy teams in major issue areas, American Progress can think creatively at the cross-section of traditional boundaries to develop ideas for policymakers that lead to real change. By employing an extensive communications and outreach effort that we adapt to a rapidly changing media landscape, we move our ideas aggressively in the national policy debate.

