

The High Moral Stakes of the Policy Battles Raging in Washington

Contents:

The Social Safety Net and Housing
Social Security and Medicare
Taxes and Inequality
Employment, Wages, and Labor Protections
Mass Deportations, Harming Immigrants
Funding the Pentagon and Mass Deportations at Everyone's Expense
No Peace, Threats of New Wars
Appendix: Recipients of Medicaid, SNAP, and Head Start by State

Our faith traditions provide a firm foundation upon which to stand against the divide-and-conquer strategies of extremists. We believe in a moral agenda that stands against systemic racism, labor exploitation, poverty, xenophobia, and any attempt to promote hate towards any members of the human family. We are thus deeply disturbed by the actions and proposals of current political leaders that threaten this moral agenda by scapegoating our most vulnerable to enrich our most privileged. Below we document the high moral stakes in this debate.

The Social Safety Net and Housing

Social safety net and housing programs are under attack from two fronts. Elon Musk, the unelected head of the new Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE), announced in January that he aims to cut \$2 trillion in spending, or 30% of the current federal budget. Without major cuts to Pentagon and war spending or defaulting on interest payments, such drastic slashing would be mathematically impossible without gutting vital programs such as Social Security, Medicaid, and Medicare.

Meanwhile in Congress, Republicans are pursuing similar cuts using a process called reconciliation that allows them to enact a budget with simple majorities in the House and Senate, avoiding the Senate filibuster. The first step in this process is passing a budget resolution, a set of broad directions that leaves specifics to be filled in by congressional committees.

House and Senate Republicans have each passed budget resolutions, but they include many differences yet to be reconciled. As of late February, the Senate had passed a <u>resolution</u> that adds money for the Pentagon and mass deportations, calls for unspecified cuts to other programs, and

leaves tax changes for a future bill. The House passed a <u>resolution</u> that adds money for the Pentagon and mass deportations, extends tax cuts for billionaires and corporations, and cuts \$1.5 trillion - \$2 trillion in other programs over the next 10 years. A <u>leaked House Republican memo</u> of specific federal budget options provides more detail on the painful cuts under consideration. Programs likely to be targeted include:

 Medicaid: Republicans are considering changes that would shift billions in Medicaid costs to states and take coverage away from millions of people. The House budget resolution calls for \$880 billion in cuts over 10 years through the Energy and Commerce Committee that oversees Medicaid.

Medicaid is a joint federal and state program that gives health coverage to low-income people. As of October 2024, more than 72 million people were enrolled in Medicaid. Another 7 million were enrolled in CHIP (the Children's Health Insurance Program, which provides low-cost health coverage to children in families that earn too much to qualify for Medicaid but too little to afford private coverage). Some proposals for cuts to Medicaid could result in loss of coverage for 36 million people.

Racial Distribution of Americans Ages 0-64 Enrolled in Medicaid, 2023											
White		Black		Hispanic/Latinx		Asian		Native American		Multiple races	
#	% of total	#	% of total	#	% of total	#	% of total	#	% of total	#	% of total
24,046,700	39%	11,294,300	19%	18,247,200	30%	2,841,200	5%	579,100	1%	3,938,500	6%

Source: KFF.

More than 7 million older Americans and 10 million people with disabilities also rely on Medicaid. Medicaid covers certain services Medicare does not, including home and community-based services that allow many older Americans to age in place, dental, vision, and hearing care, and long-term care. More than 60% of nursing home residents rely on Medicaid.

Drastic cuts to Medicaid would cause not only a <u>reduction in care</u> and services but also the closure of health care facilities, particularly in rural areas. Financial problems have already shuttered many rural hospitals in recent years and <u>over 700 that remain open</u> lost money in 2023-24. Boston University Medicaid experts <u>have stated</u> that deep cuts would be "catastrophic" for patients.

Medicaid needs strengthening – not cutbacks. In states that have refused federal support for Medicaid expansion under the Affordable Care Act, about <u>1.5 million</u> people now fall into the "Medicaid Coverage Gap," with incomes below or near the federal poverty line but above their state's Medicaid income threshold. This Medicaid expansion program itself is at risk.

• Food assistance: Republicans are considering a long list of proposals that would cut hundreds of billions of dollars out of the SNAP (aka "food stamps") program over the next decade. The House budget resolution calls for \$230 billion in cuts over 10 years for the Agriculture Committee that oversees SNAP. Proposals to cut SNAP could affect all 40 million covered people.

Racial Distribution of Households Receiving SNAP Benefits, 2022											
White		Black		Hispanic/Latinx		Asian		Native American		Multiple/unknown	
#	% of total	#	% of total	#	% of total	#	% of total	#	% of total	#	% of total
7,849,000	38%	5,258,000	25%	2,505,000	12%	802,000	4%	261,000	1%	3,155,000	15%

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture.

 Work requirements: The leaked House Republican memo lays out options for tying or tightening work requirements to receive benefits through Medicaid, SNAP, and TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, a federal program that provides cash assistance to low-income families).

Experts <u>have warned</u> that stricter work requirements on safety net programs would not significantly increase workforce participation and would instead lead to <u>higher poverty rates</u>. Many people who could be subject to these requirements face high <u>barriers to sustained employment</u>, including limited transportation and internet access, as well as high local unemployment rates.

Similar changes in the past have been shown to deepen poverty. In 1996, President Clinton and Congress replaced the old welfare program with its current-day successor, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF). With TANF, Congress shifted costs to the states and implemented stringent new work requirements and time limits for aid to poor families. The changes led to a 46% increase in the number of children living in deep poverty (less than half of the poverty level), from 1.5 million in 1995 to 2.2 million in 2005 — a change that would have been fully reversed if welfare benefits had lifted the same share of children out of deep poverty in 2005 as they did in 1995.

• Examples of other vital programs that could be on the chopping block:

Head Start: This program provides early childhood education as well as health and nutrition services to poor and low-income families. During President Trump's aborted effort to freeze federal grants in late January, Head Start preschools serving about 650,000 children around the country found they were locked out of a government website used to access grant funding. The website went back online for many operators, but as of February 4, dozens of grant recipients were still reporting problems accessing funding. Of the nearly 800,000 total enrollees during the 2022-23 program year, 37% (295,963) were Latinx, 29% (231,971) were Black, and 23% (183,977) were white.

<u>Federal Rental Assistance</u>: This program serves 5 million poor and low-income households, 69% of whom are children, older Americans, or people with disabilities. At a time of a housing affordability crisis, this program is already vastly underfunded. Nearly 23 million low-income renters pay over half of their income on rent, subjecting them to the risk of eviction and homelessness. The conservative <u>Project 2025</u> suggested dismantling and reorganizing housing programs, which could result in cuts or elimination to rental assistance.

Social Security and Medicare

Republican Speaker of the House Mike Johnson has said Republicans will not cut Social Security or Medicare, but other recent Republican proposals have called for deep cuts to Social Security and

<u>privatization of Medicare</u>. As noted above, it would be virtually impossible to achieve Elon Musk's goal of \$2 trillion in federal spending cuts without cutting into these backbones of our country's retirement system. Absent cuts to defense spending or defaulting on interest payments, every other federal program would have to be eliminated entirely to spare these three vital programs.

Social Security

In 2024, <u>68 million</u> people received Social Security benefits and in 2023, the program lifted <u>27.6 million</u> people out of poverty. These stats make Social Security the country's most effective anti-poverty policy, even as it remains inadequate to ensure that everyone can live a dignified life in their later years. As of 2021, <u>42%</u> of Americans aged 56-64 had zero retirement account savings. Upon retirement, many will be entirely reliant on Social Security, which paid an average monthly benefit of \$1,834 as of December 2024.

Medicare

In 2024, Medicare provided insurance for <u>61.2</u> million older Americans and people with disabilities. Cuts to this program would leave millions of seniors struggling even harder to pay their health care bills. In 2023, one in four Medicare beneficiaries lived on incomes below \$21,000, while half lived on less than \$36,000. People of color have <u>lower median incomes</u> in their retirement years than white Americans, reflecting racial discrimination in education and employment and lower access to pension benefits.

Taxes and Inequality

The 2017 Trump-GOP tax law delivered huge windfalls to the rich and large corporations and contributed to the exploding wealth and power of our country's <u>billionaire class</u>. With many of the provisions in that tax law expiring at the end of 2025, the new House budget resolution calls for \$4.5 trillion in tax cuts that will overwhelmingly benefit the ultra-wealthy. At the same time, they are considering reductions in tax credits that have dramatically reduced poverty.

Giveaways to the rich and big corporations

If the Republican-held Congress simply extends the 2017 tax law, the Joint Committee on Taxation estimates that it will cost \$\frac{\\$4\trillion}{\}4\trillion}\$ in lost revenue over the next decade. The benefits of this extension would amount to less than \$1 per day for the bottom half of U.S. families, while the richest 0.1% would pocket an estimated \$314,266 per year in tax savings, according to Institute for Policy Studies analysis of Treasury data.

If the tariffs that Trump campaigned on are factored in, the <u>Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy</u> estimates that his overall tax agenda would increase taxes for all income groups except those in the top 5%. The richest 1% would get an average tax cut of about \$36,300 and the next richest 4% would receive about \$7,200. The middle 20% would see a tax hike of about \$1,500 and the poorest 20% would owe \$800 more.

As a share of income, ITEP calculations show, the tax hikes would hit working-class families hardest. The middle 20% of Americans would face a tax increase equal to 2.1% of their income, while the poorest 20% would face an increase equal to 4.8% of their income — all while the richest 5% get a tax *cut*.

The slashing of the top corporate tax rate from 35% to 21% was the biggest giveaway in the 2017 Trump-GOP tax law, reducing federal revenue by an estimated \$1.3 trillion over a decade. Unfortunately, the benefits of this drastic change did not trickle down. While large corporations promised to use their tax windfalls to raise worker pay, instead, in the first year of the law, they spent \$1 trillion on stock buybacks. This is a once-illegal financial maneuver that artificially inflates CEO stock-based pay while siphoning resources from worker wages, R&D, and other long-term investments.

One stark indicator of who's benefiting under the Republican tax law: 35 profitable U.S. corporations — including household names like Ford, Netflix, and Tesla — actually paid *less* in federal income taxes than they paid their top five executives during the first five years of the law, according a <u>report</u> by the Institute for Policy Studies and Americans for Tax Fairness.

Overall, the cut in the corporate tax rate sharply boosted executive compensation while delivering no wage increases whatsoever to workers in the bottom 90% of the income scale, according to one academic study.

While most of the corporate tax provisions in the 2017 law are not expiring this year (in fact they have no expiration date), the Republican options memo calls for a further rate cut to just 15%, a move that would cost an estimated \$522 billion over the next decade.

• Tax credits for the poor and working class at risk

Child Tax Credit: The Republican options <u>memo</u> includes one proposal to slash \$28 billion in spending by reducing eligibility for the Child Tax Credit – and much deeper cuts could be on the table. The House budget resolution calls for \$4.5 trillion in new tax cuts. If Republicans decrease tax cuts for poor and low-income people, they can spend even more on tax cuts for billionaires and corporations.

Instead of cuts, lawmakers should restore the 2021 "expanded Child Tax Credit," which reduced America's child poverty rate by nearly half. The expanded Child Tax Credit lifted nearly 3 million children out of poverty, including approximately 820,000 white children, 716,000 Black children, and 1.2 million Latinx children. For both Black and Latinx children, the tax credit reduced their poverty rate by 6.3 percentage points. Had the expanded credit been in place in 2023, it could have reduced child poverty from its current 13.7% down to 8.6%.

By 2024, the temporary expansions of the CTC had expired, reverting the credit to its pre-2021 structure, with stricter income thresholds and reduced refundability. An estimated <u>45%</u> of Black children and <u>42%</u> of Latinx children did not receive the full credit because of illogical limits for low-income families. To qualify for the credit, families must earn at least <u>\$2,500 per year</u>. An extension of the current overly modest Child Tax Credit, as written in the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, would leave out <u>17 million poor</u> and low-income children.

Earned Income Tax Credit: The Republican options <u>memo</u> includes proposals that would likely result in the <u>loss of tax credits</u> for working people with low and moderate incomes by cutting the EITC in the name of "simplification."

Employment, Wages, and Labor Protections

The Trump-GOP agenda puts recent improvements in the U.S. unemployment rate, low-income workers' real wages, and labor protections at risk. They have already rolled back some gains and indicated opposition to raising the federal minimum wage.

Employment and Real Wages

President Trump inherited an unemployment rate of 4.1%, the lowest since George W. Bush was elected in 2000. In fact, the economy passed on to President Trump and the Republican Congress produced the longest stretch of low unemployment since the Vietnam War.

The share of adults between the ages of 25 and 54 with a job — also known as the prime-age employment-to-population ratio (EPOP) — sat at 80.5% in December 2024. The robust labor market that President Trump inherited also delivered <u>record-breaking</u> employment gains for workers of color, as the employment rate of prime age Black and Hispanic workers climbed to 77.7% and 77.9% respectively in 2023. Between 2019 and 2023, the real wages of low-wage workers also grew 13.2%, providing these workers with the fastest wage growth in four decades.

All these gains in employment and wages are now under threat as the Trump administration and Republicans in Congress push an economic agenda based on mass deportations, severe cuts to federal spending and staffing at federal agencies, and tax cuts for wealthy households. Plans to slash the federal workforce pose a particular threat to Black workers. The federal government has long been a valued source of decent jobs for Black workers, who currently make up 18.6% of federal employees (compared to their 12.8% share of the total workforce).

Further compounding these policy risks, the Trump administration's <u>trade policy</u>, centered on retaliatory tariffs, threatens to impact the prices of consumer goods and generate even more macroeconomic uncertainty.

Minimum wage

In their confirmation hearings, President Trump's <u>Treasury</u> and <u>Labor</u> secretaries did not support raising the minimum wage, even though it has been stuck at just \$7.25 per hour since 2009. Many states have raised their own wage floors, but <u>20 states</u> still use the federal minimum. A single adult working full time at \$7.25 per hour will earn just \$15,080 per year.

The Economic Policy Institute (EPI) <u>estimates</u> that 14 million workers are paid less than \$15 per hour, accounting for about 10% of all wage and salary workers. Women are more likely to fall below this wage threshold, as 12% of working women earn less than \$15/hour, relative to 8% of working men. Workers of color are also more likely to earn less than \$15/hour, as 14% of Black workers and 12% of Hispanic workers earn less than the wage threshold, relative to 8% of white workers.

Unless lawmakers act to raise the federal wage floor, more working people will fall below the poverty line. The annual income of a single adult working full time at the federal minimum leaves this individual below the <u>official poverty line</u> in 2025. This is likely to have a disproportionate impact on the material shortcomings of people of color, including those with children, as <u>child poverty</u> disproportionately hurts children of color. More than 1 in 5 Black and Hispanic children are poor, and these children are about 3 times as likely to fall below the poverty line as their non-Hispanic white peers.

Union Rights and Worker Protections

Under threat is also the <u>bold support</u> for workers' rights and unions that came about a stronger National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) over the last four years. Largely as a result of new leadership and increased funding, the NLRB was able to more adequately support workers' rights to form unions and engage in collective bargaining. By nominating strong workers' rights advocates to fill vacancies that were purposely left to hollow out the agency, and by securing the largest increase in funding for the NLRB in nearly a decade, the <u>Biden Board</u> was able to reverse a lot of the priorities that corporate lobby groups persuaded the first Trump Board to enact.

Since taking office in 2025, Trump has wasted zero time in curtailing labor protections, starting by <u>illegally removing</u> NLRB Board Chair Gwynne Wilcox for "unduly disfavoring the interests of employers." Removing Wilcox not only robbed the Board of the quorum necessary to act but also gutted the agency's independence. President Trump has essentially made the Board non-operational and made it clear that Board members, who are tasked by statute with serving as neutral arbiters of law, should favor employers if they want to keep their job.

It's worth noting that the \$290 million Elon Musk paid to influence the 2024 election is on par with the NLRB's \$299 million budget. The NLRB had filed a complaint against Musk's company SpaceX.

Through a <u>series of executive orders</u>, President Trump also removed long-standing job protections for federal career employees, making it easier to fire these workers for any reason. These efforts also included overturning previous executive orders that protected the rights of federal workers to collectively bargain.

These efforts to curtail workers' rights to engage in collective bargaining come during a time in which interest in unions is surging in the United States. Since 2021, petitions for union elections at the NLRB have more than doubled. And public support for unions is near 60-year highs — at 70%. Estimates show that 61 million workers would join a union if they could.

Despite the growing interest in unions, membership rates continue to decline as a result of <u>corporate union busting</u>. In 2024, 16.0 million workers were represented by a union. This figure reflects a decline by 170,000 from the previous year and amounts to 11.1% of all wage and salary workers. This decline in unionization suggests that even a strong NLRB can't make up for the need to <u>pass legislation</u> that would strengthen the National Labor Relations Acts by ensuring that workers can reach a first contract and that establishes civil monetary penalties for employers who violate labor rights.

Unions help improve earnings, working conditions, and equity. Unionized workers earn on average 13.5% more in wages than their non-unionized peers. The relatively higher union wage premium for workers of color also means that unions help <u>narrow</u> racial and ethnic pay gaps:

 Black and Hispanic workers receive a wage boost from being covered by collective bargaining of 14.6% and 17.6% respectively. These wage premiums stand above the average wage boost (of 13.5%) for unionized workers overall.

Overall, <u>union workers</u> also enjoy better access to health care, paid sick leave, and retirement benefits:

 More than 9 in 10 workers covered by a union contract (95%) have access to employersponsored health benefits, compared with just 71% of nonunion workers

- More than 9 in 10 workers (92%) covered by a union contract have access to paid sick days, compared with 78% of nonunion workers
- More than 9 in 10 workers (95%) covered by a union contract have access to employersponsored retirement benefits, compared with 70% of nonunion workers

Protecting the rights of workers to engage in collective bargaining is even more important today as President Trump has called for the removal of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives in the federal government. To weaken the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), President Trump also illegally fired EEOC Commissioners Charlotte Burrows and Jocelyn Samuels. Biden appointed both and the Senate confirmed them to serve terms that do not expire until 2028, and 2026, respectively. EEOC Commissioners are intended to be insulated from presidential interference.

Harming Immigrants with Mass Deportations and Detentions

President Trump campaigned on promises of mass deportations of <u>11 million people</u> living undocumented in the United States.

Immigrants are a vital part of our communities and economy:

- Immigrants are <u>more likely to be essential workers</u> and are <u>less likely to commit crimes</u> compared to those born in the U.S.
- Recent research has shown that immigration tended to <u>raise the wages of less-educated U.S.-born workers</u> by 1.7%-2.6% without decreasing employment rates.
- Recent immigrants are expected to grow the economy by <u>\$7 trillion</u> coming years.

Mass deportations, on the other hand, would devastate undocumented and authorized immigrants and citizens alike:

- About <u>4.4 million</u> U.S. citizen children live with an undocumented parent, and 850,000 children are undocumented themselves.
- As many as <u>1,360</u> undocumented children separated from their families during the first Trump administration were never reunited with their families.
- During the first half of February 2025, <u>41%</u> of new immigration detentions were for those with no criminal conviction or pending charges. The Trump administration has also announced a <u>policy targeting unaccompanied children</u> for deportation.
- Mass deportations could trigger economic losses on the scale of the Great Recession, shrinking the size of the economy by \$1.1 trillion - \$1.7 trillion, and cutting taxes paid for Social Security by \$22.6 billion and Medicare by \$5.7 billion each year.
- Past deportation programs have shown that for every half-million people the government deports, 44,000 U.S.-born workers lost their jobs.
- One study found that deporting 8.3 million people could raise prices by 9.1% in coming years.
- The Trump administration has sought and secured the use of <u>federal prisons</u> and planned for the <u>use of military bases</u> to detain undocumented people, transported and held undocumented people at <u>Guantanamo Bay</u>, and deported undocumented people to countries <u>other than their country of origin</u>.

As of late February, President Trump has issued <u>executive orders and actions</u> that target undocumented people and those with temporary legal status, and those who help them, including:

- Ended the longstanding policy against conducting deportations in schools, hospitals or churches.
- Attempted to <u>end birthright citizenship</u> for babies born in the U.S. who don't have at least one parent who is a citizen or permanent legal resident (a violation of the 14th amendment).

- Canceled access to legal representation for unaccompanied, undocumented children.
- Barred undocumented people from <u>accessing public benefits</u>, even though federal law and other executive orders already prohibit this in most cases.
- Banned new asylum claims, directly affecting <u>270,000 people</u> at the U.S.-Mexico border who
 were seeking appointments for asylum intake interviews, and 30,000 who had already
 appointments.
- Stopped the separate process of refugee admissions, including for 10,000 refugees who had already been approved and scheduled travel to the U.S. some of whom sold homes and belongings in their countries of origin in anticipation of relocating to the U.S.
- Revoked temporary legal status from <u>350,000 Venezuelans</u> fleeing economic breakdown and violence, a step that may expand to include <u>1 million people</u> from countries including El Salvador, Honduras, Haiti, Sudan and Ukraine.
- Froze federal funds to <u>220 cities and 13 states</u> that declare sanctuary status for undocumented people, and to nongovernmental organizations that provide aid to undocumented people.
- Directed the Pentagon to carry out mass deportation orders. The Pentagon has already sent 1,500 troops to the border, and detained and deported undocumented people through the military base at Guantanamo Bay.

Legal challenges to many of these actions and orders are ongoing and have met with some success.

Funding the Pentagon and Mass Deportations at Everyone's Expense

Senate Republicans' budget resolution would add \$345 billion in new spending on the war machine and mass deportations over the next four years, including \$150 billion in new spending for the Pentagon, and \$175 billion in new spending for mass deportations and detentions. House Republicans' resolution would add \$100 billion in new Pentagon spending and \$200 billion for mass deportations and detentions over the next 10 years. Those amounts could be concentrated in just the next few years.

The Senate's proposed \$86 billion per year in new spending for the Pentagon and mass deportations would be enough to provide health insurance for all four million uninsured children in this country, expand enrollment in Head Start to all 3.6 million children in poverty, and provide public housing for all 3.9 million families who receive eviction notices in a typical year.

Even before these additions and the proposed cuts to social programs, the Pentagon and war budget already amounts to <u>more than half</u> of the discretionary budget that Congress allocates each year. When Pentagon spending is combined with spending on deportations, border control, law enforcement and other militarization, it accounts for <u>62% of the discretionary budget</u>. That means less than 40% of discretionary spending is available for programs that include affordable housing and homelessness programs, Head Start and childcare, public K-12 education, Pell grants for low-income college students, public health, nutrition programs including school lunches and nutrition for Women, Infants and Children (WIC), and medical research, *combined*.

No Peace, Threats of New Wars

President Trump has made alarming moves toward more widespread use of the U.S. war machine both around the world, and within the United States:

- Suggested that after more than a year of <u>bombing and starvation</u>, all <u>1.8 million</u> Palestinians in the Gaza Strip leave their homes permanently, saying that "The U.S. will take over the Gaza Strip." He refused to rule out sending U.S. troops to occupy the territory.
- With Elon Musk, taken steps to dismantle USAID a step that could lead to the <u>deaths of 6</u> <u>million people worldwide</u> from AIDS alone. USAID's humanitarian programs are one of the U.S. primary tools to engage in the world beyond making war.
- Refused to rule out the use of military force to take over <u>Greenland and the Panama Canal</u>, steps that could lead the U.S. into new and completely unnecessary wars.
- Declared a <u>national emergency</u> ordering military troops to the southern border, and required a report back from Pentagon and Department of Homeland Security leaders on whether to invoke the Insurrection act to justify further domestic military deployments.
- During his first term, President Trump advocated use of the <u>military force against protestors</u> in the aftermath of the police killing of George Floyd, and more recently spoke about using the military against "the enemy within."

Appendix: Recipients of Medicaid, SNAP, and Head Start by State

This table presents state-by-state data on the total number of enrollees in Medicaid and SNAP and these enrollees' share of their state's total population. We also provide data on the funded enrollment figures for each state's Head Start programs. In addition, the Economic Policy Institute has analyzed the impact of a potential \$880 billion cut to Medicaid on low-income families in each state. These cuts would equal 10.7% of all Medicaid spending over the proposed time period.

		Medic	aid	SN	Head Start	
State	total enrollees	% of state population	10.7% Medicaid cut as % of household income for the poorest 20%	total enrollees	% of state population	Funded enrollment
Alabama	771,020	15	8.2%	752,271	15	12,440
Alaska	235,214	32	7.8%	63,590	9	3,205
Arizona	1,837,274	24	8.1%	906,998	12	15,373
Arkansas	740,193	24	12.3%	234,948	8	8,978
California	12,199,634	31	8.7%	5,485,613	14	76,251
Colorado	1,050,373	18	6.3%	612,375	10	8,837
Connecticut	910,673	25	6.9%	386,771	11	5,966
Delaware	238,843	23	10.2%	121,912	12	1,716
District of Columbia	238,028	34	10.0%	141,742	20	2,270
Florida	3,601,937	15	6.3%	3,447,752	15	38,244
Georgia	1,735,459	16	6.4%	1,395,773	12	22,093
Hawaii	380,759	26	6.4%	158,425	11	2,902
Idaho	294,664	15	5.4%	133,304	7	2,946
Illinois	2,957,608	23	8.1%	1,938,206	15	28,779
Indiana	1,663,291	24	7.5%	609,255	9	12,373
Iowa	586,732	18	6.8%	262,559	8	6,927
Kansas	334,880	11	4.3%	188,811	6	6,546
Kentucky	1,255,289	27	12.9%	625,106	14	14,033
Louisiana	1,364,434	30	16.1%	858,285	19	18,898
Maine	325,633	23	6.7%	172,548	12	2,937
Maryland	1,327,165	21	5.6%	688,786	11	8,992
Massachusetts	1,460,282	20	7.1%	1,107,342	16	10,868
Michigan	2,196,410	22	8.4%	1,462,020	14	28,154
Minnesota	1,163,025	20	5.2%	455,500	8	10,842
Mississippi	518,360	18	10.3%	377,826	13	20,207
Missouri	1,135,126	18	5.5%	670,282	11	13,598
Montana	197,914	17	8.6%	79,720	7	4,056
Nebraska	304,300	15	4.3%	152,809	8	5,099
Nevada	710,466	22	7.4%	508,396	16	1,859

		Medic	caid	SN	Head Start	
State	total enrollees	% of state population	10.7% Medicaid cut as % of household income for the poorest 20%	total enrollees	% of state population	Funded enrollment
New Hampshire	165,238	12	3.6%	76,135	5	1,498
New Jersey	1,507,857	16	5.4%	844,222	9	12,748
New Mexico	714,422	34	16.4%	478,646	22	7,875
New York	5,983,032	30	11.3%	2,968,440	15	51,007
North Carolina	2,433,285	22	6.4%	1,498,341	14	18,907
North Dakota	100,086	13	4.1%	52,264	7	2,633
Ohio	2,637,875	22	8.5%	1,416,662	12	32,304
Oklahoma	910,977	22	7.7%	702,750	17	15,116
Oregon	1,114,712	26	7.8%	769,943	18	5,997
Pennsylvania	2,818,504	22	8.0%	2,000,036	15	27,494
Rhode Island	273,124	25	9.6%	143,730	13	2,285
South Carolina	939,876	17	8.2%	591,447	11	11,494
South Dakota	125,474	14	4.1%	75,220	8	4,272
Tennessee	1,271,910	18	8.2%	747,181	10	15,017
Texas	3,836,874	12	5.2%	3,499,384	11	65,518
Utah	302,714	9	2.5%	176,692	5	5,425
Vermont	152,573	24	7.9%	65,345	10	1,383
Virginia	1,613,039	18	4.4%	832,717	9	13,714
Washington	1,779,850	22	6.1%	900,844	11	11,836
West Virginia	472,816	27	13.4%	273,522	15	7,724
Wisconsin	1,111,757	19	5.6%	698,943	12	13,030
Wyoming	57,720	10	3.3%	28,251	5	1,569

Sources: Medicaid.gov data for enrollees, October 2024. Medicaid cuts as a share of household income for the poorest 20% from Economic Policy Institute. U.S. Department of Agriculture SNAP data for November 2024. Census data for state population data for 2023. Head Start.gov data for fiscal 2023. Note: Head Start figures include all related programs except Migrant and Seasonal Head Start (MSHS), which provides services to farmworker families who receive services in various states during the year. The totals also exclude expansion funding opportunities that were posted but not awarded before the end of fiscal year 2023.

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Economic Policy Institute **Ismael Martinez** of the Economic Policy Institute. EPI is a nonprofit, nonpartisan think tank working for the last 30 years to counter rising inequality, low wages and weak benefits for working people, slower economic growth, unacceptable employment conditions, and a widening racial wage gap.