

# Impact of the Fight for \$15: \$68 Billion in Raises, 22 Million Workers

Six years ago, on November 29, 2012, a small group of fast-food workers in New York launched one of the most successful movements of the 21st century when they walked off their jobs and demanded \$15 an hour and the right to form a union. Since then, the worker-led movement known as the Fight for \$15 has inspired a wave of action on the minimum wage, helping 22 million low-wage workers throughout the country win \$68 billion in raises to date. Thanks to the movement, income inequality and flagging paychecks are now among the most urgent economic issues of our time, and a \$15 minimum wage is now a widely accepted benchmark. It is a key part of the platform of one of the major political parties, and lawmakers are planning to reintroduce a \$15 federal minimum wage bill in the first week of the  $116^{th}$  Congress.

# **Main Findings**

In this brief, we update our 2016 report, which quantified the scale of the higher wages that the Fight for \$15 movement helped deliver.<sup>3</sup> We find the following:

- Since 2012, **22 million low-wage workers have won \$68 billion in annual raises** (Table 1) through a combination of state and local minimum wage increases (Tables 4 and 5) together with action by employers to raise their companies' minimum pay scales (Table 6). This figure (expressed in constant 2018 dollars) represents the total additional annual income that workers will receive after these approved increases fully phase in.<sup>1</sup>
- To put these wage gains in context, this \$68 billion raise delivered by the worker-led Fight for \$15 is more than 14 times larger than the total raise under the last federal minimum wage increase, approved in 2007.<sup>4</sup>
- Of the \$68 billion in additional income, **the overwhelming share (70 percent, or \$47 billion) is the result of \$15 minimum wage laws** that the Fight for \$15 won in California, New York, Massachusetts, Flagstaff, Los Angeles, San Jose, San Francisco, the District of Columbia, Montgomery County, the Twin Cities, Seattle, and SeaTac over the past few years (Table 2).
- A total of 22 million workers throughout the nation will get raises from the minimum wage increases sparked by the Fight for \$15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The 22 million figure includes public sector workers (see Table 1). However, the \$68 billion figure does not include wage increases for public sector workers—estimates for which are not available.

• The total would have included raises for an additional 119,500 workers in Alabama, Iowa, Florida, Kentucky, and Missouri, where cities raised the minimum wage. However, legislatures in those states blocked raises for their constituents by adopting corporate-backed "preemption" laws that bar cities from raising their minimum wage. (Table 3).

# Methodology

### Calculating the average income increase per each 1 percent increase in the minimum wage.

**Step 1:** We begin by reviewing existing analyses of the impact of minimum wage increases between 2012 and 2018, published by economists or other researchers at UC Berkeley, the Economic Policy Institute, and members of the Economic Analysis and Research Network,<sup>5</sup> or figures cited by other policy think tanks or labor advocates. (See Table 8 at the end of this section.) These impact analyses typically list per worker annual increases (G), as well as the number of affected workers, both of which refer to impact on the last year of the phase-in period. If the income impact is reported in income increases for all affected workers, we calculate the per worker increase (G) by dividing the total for all worker by the number of workers affected.

**Step 2:** We calculate the difference (E) between the new minimum wage (B) and effective minimum wage rate at the time the increase was approved (D). In jurisdictions that adopted more than one minimum wage legislation between 2012 and 2018, such as California, we use the older minimum wage rate to ensure that we capture all minimum wage increases during that period. We restate this difference as a percent increase (F).

**Step 3:** Based on the percent increase (F) and per worker annual increase (G), we calculate the income increase per 1 percent increase in the minimum wage (H), and deflate or inflate this figure to constant 2018 dollars (I), using the latest consumer price index estimates from the *10-Year Economic Projections* by the Congressional Budget Office.<sup>6</sup> Our decision to inflate or deflate depends on whether the annual increases (G) were presented in nominal dollars in the original analyses, and whether the last year of the phase-in period (C) is in the past or future. For analyses where it is not clear if the dollar figures are in nominal or constant values, we neither inflate nor deflate.

**Step 4:** Finally, we take the constant dollar values per 1 percent increase in the minimum wage (I) and average them to arrive at a single dollar value (J). The latter is then used for estimating the "Annual Income Increase Per Worker (2018\$)" in Tables 4 and 5, for jurisdictions without impact analyses.

These are conservative estimates that do not take into account inflation-based increases adopted as part of minimum wage laws between the years of 2012 and 2018.

# Estimating the impact of minimum wage increases in states and localities.

For states and localities (Tables 4 and 5) without impact analyses, we begin by repeating step 2 above to calculate the percent increase in the minimum wage. We then multiply this figure by the *average dollar value per 1 percent increase in the minimum wage* (cell J of Table 8), and inflate or deflate as needed. This estimate is reflected in the column, "Annual Income Increase Per Worker (2018\$)" of the state and local tables. Next, we take the annual income increase per worker, and multiply it by the number of affected workers to arrive at an estimate of the annual increase for all workers (last column in Tables 4 and 5).

## Estimating the impact of employer wage and pay increases.

Where available, we use reported estimates of the number of affected workers and the total raises for all affected workers, and deflate or inflate as needed. In cases where only the number of affected workers and the old and new wages are reported, we estimate the total raises for all workers by following the steps below:

- **Step 1:** Calculate the difference between old and new wages.
- **Step 2:** Multiply the difference in wages (step 1) by the number of affected workers.
- **Step 3:** Calculate the average annual hours for the applicable industry (Retail Trade or Financial Activities) by referring to the "Average Weekly Hours of Production and Nonsupervisory Employees" monthly data from the Current Employment Statistics.<sup>7</sup>
- **Step 4:** Multiply the results of steps 2 and 3.
- **Step 5:** Inflate or deflate, as needed.

Table 1. Summary of the Impact of the Fight for \$15, 2012-2018				
Jurisdiction	Affected Workers	Total Raises (2018\$)		
State	15,998,345	\$53,638,178,735		
Local	2,089,300	\$8,494,880,980		
Employer	3,536,415	\$5,768,261,791		
Public Sector	247,167	(Not available)		
Executive Order (2014)	200,000	(Not available)		
Total	22,071,227	\$67,901,321,506		

Table 2. Raises from \$15 Minimum Wage Laws, 2012-2018					
Jurisdiction	Affected Workers	Total Raises (2018\$)			
California <sup>8</sup>	5,604,000	\$21,990,096,000			
Massachusetts <sup>9</sup>	840,000	\$2,527,560,000			
New York <sup>10</sup>	3,162,345	\$16,434,706,965			
Flagstaff, AZ <sup>11</sup>	22,000	\$119,135,022			
Los Angeles, CA <sup>12</sup>	609,000	\$3,104,073,000			
San Jose, CA <sup>13</sup>	115,000	\$366,275,000			
San Francisco, CA <sup>14</sup>	142,000	\$422,166,000			
Washington, DC <sup>15</sup>	114,000	\$348,156,000			
Montgomery County, MD <sup>16</sup>	127,000	\$794,368,059			
Minneapolis, MN <sup>17</sup>	78,000	\$317,460,000			
St. Paul, MN <sup>18</sup>	56,000	\$181,656,773			
SeaTac, WA <sup>19</sup>	6,300	\$43,161,300			
Seattle, WA <sup>20</sup>	102,000	\$558,552,000			
Total	10,977,645	\$47,207,366,119			
As a Percent of Table 1 Total	49.74	69.52			

Table 3. Estimated Impact of Minimum Wage Preemption, Roll-Backs, 2012-2018					
City or County	Approved Minimum Wage	Year Law Would Have Taken Effect	Affected Workers		
Birmingham, AL <sup>21</sup>	\$10.10	2017	40,000		
Miami Beach, FL <sup>22</sup>	\$13.31	2021	Not available		
Johnson County, IA <sup>23</sup>	\$10.10	2017	10,100		
Lee County, IA <sup>24</sup>	\$8.20	2017	Not available		
Linn County, IA <sup>25</sup>	\$10.25	2019	18,400		
Polk County, IA <sup>26</sup>	\$10.75	2019	60,000		
Wapello County, IA <sup>27</sup>	\$10.10	2019	Not available		
Lexington, KY <sup>28</sup>	\$10.10	2018	31,000		
Louisville, KY <sup>29</sup>	\$9.00	2017	Not available		
Kansas City, MO <sup>30</sup>	\$15.00	2020	Not available		
St. Louis, MO <sup>31</sup>	\$11.00	2018	38,000		
Total			119,500		

Table 4. Impact of the Fight for \$15: State Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2018							
State	New Minimum Wage	Old Minimum Wage <sup>32</sup>	Percent Increase	Workers Affected <sup>33</sup>	Annual Income Increase per Worker (2018\$)	Income Increase for All Workers (2018\$)	
Arizona <sup>34</sup>	\$12.00	\$8.05	49.07	757,000	\$2,871	\$2,173,463,165	
Arkansas <sup>35</sup>	\$11.00	\$7.25	51.72	300,000	\$1,415	\$424,500,000	
Alaska <sup>36</sup>	\$9.75	\$7.75	25.81	48,000	\$1,510	\$72,488,579	
California <sup>37</sup>	\$15.00	\$8.00	87.50	5,604,000	\$3,924	\$21,990,096,000	
Colorado <sup>38</sup>	\$12.00	\$8.31	44.40	420,000	\$1,468	\$616,560,000	
Connecticut <sup>39</sup>	\$10.10	\$8.70	16.09	227,000	\$941	\$213,708,722	
Delaware <sup>40</sup>	\$9.25	\$7.25	27.59	43,000	\$1,614	\$69,416,147	
Hawaii <sup>41</sup>	\$10.10	\$7.25	39.31	99,000	\$2,300	\$227,708,155	
Maine <sup>42</sup>	\$12.00	\$7.50	60.00	181,000	\$3,326	\$602,006,000	
Maryland <sup>43</sup>	\$10.10	\$7.25	39.31	328,000	\$1,660	\$544,480,000	
Massachusetts <sup>44</sup>	\$15.00	\$8.00	87.50	840,000	\$3,009	\$2,527,560,000	
Michigan <sup>45</sup>	\$12.00	\$7.40	62.16	1,024,000	\$1,541	\$1,577,984,000	
Minnesota <sup>46</sup>	\$9.50	\$7.25	31.03	223,000	\$1,816	\$404,880,616	
Missouri <sup>47</sup>	\$12.00	\$7.85	52.87	677,000	\$1,317	\$891,609,000	
Nebraska <sup>48</sup>	\$9.00	\$7.25	24.14	146,000	\$3,812	\$556,552,000	
New Jersey <sup>49</sup>	\$8.25	\$7.25	13.79	429,000	\$674	\$289,146,000	

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State	New Minimum Wage	Old Minimum Wage <sup>32</sup>	Percent Increase	Workers Affected <sup>33</sup>	Annual Income Increase per Worker (2018\$)	Income Increase for All Workers (2018\$)
New York <sup>50</sup>	\$15.00	\$7.25	106.90	3,162,345	\$5,197	\$16,434,706,965
Oregon <sup>51</sup>	\$14.75	\$9.25	59.46	623,300	\$3,479	\$2,168,514,740
Rhode Island <sup>52</sup>	\$10.50	\$7.75	35.48	12,000	\$2,076	\$24,911,805
South Dakota <sup>53</sup>	\$8.50	\$7.25	17.24	62,000	\$1,195	\$74,090,000
Vermont <sup>54</sup>	\$10.50	\$8.73	20.27	57,000	\$1,186	\$67,603,464
Washington <sup>55</sup>	\$13.50	\$9.47	42.56	621,700	\$2,490	\$1,548,184,922
West Virginia <sup>56</sup>	\$8.75	\$7.25	20.69	114,000	\$1,211	\$138,008,453
State Subtotal				15,998,345		\$53,638,178,735

Estimates for Arizona do not include Flagstaff. Estimates for California include all cities and counties except the City of Los Angeles, San Jose, and San Francisco. Estimates for Maryland do not include Montgomery County or Prince George's County. Estimates for Minnesota do not include Minneapolis or St. Paul. Estimates for Washington State include all cities except Seattle and SeaTac.

Table 5. Impact of the Fight for \$15: Local Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2018						
City or County	New Minimum Wage	Old Minimum wage <sup>57</sup>	Percent Increase	Workers Affected	Per Worker Annual Increase (2018\$)	Annual Increase for All Workers (2018\$)
Flagstaff, AZ <sup>58</sup>	\$15.50	\$8.05	92.55	22,000	\$5,415	\$119,135,022
Los Angeles, CA <sup>59</sup>	\$15.00	\$9.00	66.67	609,000	\$5,097	\$3,104,073,000
San Jose, CA <sup>60</sup>	\$15.00	\$8.00	87.50	115,000	\$3,185	\$366,275,000

Table 5. Impact of the Fight for \$15: Local Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2018						
City or County	New Minimum Wage	Old Minimum wage <sup>57</sup>	Percent Increase	Workers Affected	Per Worker Annual Increase (2018\$)	Annual Increase for All Workers (2018\$)
San Francisco, CA <sup>61</sup>	\$15.00	\$10.74	39.66	142,000	\$2,973	\$422,166,000
Washington, DC <sup>62</sup>	\$15.00	\$8.25	81.82	114,000	\$3,054	\$348,156,000
Chicago, IL <sup>63</sup>	\$13.00	\$8.25	57.58	410,000	\$3,369	\$1,381,324,975
Cook County, IL <sup>64</sup>	\$13.00	\$8.25	57.58	200,000	\$3,369	\$673,817,061
Montgomery County, MD <sup>65</sup>	\$15.00	\$7.25	106.90	127,000	\$6,255	\$794,368,059
Prince George's County, MD <sup>66</sup>	\$11.50	\$7.25	58.62	12,000	\$3,430	\$41,159,246
Minneapolis, MN <sup>67</sup>	\$15.00	\$9.50	57.89	78,000	\$4,070	\$317,460,000
St. Paul, MN <sup>68</sup>	\$15.00	\$9.65	55.44	56,000	\$3,244	\$181,656,773
Albuquerque, NM <sup>69</sup>	\$8.50	\$7.50	13.33	40,000	\$756	\$30,240,000
Bernalillo County, NM <sup>70</sup>	\$8.50	\$7.50	13.33	10,000	\$780	\$7,799,567
Las Cruces, NM <sup>71</sup>	\$10.10	\$7.50	34.67	18,000	\$2,029	\$36,514,612
Santa Fe County, NM <sup>72</sup>	\$10.66	\$7.50	42.13	28,000	\$2,465	\$69,022,365
SeaTac, WA <sup>73</sup>	\$15.00	\$9.19	63.22	6,300	\$6,851	\$43,161,300
Seattle, WA <sup>74</sup>	\$15.00	\$9.32	60.94	102,000	\$5,476	\$558,552,000
Local Subtotal	2,089,300		\$8,494,880,980			

Estimates for individual cities and counties in California and Washington State, which do not appear on this table, are included in the state estimates on Table 4.

Table 6. Impact of the Fight for \$15: Employer Increases, 2012-2018						
State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Affected Workers	Total Raises (2018\$)		
California	BEGA North America <sup>75</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available		
California	California State University <sup>76</sup>	10.55% raise	26,000	\$195,626,323		
California	Facebook contractors <sup>77</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available		
California	First Republic Bank <sup>78</sup>	\$20.00	Not Available	Not Available		
California	Los Angeles Unified School District <sup>79</sup>	\$15.00	20,000	Not Available		
California	University of California <sup>80</sup>	\$15.00	3,200	\$14,847,914		
Colorado	Denver janitors (SEIU members) <sup>81</sup>	\$15.00	2,400	Not Available		
District of Columbia	Well-Paid Maids (2017) <sup>82</sup>	\$16.00	Not Available	Not Available		
District of Columbia	Well-Paid Maids (2018) <sup>83</sup>	\$17.00	Not Available	Not Available		
Idaho	Internet Truck Stop <sup>84</sup>	\$15.00	110	Not Available		
Illinois	Honey Butter Fried Chicken <sup>85</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available		
Florida	C1 Bank <sup>86</sup>	\$15.00	30	Not Available		
Florida	Consulate Health Care <sup>87</sup>	\$10.40 - \$15.00	700	Not Available		
Florida	First Green Bank <sup>88</sup>	\$15.00	10	Not Available		
Florida	JM Family Enterprises <sup>89</sup>	\$16.00	400	Not Available		
Florida	VyStar Credit Union <sup>90</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available		
Florida	Walt Disney <sup>91</sup>	\$15.00	38,000	\$930,993,615		
Georgia	Gas South <sup>92</sup>	\$15.00	25	Not Available		
Maine	Jackson Lab <sup>93</sup>	\$15.00	800	Not Available		
Maine	Knack Factory <sup>94</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available		
Maryland	John Hopkins Hospital <sup>95</sup>	\$15.00	2,000	Not Available		
Maryland	Univ. of Maryland Medical Ctr Midtown <sup>96</sup>	\$15.00	136	Not Available		
Massachusetts	Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center <sup>97</sup>	\$15.00	850	Not Available		
Massachusetts	Boston Medical Center <sup>98</sup>	\$15.00	200	Not Available		

Table 6. Impact o	Table 6. Impact of the Fight for \$15: Employer Increases, 2012-2018						
State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Affected Workers	Total Raises (2018\$)			
Massachusetts	Bridj <sup>99</sup>	\$15.00	40	Not Available			
Massachusetts	Curriculum Associates <sup>100</sup>	\$15.00	22	Not Available			
Massachusetts	Lynn Community Health Care <sup>101</sup>	\$15.00	550	Not Available			
Massachusetts	Stewart Health Care Hospitals <sup>102</sup>	Up to \$15.00	5,000	Not Available			
Massachusetts	Tufts Medical Center <sup>103</sup>	\$15.00	225	Not Available			
Massachusetts	Tufts Health Plan <sup>104</sup>	\$15.00	2,400	Not Available			
Michigan	Moo Cluck Moo <sup>105</sup>	\$15.00	20	Not Available			
Minnesota	Alina Health Hospitals <sup>106</sup>	\$15.00	3,100	Not Available			
Minnesota	Common Roots Café <sup>107</sup>	\$15.00	40	Not Available			
Minnesota	Minneapolis janitors (SEIU members) <sup>108</sup>	\$15.00	4,000	Not Available			
Minnesota	University of Minnesota <sup>109</sup>	\$15.00	1,500	Not Available			
New Hampshire	Hermit Wood Winery <sup>110</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available			
New Jersey	Cooper University Health Care <sup>111</sup>	\$15.00	750	Not Available			
New Jersey	Hudson County Community College <sup>112</sup>	\$15.00	199	Not Available			
New York	Columbia University <sup>113</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available			
New York	Check Maid Cleaning <sup>114</sup>	\$15.00	50	Not Available			
New York	Hello Alfred <sup>115</sup>	\$18.00 - \$30.00	100	Not Available			
New York	Hudson River HealthCare <sup>116</sup>	\$15.00	180	Not Available			
New York	Maple <sup>117</sup>	\$14.00	30	Not Available			
New York	New York University (students) <sup>118</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available			
New York	University of Rochester <sup>119</sup>	\$15.00	1,700	Not Available			
North Carolina	Cone Health <sup>120</sup>	\$12.00	1,500	\$2,563,566			
North Carolina	Duke University <sup>121</sup>	\$15.00	2,300	Not Available			
North Carolina	Novant Health <sup>122</sup>	\$11.00	2,000	\$1,230,512			

Table 6. Impact of the Fight for \$15: Employer Increases, 2012-2018						
State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Affected Workers	Total Raises (2018\$)		
North Carolina	Novant Health <sup>123</sup>	\$12.50	5,000	\$4,000,000		
North Carolina	Wake Forest Baptist Medical Center <sup>124</sup>	\$12.50	1,460	\$1,662,824		
Oregon	Home Forward <sup>125</sup>	\$15.00	33	\$80,699		
Oregon	Ruby Receptionists <sup>126</sup>	\$15.00	150	Not Available		
Pennsylvania	Duquesne University <sup>127</sup>	\$16.00	168	Not Available		
Pennsylvania	Nursing home workers (SEIU members) <sup>128</sup>	\$15.00	5,000	\$37,239,745		
Pennsylvania	University of Pittsburgh Medical Center <sup>129</sup>	\$15.00	10,000	Not Available		
Pennsylvania	Washington Hospital <sup>130</sup>	\$15.00	400	Not Available		
Texas	United Services Automobile Association <sup>131</sup>	\$16.00	1,000	Not Available		
Vermont	Ben & Jerry's <sup>132</sup>	\$16.92	Not Available	Not Available		
Vermont	Popolo Italian Eatery <sup>133</sup>	\$15.00	7	Not Available		
Washington	Evergreen Health <sup>134</sup>	\$15.00	1,000	Not Available		
Washington	Seattle Central Co-Op <sup>135</sup>	\$15.36	125	Not Available		
Washington	University of Washington <sup>136</sup>	\$13.00 - \$15.00	5,500	\$11,382,233		
Wisconsin	At Your Service <sup>137</sup>	\$15.00	40	Not Available		
Wisconsin	Delta Diner <sup>138</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available		
Wisconsin	UW Credit Union <sup>139</sup>	\$15.00	500	Not Available		
Various	Aetna <sup>140</sup>	\$16.00	5,700	Not Available		
Various	Allstate <sup>141</sup>	\$15.00	4,100	Not Available		
Various	Amalgamated Bank <sup>142</sup>	\$15.00	425	Not Available		
Various	Amazon <sup>143</sup>	\$15.00	350,000	\$1,000,000,000		
Various	Aquesta Financial Holdings <sup>144</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available		
Various	Ascension Health Care <sup>145</sup>	\$11.00	10,500	Not Available		
Various	BB&T <sup>146</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	\$15,000,000		

Table 6. Impact of the Fight for \$15: Employer Increases, 2012-2018					
State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Affected Workers	Total Raises (2018\$)	
Various	BMO Harris Bank <sup>147</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available	
Various	Charter Communications 148	\$15.00	14,000	Not Available	
Various	Costco <sup>149</sup>	\$13.00 - \$13.50	67,600	Not Available	
Various	Costco <sup>150</sup>	\$14.00 - \$14.50	130,000	\$120,000,000	
Various	Earth Friendly Products <sup>151</sup>	\$17.00	Not Available	Not Available	
Various	Elephant Insurance Services <sup>152</sup>	\$15.00	370	\$1,538,140	
Various	Endurance International Group <sup>153</sup>	\$14.00	1,500	Not Available	
Various	First Horizon National Corp. 154	\$15.00	1,200	\$6,000,000	
Various	First Third Bank <sup>155</sup>	\$15.00	3,000	Not Available	
Various	The Gap <sup>156</sup>	\$10.00	65,000	\$107,748,129	
Various	Ikea <sup>157</sup>	\$10.76	5,500	\$14,496,268	
Various	Ikea <sup>158</sup>	\$11.87	4,200	\$7,558,542	
Various	JP Morgan Chase <sup>159</sup>	\$12.00 - \$16.50	18,000	Not Available	
Various	JP Morgan Chase <sup>160</sup>	\$15.00 - \$18.00	22,000	Not Available	
Various	McDonald's (corporate stores) <sup>161</sup>	\$10.00	90,000	\$145,917,798	
Various	Nationwide Mutual Insurance <sup>162</sup>	\$15.00	900	Not Available	
Various	Pioneer Millworks <sup>163</sup>	\$15.00	70	\$142,447	
Various	PNC Bank <sup>164</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available	
Various	Starbucks <sup>165</sup>	5% - 15% raise	150,000	Not Available	
Various	Target <sup>166</sup>	\$9.00	Not Available	Not Available	
Various	Target <sup>167</sup>	\$10.00	76,200	\$123,543,736	
Various	Target <sup>168</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available	
Various	TJX companies <sup>169</sup>	\$10.00	79,200	\$128,407,662	
Various	Truliant Federal Credit Union <sup>170</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available	

Table 6. Impact of the Fight for \$15: Employer Increases, 2012-2018					
State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Affected Workers	Total Raises (2018\$)	
Various	Walmart <sup>171</sup>	\$10.00	1,200,000	\$1,945,570,641	
Various	Walmart <sup>172</sup>	\$11.00	1,000,000	\$700,000,000	
Various	Wells Fargo <sup>173</sup>	\$15.00	86,000	\$252,711,000	
Various	Whole Foods <sup>174</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available	
Employer Subtotal			3,536,415	\$5,768,261,791	

Table 7. Impact of the Fight for \$15: Public Sector Increases, 2012-2018							
States	New Minimum Pay	Affected Workers	Total Cost* to Jurisdiction (nominal)				
Massachusetts (homecare workers) <sup>175</sup>	\$15.00	35,000	Not Available				
Missouri (homecare workers) <sup>176</sup>	\$10.50	12,000	Not Available				
New York State <sup>177</sup>	\$15.00	10,000	\$20,300,000				
New York State (public colleges & universities) <sup>178</sup>	\$15.00	28,000	\$28,000,000				
North Carolina <sup>179</sup>	\$15.00	10,000	\$15,000,000				
Oregon (homecare workers) <sup>180</sup>	\$15.00	20,000	Not Available				
Pennsylvania <sup>181</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available				
Cities & Counties	New Minimum Pay	Affected Workers	Total Cost (nominal)				
San Francisco, CA (homecare & nonprofit workers) <sup>182</sup>	\$16.50 - \$18.75	20,000	\$100,000,000				
Santa Clara County, CA (contractors) <sup>183</sup>	\$17.06 - \$19.06	Not Available	Not Available				
Sonoma County, CA (county workers & contractors) <sup>184</sup>	\$15.00	1,000	\$981,039				
Atlanta, GA <sup>185</sup>	\$15.00	850	Not Available				
Clarkston, GA <sup>186</sup>	\$15.00	3	\$4,000				
Chicago, IL <sup>187</sup>	\$13.00	1,000	Not Available				
Shakopee, MN (businesses receiving public subsidies) <sup>188</sup>	\$19.00	Not Available	Not Available				

Table 7. Impact of the Fight for \$15: Public Sector Increases, 2012-2018							
States	New Minimum Pay	Affected Workers	Total Cost* to Jurisdiction (nominal)				
Columbia, MO <sup>189</sup>	\$15.00	200	\$3,139,247				
Missoula, MT <sup>190</sup>	\$12.00 - \$15.00	16	\$16,889				
Charlotte, NC <sup>191</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available				
Durham, NC <sup>192</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available				
Greensboro, NC <sup>193</sup>	\$15.00	245	\$266,514				
Bloomfield, NJ <sup>194</sup>	\$15.00	400	Not Available				
East Orange, NJ <sup>195</sup>	\$15.00	158	Not Available				
Hudson County, NJ <sup>196</sup>	\$15.00	100	Not Available				
Jersey City, NJ <sup>197</sup>	\$15.00	500	Not Available				
Newark, NJ <sup>198</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available				
Buffalo, NY <sup>199</sup>	\$15.00	479	Not Available				
New York, NY (union & nonprofit contractors) <sup>200</sup>	\$15.00	50,000	Not Available				
New York, NY and Newark, NJ (airport workers) <sup>201</sup>	\$19.00	40,000	Not Available				
Rochester, NY <sup>202</sup>	\$15.00	116	Not Available				
Syracuse, NY <sup>203</sup>	\$15.00	61	Not Available				
Cincinnati, OH (city workers & contractors) <sup>204</sup>	\$15.00	1,166	Not Available				
Cleveland, OH <sup>205</sup>	\$15.00	500	\$1,900,000				
Milwaukie, OR <sup>206</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available				
Mutonah County, OR <sup>207</sup>	\$15.00	151	\$190,000				
Portland, OR (city workers & contractors) <sup>208</sup>	\$15.00	173	\$1,100,000				
Bergen County, PA <sup>209</sup>	\$15.00	129	\$360,647				
Philadelphia, PA <sup>210</sup>	\$12.00	Not Available	Not Available				
Pittsburgh, PA (city & contractors) <sup>211</sup>	\$15.00	300	\$150,000				
Memphis, TN <sup>212</sup>	\$15.50	420	\$1,400,000				

Table 7. Impact of the Fight for \$15: Public Sector Increases, 2012-2018								
States	New Minimum Pay	Affected Workers	Total Cost* to Jurisdiction (nominal)					
Shelby County Schools, TN <sup>213</sup>	\$15.00	1,200	Not Available					
San Antonio, TX <sup>214</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available					
San Marcos, TX (businesses seeking incentives) <sup>215</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	Not Available					
King County, WA (county workers & contractors) <sup>216</sup>	\$15.00	12,000	Not Available					
Seattle, WA (city workers) <sup>217</sup>	\$15.00	500 - 700	\$1,600,000					
Dane County, WI (county workers & contractors) <sup>218</sup>	\$15.00	1,000	Not Available					
Milwaukee, WI <sup>219</sup>	\$15.00	Not Available	\$4,200,000					
Public Sector Subtotal		247,167	\$178,608,336					

States arranged in alphabetical order. Cities and counties also arranged in alphabetical order, first by state and then by locality.

\* Estimates reported as total costs to state, city, and county budgets, which are not synonymous with total wage increases. (These costs include wages, but may also include payroll taxes and benefits.)

Table 8. Estimating the Average Income Increase per 1 Percent Increase in the Minimum Wage, Using Existing Analyses of the Impact of Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2018

(A) Jurisdiction	(B) New Min Wage	(C) Phase-In Year	(D) Old Min Wage	(E) Difference	(F) Percent Increase	(G) Per Worker Annual Increase (Nominal)	(H) Income Increase per 1% Increase in the Min Wage (Nominal)	(I) Income Increase per 1% Increase in the Min Wage (2018\$)
Arkansas <sup>220</sup>	\$11.00	2021	\$7.25	\$3.75	51.72	\$1,520	\$29.39	\$27.36
California <sup>221</sup>	\$15.00	2023	\$8.00	\$7.00	87.50	\$3,700	\$42.29	\$44.85
Colorado <sup>222</sup>	\$12.00	2020	\$8.31	\$3.69	44.40	\$1,468	\$33.06	\$33.06
Maine <sup>223</sup>	\$12.00	2020	\$7.50	\$4.50	60.00	\$3,485	\$58.08	\$55.43
Maryland <sup>224</sup>	\$10.10	2018	\$7.25	\$2.85	39.31	\$1,585	\$40.32	\$42.23
Massachusetts <sup>225</sup>	\$15.00	2023	\$8.00	\$7.00	87.50	\$3,393	\$38.78	\$34.39
Michigan <sup>226</sup>	\$12.00	2022	\$7.40	\$4.60	62.16	\$1,697	\$27.30	\$24.80
Minnesota <sup>227</sup>	\$9.50	2016	\$7.25	\$2.25	31.03	\$1,322	\$42.60	\$42.60
Missouri <sup>228</sup>	\$12.00	2023	\$7.85	\$4.15	52.87	\$1,485	\$28.09	\$24.91
Nebraska <sup>229</sup>	\$9.00	2016	\$7.25	\$1.75	24.14	\$3,640	\$150.80	\$150.80
New Jersey <sup>230</sup>	\$8.25	2015	\$7.25	\$1.00	13.79	\$644	\$46.69	\$48.90
New York <sup>231</sup>	\$15.00	2022	\$7.25	\$7.75	106.90	\$4,900	\$45.84	\$48.62
South Dakota <sup>232</sup>	\$8.50	2015	\$7.25	\$1.25	17.24	\$1,125	\$65.25	\$69.28
Los Angeles, CA <sup>233</sup>	\$15.00	2021	\$9.00	\$6.00	66.67	\$4,800	\$72.00	\$76.45
San Jose, CA <sup>234</sup>	\$15.00	2019	\$8.00	\$7.00	87.50	\$3,000	\$34.29	\$36.41
San Francisco, CA <sup>235</sup>	\$15.00	2018	\$10.74	\$4.26	39.66	\$2,800	\$70.59	\$74.95

Table 8. Estimating the Average Income Increase per 1 Percent Increase in the Minimum Wage, Using Existing Analyses of the Impact of Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2018

(A) Jurisdiction	(B) New Min Wage	(C) Phase-In Year	(D) Old Min Wage	(E) Difference	(F) Percent Increase	(G) Per Worker Annual Increase (Nominal)	(H) Income Increase per 1% Increase in the Min Wage (Nominal)	(I) Income Increase per 1% Increase in the Min Wage (2018\$)
Washington, DC <sup>236</sup>	\$15.00	2020	\$8.25	\$6.75	81.82	\$3,200	\$39.11	\$37.32
Minneapolis, MN <sup>237</sup>	\$15.00	2024	\$9.50	\$5.50	57.89	\$4,481	\$77.40	\$70.31
Albuquerque, NM <sup>238</sup>	\$8.50	2013	\$7.50	\$1.00	13.33	\$712	\$53.40	\$56.70
SeaTac, WA <sup>239</sup>	\$15.00	2014	\$9.19	\$5.81	63.22	\$6,349	\$100.43	\$108.37
Seattle, WA <sup>240</sup>	\$15.00	2021	\$9.32	\$5.68	60.94	\$5,157	\$84.62	\$89.85
Average income increase per 1% increase in minimum wage (J)							\$58.51	

### **ENDNOTES**

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- <sup>4</sup> In 2007, Congress approved raising the federal minimum wage from \$5.15 to \$7.25 in three 70-cent steps in 2007, 2008 and 2009. The total wage impact of the third and final step was estimated at \$1.6 billion annually. See Kai Filion, *Fact Sheet For 2009 Minimum Wage Increase: Minimum Wage Issue Guide*, Economic Policy Institute, updated July 21, 2009, <a href="http://www.epi.org/publication/mwig fact sheet/">http://www.epi.org/publication/mwig fact sheet/</a>. While estimates of the total wage impact for the first two 70-cent steps were not available, those impacts would be no larger than \$1.6 billion, as affected workers were disproportionately clustered closer to the \$7.25 wage level. Thus, we estimate the total wage impact of the three steps at approximately \$4.8 billion (three times the impact of the final step). The \$68 billion total wage impact of minimum wage increases since November 2012 is therefore more than 14 times the impact of the 2007 federal minimum wage increase.
- <sup>5</sup> For more information about these organizations and their research, see the Institute for Research and Labor Employment website, <a href="http://irle.berkeley.edu/">http://irle.berkeley.edu/</a>; the Economic Policy Institute website, <a href="https://www.epi.org/">https://www.epi.org/</a>; and the Economic Analysis and Research Network website, which lists member organizations, <a href="https://www.epi.org/earn/">https://www.epi.org/earn/</a>.

  <sup>6</sup> Congressional Budget Office, <a href="https://www.epi.org/earn/">10-Year Economic Projections</a>, August 2018 [Excel spreadsheet], <a href="https://www.cbo.gov/about/products/budget-economic-data#4">https://www.cbo.gov/about/products/budget-economic-data#4</a>.
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