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 116th 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. 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.

- 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.

- 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.

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1 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, 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. 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.7
**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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jurisdiction</th>
<th>Affected Workers</th>
<th>Total Raises (2018$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>15,998,345</td>
<td>$53,638,178,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>2,089,300</td>
<td>$8,494,880,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>3,536,415</td>
<td>$5,768,261,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Sector</td>
<td>247,167</td>
<td>(Not available)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Order (2014)</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>(Not available)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22,071,227</strong></td>
<td><strong>$67,901,321,506</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2. Raises from $15 Minimum Wage Laws, 2012-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jurisdiction</th>
<th>Affected Workers</th>
<th>Total Raises (2018$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>5,604,000</td>
<td>$21,990,096,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>840,000</td>
<td>$2,527,560,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>3,162,345</td>
<td>$16,434,706,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flagstaff, AZ</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>$119,135,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>609,000</td>
<td>$3,104,073,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Jose, CA</td>
<td>115,000</td>
<td>$366,275,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>142,000</td>
<td>$422,166,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>114,000</td>
<td>$348,156,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery County, MD</td>
<td>127,000</td>
<td>$794,368,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis, MN</td>
<td>78,000</td>
<td>$317,460,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul, MN</td>
<td>56,000</td>
<td>$181,656,773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SeaTac, WA</td>
<td>6,300</td>
<td>$43,161,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle, WA</td>
<td>102,000</td>
<td>$558,552,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,977,645</strong></td>
<td><strong>$47,207,366,119</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>As a Percent of Table 1 Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49.74</strong></td>
<td><strong>69.52</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City or County</td>
<td>Approved Minimum Wage</td>
<td>Year Law Would Have Taken Effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham, AL</td>
<td>$10.10</td>
<td>2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami Beach, FL</td>
<td>$13.31</td>
<td>2021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson County, IA</td>
<td>$10.10</td>
<td>2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee County, IA</td>
<td>$8.20</td>
<td>2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linn County, IA</td>
<td>$10.25</td>
<td>2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polk County, IA</td>
<td>$10.75</td>
<td>2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wapello County, IA</td>
<td>$10.10</td>
<td>2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexington, KY</td>
<td>$10.10</td>
<td>2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisville, KY</td>
<td>$9.00</td>
<td>2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas City, MO</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, MO</td>
<td>$11.00</td>
<td>2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>New Minimum Wage</td>
<td>Old Minimum Wage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>$12.00</td>
<td>$8.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>$11.00</td>
<td>$7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>$9.75</td>
<td>$7.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>$8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>$12.00</td>
<td>$8.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>$10.10</td>
<td>$8.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>$9.25</td>
<td>$7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>$10.10</td>
<td>$7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>$12.00</td>
<td>$7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>$10.10</td>
<td>$7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>$8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>$12.00</td>
<td>$7.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>$9.50</td>
<td>$7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>$12.00</td>
<td>$7.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>$9.00</td>
<td>$7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>$8.25</td>
<td>$7.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4. Impact of the Fight for $15: State Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>New Minimum Wage</th>
<th>Old Minimum Wage</th>
<th>Percent Increase</th>
<th>Workers Affected</th>
<th>Annual Income Increase per Worker (2018$)</th>
<th>Income Increase for All Workers (2018$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York(^{30})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>$7.25</td>
<td>106.90</td>
<td>3,162,345</td>
<td>$5,197</td>
<td>$16,434,706,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon(^{31})</td>
<td>$14.75</td>
<td>$9.25</td>
<td>59.46</td>
<td>623,300</td>
<td>$3,479</td>
<td>$2,168,514,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island(^{32})</td>
<td>$10.50</td>
<td>$7.75</td>
<td>35.48</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>$2,076</td>
<td>$24,911,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota(^{33})</td>
<td>$8.50</td>
<td>$7.25</td>
<td>17.24</td>
<td>62,000</td>
<td>$1,195</td>
<td>$74,090,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont(^{34})</td>
<td>$10.50</td>
<td>$8.73</td>
<td>20.27</td>
<td>57,000</td>
<td>$1,186</td>
<td>$67,603,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington(^{35})</td>
<td>$13.50</td>
<td>$9.47</td>
<td>42.56</td>
<td>621,700</td>
<td>$2,490</td>
<td>$1,548,184,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia(^{36})</td>
<td>$8.75</td>
<td>$7.25</td>
<td>20.69</td>
<td>114,000</td>
<td>$1,211</td>
<td>$138,008,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>State Subtotal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>15,998,345</strong></td>
<td><strong>--------</strong></td>
<td><strong>$53,638,178,735</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City or County</th>
<th>New Minimum Wage</th>
<th>Old Minimum wage(^{37})</th>
<th>Percent Increase</th>
<th>Workers Affected</th>
<th>Per Worker Annual Increase (2018$)</th>
<th>Annual Increase for All Workers (2018$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flagstaff, AZ(^{38})</td>
<td>$15.50</td>
<td>$8.05</td>
<td>92.55</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>$5,415</td>
<td>$119,135,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, CA(^{39})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>$9.00</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>609,000</td>
<td>$5,097</td>
<td>$3,104,073,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Jose, CA(^{40})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>$8.00</td>
<td>87.50</td>
<td>115,000</td>
<td>$3,185</td>
<td>$366,275,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5. Impact of the Fight for $15: Local Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2018

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>New Minimum Pay</th>
<th>Affected Workers</th>
<th>Total Raises (2018$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>BEGA North America75</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>California State University76</td>
<td>10.55% raise</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>$195,626,323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>Facebook contractors77</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>First Republic Bank78</td>
<td>$20.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>Los Angeles Unified School District79</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>University of California80</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>$14,847,914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>Denver janitors (SEIU members)81</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>Well-Paid Maids (2017)82</td>
<td>$16.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>Well-Paid Maids (2018)83</td>
<td>$17.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>Internet Truck Stop84</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>Honey Butter Fried Chicken85</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>C1 Bank86</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Consulate Health Care87</td>
<td>$10.40 - $15.00</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>First Green Bank88</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>JM Family Enterprises89</td>
<td>$16.00</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>VyStar Credit Union90</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
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<td>Florida</td>
<td>Walt Disney91</td>
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<td>Maine</td>
<td>Jackson Lab93</td>
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<td>Maine</td>
<td>Knack Factory94</td>
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<td>Not Available</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>John Hopkins Hospital95</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
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<td>Maryland</td>
<td>Univ. of Maryland Medical Ctr Midtown96</td>
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<td>Boston Medical Center98</td>
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<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>New Minimum Pay</td>
<td>Affected Workers</td>
<td>Total Raises (2018$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>Bridj</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>Curriculum Associates</td>
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<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>Lynn Community Health Care</td>
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<td>Stewart Health Care Hospitals</td>
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<td>Massachusetts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>Tufts Health Plan</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>Moo Cluck Moo</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>Alina Health Hospitals</td>
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<td>Common Roots Café</td>
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<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>Minneapolis janitors (SEIU members)</td>
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<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>University of Minnesota</td>
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<td>1,500</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>Hermit Wood Winery</td>
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<td>Cooper University Health Care</td>
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<td>Hudson County Community College</td>
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<td>New York</td>
<td>Columbia University</td>
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<td>Check Maid Cleaning</td>
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<td>New York</td>
<td>Hello Alfred</td>
<td>$18.00 - $30.00</td>
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<td>New York</td>
<td>Hudson River HealthCare</td>
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<td>New York</td>
<td>Maple</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>New York</td>
<td>New York University (students)</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>University of Rochester</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>Cone Health</td>
<td>$12.00</td>
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<td>$2,563,566</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>Duke University</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>Novant Health</td>
<td>$11.00</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>$1,230,512</td>
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</table>
Table 6. Impact of the Fight for $15: Employer Increases, 2012-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>New Minimum Pay</th>
<th>Affected Workers</th>
<th>Total Raises (2018$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>Novant Health \textsuperscript{123}</td>
<td>$12.50</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>$4,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>Wake Forest Baptist Medical Center \textsuperscript{124}</td>
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<td>Oregon</td>
<td>Home Forward \textsuperscript{125}</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>Ruby Receptionists \textsuperscript{126}</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>Duquesne University \textsuperscript{127}</td>
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<td>Pennsylvania</td>
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<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>United Services Automobile Association \textsuperscript{131}</td>
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<td>1,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>Ben &amp; Jerry’s \textsuperscript{132}</td>
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<td>Not Available</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>Popolo Italian Eatery \textsuperscript{133}</td>
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<td>Washington</td>
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<td>$11,382,233</td>
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<td>At Your Service \textsuperscript{137}</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>Delta Diner \textsuperscript{138}</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
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<td>Not Available</td>
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<td>Various</td>
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<td>Not Available</td>
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<td>BB&amp;T \textsuperscript{146}</td>
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<td>Not Available</td>
<td>$15,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>New Minimum Pay</td>
<td>Affected Workers</td>
<td>Total Raises (2018$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Charter Communications</td>
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<tr>
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<td>130,000</td>
<td>$120,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Earth Friendly Products</td>
<td>$17.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Elephant Insurance Services</td>
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<td>$1,538,140</td>
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<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Endurance International Group</td>
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<td>1,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>First Horizon National Corp.</td>
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<td>1,200</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>The Gap</td>
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<td>65,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>JP Morgan Chase (corporate stores)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>150,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Target</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Target</td>
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<td>Various</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Truliant Federal Credit Union</td>
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<td>Not Available</td>
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</table>
### Table 6. Impact of the Fight for $15: Employer Increases, 2012-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>New Minimum Pay</th>
<th>Affected Workers</th>
<th>Total Raises (2018$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Walmart(^{171})</td>
<td>$10.00</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>$1,945,570,641</td>
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<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Walmart(^{172})</td>
<td>$11.00</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>$700,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Wells Fargo(^{173})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>86,000</td>
<td>$252,711,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Whole Foods(^{174})</td>
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<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employer Subtotal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>3,536,415</strong></td>
<td><strong>$5,768,261,791</strong></td>
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</table>

### Table 7. Impact of the Fight for $15: Public Sector Increases, 2012-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>New Minimum Pay</th>
<th>Affected Workers</th>
<th>Total Cost* to Jurisdiction (nominal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts (homecare workers)(^{175})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>35,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri (homecare workers)(^{176})</td>
<td>$10.50</td>
<td>12,000</td>
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</tr>
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<td>New York State(^{177})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>$20,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York State (public colleges &amp; universities)(^{178})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>$28,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina(^{179})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>$15,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon (homecare workers)(^{180})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania(^{181})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities &amp; Counties</th>
<th>New Minimum Pay</th>
<th>Affected Workers</th>
<th>Total Cost (nominal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, CA (homecare &amp; nonprofit workers)(^{182})</td>
<td>$16.50 - $18.75</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>$100,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Clara County, CA (contractors)(^{183})</td>
<td>$17.06 - $19.06</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sonoma County, CA (county workers &amp; contractors)(^{184})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>$981,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta, GA(^{185})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarkston, GA(^{186})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, IL(^{187})</td>
<td>$13.00</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakopee, MN (businesses receiving public subsidies)(^{188})</td>
<td>$19.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table 7. Impact of the Fight for $15: Public Sector Increases, 2012-2018

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>New Minimum Pay</th>
<th>Affected Workers</th>
<th>Total Cost* to Jurisdiction (nominal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shelby County Schools, TN(^{213})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Antonio, TX(^{214})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Marcos, TX (businesses seeking incentives)(^{215})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King County, WA (county workers &amp; contractors)(^{216})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle, WA (city workers)(^{217})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>500 - 700</td>
<td>$1,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dane County, WI (county workers &amp; contractors)(^{218})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, WI(^{219})</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>Not Available</td>
<td>$4,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public Sector Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>--------</td>
<td><strong>247,167</strong></td>
<td><strong>$178,608,336</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jurisdiction</th>
<th>New Min Wage</th>
<th>Phase-In Year</th>
<th>Old Min Wage</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>Percent Increase</th>
<th>Per Worker Annual Increase (Nominal)</th>
<th>Income Increase per 1% Increase in the Min Wage (Nominal)</th>
<th>Income Increase per 1% Increase in the Min Wage (2018$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>$8.25</td>
<td>$6.75</td>
<td>81.82</td>
<td>$3,200</td>
<td>$39.11</td>
<td>$37.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis, MN</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>2024</td>
<td>$9.50</td>
<td>$5.50</td>
<td>57.89</td>
<td>$4,481</td>
<td>$77.40</td>
<td>$70.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albuquerque, NM</td>
<td>$8.50</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>$7.50</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>$712</td>
<td>$53.40</td>
<td>$56.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SeaTac, WA</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>$9.19</td>
<td>$5.81</td>
<td>63.22</td>
<td>$6,349</td>
<td>$100.43</td>
<td>$108.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle, WA</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>2021</td>
<td>$9.32</td>
<td>$5.68</td>
<td>60.94</td>
<td>$5,157</td>
<td>$84.62</td>
<td>$89.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average income increase per 1% increase in minimum wage (J) $58.51
ENDNOTES


5 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.


33 For citations, see endnotes for individual states in the first column of this table.


37 Center for Labor Research and Education, op. cit. (endnote 8). Estimates for Los Angeles, San Jose and San Francisco listed separately.


39 National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 36).

National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 36).


Jeremy Thompson, op. cit. (endnote 9).

Impact estimates provided by the Economic Policy Institute.

JOBS NOW Coalition, Minimum Wage [Internet Archive, April 17, 2016], https://web.archive.org/web/20160417195200/http://www.jobsnowcoalition.org/initiatives/labor-standards/minimum-wage.html. Figure does not include Minneapolis or St. Paul impacts.


National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 36).

Michael Reich, et al, and David Cooper, op. cit. (endnote 10).


National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 3).


National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 36).


National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 31).

Refers to state minimum wage.

Flagstaff Needs a Raise, op. cit. (endnote 11).

Michael Reich, et al., op. cit. (endnote 12).

Michael Reich, et al., op. cit. (endnote 13).

Michael Reich, et al., op. cit. (endnote 14).

David Cooper, op. cit. (endnote 15).


PFM Group Consulting, LLC, op. cit (endnote 16).


City of St. Paul, op. cit. (endnote 18).


National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 36).


National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 36).

Nicole Vallesbero Keenan and Howard Greenwich, op. cit. (endnote 19).

Nicole Vallesbero Keenan and Howard Greenwich, op. cit. (endnote 20).


NELP | IMPACT OF THE FIGHT FOR $15: $68 BILLION IN RAISES, 22 MILLION WORKERS | NOVEMBER 2018


122 Richard Craver, op. cit. (endnote 118).


Staff, “Fifth Third Bancorp (FITB) to Raise Minimum Wage to $15/Hr and Distribute $1,000 Bonus to Most Employees,” StreetInsider, December 20, 2017, https://www.streetInsider.com/CorporateNews/Fifth-Third/Bancorp%28FITB%29+to+Raise+Minimum+Wage+to+15/Hr+and+Distribute%241%2000+Bonus+to+Most+Employees/13620853.html.


Ibid. For worker impact figure, see National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 36).


National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 36).


Richard Graver, op. cit. (endnote 122).

Abha Bharara, op. cit. (endnote 140).


City of Chicago, op. cit. (endnote 63).


Ibid.


235 "Per Worker Annual Increase (Nominal)" estimate provided by Jeremy Thompson of the Massachusetts Budget and Policy Institute.

236 National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 35).

237 Center for Labor Research and Education, op. cit. (endnote 8).

238 "Per Worker Annual Increase (Nominal)" estimate provided by Rick Jones of the Bell Policy Center.

239 Maine Center for Economic Policy, op. cit. (endnote 42).

240 David Cooper, op. cit. (endnote 43).

241 "Per Worker Annual Increase (Nominal)" estimate provided by Jeremy Thompson of the Massachusetts Budget and Policy Institute.


243 JOBS NOW Coalition, op. cit. (endnote 46).

244 National Employment Law Project, op. cit. (endnote 47).


247 Michael Reich, et al., op. cit. (endnote 10).

248 David Cooper, op. cit. (endnote 15).


250 New Mexico Voices for Children, op. cit. (endnote 69).

251 Nicole Vallestero Keenan and Howard Greenwich, op. cit. (endnote 19).

252 Nicole Vallestero Keenan and Howard Greenwich, op. cit. (endnote 20).