



Quantifying the Impact of the Fight for \$15:

**\$150 Billion in Raises for 26 Million Workers,
With \$76 Billion Going to Workers of Color**

By: Yannet Lathrop, T. William Lester, and Matthew Wilson
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Introduction

In late November 2012, a small group of fast-food workers in New York City walked out of their jobs in response to low wages¹ and the challenges of organizing a union in a high-turnover and high-exploitation industry.² These workers—many of them Black and brown—would launch one of the most successful worker movements of the 21st century, as their demands echoed across the country, spreading the call for a \$15 minimum wage and a union.

The Fight for \$15, as the movement inspired by these walkouts would be called, sparked waves of action to raise the minimum wage in the ensuing years, leading dozens of states, cities, and counties to raise their wages; putting pressure on some of the world's largest corporations to raise their pay scales; and informing the national conversation on living wages, workplace democracy, and equity.

This report quantifies the wage impact of the Fight for \$15. **Using U.S. Census data, we estimate that 26 million workers have been boosted by higher minimum wage policies passed by all levels of government since 2012—winning over \$150 billion in additional annual income.¹ We also find that the Fight for \$15 has helped raise the earnings of nearly 12 million workers of color and 18 million women—likely helping narrow the racial and gender wage gaps (though a wage gap analysis is beyond the scope of this report).**

Crucially, this worker-led movement delivered these additional earnings despite the racist, sexist, and anti-worker system of laws and political climate in the United States—with laws in place around the country that

¹ This figure includes the impact of the 2014 Executive Order requiring a \$10.10 minimum wage for federal contractors, which was estimated by the Economic Policy Institute in a separate analysis.

permit forced arbitration,³ wage preemption,⁴ misclassification,⁵ wage theft,⁶ and ongoing attacks on the few parts of our system that actually aid working people.⁷

The Economic Context

Since the end of the Great Depression, U.S. productivity has grown rapidly—an indication that workers are producing more goods and services and creating more wealth. Yet, worker pay has barely budged, while CEO pay has soared. In the four decades between 1978 and 2018, inflation-adjusted CEO compensation (base salary and realized stock options) grew by 940 percent, while median worker pay grew just 12 percent.⁸ According to an analysis commissioned by the New York Times, in 2020 alone CEO pay grew by 14 percent, while median worker pay grew by less than 2 percent.⁹

Between 1948 and 1973, real hourly wages increased in proportion to the overall growth in productivity. As the U.S. economy grew, the gains were shared with workers on a roughly proportional basis. However, since 1973, wages for the most underpaid workers have not kept pace with growth of our economy and total labor productivity.¹⁰ In essence, corporations have not equitably shared the returns of our formidable growth in national productivity with the underpaid workers who made those gains possible.

By 2017, productivity was growing more than twice as fast as the growth in real median wages.¹¹ Many economists have interpreted this trend as an example of the diminishing power of workers relative to employers.¹² Increased globalization and the declining power of unions have contributed to the loss of bargaining power. But another factor is the declining value of the federal minimum wage, which places a floor on wages in the labor market.

The federal minimum wage was last raised to \$7.25 per hour in 2009. In 2021, it remains at that level, making this twelve-year period the longest in which the federal minimum wage has remained unchanged since the U.S. first enacted a federal minimum wage in 1938. The real value of the federal minimum wage is now only 59 percent of its peak value in 1968.¹³

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Thirty states and Washington, D.C. have minimum wage levels that currently exceed \$7.25 per hour—however, twenty other states follow the federal rate or do not have a state minimum wage at all. Of the states with minimum wages higher than the federal minimum, eleven statesⁱⁱ and Washington D.C. have legislated additional increases to \$15 over the next few years.

The Fight for \$15 has highlighted the disconnect between state and U.S. legislators who refuse to raise wages—most of whom represent states with \$7.25 minimum wages—and their constituents, many of whom support a \$15 minimum wage. As worker-activists in states stuck at \$7.25 have made clear, zip codes should not determine whether workers are able to earn a baseline living wage.

ⁱⁱ These states are California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and Virginia.

Main Findings

In this report, we find:

- General Impact:** From 2012 to January 2021, an estimated **26 million workers** have won over **\$150 billion**ⁱⁱⁱ in additional income through a combination of state and local minimum wage increases^{iv} and an executive order for federal contractors. The affected workers comprise nearly 16 percent of the U.S. labor force. To put the \$150 billion in perspective, this figure is more than **94 times** the impact (\$1.6 billion) of the last federal minimum wage increase to \$7.25, which took effect in 2009.¹⁴

Table 1. Summary of the Impact of the Fight for \$15, 2012 - 2021

Jurisdiction	Number of Affected Workers	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker
State	21,630,000	\$117,280,000,000	\$5,400
Local	4,240,000	\$33,100,000,000	\$7,800
Executive Order (2014) ^v	180,000	\$500,000,000	\$2,800
Total	26,050,000	\$150,880,000,000	\$5,300
As Percent of U.S. labor force	15.7	---	---

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data; U.S. labor force figures from American Community Survey, 1-Year Estimates, Selected Economic Characteristics, 2019.

- Impact on Workers of Color:** Of the 26 million workers, nearly **12 million** (46 percent) are Black, Latinx, or Asian American. Their additional annual income totals **\$76 billion**—approximately 50 percent of the total for all workers.

ⁱⁱⁱ The Fight for \$15 has led not only to the passage of state and local laws and executive orders raising the minimum wage, but also to hundreds of employers raising their starting wages (see Appendix Table I for a non-comprehensive list). However, our analysis is limited to the impact of state and local minimum wage laws, and the 2014 executive order that raised the minimum wage for federal contractors to \$10.10, because of the complexity of estimating the impact of employer policies. Therefore, our estimates *do not* reflect the effects of employer wage policies since 2012, pandemic-related wage measures by private employers, such as “hero” or “hazard” pay, or recent pay increases that some employers adopted in response to a perceived labor shortage.

^{iv} Our analysis is limited to the impact of minimum wage increases for directly affected workers; therefore, it does not reflect the impact of higher wages for indirectly affected workers. The Economic Policy Institute (EPI) defines *directly* affected workers as those who “will see their wages rise as the new minimum wage rate exceeds their existing hourly pay;” and *indirectly* affected workers as those who “have a wage rate just above the new minimum wage (between the new minimum wage and 115 percent of the new minimum). They will receive a raise as employer pay scales are adjusted upward to reflect the new minimum wage.” See Table 1 notes in David Cooper, *Raising the Federal Minimum Wage to \$15 by 2025 Would Lift Wages for Over 33 Million Workers*, Economic Policy Institute, July 17, 2019, <https://www.epi.org/publication/minimum-wage-15-by-2025/>.

^v Refers to the executive order issued by President Barack Obama in 2014, requiring a \$10.10 minimum wage for federal contractors. The number of affected workers and additional annual income for all workers are estimates by the Economic Policy Institute, *A First Step to Fifteen: Raising Wages for All Federal Contract Workers*, November 12, 2020, <https://www.epi.org/publication/a-first-step-to-fifteen/>. The figure estimating the additional annual income per worker is the authors’ analysis of EPI figures. (Although a new executive order for federal contractors—requiring a minimum pay of \$15 per hour—was issued in April 2021 by President Joe Biden, the pay increase under the new order does not take effect until 2022, and is therefore not included in our analysis).

Table 2. Summary of the Impact of the Fight for \$15 for Workers of Color, 2012 - 2021

Jurisdiction	Number of Affected Workers	Additional Annual Income
State	9,770,000	\$58,640,000,000
Local (selected)	2,140,000	\$17,330,000,000
Total	11,920,000	\$75,960,000,000
As Percent of Table 1 total	45.7	50.3

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Local figures by race or ethnicity refer to estimates for the nine localities in our analysis for which data is available in the American Community Survey. These localities are: Cook County, IL (except Chicago); Chicago, IL; Los Angeles County, CA (including the city of Los Angeles); Oakland, CA; Pasadena, CA; San Francisco, CA; Denver, CO; Minneapolis, MN; and Seattle, WA. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

- **Impact on Women:** Women comprise approximately **13 million** (50 percent) of all impacted workers. Their share of the additional annual earnings is nearly **\$70 billion**—46 percent of the total.

Table 3. Summary of the Impact of the Fight for \$15 for Women, 2012 – 2021

Jurisdiction	Number of Affected Workers	Additional Annual Income
State	11,480,000	\$58,440,000,000
Local (selected)	1,500,000	\$11,180,000,000
Total	12,990,000	\$69,620,000,000
As Percent of Table 1 total	49.8	46.1

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Local figures by gender refer to estimates for the nine localities in our analysis for which data is available in the American Community Survey. These localities are: Cook County, IL (except Chicago); Chicago, IL; Los Angeles County, CA (including the city of Los Angeles); Oakland, CA; Pasadena, CA; San Francisco, CA; Denver, CO; Minneapolis, MN; and Seattle, WA. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

- **Impact of \$15 Minimum Wage Laws:** Of the \$150 billion in additional income for affected workers, the overwhelming share (73 percent, or nearly **\$111 billion**) is the result of minimum wage increases in states and localities that are either on a path to \$15 or have already reached a \$15 or higher minimum wage. Workers affected by these laws make up **69 percent** of the total.

Table 4. Summary of Impact of \$15 Minimum Wage Laws, 2012 - 2021

Jurisdiction	Number of Affected Workers	Additional Annual Income
State	14,470,000	\$82,180,000,000
Local	3,560,000	\$28,580,000,000
Total	18,030,000	\$110,760,000,000
As Percent of Table 1 total	69.2	73.4

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Local figures refer to estimates for the nine localities in our analysis for which data is available in the American Community Survey. These localities are: Cook County, IL (except Chicago); Chicago, IL; Los Angeles County, CA (including the city of Los Angeles); Oakland, CA; Pasadena, CA; San Francisco, CA; Denver, CO; Minneapolis, MN; and Seattle, WA. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

Note: The impact of wage increases adopted by employers is difficult to quantify.¹⁵ Hence, we do not include an employer estimate in our Table 1 total. Nonetheless, it is important to note that since 2012, more than 200 employers have raised their wages—some to more than \$15—under pressure from their workers and the Fight for \$15 movement. (See Appendix Table I).



■ Since the #FightFor15 started, this movement has won:

\$150 BILLION

in raises for 26 million workers

\$76 BILLION

in raises for workers of color

\$70 BILLION

in raises for women workers

Workers of Color Have Seen Strong Gains from Fight for \$15 Minimum Wage Wins

Workers of color and their economic and political demands played a significant role in shaping the movement for higher wages.¹⁶ These workers have been among the most impacted by the Fight for \$15, as our analysis shows.

Higher wages benefit all workers, but they can have a greater impact in communities that have been historically underpaid due to structural racism, sexism, and the enduring occupational segregation that pushes workers of color into the most underpaid jobs in the economy. This means that changes to minimum wage policies can have a profound effect in reducing racial inequity, as the workers of color leading the Fight for \$15 and a union have emphasized.

A recent study by University of California economists estimates that minimum wage increases from 1990 to 2019 reduced the Black-white wage gap by 12 percent.¹⁷ A separate study estimates that the 1966 amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act—which expanded minimum wage protections to previously excluded occupations in which workers of color were overrepresented—explains more than 20 percent of the reduction in the racial earnings and income gaps between 1967 and 1980.¹⁸

In addition to narrowing the racial wage, earnings and income gaps, higher minimum wages can also substantially increase the earnings of workers of color. **Table 2, above, shows that workers of color represent 46 percent of all workers impacted by minimum wage increases between 2012 and 2021. Of the more than \$150 billion in annual additional income resulting from Fight for \$15-influenced minimum wage increases, the share going to workers of color was nearly \$76 billion (50 percent).**

Tables 5 and 6 provide further details of the impact of the Fight for \$15 for workers of color. They show that **state minimum wage increases boosted the earnings of Black workers by \$5,100 annually on average;** and that local minimum wage increases raised their earnings by \$7,300. The incomes of Latinx and Asian American workers rose faster: State-level minimum wage policies boosted their annual earnings by \$6,300; and local increases raised their annual earnings by \$8,300 and \$8,200, respectively. By comparison, state and local minimum wage increases raised the earnings of white workers by \$4,900 and \$7,200, respectively—below the averages for workers of color and for all workers. (More detailed figures can be found in Appendix Tables C-1 to D-4).

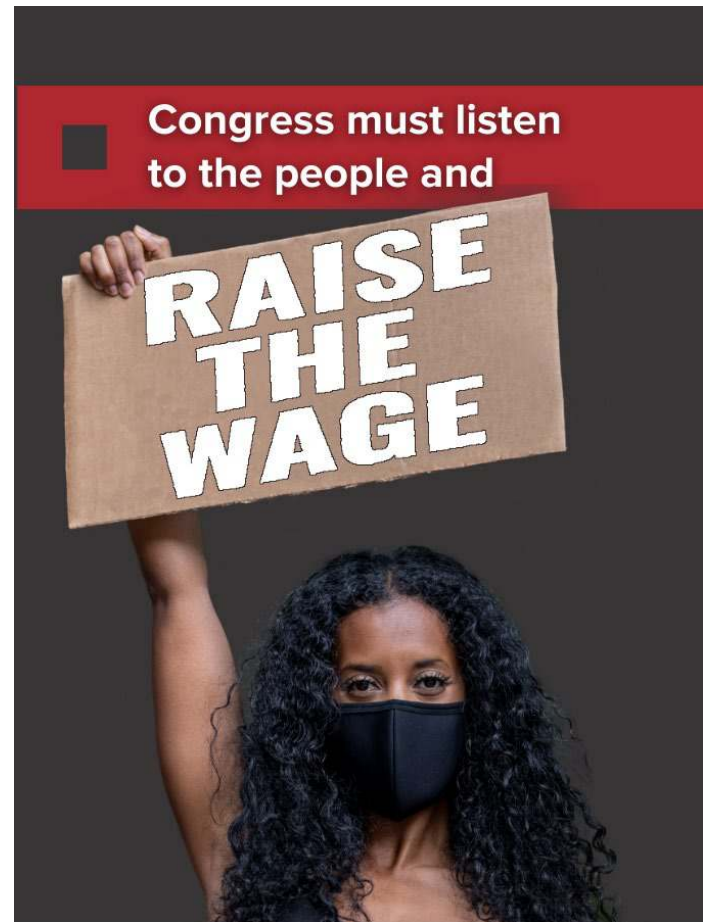


Table 5. Impact of the Fight for \$15, by Race or Ethnicity, 2012 - 2021 (State)

Race or Ethnicity	Number of Affected Workers	Additional Annual Income (Aggregate)	Additional Annual Income (per Worker)	Share of Workforce Affected (%)
White	11,237,000	\$55,458,000,000	\$4,900	22.7
Black	2,190,000	\$11,159,000,000	\$5,100	29.8
Latinx	6,140,000	\$38,361,000,000	\$6,300	43.9
Asian American	1,450,000	\$9,115,000,000	\$6,300	25.8
Total (Worker of Color)	9,770,000	\$58,640,000,000	\$5,900	33.2
Total (All Workers)	21,630,000	\$117,280,000,000	\$5,400	27.6

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Due to small sample size, impacts for multi-racial and Native American workers could not be reliably estimated and are not separately reported. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata.

Table 6. Impact of the Fight for \$15, by Race or Ethnicity, 2012 - 2021 (Selected Localities)

Race or Ethnicity	Number of Affected Workers	Additional Annual Income (Aggregate)	Additional Annual Income (per Worker)	Share of Workforce Affected (%)
White	805,000	\$5,800,000,000	\$7,200	25.4
Black	334,000	\$2,430,000,000	\$7,300	40.7
Latinx	1,457,000	\$12,020,000,000	\$8,300	57.0
Asian American	351,000	\$2,870,000,000	\$8,200	34.2
Total (Workers of Color)	2,140,000	\$17,330,000,000	\$7,900	44.0
Total (All Workers)	3,032,000	\$23,700,000,000	\$7,800	39.0

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. Local figures by race or ethnicity refer to estimates for the nine localities in our analysis for which data is available in the American Community Survey. These localities are: Cook County, IL (except Chicago); Chicago, IL; Los Angeles County, CA (including the city of Los Angeles); Oakland, CA; Pasadena, CA; San Francisco, CA; Denver, CO; Minneapolis, MN; and Seattle, WA. Due to small sample size, impacts for multi-racial and Native American workers could not be reliably estimated and are not separately reported. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

Black and brown worker-leaders in the Fight for \$15 have not only advocated for higher wages, but have also pointed to worker power and workplace democracy as essential to increasing racial equity.

These workers are now fighting to strengthen other workplace protections, such as just-cause job protections, union recognition, stronger health and safety standards, and wage theft protections.

The Fight for \$15 Has Boosted Women’s Earnings by \$70 Billion

Since the 1970s, women’s educational attainment has increased substantially¹⁹, which typically correlates to higher earnings. Yet, women continue to earn less than men,²⁰ and continue to be overrepresented among the underpaid workforce.

According to a 2018 analysis by the National Women’s Law Center (NWLC), women comprise nearly two-thirds of workers earning at or under \$11.50 per hour.²¹ In a separate analysis, NWLC finds that women make up 60 percent or more of the workforce in four of the five fastest-growing occupations. Of these, three occupations—personal care aides, home health aides, and combined food preparation and serving workers (including fast food)—pay low wages.²² Women’s overrepresentation in underpaid occupations is one of the factors that drive the gender wage gap. Yet, research shows that higher minimum wages can help narrow this gap.²³

Of the more than \$150 billion in annual additional income resulting from Fight for \$15-influenced minimum wage increases, the share going to women was nearly \$70 billion (46 percent).

Table 3, above, shows that women represent 50 percent of all workers impacted by minimum wage increases between 2012 and 2021. **Of the more than \$150 billion in annual additional income resulting from Fight for \$15-influenced minimum wage increases, the share going to women was nearly \$70 billion (46 percent).** (The slightly lower income gains for women, compared with men, are likely the result of women’s overrepresentation among part-time workers²⁴—a reflection of gender roles that are slow to change, which have been shown to impact women’s career decisions).²⁵

The tables below provide further details of the impact of the Fight for \$15 on women. **Table 7 shows that state minimum wage increases boosted the annual earnings of affected female workers by \$5,100 per worker on average, and by over \$58 billion in the aggregate.** Table 8—which reflects the impact of minimum wage increases in nine cities and counties for which we have data—shows that **local minimum wage increases raised women’s earnings by \$7,400 per worker, and by more than \$11 billion in the aggregate.** (More detailed figures can be found in Appendix Tables E-1 to F-2).

The benefit of higher wages for women and their dependents cannot be understated. With existing conditions and a government and corporate response rooted in systemic racism and sexism, the COVID-19 pandemic harmed women—particularly women of color—more than men. **In the first ten months of the pandemic, women lost 1 million more jobs than men, and in the month of December 2020, alone, all of the job losses were borne by women of color.**²⁶ According to research by the National Women’s Law Center and the Center on Poverty and Social Policy at Columbia University, women are more likely than men to experience poverty during their working years, particularly, if they are raising children as single mothers.²⁷ Children raised by single mothers are also more likely (33 percent) to experience poverty than children raised by single fathers (21 percent).²⁸ Higher incomes resulting from minimum wage increases are likely to have some mitigating impact on poverty for women and families.²⁹

Table 7. Impact of the Fight for \$15, by Gender, 2012 - 2021 (State)

Gender	Number of Affected Workers	Additional Annual Income (Aggregate)	Additional Annual Income (per Worker)	Share of Workforce Affected (%)
Male	10,150,000	\$58,840,000,000	\$5,800	25.0
Female	11,480,000	\$58,440,000,000	\$5,100	30.5
Total	21,630,000	\$117,280,000,000	\$5,400	27.6

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata.

Table 8. Impact of the Fight for \$15 by Gender, 2012 - 2021 (Selected Localities)

Gender	Number of Affected Workers	Additional Annual Income (Aggregate)	Additional Annual Income (per Worker)	Share of Workforce Affected (%)
Male	1,530,000	\$12,510,000,000	\$8,200	37.1
Female	1,500,000	\$11,180,000,000	\$7,400	41.1
Total	3,030,000	\$23,700,000,000	\$7,800	39.0

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. Local figures by gender refer to estimates for the nine localities in our analysis for which data is available in the American Community Survey. These localities are: Cook County, IL (except Chicago); Chicago, IL; Los Angeles County, CA (including the city of Los Angeles); Oakland, CA; Pasadena, CA; San Francisco, CA; Denver, CO; Minneapolis, MN; and Seattle, WA. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

Most of the Gains Stem from State and Local Minimum Wage Increases to \$15 or More

Since 2012, eleven states^{vi} and 45 localities have adopted laws that put them on a path to \$15. As Table 4, above, shows, these laws account for the bulk of the impacts on workers: 18 million workers (69 percent of the total) and nearly \$111 billion in additional income (73 percent of total). Appendix Tables G and H list state and local jurisdictions on a path to \$15.

Although state-level \$15 minimum wage laws have had the most impact—accounting for 56 percent of all worker impacts, and 55 percent of all income increases—local jurisdictions have led the way in raising wages to \$15 or more. The Fight for \$15 was initially a local effort—a fast-food worker strike in New York City. However, it quickly spread, winning the first of many victories in SeaTac, Washington in 2013, followed by Seattle and San Francisco in 2014.

^{vi} Although, to date, eleven states have adopted laws that put them on a path to \$15, our analysis of the impact of \$15 laws include only nine: California, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Virginia. The other two states on a path to \$15 (Delaware and Rhode Island) adopted their \$15 minimum wage laws in 2021, with their first increases scheduled to take effect in 2022. Therefore, these two states are excluded from the specific impact of \$15 laws, but are included in the general impact analysis.

From there, the movement was able to scale up to states, with California and New York adopting gradual increases to \$15 in 2015, around the same time as additional local jurisdictions were considering their own \$15 minimum wage laws. The leadership of cities and counties in raising wages—pushed by local workers and communities—has been one of the main forces behind state action for higher wages to \$15;³⁰ and now they are leading the way for even higher wages beyond \$15.

Conclusion

Since 2012, the Fight for \$15—a worker- and people of color-led movement—has achieved what our elected representatives in Washington, D.C. could not: Raise wages in dozens of states, cities, and counties, winning \$150 billion in raises for 26 million workers. The impact of these raises is 94 times that of the last federal minimum wage increase, which took effect in 2009. These are real, material gains for millions of people— affecting workers’ ability to buy groceries, pay rent, attend school, and care for their families.

Despite this incredible achievement, the need for higher wages remains. Twenty states follow the federal minimum wage of \$7.25 or do not have a minimum wage law of their own.³¹ Many of these states are located in the South, where a majority of African Americans live and work.³² These 20 states have not only failed to raise wages, but most also prohibit cities and counties within their borders from adopting their own minimum wage laws.³³

It is crucial that the U.S. Congress finally pass a federal baseline wage of \$15 an hour or higher, with One Fair Wage for tipped workers, young workers, and workers with disabilities.

That is why it is so crucial for the U.S. Congress to finally pass a federal baseline wage of \$15 an hour or higher, with One Fair Wage for tipped workers, young workers, and workers with disabilities. With the Raise the Wage Act, Congress has an opportunity to raise the federal minimum wage to \$15.00 over five years,³⁴ a proposal that enjoys wide support from voters.³⁵ Without congressional action, underpaid workers in states that follow the federal minimum wage will continue to be guaranteed only a poverty wage of \$7.25. These workers, who are disproportionately workers of color, will fall further and further behind other workers around the country.

The success of the movement for higher wages—demonstrated so clearly by the impact numbers highlighted in this report—only reaffirms how far out of step lawmakers in Congress are from their constituents, as they continue to refuse to raise the federal minimum wage. But just as the Fight for \$15 and a union movement has won raises in cities, counties, and states nationwide, it is only a matter of time before workers win a \$15 minimum wage on the federal level, and other labor protections at all levels of government—including just cause, union rights, and even wages above \$15, which are increasingly necessary around the country.

Crucially, all of these policies are also essential to increasing racial equity. Structural anti-Black racism is at the core of why workers are so underpaid nationwide.³⁶ Illustrative of anti-Black racism are the segregation of the labor market that pushes many workers of color into underpaid jobs;³⁷ the original exclusion of whole categories of workers from minimum wage protections in the Fair Labor Standards Act;³⁸ and voting discrimination³⁹ and wage preemption laws⁴⁰ that prevent Black workers in these states from having a fair say in the policies that determine their lives.

Congressional lawmakers can either put their weight behind the worker activism and the racial and gender justice imperative of raising wages now, or they can bury their heads further into the sand, as workers win in spite of them.

Methodology

Our methodological approach follows one originally created by researchers at the University of California-Berkeley,⁴¹ who first forecasted the impact of the proposed \$15-per-hour Los Angeles citywide minimum wage.⁴²

This approach relies upon estimating what would have happened to wages if no minimum wage increases were ever passed. Specifically, we estimate the wage distribution in each state and selected localities for each year from 2012—when the Fight for \$15 began—up to 2021 to establish a baseline scenario. This is referred to as a “counterfactual” wage distribution. To do this, we reconstructed what the minimum wage was in each state in 2011 and assume that minimum wages were kept at this level (i.e., without the Fight for \$15-influenced minimum wage increases). The starting point for the counterfactual wage projection was the observed total wage income from the 2011 American Community Survey (ACS) public use microdata. Reported wages were then inflated by the average rate of inflation as measured by the CPI-U in the period from 2012 to 2020.

To capture the impacts of Fight for \$15-influenced minimum wage increases, we constructed the actual minimum wage stepped increases by states and localities. We define an affected worker as an individual respondent with a projected baseline wage below the mandated minimum wage in 2021. Since the ACS does not report wage income on an hourly basis, we estimate the hourly wage for each worker by dividing total annual wage income by the product of usual hours worked per week and number of weeks worked per year.

To determine the number of affected workers, we first calculated the hourly wage for each employed respondent in the baseline scenario (as described above). Then we estimate the total number of employed workers with baseline wages below the mandated minimum wage in 2021 by state and locality. To calculate the income increases for workers, we first calculate the earnings difference per hour between the baseline wage and the mandated minimum wage for affected workers. Then, we convert the hourly earnings difference to a 2021 annual figure by multiplying the difference by the usual hours worked per week and the usual weeks worked per year (from the ACS). The 2021 figures for workers affected and income increases for workers were adjusted based on the total population change in states and localities to reflect change in the population bases that have been impacted by Fight for \$15-influenced minimum wage increases.

Cities and counties included as local areas in this analysis were determined by data availability in the 2011 ACS public use microdata sample (PUMS). The 1-Year ACS sample does not identify smaller cities and/or larger cities in cases where disclosure rules would be violated. (The U.S. Census maintains disclosure controls to protect the privacy of survey respondents).⁴³ Therefore, in order to comply with disclosure rules, our analysis using the methods described above were only applicable to nine local areas. To estimate the number of workers affected in the other 43 local jurisdictions we used a quasi-elasticity for the share of total population affected relative to the average minimum wage increase between 2012 and 2021 for the nine (larger) cities available in the ACS. For example, across the nine cities available in the ACS, the average share of the 2011 population affected was 17 percent, while the average change in minimum wage was 80.5 percent. We then

applied this ratio for the remaining cities using their actual percent change in minimum wage and 2011 population based on either the 3-year (2010-2012) or 5-year (2009-2013) ACS summary data. To calculate the estimate annual increase, we applied the average increase per-worker in the observed sample of nine cities (\$7,816) to the estimate number of workers calculated for each city. We refer to the estimate from the set of cities that lack identification in the 1-year ACS PUMS sample as “imputed” figures and are intended to be approximations. The figures presented in this report are rounded.

Race and ethnicity categories are constructed using the ACS’s classifications for race and ethnicity. For this analysis, white represents individuals that identified as white alone (non-Hispanic or Latino), Black represents Black or African-American alone (non-Hispanic or Latino), Asian represents Asian alone (non-Hispanic or Latino), and Latinx represents Hispanic or Latino of any race. Because of the possibility of inflating possible errors, we do not report breakouts by race/ethnicity and gender for the set of cities where imputations were used for estimating the total number of workers affected.

A Note on Disemployment Effects

Scholarly debates on the empirical and theoretical impact of raising the minimum wage on job losses have been raging for decades. For the purposes of the analysis presented here, we do not separately account for the so-called *disemployment* effect of raising the minimum wage. Historically, older studies found a consensus that raising the minimum wage had a negative impact on employment levels (a negative elasticity between 10 and 20 percent). However, more recent empirical research, using a more geographically detailed methodology, has shown convincingly that minimum wage increases do not lead to significant disemployment effects.⁴⁴ This finding has held up to numerous replications and methodological changes and newer studies have confirmed the overall finding of no significant job losses.⁴⁵

While these large-scale national studies of minimum wage impacts, which pool together many modest (ranging from 10 percent to 50 percent) state-level increases in minimum wage over a long time period, have consistently found employment effects close to zero, it is still possible that very large and rapid increases in the minimum wage would cause negative effects. However, the experience of Seattle, which was the first major city to raise its minimum wage to \$15 per hour, shows evidence that largely confirms the finding of no significant employment losses.

The Authors

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Appendix Table A. Impact of State Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2021

State	Number of Workers Affected	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker	Percent of Workforce Affected	Approved Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage in 2021
Alaska	50,000	\$220,000,000	\$4,000	16.6	\$9.75 by 2016	\$10.34
Arizona	900,000	\$5,020,000,000	\$5,500	35.9	\$12.00 by 2020	\$12.15
Arkansas	370,000	\$1,920,000,000	\$5,200	32.0	\$11.00 by 2021	\$11.00
California	5,590,000	\$38,010,000,000	\$6,800	37.0	\$15.00 by 2022 - 2023	\$13.00 - \$14.00
Colorado	740,000	\$4,260,000,000	\$5,800	31.7	\$12.00 by 2020	\$12.32
Connecticut	370,000	\$1,900,000,000	\$5,100	23.1	\$15.00 by 2023	\$13.00 ^{vii}
Delaware	60,000	\$220,000,000	\$3,500	16.2	\$9.25 by 2019 ^{viii}	\$9.25
District of Columbia	80,000	\$580,000,000	\$7,400	26.8	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.20
Florida	1,940,000	\$8,000,000,000	\$4,100	25.5	\$15.00 by 2026	\$10.00 ^{ix}
Hawaii	100,000	\$430,000,000	\$4,400	15.8	\$10.10 by 2018	\$10.10
Illinois	1,270,000	\$5,590,000,000	\$4,400	22.7	\$15.00 by 2025	\$11.00
Maine	180,000	\$950,000,000	\$5,300	30.8	\$12.00 by 2020	\$12.15
Maryland	590,000	\$2,920,000,000	\$5,000	21.3	\$15.00 by 2025 - 2026	\$11.60 - \$11.75

^{vii} Effective August 1, 2021.

^{viii} Although in July 2021, Delaware adopted a law increasing the state's minimum wage to \$15.00 by 2025, the first step in that increase does not take effect until January 1, 2022. Therefore, our analysis for Delaware is limited to the effects of its 2018 minimum wage law, which raised the state's minimum wage to \$9.25 by 2019. For information about Delaware's \$15 minimum wage law, see Sarah Gamard, "Delaware's \$15 Minimum Wage Signed: What to Know and When It Will Increase," *Delaware New Journal*, July 29, 2021, <https://www.delawareonline.com/story/news/politics/2021/07/19/delaware-15-dollar-minimum-wage-signed-carney-when-it-starts/8011288002/>.

^{ix} Effective September 30, 2021.

Appendix Table A. Impact of State Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2021

State	Number of Workers Affected	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker	Percent of Workforce Affected	Approved Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage in 2021
Massachusetts	790,000	\$4,240,000,000	\$5,400	26.0	\$15.00 by 2023	\$13.50
Michigan	930,000	\$3,400,000,000	\$3,700	23.4	\$12.05 by 2030	\$9.65
Minnesota	500,000	\$2,000,000,000	\$4,000	19.6	\$7.75 - \$9.50 by 2016	\$8.21 - \$10.08
Missouri	670,000	\$2,810,000,000	\$4,200	25.9	\$12.00 by 2023	\$10.30
Nebraska	180,000	\$680,000,000	\$3,800	19.8	\$9.00 by 2016	\$9.00
Nevada	230,000	\$940,000,000	\$4,000	20.4	\$11.00 - \$12.00 by 2024	\$8.75 - \$9.75
New Jersey	850,000	\$4,360,000,000	\$5,100	21.6	\$15.00 by 2024 - 2027	\$10.44 - \$12.00
New Mexico	240,000	\$1,110,000,000	\$4,600	29.6	\$12.00 by 2023	\$10.50
New York	2,330,000	\$14,110,000,000	\$6,000	27.9	\$15.00 by 2018 - 2021	\$12.50 - \$15.00 ^x
Oregon	590,000	\$3,170,000,000	\$5,400	37.5	\$12.50 - \$14.75 by 2022	\$12.00 - \$14.00
Rhode Island	120,000	\$620,000,000	\$5,400	24.2	\$11.50 by 2020 ^{xi}	\$11.50
South Dakota	80,000	\$320,000,000	\$3,900	22.0	\$8.50 by 2015	\$9.45
Vermont	70,000	\$340,000,000	\$4,900	23.1	\$12.55 by 2022	\$11.75

^x On December 31, 2021, the minimum wage in Long Island and Westchester County will increase to \$15.00. In Upstate New York, the minimum wage will increase from \$12.50 to an amount to be determined by the Director of the Division of Budget, as part of the state's minimum wage law that puts Upstate on a path to \$15.

^{xi} In May 2021, Rhode Island adopted a law that gradually raises the state minimum wage to \$15.00 by 2025. However, because the first step in the increase does not take effect until January 2022, our analysis is limited to the impact of its 2020 minimum wage law, which raised the state's wage floor to \$11.50. For information about Rhode Island's \$15 minimum wage law, see, Patrick Anderson, "Gov. McKee Signs 4 Years of RI Minimum Wage Hikes Into Law," *The Providence Journal*, May 20, 2021, <https://www.providencejournal.com/story/news/politics/2021/05/20/ris-minimum-wage-increase-15-hour-2025/5183683001/>.

Appendix Table A. Impact of State Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2021

State	Number of Workers Affected	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker	Percent of Workforce Affected	Approved Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage in 2021
Virginia	650,000	\$2,480,000,000	\$3,800	17.5	\$15.00 by 2027 ^{xii}	\$9.50
Washington	1,010,000	\$6,250,000,000	\$6,200	33.9	\$13.50 by 2020	\$13.69
West Virginia	150,000	\$490,000,000	\$3,300	21.2	\$8.75 by 2016	\$8.75
Total	21,630,000	\$117,280,000,000	\$5,400	27.6	---	---

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Where the current state minimum wage varies by size of employer or by local jurisdiction, the higher wage is used for the analysis. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata.

^{xii} Under Virginia law, the state minimum wage will increase to \$12.00 by 2023, and is expected to increase to \$15 by 2027, following approval by the General Assembly. See Virginia Department of Labor and Industry, *Minimum Wage Update*, <https://www.doli.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Combined-Minimum-Wage-Update-Details-and-Notice.pdf>. Accessed May 26, 2021; and Code of Virginia § 40.1-28.10.

Appendix Table B. Impact of Local Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2021

City or County	Number of Workers Affected	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker	Percent of Workforce Affected	Approved Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage in 2021	Imputed
Flagstaff, AZ	13,000	\$100,000,000	\$7,800	43.4	\$15.50 by 2022	\$15.00	Yes
Alameda, CA	14,000	\$110,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.00	Yes
Belmont, CA	5,000	\$40,000,000	\$7,800	44.6	\$15.90 by 2021	\$15.90	Yes
Berkeley, CA	25,000	\$190,000,000	\$7,800	46.5	\$15.00 by 2018	\$16.32	Yes
Burlingame, CA	5,000	\$40,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2021	\$15.00	Yes
Cupertino, CA	12,000	\$90,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.65	Yes
Daly City, CA	19,000	\$150,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2021	\$15.00	Yes
El Cerrito, CA	5,000	\$40,000,000	\$7,800	42.9	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.61	Yes
Emeryville, CA	2,000	\$20,000,000	\$7,800	49.3	\$15.00 by 2017 - 2018	\$17.13	Yes
Fremont, CA	40,000	\$310,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.00 - \$15.25	Yes
Half Moon Bay, CA	2,000	\$20,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2021	\$15.00	Yes
Hayward, CA	27,000	\$210,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2021 - 2023	\$14.00 - \$15.00	Yes
Los Altos, CA	6,000	\$50,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.65	Yes
Los Angeles County, CA ^{xiii}	1,732,000	\$14,150,000,000	\$8,200	43.3	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.00	No
Malibu, CA	2,000	\$20,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.00	Yes

^{xiii} Includes the city of Los Angeles.

Appendix Table B. Impact of Local Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2021

City or County	Number of Workers Affected	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker	Percent of Workforce Affected	Approved Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage in 2021	Imputed
Menlo Park, CA	6,000	\$50,000,000	\$7,800	40.9	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.25	Yes
Milpitas, CA	14,000	\$110,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.65	Yes
Mountain View, CA	17,000	\$130,000,000	\$7,800	46.8	\$15.00 by 2018	\$16.30	Yes
Novato, CA	11,000	\$80,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2022	\$14.00 - \$15.25	Yes
Oakland, CA	68,000	\$430,000,000	\$6,300	38.3	\$12.25 by 2015	\$14.36	No
Palo Alto, CA	13,000	\$100,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.65	Yes
Pasadena, CA	19,000	\$140,000,000	\$7,600	28.2	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.00	No
Petaluma, CA	11,000	\$90,000,000	\$7,800	40.6	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.20	Yes
Redwood City, CA	16,000	\$120,000,000	\$7,800	43.0	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.62	Yes
Richmond, CA	20,000	\$160,000,000	\$7,800	40.7	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.21	Yes
San Carlos, CA	6,000	\$40,000,000	\$7,800	40.8	\$15.00 by 2021	\$15.24	Yes
San Diego, CA	210,000	\$1,640,000,000	\$7,800	33.8	\$11.50 by 2017	\$14.00	Yes
San Francisco, CA	129,000	\$1,110,000,000	\$8,600	31.6	\$15.00 by 2018	\$16.32	No
San Jose, CA	191,000	\$1,490,000,000	\$7,800	42.0	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.45	Yes
San Leandro, CA	16,000	\$120,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.00	Yes
San Mateo, CA	20,000	\$150,000,000	\$7,800	43.0	\$15.00 by 2019 - 2020	\$15.62	Yes

Appendix Table B. Impact of Local Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2021

City or County	Number of Workers Affected	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker	Percent of Workforce Affected	Approved Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage in 2021	Imputed
Santa Clara, CA	24,000	\$190,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.65	Yes
Santa Monica, CA	17,000	\$130,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.00	Yes
Santa Rosa, CA	32,000	\$250,000,000	\$7,800	40.6	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.20	Yes
Sonoma, CA	2,000	\$20,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$16.00 - \$17.00 by 2023	\$14.00 - \$15.00	Yes
South San Francisco, CA	12,000	\$100,000,000	\$7,800	40.9	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.24	Yes
Sunnyvale, CA	31,000	\$240,000,000	\$7,800	46.8	\$15.00 by 2018	\$16.30	Yes
Denver, CO	132,000	\$1,040,000,000	\$7,900	42.0	\$15.87 by 2022	\$14.77	No
Chicago, IL	453,000	\$3,530,000,000	\$7,800	39.0	\$15.00 by 2021-2024	\$14.00 - \$15.00	No
Cook County, IL ^{xiv}	296,000	\$1,660,000,000	\$5,600	27.4	\$13.00 by 2020	\$13.00	No
Montgomery County, MD	224,000	\$1,750,000,000	\$7,800	48.2	\$15.00 by 2022 - 2024	\$13.50 - \$15.00	Yes
Minneapolis, MN	71,000	\$480,000,000	\$6,700	37.5	\$15.00 by 2022 - 2024	\$12.50 - \$14.25	No
St. Paul, MN	32,000	\$250,000,000	\$7,800	23.3	\$15.00 by 2022 - 2027	\$10.00 - \$12.50	Yes
Albuquerque, NM	47,000	\$370,000,000	\$7,800	18.1	\$8.50 by 2013	\$9.50 - \$10.50	Yes
Bernalillo County, NM	35,000	\$270,000,000	\$7,800	11.1	\$8.50 by 2014	\$9.35	Yes
Santa Fe County, NM	20,000	\$150,000,000	\$7,800	29.0	\$10.66 by 2014	\$12.32	Yes

^{xiv} Excludes Chicago.

Appendix Table B. Impact of Local Minimum Wage Increases, 2012-2021

City or County	Number of Workers Affected	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker	Percent of Workforce Affected	Approved Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage in 2021	Imputed
Seattle, WA	131,000	\$1,160,000,000	\$8,800	39.7	\$15.00 by 2017 - 2021	\$15.00 - \$16.69	No
Total	4,240,000	\$33,100,000,000	\$7,800	39.1	---	---	---

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. Where the current local minimum wage varies by size of employer, the higher wage is used for the analysis. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

Appendix Table C-1. Number of Workers Affected, by Race or Ethnicity, 2012-2021 (State)

State	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
Alaska	32,000	1,000	3,000	4,000	50,000
Arizona	448,000	40,000	334,000	26,000	900,000
Arkansas	263,000	65,000	31,000	6,000	370,000
California	1,675,000	278,000	2,864,000	632,000	5,590,000
Colorado	478,000	35,000	189,000	21,000	740,000
Connecticut	227,000	41,000	79,000	17,000	370,000
Delaware	39,000	13,000	8,000	2,000	60,000
District of Columbia	18,000	41,000	16,000	2,000	80,000
Florida	942,000	338,000	576,000	54,000	1,940,000
Hawaii	18,000	2,000	9,000	49,000	100,000
Illinois	741,000	173,000	287,000	49,000	1,270,000
Maine	171,000	2,000	3,000	2,000	180,000
Maryland	280,000	179,000	80,000	35,000	590,000
Massachusetts	547,000	59,000	112,000	47,000	790,000
Michigan	686,000	140,000	57,000	21,000	930,000
Minnesota	406,000	26,000	33,000	20,000	500,000
Missouri	532,000	79,000	29,000	12,000	670,000
Nebraska	144,000	8,000	17,000	3,000	180,000
Nevada	113,000	14,000	80,000	20,000	230,000
New Jersey	397,000	110,000	265,000	61,000	850,000
New Mexico	76,000	3,000	135,000	3,000	240,000
New York	1,174,000	326,000	577,000	209,000	2,330,000
Oregon	431,000	9,000	100,000	25,000	590,000
Rhode Island	80,000	8,000	19,000	4,000	120,000
South Dakota	68,000	1,000	3,000	<i>Fewer than 1,000</i>	80,000

Appendix Table C-1. Number of Workers Affected, by Race or Ethnicity, 2012-2021 (State)

State	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
Vermont	63,000	1,000	2,000	1,000	70,000
Virginia	382,000	148,000	72,000	32,000	650,000
Washington	657,000	37,000	178,000	81,000	1,010,000
West Virginia	138,000	6,000	2,000	2,000	150,000
Total	11,237,000	2,190,000	6,140,000	1,450,000	21,630,000

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Due to small sample size, impacts for multi-racial and Native American workers could not be reliably estimated. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata.

Appendix Table C-2. Additional Annual Income (Aggregate), by Race or Ethnicity, 2012-2021 (State)

State	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
Alaska	\$123,000,000	\$4,000,000	\$11,000,000	\$20,000,000	\$220,00,000
Arizona	\$2,344,000,000	\$239,000,000	\$1,947,000,000	\$176,000,000	\$5,020,000,000
Arkansas	\$1,359,000,000	\$322,000,000	\$173,000,000	\$33,000,000	\$1,920,000,000
California	\$10,596,000,000	\$1,848,000,000	\$20,418,000,000	\$4,291,000,000	\$38,010,000,000
Colorado	\$2,664,000,000	\$189,000,000	\$1,166,000,000	\$159,000,000	\$4,260,000,000
Connecticut	\$1,117,000,000	\$205,000,000	\$434,000,000	\$105,000,000	\$1,900,000,000
Delaware	\$125,000,000	\$71,000,000	\$16,000,000	\$5,000,000	\$220,000,000
District of Columbia	\$127,000,000	\$315,000,000	\$104,000,000	\$23,000,000	\$580,000,000
Florida	\$3,754,000,000	\$1,354,000,000	\$2,457,000,000	\$290,000,000	\$8,000,000,000
Hawaii	\$97,000,000	\$12,000,000	\$36,000,000	\$195,000,000	\$430,000,000
Illinois	\$3,188,000,000	\$806,000,000	\$1,279,000,000	\$235,000,000	\$5,590,000,000
Maine	\$893,000,000	\$11,000,000	\$30,000,000	\$7,000,000	\$950,000,000
Maryland	\$1,286,000,000	\$950,000,000	\$426,000,000	\$177,000,000	\$2,920,000,000
Massachusetts	\$2,860,000,000	\$322,000,000	\$643,000,000	\$285,000,000	\$4,240,000,000
Michigan	\$2,469,000,000	\$563,000,000	\$202,000,000	\$87,000,000	\$3,400,000,000
Minnesota	\$1,620,000,000	\$124,000,000	\$123,000,000	\$73,000,000	\$2,000,000,000
Missouri	\$2,207,000,000	\$349,000,000	\$108,000,000	\$68,000,000	\$2,810,000,000
Nebraska	\$565,000,000	\$24,000,000	\$63,000,000	\$16,000,000	\$680,000,000
Nevada	\$442,000,000	\$57,000,000	\$324,000,000	\$84,000,000	\$940,000,000
New Jersey	\$1,861,000,000	\$542,000,000	\$1,483,000,000	\$365,000,000	\$4,360,000,000
New Mexico	\$328,000,000	\$13,000,000	\$638,000,000	\$18,000,000	\$1,110,000,000
New York	\$6,435,000,000	\$1,869,000,000	\$4,009,000,000	\$1,522,000,000	\$14,110,000,000
Oregon	\$2,275,000,000	\$43,000,000	\$584,000,000	\$128,000,000	\$3,170,000,000
Rhode Island	\$412,000,000	\$55,000,000	\$101,000,000	\$30,000,000	620,000,000
South Dakota	\$271,000,000	\$10,000,000	\$12,000,000	\$3,000,000	\$320,000,000

Appendix Table C-2. Additional Annual Income (Aggregate), by Race or Ethnicity, 2012-2021 (State)

State	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
Vermont	\$314,000,000	\$2,000,000	\$14,000,000	\$4,000,000	\$340,000,000
Virginia	\$1,408,000,000	\$604,000,000	\$300,000,000	\$117,000,000	\$2,480,000,000
Washington	\$3,862,000,000	\$241,000,000	\$1,252,000,000	\$596,000,000	\$6,250,000,000
West Virginia	\$455,000,000	\$15,000,000	\$10,000,000	\$3,000,000	\$490,000,000
Total	\$55,458,000,000	\$11,159,000,000	\$38,361,000,000	\$9,115,000,000	\$117,280,000,000

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Due to small sample size, impacts for multi-racial and Native American workers could not be reliably estimated. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata.

Appendix Table C-3. Additional Annual Income (per Worker), by Race or Ethnicity, 2012-2021 (State)

State	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
Alaska	\$3,800	\$4,700	\$3,200	\$5,400	\$4,000
Arizona	\$5,200	\$5,900	\$5,800	\$6,700	\$5,500
Arkansas	\$5,200	\$5,000	\$5,600	\$5,400	\$5,200
California	\$6,300	\$6,600	\$7,100	\$6,800	\$6,800
Colorado	\$5,600	\$5,400	\$6,200	\$7,400	\$5,800
Connecticut	\$4,900	\$5,000	\$5,500	\$6,300	\$5,100
Delaware	\$3,200	\$5,300	\$1,900	\$2,600	\$3,500
District of Columbia	\$6,900	\$7,800	\$6,400	<i>Not available^{xv}</i>	\$7,400
Florida	\$4,000	\$4,000	\$4,300	\$5,400	\$4,100
Hawaii	\$5,400	\$5,600	\$3,900	\$4,000	\$4,400
Illinois	\$4,300	\$4,700	\$4,500	\$4,800	\$4,400
Maine	\$5,200	\$6,900	<i>Not available^{xv}</i>	\$2,900	\$5,300
Maryland	\$4,600	\$5,300	\$5,300	\$5,100	\$5,000
Massachusetts	\$5,200	\$5,500	\$5,700	\$6,100	\$5,400
Michigan	\$3,600	\$4,000	\$3,600	\$4,100	\$3,700
Minnesota	\$4,000	\$4,700	\$3,700	\$3,700	\$4,000
Missouri	\$4,200	\$4,400	\$3,700	\$5,600	\$4,200
Nebraska	\$3,900	\$2,900	\$3,700	\$4,500	\$3,800
Nevada	\$3,900	\$4,000	\$4,100	\$4,100	\$4,000
New Jersey	\$4,700	\$4,900	\$5,600	\$6,000	\$5,100
New Mexico	\$4,300	\$4,200	\$4,700	\$5,500	\$4,600
New York	\$5,500	\$5,700	\$6,900	\$7,300	\$6,000
Oregon	\$5,300	\$4,900	\$5,800	\$5,200	\$5,400
Rhode Island	\$5,100	\$7,000	\$5,400	\$6,800	\$5,400

^{xv} Due to the small sample size, estimates are not statistically reliable.

Appendix Table C-3. Additional Annual Income (per Worker), by Race or Ethnicity, 2012-2021 (State)

State	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
South Dakota	\$4,000	<i>Not available^{xv}</i>	\$3,900	<i>Not available^{xv}</i>	\$3,900
Vermont	\$5,000	\$1,700	\$7,300	\$7,900	\$4,900
Virginia	\$3,700	\$4,100	\$4,200	\$3,600	\$3,800
Washington	\$5,900	\$6,600	\$7,000	\$7,400	\$6,200
West Virginia	\$3,300	\$2,700	\$4,100	\$1,800	\$3,300
Average	\$4,900	\$5,100	\$6,300	\$6,300	\$5,400

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Due to small sample size, impacts for multi-racial and Native American workers could not be reliably estimated, and are not separately reported. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata.

Appendix Table C-4. Share (%) of Racial or Ethnic Workforce Affected, 2012-2021 (State)

State	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
Alaska	14.2	9.9	17.3	16.8	16.6
Arizona	28.9	42.2	49.4	30.7	35.9
Arkansas	29.4	40.5	45.2	37.9	32.0
California	26.5	36.8	53.2	28.4	37.0
Colorado	27.7	43.9	45.7	31.2	31.7
Connecticut	19.3	28.3	40.2	25.5	23.1
Delaware	14.4	17.3	30.2	12.8	16.2
District of Columbia	13.5	38.0	53.5	14.2	26.8
Florida	21.3	31.2	32.5	24.7	25.5
Hawaii	12.6	19.3	19.7	15.7	15.8
Illinois	19.6	28.1	33.6	17.4	22.7
Maine	30.5	27.1	47.2	37.2	30.8
Maryland	18.3	23.0	34.2	20.6	21.3
Massachusetts	23.0	34.5	44.8	28.6	26.0
Michigan	21.5	33.7	33.6	20.4	23.4
Minnesota	18.4	28.3	31.6	21.4	19.6
Missouri	24.7	32.0	35.2	25.4	25.9
Nebraska	19.1	25.6	23.2	22.0	19.8
Nevada	17.5	17.2	27.9	20.6	20.4
New Jersey	16.8	24.3	38.5	16.8	21.6
New Mexico	21.3	20.1	36.8	30.4	29.6
New York	23.1	29.8	41.8	32.4	27.9
Oregon	34.3	38.3	<i>Not available^{xv}</i>	35.5	37.5
Rhode Island	21.1	33.0	38.7	32.4	24.2

Appendix Table C-4. Share (%) of Racial or Ethnic Workforce Affected, 2012-2021 (State)

State	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
South Dakota	20.2	25.8	34.1	6.3	22.0
Vermont	22.6	<i>Not available^{xv}</i>	<i>Not available^{xv}</i>	14.3	23.1
Virginia	15.5	22.5	23.7	14.2	17.5
Washington	29.7	39.6	<i>Not available^{xv}</i>	32.1	33.9
West Virginia	20.6	31.8	33.2	30.8	21.2
Average	22.7	29.8	43.9	25.8	27.6

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Due to small sample size, impacts for multi-racial and Native American workers could not be reliably estimated, and are not separately reported. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata.

Appendix Table D-1. Number of Workers Affected, by Race or Ethnicity, 2012-2021 (Selected Localities)

City or County	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
Los Angeles County, CA (includes the city of Los Angeles)	325,000	108,000	1,060,000	211,000	1,732,000
Oakland, CA	13,000	20,000	20,000	13,000	68,000
Pasadena, CA	5,000	2,000	10,000	2,000	19,000
San Francisco, CA	45,000	7,000	27,000	46,000	129,000
Denver, CO	57,000	13,000	52,000	6,000	132,000
Chicago, IL	107,000	124,000	188,000	25,000	453,000
Cook County, IL (except Chicago)	151,000	42,000	78,000	19,000	296,000
Minneapolis, MN	40,000	11,000	13,000	3,000	71,000
Seattle, WA	77,000	9,000	9,000	131,000	131,000
Total	805,000	334,000	1,457,000	351,000	3,032,000

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. Due to small sample size, impacts for multi-racial and Native American workers could not be reliably estimated, and are not separately reported. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

Appendix Table D-2. Additional Annual Income (Aggregate), by Race or Ethnicity, 2012-2021 (Selected Localities)

City or County	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
Los Angeles County, CA (includes the city of Los Angeles)	\$2,440,000,000	\$810,000,000	\$8,990,000,000	\$1,720,000,000	\$14,150,000,000
Oakland, CA	\$90,000,000	\$110,000,000	\$130,000,000	\$80,000,000	\$430,000,000
Pasadena, CA	\$30,000,000	\$10,000,000	\$80,000,000	\$20,000,000	\$140,000,000
San Francisco, CA	\$380,000,000	\$60,000,000	\$240,000,000	\$400,000,000	\$1,110,000,000
Denver, CO	\$430,000,000	\$90,000,000	\$450,000,000	\$70,000,000	\$1,040,000,000
Chicago, IL	\$830,000,000	\$940,000,000	\$1,490,000,000	\$210,000,000	\$3,530,000,000
Cook County, IL (except Chicago)	\$810,000,000	\$240,000,000	\$480,000,000	\$90,000,000	\$1,660,000,000
Minneapolis, MN	\$260,000,000	\$80,000,000	\$90,000,000	\$30,000,000	\$480,000,000
Seattle, WA	\$660,000,000	\$90,000,000	\$80,000,000	\$260,000,000	\$1,160,000,000
Total	\$5,800,000,000	\$2,430,000,000	\$12,020,000,000	\$2,870,000,000	\$23,700,000,000

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. Due to small sample size, impacts for multi-racial and Native American workers could not be reliably estimated, and are not separately reported. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

**Appendix Table D-3. Additional Annual Income (per Worker), by Race or Ethnicity, 2012-2021
(Selected Localities)**

City or County	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
Los Angeles County, CA (includes the city of Los Angeles)	\$7,500	\$7,600	\$8,500	\$8,100	\$8,200
Oakland, CA	\$7,200	\$5,700	\$6,400	\$6,500	\$6,300
Pasadena, CA	\$6,800	\$6,300	\$8,100	\$8,500	\$7,600
San Francisco, CA	\$8,500	\$8,700	\$8,800	\$8,600	\$8,600
Denver, CO	\$7,500	\$6,600	\$8,600	<i>Not available^{xv}</i>	\$7,900
Chicago, IL	\$7,800	\$7,500	\$7,900	\$8,400	\$7,800
Cook County, IL (except Chicago)	\$5,400	\$5,800	\$6,100	\$5,000	\$5,600
Minneapolis, MN	\$6,400	\$7,200	\$7,000	\$8,100	\$6,700
Seattle, WA	\$8,600	<i>Not available^{xv}</i>	\$8,300	\$9,900	\$8,800
Average	\$7,200	\$7,300	\$8,300	\$8,200	\$7,800

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. Due to small sample size, impacts for multi-racial and Native American workers could not be reliably estimated, and are not separately reported. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

Appendix Table D-4. Share (%) of Racial or Ethnic Workforce Affected, 2012-2021 (Selected Localities)

City or County	White	Black	Latinx	Asian	All Workers
Los Angeles County, CA (includes the city of Los Angeles)	27.0	37.7	58.3	34.5	43.3
Oakland, CA	21.3	47.7	51.9	40.5	38.3
Pasadena, CA	19.8	23.1	47.6	17.0	28.2
San Francisco, CA	23.3	48.8	47.2	35.0	31.6
Denver, CO	28.9	54.7	68.7	54.5	42.0
Chicago, IL	22.4	45.7	57.9	36.8	39.0
Cook County, IL (except Chicago)	23.6	28.7	40.5	21.5	27.4
Minneapolis, MN	28.6	52.9	<i>Not available^{xv}</i>	40.5	37.5
Seattle, WA	33.3	50.6	52.4	53.7	39.7
Average	25.4	40.7	57.0	34.2	39.0

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. Due to small sample size, impacts for multi-racial and Native American workers could not be reliably estimated, and are not separately reported. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

Appendix Table E-1. Number of Workers and Share of Workforce Affected, by Gender, 2012-2021 (State)

State	Workers Affected			Share of Workforce (%)		
	Male	Female	All Workers	Male	Female	All Workers
Alaska	20,000	30,000	50,000	13.2	20.4	16.6
Arizona	430,000	470,000	900,000	32.4	39.8	35.9
Arkansas	160,000	210,000	370,000	27.1	37.2	32.0
California	2,790,000	2,800,000	5,590,000	34.6	40.1	37.0
Colorado	340,000	400,000	740,000	27.6	36.3	31.7
Connecticut	170,000	200,000	370,000	21.2	25.0	23.1
Delaware	30,000	40,000	60,000	13.6	18.8	16.2
District of Columbia	40,000	40,000	80,000	26.1	27.5	26.8
Florida	910,000	1,030,000	1,940,000	23.5	27.6	25.5
Hawaii	40,000	60,000	100,000	12.6	19.4	15.8
Illinois	570,000	700,000	1,270,000	19.9	25.7	22.7
Maine	80,000	100,000	180,000	26.8	34.7	30.8
Maryland	270,000	320,000	590,000	19.5	23.2	21.3
Massachusetts	350,000	430,000	790,000	23.2	28.9	26.0
Michigan	400,000	520,000	930,000	20.2	26.8	23.4
Minnesota	230,000	270,000	500,000	18.1	21.3	19.6
Missouri	290,000	380,000	670,000	22.1	29.8	25.9
Nebraska	80,000	100,000	180,000	16.6	23.1	19.8
Nevada	120,000	120,000	230,000	19.2	21.8	20.4
New Jersey	390,000	460,000	850,000	19.1	24.3	21.6
New Mexico	110,000	140,000	240,000	24.6	35.1	29.6
New York	1,120,000	1,210,000	2,330,000	26.3	29.6	27.9
Oregon	280,000	310,000	590,000	33.7	41.7	37.5

Appendix Table E-1. Number of Workers and Share of Workforce Affected, by Gender, 2012-2021 (State)

State	Workers Affected			Share of Workforce (%)		
	Male	Female	All Workers	Male	Female	All Workers
Rhode Island	50,000	70,000	120,000	20.6	27.8	24.2
South Dakota	30,000	50,000	80,000	18.2	25.9	22.0
Vermont	30,000	40,000	70,000	21.3	24.9	23.1
Virginia	280,000	370,000	650,000	14.6	20.6	17.5
Washington	460,000	550,000	1,010,000	28.7	40.0	33.9
West Virginia	70,000	80,000	150,000	18.2	24.4	21.2
Total	10,150,000	11,480,000	21,630,000	25.0	30.5	27.6

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state.
 Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata.

Appendix Table E-2. Aggregate and per Worker Additional Annual Income, by Gender, 2012-2021 (State)

State	Aggregate			Per Worker		
	Male	Female	All Workers	Male	Female	All Workers
Alaska	\$100,000,000	\$120,000,000	\$220,000,000	\$4,400	\$3,700	\$4,000
Arizona	\$2,580,000,000	\$2,440,000,000	\$5,020,000,000	\$6,000	\$5,200	\$5,500
Arkansas	\$950,000,000	\$970,000,000	\$1,920,000,000	\$5,800	\$4,700	\$5,200
California	\$20,140,000,000	\$17,870,000,000	\$38,010,000,000	\$7,200	\$6,400	\$6,800
Colorado	\$2,060,000,000	\$2,200,000,000	\$4,260,000,000	\$6,000	\$5,500	\$5,800
Connecticut	\$910,000,000	\$990,000,000	\$1,900,000,000	\$5,300	\$5,000	\$5,100
Delaware	\$90,000,000	\$130,000,000	\$220,000,000	\$3,400	\$3,500	\$3,500
District of Columbia	\$280,000,000	\$290,000,000	\$580,000,000	\$7,800	\$7,000	\$7,400
Florida	\$3,890,000,000	\$4,110,000,000	\$8,000,000,000	\$4,300	\$4,000	\$4,100
Hawaii	\$200,000,000	\$230,000,000	\$430,000,000	\$4,900	\$4,100	\$4,400
Illinois	\$2,670,000,000	\$2,920,000,000	\$5,590,000,000	\$4,700	\$4,200	\$4,400
Maine	\$440,000,000	\$510,000,000	\$950,000,000	\$5,700	\$5,000	\$5,300
Maryland	\$1,350,000,000	\$1,570,000,000	\$2,920,000,000	\$5,000	\$4,900	\$5,000
Massachusetts	\$2,050,000,000	\$2,190,000,000	\$4,240,000,000	\$5,800	\$5,100	\$5,400
Michigan	\$1,560,000,000	\$1,840,000,000	\$3,400,000,000	\$3,900	\$3,500	\$3,700
Minnesota	\$990,000,000	\$1,010,000,000	\$2,000,000,000	\$4,200	\$3,800	\$4,000
Missouri	\$1,300,000,000	\$1,500,000,000	\$2,810,000,000	\$4,500	\$4,000	\$4,200
Nebraska	\$320,000,000	\$350,000,000	\$680,000,000	\$4,200	\$3,600	\$3,800
Nevada	\$500,000,000	\$440,000,000	\$940,000,000	\$4,200	\$3,700	\$4,000
New Jersey	\$2,100,000,000	\$2,270,000,000	\$4,360,000,000	\$5,300	\$4,900	\$5,100
New Mexico	\$520,000,000	\$580,000,000	\$1,110,000,000	\$5,000	\$4,300	\$4,600
New York	\$7,210,000,000	\$6,900,000,000	\$14,110,000,000	\$6,400	\$5,700	\$6,000
Oregon	\$1,600,000,000	\$1,570,000,000	\$3,170,000,000	\$5,800	\$5,000	\$5,400

Appendix Table E-2. Aggregate and per Worker Additional Annual Income, by Gender, 2012-2021 (State)

State	Aggregate			Per Worker		
	Male	Female	All Workers	Male	Female	All Workers
Rhode Island	\$270,000,000	\$350,000,000	\$620,000,000	\$5,500	\$5,300	\$5,400
South Dakota	140,000,000	\$180,000,000	\$320,000,000	\$4,100	\$3,800	\$3,900
Vermont	\$170,000,000	\$170,000,000	\$340,000,000	\$5,400	\$4,600	\$4,900
Virginia	\$1,160,000,000	\$1,320,000,000	\$2,480,000,000	\$4,100	\$3,600	\$3,800
Washington	\$3,080,000,000	\$3,170,000,000	\$6,250,000,000	\$6,800	\$5,800	\$6,200
West Virginia	\$230,000,000	\$260,000,000	\$490,000,000	\$3,500	\$3,100	\$3,300
Total	\$58,840,000,000	\$58,440,000,000	\$117,280,000,000	\$5,800	\$5,100	\$5,400

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state.
Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata.

**Appendix Table F-1. Number of Workers and Share of Workforce Affected, by Gender, 2012-2021
(Selected Localities)**

City or County	Workers Affected			Share of Workforce (%)		
	Male	Female	All Workers	Male	Female	All Workers
Los Angeles County, CA (includes the city of Los Angeles)	897,000	835,000	1,732,000	41.6	45.4	43.3
Oakland, CA	34,000	34,000	68,000	37.9	38.8	38.3
Pasadena, CA	11,000	8,000	19,000	28.0	28.4	28.2
San Francisco, CA	64,000	65,000	129,000	29.5	34.1	31.6
Denver, CO	64,000	67,000	132,000	39.5	44.8	42.0
Chicago, IL	223,000	230,000	453,000	37.1	41.1	39.0
Cook County, IL (except Chicago)	139,000	157,000	296,000	24.9	30.1	27.4
Minneapolis, MN	32,000	39,000	71,000	33.3	41.8	37.5
Seattle, WA	65,000	66,000	131,000	37.4	42.3	39.7
Total	1,529,000	1,503,000	3,032,000	37.1	41.1	39.0
Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.						

**Appendix Table F-2. Aggregate and per Worker Additional Annual Income, by Gender, 2012-2021
(Selected Localities)**

City of County	Aggregate			Per Worker		
	Male	Female	All Workers	Male	Female	All Workers
Los Angeles County, CA (includes the city of Los Angeles)	\$7,750,000,000	\$6,400,000,000	\$14,150,000,000	\$8,600	\$7,700	\$8,200
Oakland, CA	\$210,000,000	\$220,000,000	\$430,000,000	\$6,200	\$6,300	\$6,300
Pasadena, CA	\$90,000,000	\$60,000,000	\$140,000,000	\$8,300	\$6,800	\$7,600
San Francisco, CA	\$520,000,000	\$580,000,000	\$1,110,000,000	\$8,200	\$8,900	\$8,600
Denver, CO	\$520,000,000	\$520,000,000	\$1,040,000,000	\$8,100	\$7,700	\$7,900
Chicago, IL	\$1,820,000,000	\$1,720,000,000	\$3,530,000,000	\$8,100	\$7,500	\$7,800
Cook County, IL (except Chicago)	\$780,000,000	\$870,000,000	\$1,660,000,000	\$5,600	\$5,600	\$5,600
Minneapolis, MN	\$240,000,000	\$240,000,000	\$480,000,000	\$7,400	\$6,100	\$6,700
Seattle, WA	\$580,000,000	\$580,000,000	\$1,160,000,000	\$8,900	\$8,800	\$8,800
Total	\$12,510,000,000	\$11,180,000,000	\$23,700,000,000	\$8,200	\$7,400	\$7,800

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

Appendix Table G. Impact of \$15 Minimum Wage Laws, 2012-2021 (States)

State	Number of Workers Affected	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker	Percent of Workforce Affected	Approved Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage in 2021
California	5,590,000	\$38,010,000,000	\$6,800	37.0	\$15.00 by 2022 - 2023	\$13.00 - \$14.00
Connecticut	370,000	\$1,900,000,000	\$5,100	23.1	\$15.00 by 2023	\$13.00 ^{xvi}
District of Columbia	80,000	\$580,000,000	\$7,400	26.8	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.20
Florida	1,940,000	\$8,000,000,000	\$4,100	25.5	\$15.00 by 2026	\$10.00 ^{xvii}
Illinois	1,270,000	\$5,590,000,000	\$4,400	22.7	\$15.00 by 2025	\$11.00
Maryland	590,000	\$2,920,000,000	\$5,000	21.3	\$15.00 by 2025 - 2026	\$11.60 - \$11.75
Massachusetts	790,000	\$4,240,000,000	\$5,400	26.0	\$15.00 by 2023	\$13.50
New Jersey	850,000	\$4,360,000,000	\$5,100	21.6	\$15.00 by 2024 - 2027	\$10.44 - \$12.00
New York	2,330,000	\$14,110,000,000	\$6,000	27.9	\$15.00 by 2018 - 2021	\$12.50 - \$15.00 ^{xviii}
Virginia	650,000	\$2,480,000,000	\$3,800	17.5	\$15.00 by 2027 ^{xix}	\$9.50
Total	14,470,000	\$82,180,000,000	\$5,700	25.0	---	---

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. For the purpose of this analysis, the District of Columbia is treated as a state. Delaware and Rhode Island are two additional states on a gradual path to \$15. However, because the first increases in their \$15 minimum wage laws do not take effect until 2022, neither Delaware nor Rhode Island are included in this table. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata.

^{xvi} Effective August 1, 2021.

^{xvii} Effective September 30, 2021.

^{xviii} On December 31, 2021, the minimum wage in Long Island and Westchester County will increase to \$15.00. In Upstate New York, the minimum wage will increase from \$12.50 to an amount to be determined by the Director of the Division of Budget, as part of the state's minimum wage law that puts Upstate on a path to \$15.

^{xix} Under Virginia law, the state minimum wage will increase to \$12.00 by 2023, and is expected to increase to \$15 by 2027, following approval by the General Assembly. See Virginia Department of Labor and Industry, *Minimum Wage Update*, <https://www.doli.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Combined-Minimum-Wage-Update-Details-and-Notice.pdf>. Accessed May 26, 2021; and Code of Virginia § 40.1-28.10.

Appendix Table H. Impact of \$15 (or Higher) Minimum Wage Laws, 2012-2021 (Localities)

City or County	Number of Workers Affected	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker	Percent of Workforce Affected	Approved Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage in 2021	Imputed
Flagstaff, AZ	13,000	\$100,000,000	\$7,800	43.4	\$15.50 by 2022	\$15.00	Yes
Alameda, CA	14,000	\$110,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.00	Yes
Belmont, CA	5,000	\$40,000,000	\$7,800	44.6	\$15.90 by 2021	\$15.90	Yes
Berkeley, CA	25,000	\$190,000,000	\$7,800	46.5	\$15.00 by 2018	\$16.32	Yes
Burlingame, CA	5,000	\$40,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2021	\$15.00	Yes
Cupertino, CA	12,000	\$90,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.65	Yes
Daly City, CA	19,000	\$150,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2021	\$15.00	Yes
El Cerrito, CA	5,000	\$40,000,000	\$7,800	42.9	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.61	Yes
Emeryville, CA	2,000	\$20,000,000	\$7,800	49.3	\$15.00 by 2017 - 2018	\$17.13	Yes
Fremont, CA	40,000	\$310,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.00 - \$15.25	Yes
Half Moon Bay, CA	2,000	\$20,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2021	\$15.00	Yes
Hayward, CA	27,000	\$210,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2021 - 2023	\$14.00 - \$15.00	Yes
Los Altos, CA	6,000	\$50,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.65	Yes
Los Angeles County, CA ^{xx}	1,732,000	\$14,150,000,000	\$8,200	43.3	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.00	No
Malibu, CA	2,000	\$20,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.00	Yes

^{xx} Includes the city of Los Angeles.

Appendix Table H. Impact of \$15 (or Higher) Minimum Wage Laws, 2012-2021 (Localities)

City or County	Number of Workers Affected	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker	Percent of Workforce Affected	Approved Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage in 2021	Imputed
Menlo Park, CA	6,000	\$50,000,000	\$7,800	40.9	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.25	Yes
Milpitas, CA	14,000	\$110,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.65	Yes
Mountain View, CA	17,000	\$130,000,000	\$7,800	46.8	\$15.00 by 2018	\$16.30	Yes
Novato, CA	11,000	\$80,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2022	\$14.00 - \$15.25	Yes
Palo Alto, CA	13,000	\$100,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.65	Yes
Pasadena, CA	19,000	\$140,000,000	\$7,600	28.2	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.00	No
Petaluma, CA	11,000	\$90,000,000	\$7,800	40.6	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.20	Yes
Redwood City, CA	16,000	\$120,000,000	\$7,800	43.0	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.62	Yes
Richmond, CA	20,000	\$160,000,000	\$7,800	40.7	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.21	Yes
San Carlos, CA	6,000	\$40,000,000	\$7,800	40.8	\$15.00 by 2021	\$15.24	Yes
San Francisco, CA	129,000	\$1,110,000,000	\$8,600	31.6	\$15.00 by 2018	\$16.32	No
San Jose, CA	191,000	\$1,490,000,000	\$7,800	42.0	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.45	Yes
San Leandro, CA	16,000	\$120,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.00	Yes
San Mateo, CA	20,000	\$150,000,000	\$7,800	43.0	\$15.00 by 2019 - 2020	\$15.62	Yes
Santa Clara, CA	24,000	\$190,000,000	\$7,800	43.2	\$15.00 by 2019	\$15.65	Yes
Santa Monica, CA	17,000	\$130,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.00	Yes

Appendix Table H. Impact of \$15 (or Higher) Minimum Wage Laws, 2012-2021 (Localities)

City or County	Number of Workers Affected	Additional Annual Income for All Workers	Additional Annual Income per Worker	Percent of Workforce Affected	Approved Minimum Wage	Minimum Wage in 2021	Imputed
Santa Rosa, CA	32,000	\$250,000,000	\$7,800	40.6	\$15.00 by 2020 - 2021	\$15.20	Yes
Sonoma, CA	2,000	\$20,000,000	\$7,800	39.5	\$16.00 - \$17.00 by 2023	\$14.00 - \$15.00	Yes
South San Francisco, CA	12,000	\$100,000,000	\$7,800	40.9	\$15.00 by 2020	\$15.24	Yes
Sunnyvale, CA	31,000	\$240,000,000	\$7,800	46.8	\$15.00 by 2018	\$16.30	Yes
Denver, CO	132,000	\$1,040,000,000	\$7,900	42.0	\$15.87 by 2022	\$14.77	No
Chicago, IL	453,000	\$3,530,000,000	\$7,800	39.0	\$15.00 by 2021-2024	\$14.00 - \$15.00	No
Montgomery County, MD	224,000	\$1,750,000,000	\$7,800	48.2	\$15.00 by 2022 - 2024	\$13.50 - \$15.00	Yes
Minneapolis, MN	71,000	\$480,000,000	\$6,700	37.5	\$15.00 by 2022 - 2024	\$12.50 - \$14.25	No
St. Paul, MN	32,000	\$250,000,000	\$7,800	23.3	\$15.00 by 2022 - 2027	\$10.00 - \$12.50	Yes
Seattle, WA	131,000	\$1,160,000,000	\$8,800	39.7	\$15.00 by 2017 - 2021	\$15.00 - \$16.69	No
Total	3,558,000	\$28,580,000,000	\$8,000	41.0	---	---	---

Notes: Figures are rounded and may not add up to total. Source: Authors' analysis of American Community Survey 1-Year (2011) public use microdata, and 3-Year (2010-2012), or 5-year (2009-2013) summary data.

Appendix Table I. Employer Increases, 2012-2021

State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Year Policy Adopted	Collective Bargaining Agreement?
California	BEGA North America	\$15.00 by 2018	2018	No
California	California State University	10.5% raise by 2019	2016	Yes
California	First Republic Bank	\$20.00 by 2016	2016	No
California	Los Angeles Unified School District	\$15.00 by 2016	2014	Yes
California	University of California	\$15.00 by 2017	2015	No
Colorado	Aspen Skiing Co.	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Colorado	Denver janitors	\$15.00 by 2020	2016	Yes
Colorado	Denver International Airport	\$15.00 by 2021	2019	No
Connecticut	Hartford HealthCare	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Connecticut	Middlesex Health	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Delaware	Canalside Inn	\$15.00 by 2020	2020	No
Delaware	Christiana Care Health System	\$15.00 by 2019	2018	No
District of Columbia	Well-Paid Maids	\$16.00 by 2017 \$17.00 by 2018 \$19.00 by 2020 \$20.00 by 2021	2017 2018 2020 2021	No No No No
Idaho	TruckStop.com (formerly, Internet Truck Stop)	\$15.00 by 2015	2015	No
Illinois	Honey Butter Fried Chicken	\$15.00 by 2019	2017	No
Illinois	Intellihot	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Iowa	Clarke University	\$15.00 by 2026	2021	No
Iowa	EveryStep	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Iowa	Mercy Medical Center & MercyCare Community Physicians	\$15.25 by 2021	2020	No
Florida	Baptist Health	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Florida	C1 Bank	\$15.00 by 2015	2015	No

Appendix Table I. Employer Increases, 2012-2021

State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Year Policy Adopted	Collective Bargaining Agreement?
Florida	Consulate Health Care	\$10.40 - \$15.00 by 2020	2016	Yes
Florida	First Green Bank	\$15.00 by 2015	2015	No
Florida	JM Family Enterprises	\$16.00 by 2015	2015	No
Florida	Lakewood Organix Juice	\$15.00 by 2016	2016	No
Florida	Reef Technology	\$20.00 by 2021	2021	No
Florida	Orlando Health	\$15.00 by 2023	2021	No
Florida	Universal Park and Resorts (Epic Universe) Universal Studios Orland	\$15.00 by 2019 \$15.00 by 2021	2019 2021	No No
Florida	VyStar Credit Union	\$15.00 by 2019	2018	No
Florida	Walt Disney	\$15.00 by 2021	2018	Yes
Georgia	Gas South	\$15.00 by 2016	2016	No
Georgia	Lidl grocery stores in Atlanta	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Georgia	Thunderbird Inn	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Kentucky	University of Kentucky	\$15.00 by 2022	2021	No
Kentucky	White House Clinics	\$15.05 by 2021	2021	No
Louisiana	Ochsner Health System	\$12.00 by 2019	2018	No
Maine	Bowdoin College	\$17.00 by 2022	2019	No
Maine	Jackson Lab	\$15.00 by 2016	2016	No
Maine	Knack Factory	\$15.00 by 2015	2015	No
Maryland	Anne Arundel Medical Center	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Maryland	Hyatt Regency Hotel (Baltimore)	\$16.20 by 2024	2019	Yes
Maryland	John Hopkins University	\$15.00 by 2021-2022	2021	No
Maryland	John Hopkins Hospital	\$15.00 by 2017	2014	Yes
Maryland	LifeBridge Health	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No

Appendix Table I. Employer Increases, 2012-2021

State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Year Policy Adopted	Collective Bargaining Agreement?
Maryland	Univ. of Maryland Medical Ctr Midtown	\$15.00 by 2018	2016	Yes
Massachusetts	Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center	\$15.00 by 2016	2015	No
Massachusetts	Boston Medical Center	\$15.12 by 2016	2015	Yes
Massachusetts	Bridj	\$15.00 by 2015	2015	No
Massachusetts	Curriculum Associates	\$15.00 by 2015	2015	No
Massachusetts	Home care workers whose wages are negotiated with the state	\$15.00 by 2018	2015	Yes
Massachusetts	Lynn Community Health Center	\$15.00 by 2016	2014	Yes
Massachusetts	Stewart Health Care Hospitals	Up to \$15.00 by 2019	2016	Yes
Massachusetts	Tufts Medical Center	\$15.00 by 2017	2016	No
Massachusetts	Tufts Health Plan	\$15.00 by 2015	2015	No
Michigan	Henry Ford Health System	\$15.00 by 2020	2020	No
Michigan	Long Road Distillers	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Michigan	The Mitten Brewing Co.	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Michigan	The Peoples Cider Co.	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Michigan	Trinity Health Michigan	\$15.00 by 2020	2020	No
Michigan	Two Scotts Barbecue	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Minnesota	Alina Health Hospitals (service workers)	\$15.00 by 2018	2015	Yes
Minnesota	Bridgewater Bank	\$20.00 by 2021	2021	No
Minnesota	Common Roots Café	\$15.00 by 2017	2017	No
Minnesota	Minneapolis janitors (SEIU members)	\$13.64 - \$16.42 by 2019	2016	Yes
Minnesota	Punch Pizza	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Minnesota	University of Minnesota (clerical workers)	\$15.00 by 2017	2015	Yes
Minnesota	Valley Fair	\$15.00 - \$17.00	2021	No

Appendix Table I. Employer Increases, 2012-2021

State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Year Policy Adopted	Collective Bargaining Agreement?
		by 2021		
Mississippi	Sanderson Farms	\$15.00 - \$27.45 by 2019	2019	No
Missouri	AdventHealth Shawnee Mission	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Missouri	BJC Healthcare	\$15.00 by 2021	2019	No
Missouri	North Kansas City Hospital & Meritas Health	\$15.00 by 2020	2020	No
Missouri	St. Francis Medical Center	\$11.70 by 2018	2018	No
Missouri	St. Luke's Health System	\$15.00 by 2020	2020	No
Missouri	Truman Medical Centers / Univ. Health	\$15.00 by 2021	2020	No
Missouri	Washington University	\$15.00 by 2021	2019	Yes
Missouri	Worlds of Fun	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Montana	Bozeman Health	\$15 by 2020	2019	No
New Hampshire	Franklin Savings Bank	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
New Hampshire	Hermit Wood Winery	\$15.00 by 2016	2016	No
New Jersey	Cooper University Health Care	\$15.00 by 2019	2018	No
New Jersey	Hudson County Community College	\$15.00 by 2018	2018	No
New Jersey	Virtua Health	\$15.15 by 2019	2018	No
New Mexico	Meow Wolf	\$17.00 by 2019	2019	No
New Mexico	Santa Fe Animal Shelter	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
New York	Columbia University	\$15.00 by 2018	2016	No
New York	Check Maid Cleaning	\$15.00 by 2016	2016	No
New York	Hello Alfred	\$18.00 - \$30.00 by 2016	2016	No
New York	Hudson River HealthCare	\$15.00 by 2015	2015	No
New York	Maple	\$14.00 by 2015	2015	No

Appendix Table I. Employer Increases, 2012-2021

State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Year Policy Adopted	Collective Bargaining Agreement?
New York	New York University (students)	\$15.00 by 2019	2016	No
New York	St. Ann’s Community at the Greens	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
New York	University of Rochester	\$15.00 by 2017 \$15.00 by 2022	2014 2021	Yes (service workers) No (all workers)
North Carolina	Atrium Health	\$12.50 by 2018 \$13.50 by 2020	2018 2020	No No
North Carolina	Cone Health	\$12.00 by 2017	2017	No
North Carolina	Duke University	\$15.00 by 2019	2017	No
North Carolina	Novant Health	\$11.00 by 2017 \$12.50 by 2018 \$15.00 by 2021	2017 2018 2020	No No No
North Carolina	University of North Carolina	\$15.00 by 2019	2018	No
North Carolina	Wake Forest Baptist Medical Center	\$12.50 by 2019 \$15.00 by 2021	2018 2021	No No
Ohio	Akron Children’s Hospital	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Ohio	ArcelorMittal	\$15.00 by 2023	2019	Yes
Ohio	Cincinnati’s Children Hospital	\$15.00 by 2020	2019	No
Ohio	Cleveland Orchestra	\$15.00 by 2021	2019	Yes
Ohio	Cuyahoga Community College (Tri-C)	\$15.00 by 2024	2019	Yes
Ohio	Fifth Third Bancorp	\$18.00 by 2019	2019	No
Ohio	Metro Health System	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Ohio	Nationwide Children’s Hospital	\$15.00 by 2020	2019	No
Ohio	The Cleveland Clinic	\$15.10 by 2020	2018	No
Oregon	Home care workers whose wages are negotiated with the state	\$15.00 by 2017	2015	Yes
Oregon	Home Forward	\$15.00 by 2014	2014	Yes
Oregon	Nestucca Ridge Family of Companies	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No

Appendix Table I. Employer Increases, 2012-2021

State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Year Policy Adopted	Collective Bargaining Agreement?
Oregon	Ruby Receptionists	\$15.00 by 2015	2015	No
Pennsylvania	Allegheny Health Network	\$15.00 by 2021	2018	No
Pennsylvania	Duquesne University	\$16.00 by 2015	2015	No
Pennsylvania	Geisinger	\$11.00 by 2018	2018	No
Pennsylvania	HipCityVeg	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Pennsylvania	Jefferson University Hospital	\$15.00 by 2019	2018	No
Pennsylvania	Klavon's Ice Cream Parlor	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Pennsylvania	Nursing home workers (SEIU members)	\$15.00 by 2021	2016	Yes
Pennsylvania	Main Line Health	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Pennsylvania	Rivers Casino (non-tipped workers)	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Pennsylvania	Rutter's	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Pennsylvania	University of Pittsburgh Medical Center	\$15.00 by 2021	2016	No
Pennsylvania	Washington Hospital	\$15.00 by 2019	2016	Yes
Pennsylvania	WellSpan Health	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Tennessee	Christian Brothers University	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Tennessee	First Tennessee Bank	\$15.00 by 2018	2018	No
Tennessee	Methodist Le Bonheur Healthcare	\$15.00 by 2021	2019	No
Tennessee	Momentum Nonprofit Partners (job board)	\$15.00 required	2019	No
Tennessee	St. Jude Children's Research Hospital	\$15.00 by 2019	2018	No
Tennessee	University of Tennessee Health Sciences Center	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Tennessee	Volkswagen plant	\$16.00 by 2019	2019	No
Texas	Bill Miller Bar-B-Q	\$12.00 by 2021	2021	No
Texas	Houston Independent School District	\$14.00 by 2020	2019	No
Texas	United Services Automobile Association	\$16.00 by 2017	2017	No

Appendix Table I. Employer Increases, 2012-2021

State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Year Policy Adopted	Collective Bargaining Agreement?
Vermont	Ben & Jerry's (full-time workers)	\$16.92 by 2015 \$18.13 by 2020	2015 2020	No No
Vermont	King Arthur Flour	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Vermont	Popolo Italian Eatery	\$15.00 by 2016	2016	No
Virginia	University of Virginia	\$15.00 by 2020	2019	No
Washington	Evergreen Health	\$15.00 by 2017	2017	Yes
Washington	Seattle Central Co-Op	\$15.36 by 2015	2015	Yes
Washington	University of Washington	\$15.00 by 2017	2015	No
Wisconsin	At Your Service	\$15.00 by 2018	2018	No
Wisconsin	Delta Diner	\$15.00 by 2015	2015	No
Wisconsin	Froedtert Health	\$15.00 by 2021	2018	No
Wisconsin	Geneva Supply	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Wisconsin	Milwaukee Bucks	\$15.00 by 2023	2016	No
Wisconsin	Pablo Group	\$16.00 by 2021	2021	No
Wisconsin	ProHealth Care	\$15.00 by 2021	2018	No
Wisconsin	UW Credit Union	\$15.00 by 2017	2016	No
Wisconsin	University of Wisconsin at Madison	\$15.00 by 2021	2019	No
Various	Advocate Aurora Health	\$15.00 by 2021	2018	No
Various	Aetna	\$16.00 by 2015	2015	No
Various	Air Culinaire	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Various	Allstate	\$15.00 by 2016	2016	No
Various	Amalgamated Bank	\$15.00 by 2015 \$20.00 by 2019	2015 2019	Yes Yes
Various	Amazon (Some locations)	\$15.00 by 2018 \$17.00 by 2021	2018 2021	No No
Various	Aquesta Financial Holdings	\$15.00 by 2018	2017	No

Appendix Table I. Employer Increases, 2012-2021

State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Year Policy Adopted	Collective Bargaining Agreement?
Various	Ascension Health Care (various states) (Wisconsin)	\$11.00 by 2015 \$13.00 by 2021	2015 2021	No No
Various	Assurant	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Various	Bank of America	\$17.00 by 2019 \$20.00 by 2020 \$25.00 by 2025	2019 2019 2021	No No No
Various	BB&T	\$15.00 by 2018	2017	No
Various	Best Buy	\$15.00 by 2020	2020	No
Various	BMO Harris Bank	\$15.00 by 2018	2018	No
Various	Capital City Bank Group	\$13.00 by 2019	2019	No
Various	Charter Communications	\$15.00 by 2018 \$20.00 by 2022	2018 2020	No No
Various	Chobani	\$15.00 - \$19.00 by 2021	2020	No
Various	Chipotle	\$11.00 - \$18.00 by 2021	2021	No
Various	Citigroup	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Various	Costco	\$13.00 - \$13.50 \$14.00 - \$14.50 \$15.00 by 2019 \$16.00 by 2021	2016 2018 2019 2021	No No No No
Various	Earth Friendly Products	\$17.00 by 2014	2014	No
Various	Elephant Insurance Services	\$15.00 by 2017	2017	No
Various	Endurance International Group	\$14.00 by 2015	2015	No
Various	Facebook (contract workers)	\$15.00 by 2015 \$18.00 - \$22.00 by 2019	2015 2019	No No
Various	First Horizon National Corp.	\$15.00 by 2018	2018	No
Various	First Third Bank	\$15.00 by 2018 \$18.00 by 2019	2018 2019	No No
Various	Google (vendors, temp, contract workers)	\$15.00 by 2020	2019	No

Appendix Table I. Employer Increases, 2012-2021

State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Year Policy Adopted	Collective Bargaining Agreement?
Various	Hobby Lobby	\$17.00 by 2020	2020	No
Various	Ikea	\$10.76 by 2014 \$11.87 by 2015	2014 2015	No No
Various	JP Morgan Chase	\$12.00 - \$16.50 by 2019 \$15.00 - \$18.00 by 2018	2016 2018	No No
Various	McDonald's (corporate stores)	\$10.00 by 2015 10% raise by 2024	2015 2021	No No
Various	Nationwide Mutual Insurance	\$15.00 by 2016	2015	No
Various	Pioneer Millworks	\$15.00 by 2017	2017	No
Various	PNC Bank	\$15.00 by 2018	2017	No
Various	Sheetz	+ \$2.00/hour by 2021	2021	No
Various	Signet Jewelers	\$15.00 by 2021	2022	No
Various	Southwest Airlines	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	Yes
Various	Starbucks	5% - 15% raise by 2016 \$15.00 by 2022	2016 2020	No No
Various	Synchrony Financial	\$20.00 by 2021	2021	No
Various	Target	\$9.00 by 2015 \$10.00 by 2016 \$15.00 by 2020	2015 2016 2017	No No No
Various	Terrapin Care Station	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Various	The Gap	\$10.00 by 2015	2014	No
Various	T.J. Maxx and TJX companies	\$10.00 by 2016	2015	No
Various	Trinity Health	\$15.00 by 2019	2019	No
Various	Truliant Federal Credit Union	\$15.00 by 2018	2018	No
Various	Under Armour	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No

Appendix Table I. Employer Increases, 2012-2021

State	Employer	New Minimum Pay	Year Policy Adopted	Collective Bargaining Agreement?
Various	UnityPoint Health	\$15.00 by 2021	2020	No
Various	Vail Resorts	\$15.00 by 2022	2021	No
Various	Walmart (all hourly workers)	\$9.00 - \$10.00 by 2016	2016	No
	(All hourly workers)	\$11.00 by 2018	2018	No
	(Deli, bakery workers in leadership roles)	\$15.00 by 2020	2020	No
	(Delivery & curbside workers, stockers)	\$13.00 by 2021	2021	No
Various	Wayfair	\$15.00 by 2021	2021	No
Various	Wells Fargo	\$15.00 by 2018	2017	No
		\$20.00 by 2020	2020	No
Various	Whole Foods	\$15.00 by 2018	2018	No

Although not comprehensive, this list is illustrative of employers who have raised their starting pay since 2012.

Endnotes

1. Steven Greenhouse, "With Day of Protests, Fast-Food Workers Seek More Pay," *The New York Times*, November 29, 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/30/nyregion/fast-food-workers-in-new-york-city-rally-for-higher-wages.html>.
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3. National Employment Law Project, *Report: Forced Arbitration Enabled Employers to Steal \$12.6 Billion from Workers in Low-Paid Jobs in 2019* [press release], February 13, 2020, <https://www.nelp.org/news-releases/report-forced-arbitration-cost-workers-low-paid-jobs-12-6-billion-stolen-wages-2019/>.
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8. Lawrence Mishel and Julia Wolfe, *CEO Compensation Has Grown 940% Since 1978*, Economic Policy Institute, August 14, 2019, <https://www.epi.org/publication/ceo-compensation-2018/>.
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11. Economic Policy Institute, *The Productivity-Pay Gap*, updated May 2021, <https://www.epi.org/productivity-pay-gap/>.
12. Josh Bivens and Lawrence Mishel, op. cit.
13. U.S. Department of Labor, *Federal Minimum Hourly Wage for Nonfarm Workers for the United States [FEDMINFRWG]*, retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/FEDMINFRWG>, July 8, 2021.

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14. 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 for 4.5 million workers. See Kai Filion, *Fact Sheet For 2009 Minimum Wage Increase: Minimum Wage Issue Guide*, Economic Policy Institute, updated July 21, 2009, http://www.epi.org/publication/mwig_fact_sheet/.
 15. In a recent study, researchers from the University of California and Brandeis University found that the higher wages adopted by major retailers—including Costco, Target, Amazon and Walmart—had spillover effects on wages in the specific commuting zones where these employers are located. However, the impact of these wage increases is not estimated in terms of the number of workers affected, or the amount in additional wages. The University of California and Brandeis University study can be found here: <https://www.fissuredworkplace.net/assets/Spillover-effects-from-voluntary-employer-minimum-wages.pdf>.
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