

## *Minimum Wage Basics*

# Local Minimum Wage Laws

## *Recent Trends and Economic Evidence*

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*NELP's Minimum Wage Basics series sheds light on key issues related to the minimum wage, drawing on the latest research and campaign developments.*

### Introduction

Over the past decade, cities and counties have played a key role in leading the fight to raise wages for the nation's lowest paid workers. To date, over five dozen localities have enacted local minimum wage ordinances higher than the state law. These local measures bring minimum wages more in line with local costs of living; and—in states where legislatures are unwilling to raise the wage floor, or during periods of time when the U.S. Congress fails to raise the federal wage—they serve as an alternative path to raising pay.

This fact sheet provides an overview of the history, research, and role of local minimum wages. Overall, the economic evidence indicates that local minimum wages have proven to be effective tools for raising pay and improving job quality without reducing employment or causing businesses to relocate.

### Local Minimum Wages, 1993 to the Present

In 1993, the District of Columbia made history by enacting the nation's first city minimum wage ordinance.<sup>1</sup> Although in the following two decades, only a handful of localities moved to adopt their own minimum wages, local momentum decisively took off around 2013 when voters in the city of SeaTac, Washington approved the nation's first \$15 minimum wage.<sup>2</sup> Since then, an unprecedented five dozen cities and counties have moved to adopt higher local minimum wage laws (Table 3), including almost two dozen cities and counties since 2020 that approved ordinances to raise wages, eliminate the subminimum tipped wage, or index minimum wages to inflation.

Local minimum wages more closely reflect local costs of living than statewide measures. Where localities are not preempted from raising wages on the local level, these ordinances are also a key means for raising the wage floor in regions of the country where state legislatures are unwilling or unable to act; and can be precursors to state action. In California, for example, between November 2014 and January 2016 six local

jurisdictions<sup>3</sup> approved \$15 minimum wage ordinances, and three others approved smaller increases.<sup>4</sup> Following those local increases, in April 2016, California Governor Jerry Brown signed a state bill phasing in a \$15 minimum wage.<sup>5</sup>

Illustrating the importance of the minimum wage to local legislative priorities, in August 2014 the U.S. Conference of Mayors' "Cities of Opportunity Task Force" endorsed a higher city minimum wage as key tool for fighting income inequality at the local level.<sup>6</sup>

## The Important Role of Local Minimum Wages

Local minimum wages offer several distinct advantages that make them an important complement to state or federal minimum wage laws:

- They allow higher-cost cities to set minimum wage rates that better correspond to higher local living costs;
- They allow localities in states where the legislature is slow or unwilling to raise the minimum wage to address the problem on their own;
- They provide venues for demonstrating the feasibility of substantially higher minimum wages; and pursuing key reforms such as annual inflation indexing, and the gradual elimination of the tipped subminimum wage, which for political reasons can be harder to adopt at the state level. In the section above, we give the example of California localities adopting local wage ordinances prior to statewide action to raise the state minimum wage to \$15. The state of Washington provides another example of local policy leading to statewide action. Prior to Washington voters' approval of a statewide \$13.50 minimum wage in 2016, voters in SeaTac had approved a \$15 minimum wage for hospitality workers in 2013,<sup>7</sup> and the city of Seattle had passed an ordinance<sup>8</sup> raising the minimum wage to \$15 and a sunset of the lower tipped wage in 2014,<sup>9</sup> demonstrating the feasibility and reasonableness of a \$13.50 statewide minimum wage policy.<sup>10</sup> In Maryland, Montgomery County (the state's largest county, home to 17 percent of Maryland's total population<sup>11</sup>) adopted a \$15 minimum wage in 2017<sup>12</sup>, prior to the state legislature approving a statewide \$15 minimum wage in 2019.<sup>13</sup> And in Illinois, both Chicago and Cook County adopted \$13 minimum wage ordinances in 2014<sup>14</sup> and 2016<sup>15</sup>, respectively, which led the state legislature to consider and finally pass a statewide \$15 minimum wage in 2019.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 1.**

<b>Local Minimum Wage Influence on State Policy (Selected)</b>			
<b>Jurisdiction</b>	<b>Policy</b>	<b>Date of Passage (Local)</b>	<b>Date of Passage (State)</b>
San Francisco, CA	\$15 by 2018	Nov 2014	---
Los Angeles, CA	\$15 by 2020–2021	May 2015	---
Emeryville, CA	\$15 by 2018–2019	Jun 2015	---
Los Angeles County, CA	\$15 by 2020–2021	Sep 2015	---
Mountain View, CA	\$15 by 2018	Oct 2015	---
El Cerrito, CA	\$15 by 2019	Nov 2015	---
<b>California</b>	<b>\$15 by 2022–2023</b>	---	<b>Apr 2016</b>
Chicago, IL	\$13 by 2019 *	Dec 2014	---
Cook County, IL	\$13 by 2020	Oct 2016	---
<b>Illinois</b>	<b>\$15 by 2025</b>	---	<b>Feb 2019</b>
Montgomery County, MD	\$15 by 2021–2024	Nov 2017	---
<b>Maryland</b>	<b>\$15 by 2025–2026 **</b>	---	<b>March 2019</b>
SeaTac, WA	\$15 by 2014	Nov 2013	---
Seattle, WA	\$15 by 2017–2021	June 2014	---
<b>Washington State ***</b>	<b>\$13.50 by 2020</b>	---	<b>Nov 2016</b>
<p>* In November 2019, Chicago approved an amendment to its minimum wage law to raise the wage floor further to \$15 by 2021–2024.</p> <p>** In 2023, Maryland adopted a law accelerating the phase-in timeline to \$15 by 2024. Also note that prior to November 2019, in addition to Montgomery County adopting its own local minimum wage, Prince George’s County also adopted a more modest \$11.50 by 2017 minimum wage law.</p> <p>*** Since 2016, six other localities (Bellingham, Burien, Everett, King County, Renton, and Tukwila) have adopted their own minimum wages, putting pressure on the Washington legislature to raise the wage further.</p>			

## The Economic Evidence Shows that City Minimum Wages Boost Earnings Without Reducing Employment

Economic evidence indicates that the higher city minimum wages enacted in U.S. cities to date have boosted earnings without slowing job growth or causing business relocations. These findings are consistent with the bulk of modern research on higher state minimum wages, which has generally found no statistically significant evidence of job losses resulting from minimum wage increases passed over the last 30 years in the United States.<sup>17</sup>

This is partly because the bulk of the occupations affected by city minimum wages are in fields such as restaurants, retail, building services, home health care, and childcare—which serve city-based customers like residents, office workers, and tourists at city locations. As a result, most cannot practically be moved by their employers to locations outside of the city while still retaining their customer base.

Table 2 below summarizes the most rigorous research examining the employment impact of minimum wage increases at the local level. These studies generally find that policies raising the minimum wage have **increased pay** for affected underpaid workers **without lowering employment**. Additionally, one study (“The Impact of Increased Minimum Wages on Local Governments”) finds that **\$15 wage floors do not strain local government budgets** and are inexpensive relative to prior wage increases approved for local government workers and contractors. Another study (“The Local Aggregate Effects of Minimum Wage Increases”) finds that **minimum wage increases reduced debt** of low-income households and **facilitated access to car loans** for young and subprime workers. The same study also finds that **minimum wage policies had no effect on overall inflation**.

**Table 2.**

Summary of Economic Research on the Effects of Local Minimum Wages			
Study	Year Published	Localities Studied	Summary of Findings
<b>City Limits: What Do Local-Area Minimum Wages Do?</b> <sup>18</sup> <i>National Bureau of Economic Research</i>	2020	21 U.S. cities with populations of at least 100,000, with local minimum wages as of 2018	This study examines the impact of local minimum wage increases in the 21 largest U.S. cities for which American Community Survey data is available. The authors find that, “While the literature on city-level minimum wages is still at an early stage, existing evidence does not indicate that the employment and wage responses differ substantially from the responses to state-level changes. Overall, the weight of the evidence is consistent with these policies having moderately raised wages at the bottom without a large change in employment probabilities.” <sup>19</sup>
<b>The Impact of Increased Minimum Wages on Local Governments</b> <sup>20</sup> <i>The Century Foundation</i>	2019	Local governments in all U.S. states	This analysis estimates the potential costs to local governments associated with higher minimum wages. The author bases the analysis on state-level wage policies to understand how those policies affect local governments. The author estimates that a \$15 minimum wage increased local governments’ costs by just 0.5 percent to 0.7 percent annually in states that reached \$15 by February 2019—a modest increase compared to the costs (2.1 percent to 2.5 percent annually) associated with wage increases borne by local governments in prior years. The author also projects that in states with wage floors below \$15, adopting a path to a \$15 minimum wage would increase local governments’ costs by between 0.9 percent and 1.5 percent annually—significantly below the costs (1.7 percent to 2.4 percent) associated with past wage increases in those states.

## Summary of Economic Research on the Effects of Local Minimum Wages

Study	Year Published	Localities Studied	Summary of Findings
<b>The Local Aggregate Effects of Minimum Wage Increases<sup>21</sup></b> <i>National Bureau of Economic Research</i>	2019	28 U.S. metropolitan statistical areas for which there is city-level price data	In this study, economists affiliated with the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston analyze the effects of state and local minimum wage policies on local economies. Examining MSA (metropolitan statistical area) and city-level data from 1997 and 2017, the authors find that higher minimum wages are associated with reduced debt among low-income households, increased auto debt (due to higher levels of successful applications for car loans) among young and subprime consumers, and increased access to credit. These policies do not significantly affect local area overall inflation.
<b>The New Wave of Local Minimum Wage Policies: Evidence from Six Cities<sup>22</sup></b> <i>University of California-Berkeley</i>	2018	Chicago, D.C., Oakland, San Francisco, San Jose and Seattle	This study examines the impact of minimum wage policies in six cities (Chicago, D.C., Oakland, San Francisco, San Jose, and Seattle) that were early adopters of higher wages, and which had a wage floor of at least \$10 in 2016. Focusing on the restaurant sector, which employs large shares of workers likely to be affected by minimum wage policies, the authors find that a 10 percent increase in the minimum wage raises affected workers' earnings between 1.3 and 2.5 percent without reductions in employment.
<b>Are Local Minimum Wages Absorbed by Price Increases? Estimates from Internet-based Restaurant Menus<sup>23</sup></b> <i>IRL Review</i>	2018	San Jose, CA	This study compares prices at 884 restaurants in the greater San Jose area, before and after the city adopted a 25 percent minimum wage increase in 2013. The authors find that the higher labor costs brought on by the higher minimum wage were largely absorbed through price increase (of just 1.45 percent on average), and reduced turnover. The authors did not find disemployment effects within San Jose or on restaurants just outside the city.

## Summary of Economic Research on the Effects of Local Minimum Wages

Study	Year Published	Localities Studied	Summary of Findings
<b>When Mandates Work: Raising Labor Standards at the Local Level<sup>24</sup></b> <i>University of California-Berkeley</i>	2014	San Francisco, CA	<p>This edited book includes contributions from some of the most renowned minimum wage researchers. The authors examine San Francisco's minimum wage, living wage, health care, and paid sick leave policies adopted between 1997 and 2008, which collectively raised worker compensation to 80 percent above the federal minimum wage and to 60 percent above the California minimum wage at the time. They found that the policies raised pay without costing jobs; and that, from 2004 to 2011, private sector employment grew by 5.6 percent in San Francisco but fell by 4.4 percent in other Bay Area counties that did not have a higher local wage. Among food-service workers, who are more likely to be affected by minimum wage laws, employment grew 17.7 percent in San Francisco, faster than in the other Bay Area counties. San Francisco employers absorbed the higher costs through a combination of reduced employee turnover and improved customer service and worker productivity.</p>

## Summary of Economic Research on the Effects of Local Minimum Wages

Study	Year Published	Localities Studied	Summary of Findings
<b>The Wage and Employment Impact of Minimum-Wage Laws in Three Cities<sup>25</sup></b> <i>Center for Economic and Policy Research</i>	2011	San Francisco, CA Santa Fe, NM Washington, DC	Using a methodology pioneered by Nobel laureate David Card and the late economist Alan Krueger, the authors of this analysis compared wage and employment data in low-wage industries prior to and following implementation of minimum wage ordinances in the District of Columbia (1993), San Francisco (2004), and Santa Fe (2004). They analyze the same data for nearby areas unaffected by these wage policies. The authors find that, “The results for fast food, food services, retail, and low-wage establishments in San Francisco and Santa Fe support the view that citywide minimum wages can raise the earnings of low-wage workers, without a discernible impact on their employment.” <sup>26</sup> Because the wage policy in the District of Columbia was too modest, the authors were unable to draw meaningful conclusions of its effects.
<b>Minimum Wage Effects Across State Borders: Estimates Using Contiguous Counties<sup>27</sup></b> <i>The Review of Economics and Statistics</i>	2010	288 pairs of contiguous U.S. counties with differing minimum wage rates at any point between 1990 and 2006	Taking advantage of a natural experiment when a record number of states raised their minimum wages between 1990 and 2006—creating scores of differing wage floors across the country—this pioneering study compared wage and employment levels among every pair of neighboring U.S. counties with differing minimum wage rates and controlled for factors affecting local labor markets to isolate the effect of higher minimum wages. The authors found that the minimum wage policies did not reduce employment or incentivize employers to move their business to lower wage areas.



## Summary of Economic Research on the Effects of Local Minimum Wages

Study	Year Published	Localities Studied	Summary of Findings
<b>The Economic Effects of a Citywide Minimum Wage<sup>28</sup></b> <i>IRL Review</i>	2007	San Francisco, CA	<p>Focusing on the restaurant sector, this study examines the impact of minimum wage policy in San Francisco, which raised the city's wage floor to \$8.50 in 2004—the highest in the nation at the time, and 26 percent above the California minimum wage. This wage policy was estimated to have impacted 10.6 percent of the city's total workforce. The authors found that “the San Francisco wage floor policy increased pay significantly at affected restaurants...We do not detect any increased rate of business closure or employment loss among treated restaurants; this finding is robust across a variety of alternative specifications and control subsamples.”<sup>29</sup></p>

**Table 3.**

<b>Local Minimum Wage Ordinances (as of June 2025)</b>			
<b>Jurisdiction</b>	<b>Year of Passage</b>	<b>Wage Approved</b>	<b>2025 Wage</b>
Flagstaff, AZ	2016	\$15.50 by 2022; OFW <sup>a</sup> by 2026	\$17.85 \$16.85 (tipped)
Tucson, AZ	2021	\$15.00 by 2025	\$15.00
Alameda, CA	2018	\$15.00 by 2020	\$17.00 + CPI <sup>b</sup>
Belmont, CA	2017	\$15.90 by 2021	\$18.30
Berkeley, CA	2016	\$15 by 2018	\$18.67 + CPI
Burlingame, CA	2020	\$15 by 2021	\$17.43
Cupertino, CA	2016	\$15 by 2019	\$18.20
Daly City, CA	2019	\$15 by 2021	\$17.07
East Palo Alto, CA	2020	\$15 by 2021	\$17.45
El Cerrito, CA	2015	\$15 by 2019	\$18.34
Emeryville, CA	2015	\$15 by 2018–2019	\$19.36 + CPI
Foster City, CA	2022	\$16.50 by 2023	\$17.39
Fremont, CA	2019	\$15 by 2020–2021	\$17.75
Half Moon Bay, CA	2020	\$15 by 2021	\$17.47
Hayward, CA	2020	\$14–\$15 by 2021	\$16.50 - \$17.36
Los Altos, CA	2016	\$15 by 2019	\$18.20
Los Angeles, CA	2015	\$15 by 2020–2021	\$17.87
Los Angeles County, CA	2015	\$15 by 2020–2021	\$17.81
Malibu, CA	2016	\$15 by 2020–2021	\$17.27 + CPI
Menlo Park, CA	2019	\$15 by 2020	\$17.10
Milpitas, CA	2017	\$15 by 2019	\$17.70 + CPI
Mountain View, CA	2015	\$15 by 2018	\$19.20
Novato, CA	2019	\$15 by 2020–2022	\$16.42 - \$17.27
Oakland, CA	2014	\$12.25 by 2015	\$16.89

## Local Minimum Wage Ordinances (as of June 2025)

Jurisdiction	Year of Passage	Wage Approved	2025 Wage
Palo Alto, CA	2016	\$15 by 2019	\$18.20
Pasadena, CA	2016	\$15 by 2020–2021	\$17.50 + CPI
Petaluma, CA	2019	\$15 by 2020–2021	\$17.97
Redwood City, CA	2018	\$15 + CPI by 2020	\$18.20
Richmond, CA	2017	\$15 by 2019	\$17.77
San Carlos, CA	2020	\$15 + CPI by 2021	\$17.32
San Diego, CA	2014	\$11.50 by 2017	\$17.25
San Francisco, CA	2014	\$15 by 2018	\$19.18
San Jose, CA	2016	\$15 by 2019	\$17.95
San Mateo, CA	2016	\$15 by 2019–2020	\$17.95
San Mateo County, CA	2022	\$16.50 by 2023	\$17.46
Santa Clara, CA	2017	\$15 by 2019	\$18.20
Santa Monica, CA	2016	\$15 by 2020–2021	\$17.27 + CPI
Santa Rosa, CA	2019	\$15 by 2020–2021	\$17.87
Sonoma, CA	2019	\$16–\$17 by 2023	\$16.96–\$18.02
South San Francisco, CA	2019	\$15 by 2020	\$17.70
Sunnyvale, CA	2016	\$15 by 2018	\$19.00
West Hollywood, CA	2021	\$17–\$17.50 by 2023	\$19.65
Boulder, CO	2024	\$18.17 by 2027	\$15.57
Boulder County, CO	2023	\$25 by 2030	\$16.57
Denver, CO	2019	\$15.87 by 2022	\$18.81
Edgewater, CO	2023	\$21.99 by 2028	\$16.52
Washington, DC	2016; 2022	\$15 by 2020; OFW by 2027	\$17.95; \$12.00 (tipped)
Chicago, IL	2019; 2023	\$15 by 2021–2024; OFW by 2028	\$16.20 + CPI; 76% of full wage
Cook County, IL	2016	\$13 by 2020	\$15.00

## Local Minimum Wage Ordinances (as of June 2025)

Jurisdiction	Year of Passage	Wage Approved	2025 Wage
Portland, ME	2020	\$15 by 2024	\$15.50
Rockland, ME	2020	\$15 by 2024	\$15.50
Howard County, MD	2021	\$16 by 2025–2026	\$15.00–\$16.00
Montgomery County, MD	2017	\$15 by 2021–2024	\$15.50–\$17.65
Prince George’s County, MD	2024	Index to CPI beginning 2026	\$15.00 (state law)
Minneapolis, MN	2017	\$15 by 2020–2024	\$15.97
Saint Paul, MN	2018	\$15 by 2022–2027	\$13.25–\$15.97
Albuquerque, NM	2012	\$8.50 by 2013	\$12.00
Las Cruces, NM	2014	\$10.10 by 2019	\$12.65
Santa Fe, NM	2003	\$9.50 by 2006	\$15.00
Santa Fe County, NM	2014	\$10.66 by 2014	\$15.00
Bellingham, WA	2023	\$2 above state rate by 2025	\$18.66
Burien, WA	2024	\$3.50–\$4.50 above state rate by 2025	\$20.16–\$21.16
Everett, WA	2024	\$18.24–\$20.24 by 2025	\$18.24–\$20.24
King County, WA	2024	\$20.29 by 2025 (large); parity by 2030 (smaller)	\$17.29–\$20.29
Renton, WA	2024	Tukwila’s wage plus CPI by 2024–2025	\$19.90–\$20.90
SeaTac, WA	2013	\$15 by 2014	\$20.17
Seattle, WA	2014	\$15 by 2017–2021	\$20.76
Tukwila, WA	2022	SeaTac’s wage by 2023 (large); parity by 2025	\$21.10

<sup>a</sup> OFW, or “One fair wage,” refers to the policy of eliminating the subminimum wage for tipped workers. Under this policy, tipped workers receive the full minimum wage as their base or cash wage, with tips constituting a true gratuity on top of their cash wage.

<sup>b</sup> CPI, or Consumer Price Index, is a measure of inflation. Most state and local minimum wage policies include a provision that automatically adjusts the minimum wage each year to reflect increases in the cost of living.

## About NELP

Founded in 1969, the National Employment Law Project (NELP) is a nonprofit advocacy organization dedicated to building a just and inclusive economy where all workers have expansive rights and thrive in good jobs. Together with local, state, and national partners, NELP advances its mission through transformative legal and policy solutions, research, capacity-building, and communications. Learn more at [www.nelp.org](http://www.nelp.org).

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Arindrajit Dube and Attila S. Lindner, “City Limits: What Do Local-Area Minimum Wages Do?,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* (35)1: 27–50 (Winter 2021), <https://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/jep.35.1.27>.
- <sup>2</sup> “SeaTac, Washington, Proposition 1, Minimum Wage Increase Measure (November 2013),” Ballotpedia, accessed March 31, 2025, [https://ballotpedia.org/SeaTac,\\_Washington,\\_Proposition\\_1,\\_Minimum\\_Wage\\_Increase\\_Measure\\_\(November\\_2013\)](https://ballotpedia.org/SeaTac,_Washington,_Proposition_1,_Minimum_Wage_Increase_Measure_(November_2013)).
- <sup>3</sup> These six localities are San Francisco (November 2014), Los Angeles (May 2015), Emeryville (June 2015), Los Angeles County (September 2015), Mountain View (October 2015), and El Cerrito (November 2015).
- <sup>4</sup> The three localities are San Diego (\$11.50 adopted by the city council in July 2014, and ratified by voters in June 2016); Oakland (\$12.25 approved by voters in November 2014), and Long Beach (\$13 with a path to \$15 adopted by the city council in January 2016). The Long Beach minimum wage is no longer in effect, as it was superseded by the statewide wage floor.
- <sup>5</sup> Christopher W. Olmsted and Hera S. Arsen, “Governor Brown Signs California’s \$15 Minimum Wage Bill,” *Ogletree Deakins*, April 4, 2016, <https://ogletree.com/insights-resources/blog-posts/governor-brown-signs-californias-15-minimum-wage-bill/>.
- <sup>6</sup> City of New York, Office of the Mayor, Cities of Opportunity Task Force Commitment to Action, August 11, 2014, <http://www1.nyc.gov/office-of-the-mayor/news/397-14/cities-opportunity-task-force-commitment-action#0>.
- <sup>7</sup> “SeaTac, Washington, Proposition 1, Minimum Wage Increase Measure (November 2013),” Ballotpedia, accessed June 13, 2025, [https://ballotpedia.org/SeaTac,\\_Washington,\\_Proposition\\_1,\\_Minimum\\_Wage\\_Increase\\_Measure\\_\(November\\_2013\)](https://ballotpedia.org/SeaTac,_Washington,_Proposition_1,_Minimum_Wage_Increase_Measure_(November_2013)).
- <sup>8</sup> Alexander Linares, “Seattle Passes \$15 Minimum Wage: The Resurgence of Minimum Wage Debates,” Great Cities Institute, University of Illinois at Chicago, June 9, 2014, <https://greatcities.uic.edu/2014/06/09/seattle-passes-15-minimum-wage-ordinance-the-resurgence-of-minimum-wage-debates/>.
- <sup>9</sup> “Seattle’s Minimum Wage,” Seattle Office of Labor Standards, accessed June 13, 2025, [https://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/LaborStandards/2025\\_OLS\\_MW\\_MultiyearChart\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/LaborStandards/2025_OLS_MW_MultiyearChart_FINAL.pdf).
- <sup>10</sup> “Washington Minimum Wage Increase, Initiative 1433 (2016),” Ballotpedia, accessed June 13, 2025, [https://ballotpedia.org/Washington\\_Minimum\\_Wage\\_Increase,\\_Initiative\\_1433\\_\(2016\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Washington_Minimum_Wage_Increase,_Initiative_1433_(2016)).
- <sup>11</sup> “Maryland at a Glance,” Maryland Manual On-Line, accessed March 15, 2025, <https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/01glance/html/pop.html>.
- <sup>12</sup> “Statement by County Executive Ike Leggett on Council Action to Raise Montgomery’s Minimum Wage” [press release], Montgomery County, Maryland, November 7, 2017, [https://www2.montgomerycountymd.gov/mcgportalapps/Press\\_Detail.aspx?Item\\_ID=21566](https://www2.montgomerycountymd.gov/mcgportalapps/Press_Detail.aspx?Item_ID=21566).
- <sup>13</sup> Kelsey Basten, “Maryland Approves \$15 Minimum Wage,” GovDocs, April 2, 2019, <https://www.govdocs.com/maryland-approves-15-minimum-wage/>.
- <sup>14</sup> Michael Winter, Jeff Ayres and Bill Laitner, “Protesters Nationwide Call for \$15 Minimum Wage,” *USA Today*, December 4, 2014, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2014/12/04/minimum-wage-fast-food-protests/19908011/>.

- <sup>15</sup> Adam Gabbatt, “Tea Party of the Left: Bernie Sanders’ Ethos Endures in Impending Trump Era,” *The Guardian*, November 15, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/15/bernie-sanders-progressive-activism-trump-protests>.
- <sup>16</sup> Vincent Caruso, “Pritzker Signs Statewide \$15 Minimum Wage into Law,” Illinois Policy, February 19, 2019, <https://www.illinoispolicy.org/pritzker-signs-statewide-15-minimum-wage-into-law/>.
- <sup>17</sup> Arindrajit Dube and Ben Zipperer, “Minimum Wage Own-Wage Elasticity Repository, Version 1.1.0., accessed June 23, 2025, <https://economic.github.io/owe>. This tool analyses the findings of dozens of studies on the effect of minimum wage on jobs (“own-wage elasticity”) conducted since 1992. The analysis shows that the majority (around 71 percent) of studies find little to no job impacts, with a medium impact of -0.14 (meaning that for every 10 percent increase in the minimum wage, the studies on average find a 1.4 percent decrease in low-wage jobs, resulting in a net positive of 8.6 percent in higher earnings). If we select only studies of U.S. minimum wage policies published in academic journals, the medium impact drops to -0.11; and if we further restrict the query to the impact on restaurant and retail jobs, the impact drops to -0.09—a very small, close to zero impact. In a Substack post, Arin Dube, one of the repository authors, makes a further observation: “Studies published since 2010 tend to find OWEs [own-wage elasticities] that are closer to zero, suggesting even smaller employment effects. This could reflect the fact that newer studies use more sophisticated statistical methods.” See Arin Dube, “A New Database, Quantifying the Minimum Wage Effect on Jobs,” *Arin’s Substack*, September 22, 2024, <https://arindube.substack.com/p/a-new-database-quantifying-the-minimum>.
- <sup>18</sup> Arindrajit Dube and Attila S. Lindner, “City Limits: What Do Local-Area Minimum Wages Do?” National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper No. 27928, November 2020, [https://www.nber.org/system/files/working\\_papers/w27928/w27928.pdf](https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w27928/w27928.pdf).
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid., pg. 21.
- <sup>20</sup> James Parrott, “The Impact of Increased Minimum Wages on Local Governments,” The Century Foundation, October 31, 2019, <https://tcf.org/content/report/impact-increased-minimum-wages-local-governments/>.
- <sup>21</sup> Daniel Cooper, María José Luengo-Prado and Jonathan A. Parker, “The Local Aggregate Effects of Minimum Wage Increases,” National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper No. 25761, April 2019, [https://www.nber.org/system/files/working\\_papers/w25761/w25761.pdf](https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w25761/w25761.pdf).
- <sup>22</sup> Sylvia Allegretto, Anna Godoey, Carl Nadler and Michael Reich, “The New Wave of Local Minimum Wage Policies: Evidence from Six Cities,” Center on Wage and Employment Dynamics, September 6, 2018, <https://irle.berkeley.edu/publications/report/the-new-wave-of-local-minimum-wage-policies-evidence-from-six-cities/>.
- <sup>23</sup> Sylvia Allegretto and Michael Reich, “Are Local Minimum Wages Absorbed by Price Increases? Estimates from Internet-based Restaurant Menus,” *IRL Review* 71(1): 25-63 (January 2016), <https://irle.berkeley.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/are-local-minimum-wages-absorbed.pdf>.
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