

# Employment

## **Raising Colorado's minimum wage: Who benefits?**



**By Rich Jones**  
**Director of Policy and Research**

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**The Bell Policy Center**  
**1801 Broadway, Suite 280**  
**Denver, Colorado 80202**

**(303) 297-0456 metro Denver**  
**(866) 283-8051 toll-free in Colorado**

**[www.thebell.org](http://www.thebell.org)**

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# Raising Colorado's minimum wage: Who benefits?

## Executive Summary

The minimum wage has been an important part of our economic policy since 1938. It puts a floor under wages and protects the lowest-wage workers from exploitation. It is a public declaration that we value work and that all employers are responsible for paying a minimum wage, no matter what a job entails. However, due to Congressional inaction, the value of the minimum wage has severely eroded in recent years.

States can set higher minimum wages, but Colorado has not done so. The current federal minimum wage of \$5.15 an hour, set in 1997, has less purchasing power today than any time in the last 50 years. Not since 1955, when it was worth \$4.74 in today's dollars, was it lower.

Also, when compared to average wages in the overall economy, the minimum wage is at its lowest level since 1949. If it had just kept pace with the growth in average wages in Colorado since 1997, it would be worth \$7.16 today.

Full-time minimum wage workers earn just \$10,712 a year. This is barely above the federal poverty level of \$9,800 for a single person and less than two thirds the federal poverty level of \$16,600 for a three-person household.

Colorado voters will have an opportunity to increase the minimum wage by passing Amendment 42 in November. This citizen-initiated measure would raise Colorado's minimum wage to \$6.85 per hour and adjust it each year to keep up with inflation. In recent years, 23 other states and the District of Columbia raised their minimum wage above the federal level.

This proposal to raise Colorado's minimum wage to \$6.85 will increase earnings for 138,000 Colorado workers, or 7 percent of the state's workforce. There are 73,000 workers currently working at jobs that pay less than \$6.85 an hour who would get a raise immediately. They represent 53 percent of all affected workers.

Another 65,000 workers, 47 percent of those affected, earn slightly more than \$6.85 an hour. They will likely get a raise down the road as employers adjust their wage rates to maintain existing differences among jobs.

Workers earning less than \$6.85 per hour would get an average raise of 76 cents per hour, or about \$1,581 per year for those working full-time. Those currently earning slightly more than \$6.85 per hour are likely to get an average raise of 19 cents per hour, or almost \$400 per year for those working full-time.

Additional information about the affected workers includes:

- Over two thirds are adults 20 and older.
- About 40 percent work at least 20 hours per week, and 40 percent work full time.
- About 30 percent are married, and one out of five is a parent. About 57,000 Colorado children have parents who would get a raise under this proposal.
- Families with workers who would get a raise count on those workers for more than half of the families' weekly earnings, on average.
- In almost half of the affected families, these workers provide the entire family income
- Colorado's poorest families would benefit the most from the increased earnings gained through a higher minimum wage.

The federal government has allowed the minimum wage to drop to its lowest value in more than 50 years. Colorado should join the 23 other states and the District of Columbia in raising its minimum wage to a more reasonable level. Evidence from these states shows this can be done without harming businesses or causing job loss.

As a simple matter of fairness, we should give low-wage workers their first raise in a decade and pass Amendment 42.



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# Raising Colorado's minimum wage: Who benefits?

## History and value of the minimum wage

### History of the minimum wage

Congress first established a national minimum wage of 25 cents per hour in 1938, equal to about \$3.04 today, as part of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). This act also placed restrictions on child labor and required employers to pay overtime for work in excess of 40 hours in a week.

Originally the act applied only to workers who produced goods for or were engaged in interstate commerce. Its coverage has been expanded over the years. Currently about 90 percent of non-supervisory workers in the United States are covered by the FLSA.<sup>1</sup>

The act was intended to put a floor under wages and to protect the lowest-wage workers, those least able to negotiate fair compensation on their own. It is also a statement about fairness, the value of work and the responsibility of employers to pay a minimal amount no matter what a job entails.

Although states can set their own minimum wage at a rate higher than the federal rate, Colorado has not done so. Colorado's minimum wage for most workers is \$5.15 an hour, the same as the federal rate.

In Colorado, as in other states, a different minimum wage applies to workers who receive tips in addition to wages, such as waiters, waitresses and baggage handlers. That wage is set at the federal minimum of \$2.13 per hour. In addition, certain farm workers, part-time babysitters and some seasonal and recreational employees are exempted from the minimum wage law.<sup>2</sup>

### What is the minimum wage worth?

The federal minimum wage does not change in response to inflation or growth in the economy. Since 1938, the U.S. Congress raised the minimum wage 19 times, most recently in 1997, taking it to \$5.15 per hour for most workers.

Because the minimum wage has not been raised in nearly a decade, its value has been eroded by inflation. Workers earning the minimum wage have 20 percent less purchasing power than in 1997. If the wage had been adjusted for inflation

### Minimum wage and tipped workers

Employees who receive tips in addition to their regular wages can be paid a lower minimum wage under federal and Colorado minimum wage laws. Colorado workers such as waiters, waitresses, bartenders, baggage handlers, hotel maids and others who receive at least \$30 in tips each month can be paid as little as \$2.13 per hour, the minimum required under federal law.<sup>3</sup>

Congress has only raised the minimum hourly rate for tipped employees by 12 cents an hour in the past 25 years.<sup>4</sup>

The tips a worker receives combined with the \$2.13 in hourly wages must at least equal the federal minimum wage of \$5.15. If it does not, the employer must make up the difference.<sup>5</sup>

Seven states – Alaska, California, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, Oregon and Washington – require workers get the full minimum wage plus any tips they receive. The District of Columbia and 32 states set the hourly rate between \$2.13 and \$5.15 for tipped employees. Colorado is one of 10 states that matches the federal minimum.<sup>6</sup>

Amendment 42 would require that no more than \$3.02 per hour in tip income may be used to offset the minimum wage of employees who regularly receive tips. If it passes, Amendment 42 would require that waiters, waitresses and other tipped employees receive a minimum hourly wage of \$3.83 in addition to the tips they receive. As the minimum wage is increased, these workers' hourly rates would increase as well.<sup>7</sup>

over the past decade, it would be worth \$6.23 today. As Figure 1 on page 3 shows, the minimum wage had its greatest purchasing power in 1968 when it was worth the equivalent of \$7.71 today. But now, after adjusting for inflation, the minimum wage is at its lowest value in more than 50 years. Not since 1955, when the minimum wage was worth \$4.74 in today's dollars, was it lower.<sup>8</sup>

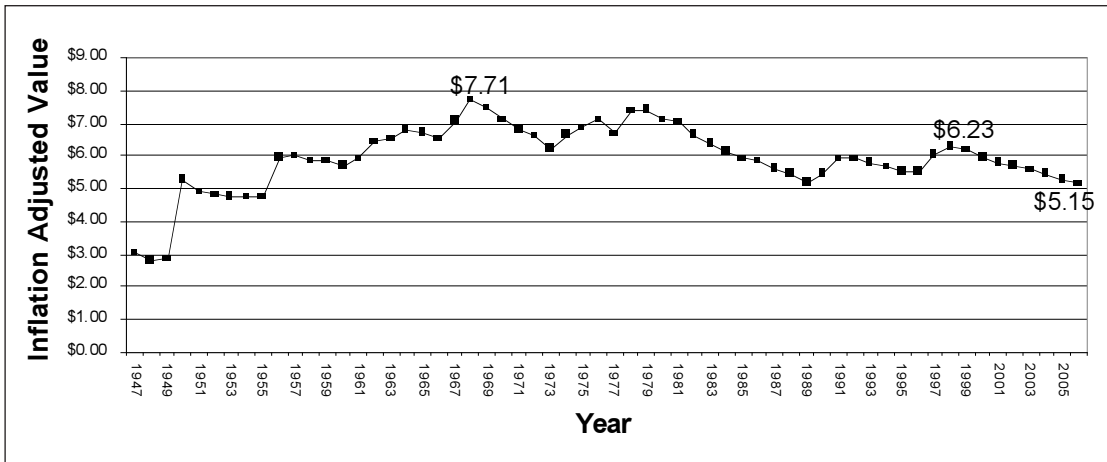
Another way to judge the value of the minimum wage is to compare it to wages paid to other workers in the economy. In 1938, the minimum wage equaled 35 percent of the average private sector wage paid to non-supervisory employees.



# Raising Colorado's minimum wage: Who benefits?

## □ Inflation-adjusted and comparative values of the minimum wage

Figure 1. Inflation-adjusted value of the minimum wage

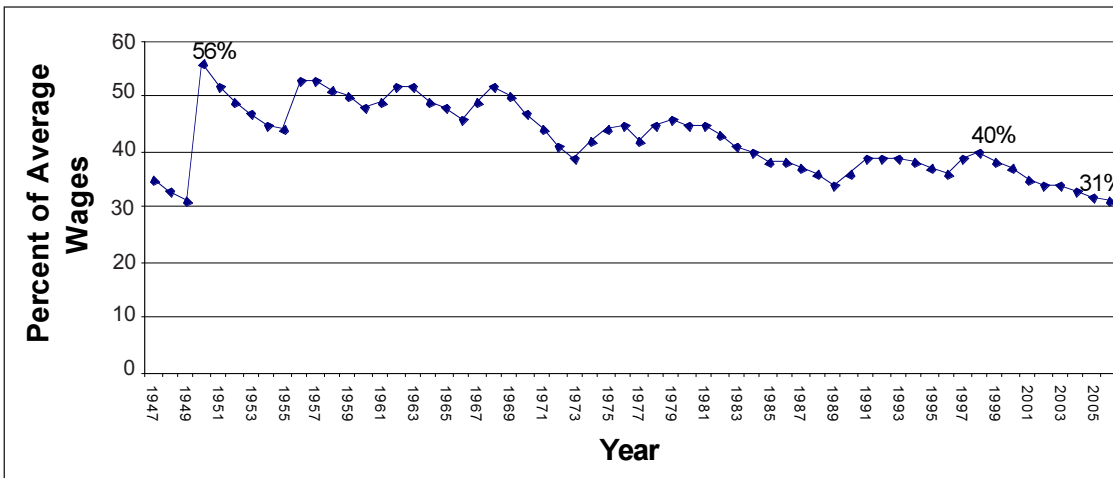


Source: Economic Policy Institute and Bell Policy Center analysis based on data from the U.S. Department of Labor.

As Figure 2 shows, the comparative value of the minimum wage has varied over the years. The federal minimum wage hit a high of 56 percent of the average private sector wage in 1950.

Today's 31 percent rate ties the all-time low set in 1949. When the minimum wage was reset in 1997 to \$5.15, it equaled 40 percent of the average wage. Had it kept pace with growth in average wages in the Colorado economy, it would be worth \$7.16 today.<sup>9</sup>

Figure 2. The minimum wage as a percent of average private sector wages, 1947 - 2006



Source: Economic Policy Institute and Bell Policy Center analysis based on data from the U.S. Department of Labor.



## Raising Colorado's minimum wage: Who benefits?

- Poverty, self-sufficiency and the EITC
- Action in other states

### The minimum wage and self-sufficiency in Colorado

A full-time minimum wage worker in Colorado makes about \$10,700 a year. This is slightly above the \$9,800 a year in income the federal government considers to be the poverty level for a single person.

But for workers supporting children or other dependants, \$5.15 an hour is a below-poverty wage. The federal government sets the poverty level at \$13,200 for a two-person household and \$16,000 for a three-person household.<sup>10</sup>

The federal poverty level itself is hopelessly outdated, and it's not a fair measure of what it really takes to make ends meet in Colorado. The federal poverty level is based on the cost of food, adjusted for inflation each year. It does not consider family composition, and it is set at the same amount nationwide, whether a person is living in rural Mississippi or downtown Denver.

A better measure for assessing a family's needs is the Self Sufficiency Standard, which has been calculated for each of Colorado's 64 counties by the Colorado Fiscal Policy Institute.

This standard measures how much income is needed for families in each county to pay for basic needs such as housing, transportation, health care, child care and food. It is adjusted to reflect the different costs families face depending on the age of their children.

For example, a single parent with two children, one in pre-school and one in second grade, in Denver would need \$44,991 in annual income to cover basic needs. That same family would need \$28,266 in Alamosa County and \$38,695 in Eagle County. In each example, the costs of supporting that family far exceeds what a full-time minimum wage worker would earn in a year.<sup>11</sup>

### State actions to raise the minimum wage

Because Congress has not raised the minimum wage since 1997, 23 states and the District of Columbia have acted independently to raise their minimum wages above the federal level. In 2006

### The minimum wage and the Earned Income Tax Credit

Minimum wage workers benefit from the Earned Income Tax Credit (ETIC), a federal tax credit that refunds a portion of the Social Security and income taxes paid by low- to moderate-income workers. The EITC is refundable, meaning workers receive the full credit even if they pay little or no federal income tax. It is targeted toward helping low-income working families with children. The average federal EITC credit claimed by Colorado workers in 2003 was about \$1,600.

Colorado has a state EITC currently set at 10 percent of the worker's federal EITC amount. If a worker received \$1,600 from the federal government, Colorado would refund another \$160. However, the Colorado EITC is only available in years when the TABOR surplus hits a certain amount. The EITC has not been available since 2001 and will not be available again until at least 2011.<sup>12</sup>

The EITC is a powerful tool for fighting poverty. Each year it lifts millions of U.S. children out of poverty. Some critics of increasing the minimum wage argue instead for just expanding the EITC. However, the EITC is structured so that if a family's income stagnates from year to year, the value of the EITC stagnates and is then reduced by inflation. In addition, the earnings of many families with minimum wage workers fall within the phase-in range of the EITC. At these low levels, every additional dollar of earnings results in an increase in their EITC credit. Increasing the minimum wage has the added bonus of increasing the amount of EITC refunds to low-income working families.

In our view, the best way to help low-wage working families is to do both: raise the minimum wage and expand the EITC. In doing so, we would raise the income of low-wage workers and allow them to keep more of what they earn.

alone, state legislatures in Arkansas, Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania raised their minimum wages above the federal level for the first time. California, Delaware, Maine and Rhode Island increased their minimum wages further above the federal level this year.<sup>13</sup> In August, the Massachusetts Legislature unanimously overrode Gov. Mitt Romney's veto



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## ☐ Minimum wage increases in other states

and passed a bill that will increase the state's minimum wage to \$7.50 in January 2007 and to \$8 in January 2008.<sup>14</sup> In 1997, when the minimum wage was last increased, only five states set higher minimum wages.

In Arizona, Missouri, Montana, Nevada and Ohio, voters will have a chance to decide minimum wage ballot questions in November.<sup>15</sup>

Colorado voters will also have the opportunity to raise the state's minimum wage by passing Amendment 42, a citizen's initiative. It will increase the minimum wage from \$5.15 an hour to \$6.85. That wage would then be adjusted each year to keep pace with inflation. This indexing feature will ensure the future buying power of the minimum wage is not eroded by inflation.<sup>16</sup>

Raising the minimum wage has been popular with voters. In 2004, minimum wage measures garnered 68 percent of the vote in Nevada and more than 70 percent of the vote in Florida. (Nevada voters must approve a constitutional amendment in two consecutive elections for that state's higher wage to take effect, so it is on the ballot again this year.<sup>17</sup>)

Florida, Oregon, Vermont and Washington automatically increase their minimum wage each year to keep pace with inflation. Arizona, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, and Ohio will also annually adjust their minimum wages for inflation if ballot measures pass in November.

### Amendment 42

Article XVIII of the Colorado Constitution is amended BY THE ADDITION OF A NEW SECTION to read:

#### Section 15. State minimum wage rate.

Effective January 1, 2007, Colorado's minimum wage shall be increased to \$6.85 per hour and shall be adjusted annually for inflation, as measured by the Consumer Price Index used for Colorado. This minimum wage shall be paid to employees who receive the state or federal minimum wage. No more than \$3.02 per hour in tip income may be used to offset the minimum wage of employees who regularly receive tips.

Even those states without the inflation-indexing feature have increased the minimum wage over time. California, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island and Washington, D.C., have passed additional increases since they first raised their minimum wage above the federal level.

Table 1. States with minimum wages higher than the federal minimum wage

State	State minimum wage as of 8/23/06
Alaska	\$7.15
Arkansas	\$6.25 (effective 10/01/06)
California	\$6.75
Connecticut	\$7.40
Delaware	\$6.15 (to \$6.65 1/1/07; \$7.15 1/1/08)
Washington, D.C.	\$7.00
Florida	\$6.40
Hawaii	\$6.75 (to \$7.25 1/1/07)
Illinois	\$6.50
Maine	\$6.50 (to \$6.75 10/1/06, \$7 10/1/07)
Maryland	\$6.15
Massachusetts	\$6.75 (to \$7.50 1/1/07, \$8 1/1/08)
Michigan	\$6.95 effective 10/1/06 (to \$7.15 in 2007, \$7.40 in 2008)
Minnesota	\$6.15
New Jersey	\$6.15 (to \$7.15 10/1/06)
New York	\$6.75 (to \$7.15 1/1/07)
North Carolina	\$6.15 effective 1/1/07
Oregon	\$7.50
Pennsylvania	\$6.25 effective 1/1/07 (to \$7.15 7/1/07)
Rhode Island	\$7.10 (to \$7.40 2007)
Vermont	\$7.25
Washington	\$7.63
West Virginia *	\$5.85 (to \$6.55 6/30/07, \$7.25 6/30/08)
Wisconsin	\$6.50

\*Applies to workers not covered by the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, which means only about 2,000 workers are paid the higher minimum wage.

Source: Economic Policy Institute, National Conference of State Legislatures, and the Bell Policy Center.



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# Raising Colorado’s minimum wage: Who benefits?

## Higher earnings for low-income workers

### Who benefits from the proposed increase in Colorado’s minimum wage?<sup>18</sup>

Increasing the minimum wage to \$6.85 per hour will increase earnings for 138,000 Colorado workers — 7 percent of the state’s workforce. There are 73,000 workers currently working at jobs that pay less than \$6.85 per hour who would get a raise immediately. These are 53 percent of the workers affected by the increase.

Another 65,000 workers, 47 percent of those affected, earn slightly more than \$6.85 per hour. They are likely to get a raise over time as employers boost pay to maintain existing differences in wage rates among jobs.

Such “spillover effects” of minimum wage hikes are greatest for those workers earning very close to \$6.85 per hour and decrease to nothing for jobs paying \$9 per hour, according to the Economic Policy Institute.

### Effects on job growth and business

Critics often charge that increasing the minimum wage will hurt businesses, which will respond by raising prices or hiring fewer workers.

But most economic studies, as well as evidence from the 23 states that have already raised their minimum wage, show that modest increases like the one proposed for Colorado substantially benefit low-income workers without causing job loss or harming business.

A 1998 study by the Economic Policy Institute found that the federal minimum wage increases in 1996 and 1997, from \$4.25 to \$5.15 an hour, resulted in no systematic or significant job losses.<sup>19</sup>

Other studies that looked at the effects of recent minimum wage boosts in California, Florida, New Jersey and Oregon showed they resulted in little to no job losses.<sup>20</sup>

The workers directly affected – those currently earning less than \$6.85 per hour – would get an average raise of 76 cents per hour more, or about \$1,581 per year for those working full-time.

Those currently earning slightly more than \$6.85 per hour are likely to get an average raise of 19 cents per hour, or almost \$400 per year for those working full-time. The average raise for all affected workers combined is 49 cents per hour, or just over \$1,000 per year for full-time workers.

Table 2. Types of workers affected by increasing Colorado’s minimum wage to \$6.85 per hour

	Affected Workers
Total workers affected	138,000
Directly affected	73,000
Indirectly affected	65,000
Male	69,000
Female	69,000
White	87,000
Hispanic*	37,000
16 -19 years	41,000
20 years and older	97,000
1-19 hours	25,000
20-34 hours	53,000
Full-time (35+ hours)	60,000
Retail trade sector	28,000
Leisure and hospitality sector	45,000
Other sectors	65,000
Sales	27,000
Service	58,000
Married	43,000
Parent	28,000
Kids with affected parents	57,000

\* Sample size was too small to make observations about the effect of the proposal on blacks, American Indians, Asians or other ethnic and racial groups.

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of U.S. Census Bureau’s Current Population Survey (CPS) data.

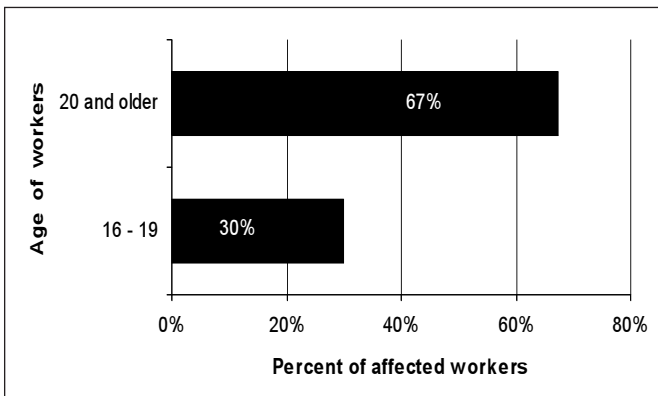


# Raising Colorado's minimum wage: Who benefits?

## Age, work hours, marital status, family reliance on wages

**Most of the workers affected by the proposed minimum wage increase are adults and many work full time.** Of the 138,000 affected workers, 97,000 or 70 percent are 20 and older, as shown in Figure 3.

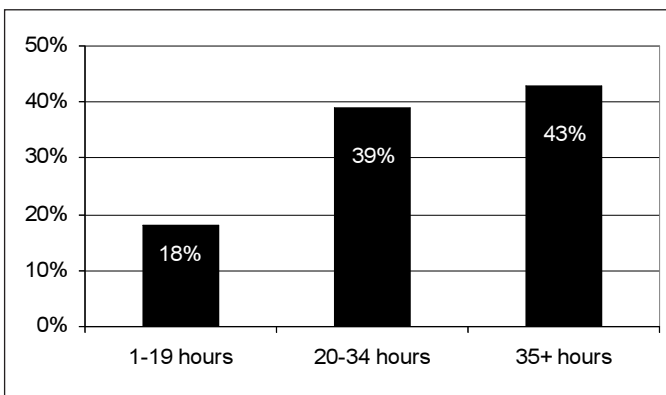
Figure 3. A large majority of affected workers are adults



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of CPS data.

**The vast majority of those affected, 82 percent, work at least 20 hours per week and the largest percentage work full-time,** as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Most minimum wage earners work 20 to 35-plus hours a week



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of CPS data.

**About one out of every three affected workers is married and about one out of five is a parent.** About 57,000 Colorado children live in families where a parent will get a raise if the proposed increase in the minimum wage passes.

**The increased income stemming from a raise in the minimum wage is very important for working poor families in Colorado.** Those families with workers who will get a raise under the proposed increase count on these earnings for 60 percent of the household income. Almost half of these families, 47 percent, count on the affected workers' income for all of the family's earnings.

Table 3. Importance of earnings to affected Colorado families

Families affected by proposed minimum wage increase	Average share of earnings from affected workers	Share of families with 100% of earnings from affected workers
All families	61%	47%
Families with children	60%	46%
Number of children with parents affected by the proposed minimum wage increase		57,000

Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of CPS data

**Colorado's poorest families would benefit the most from the increased earnings gained through a higher minimum wage.** Almost half of the affected workers, 47 percent, live in households that fall in the bottom 40 percent of all Colorado households in terms of earnings.

The largest single share of affected workers, 38 percent, fall within the poorest 20 percent of all Colorado households, those earning on average \$333 per week. This group would receive 39 percent of the increase in wages stemming from the minimum wage boost.

The bottom 40 percent of Colorado households currently account for 16 percent of weekly earnings but would get almost 60 percent of the wage increases resulting from upping the minimum wage to \$6.85. as shown in Figure 5, on page 8.

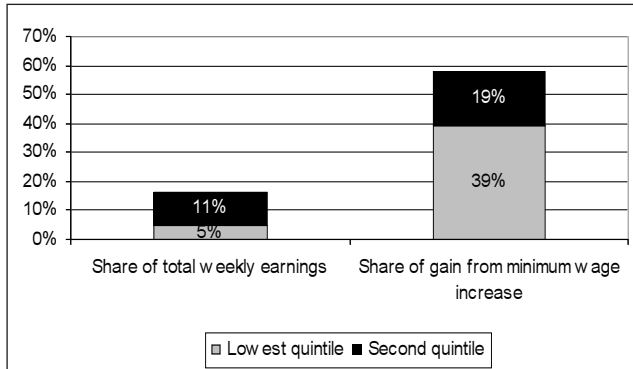


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# Raising Colorado’s minimum wage: Who benefits?

☐ Minimum wage employment sectors ☐ Conclusion

Figure 5. Households with the lowest earnings gain the most

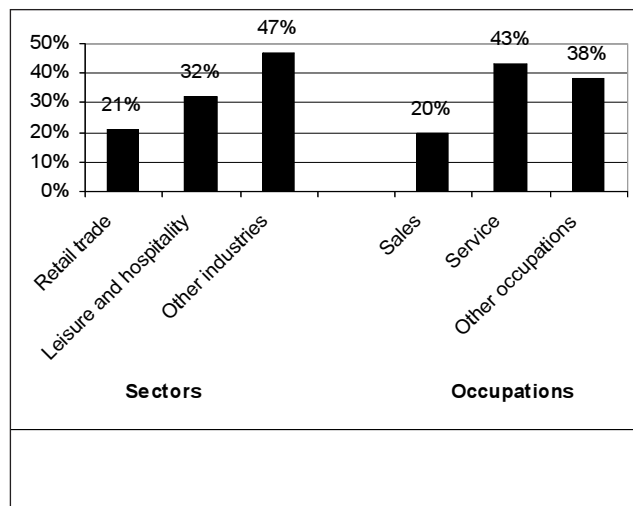


Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of CPS data.

**Colorado’s leisure and hospitality sectors employ the most affected workers, followed by retail trade.** Almost half of affected workers are spread among other sectors of the Colorado economy.

**Service occupations account for about 40 percent of affected workers, while 20 percent work in sales.** The remainder work in a wide range of occupations found in the state. Figure 6 shows where the affected workers are employed.

Figure 6. Major industries and occupations of affected minimum wage workers



Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of CPS data.

An equal number of men and women — 69,000 — comprise the workers who will benefit from the proposed minimum wage increase.

Most are white, and 30 percent are Hispanic. Black, American Indian, Asian and workers from other ethnic and racial categories will benefit from the increase as well, but the sample size collected by the U.S. Census Bureau in its Current Population Survey was too small to make projections for workers in these racial categories.

## Conclusion

Because Coloradans value hard work and self-reliance, no one should have to work full-time for wages that cannot support their family. As a simple matter of fairness – and to strengthen families and encourage work – we should raise the minimum wage in Colorado.

An estimated 138,000 Colorado workers would benefit from the proposed increase, which is long overdue.

The federal government has not raised the minimum wage in nearly a decade. Amendment 42 aims to restore the value that the minimum wage has lost over time because it has not kept pace with the rising cost of living.

Setting a new minimum wage of \$6.85 an hour is a modest increase that would help restore the historical purchasing power of this important wage floor. By indexing the wage to inflation, we would protect Colorado’s lowest wage workers from losing ground each year.

Based on evidence from the 23 states that raised their minimum wage above the federal rate, modest increases like the one proposed for Colorado substantially benefit low-income workers without causing job loss or harming business.

**We should raise the minimum wage in Colorado. It is the right thing to do.**



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## Raising Colorado's minimum wage: Who benefits?

### □ End Notes

- <sup>1</sup> *History of Changes to the Minimum Wage Law and Federal Minimum Wage Rates Under the Fair Labor Standards Act*, U.S. Department of Labor.  
<http://www.dol.gov/esa/minwage/coverage.htm> and  
<http://www.dol.gov/esa/minwage/chart.htm>
  - <sup>2</sup> Colorado Minimum Wage Order No. 22, Department of Labor and Employment, effective Aug. 1, 1998.
  - <sup>3</sup> Ibid.
  - <sup>4</sup> *Fact Sheet on Tip Penalty*, U.S. Sen. Ted Kennedy, Massachusetts.
  - <sup>5</sup> *What is the minimum wage for workers who receive tips?* Fair Labor Standards Act Advisor, U.S. Department of Labor, August 2006.
  - <sup>6</sup> *Who Needs a Raise? Potential Impact of a Higher Ohio Minimum Wage*, Policy Matters Ohio, March 2006,  
and *Fact Sheet on Tip Penalty*, Kennedy.
  - <sup>7</sup> Colorado Amendment 42  
<http://www.leg.state.co.us/lcs/0506initrefr.nsf/89fb842d0401c52087256cbc00650696/751519b390c6b4af87257189006f6fe7?OpenDocument>
  - <sup>8</sup> *The Real Value of the Minimum Wage, 1947-2006*, Economic Policy Institute analysis based on data from the U.S. Department of Labor, May 2006.  
<http://www.epinet.org/issueguides/minwage/table4.pdf>
  - <sup>9</sup> Ibid.
  - <sup>10</sup> *2006 Federal Poverty Guidelines*, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, published in the *Federal Register*, Jan. 24, 2006. (Volume 71, No. 15)  
<http://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty/06fedreg.htm>
  - <sup>11</sup> *The Self Sufficiency Standard for Colorado: A New Measure of Family Well-Being*, Colorado Fiscal Policy Institute, April 2004.
  - <sup>12</sup> The amount of TABOR surplus required to trigger the EITC refund varies. The Office of State Planning and Budgeting estimates the threshold will be \$93 million for FY 2009-10. However, Referendum C eliminates the TABOR surplus through fiscal FY 2009-10. See *TABOR Refund Mechanisms*, Office of State Planning and Budgeting, June 30, 2005.  
[http://www.state.co.us/gov\\_dir/govnr\\_dir/ospb/speciareports/taborrefundmechanisms\\_2005.pdf](http://www.state.co.us/gov_dir/govnr_dir/ospb/speciareports/taborrefundmechanisms_2005.pdf)
  - <sup>13</sup> *Federal inaction forces states to raise minimum wages*, Mary Gable, Economic Policy Institute, July 26, 2006.  
[http://www.epi.org/content.cfm/webfeatures\\_snapshots\\_20060726](http://www.epi.org/content.cfm/webfeatures_snapshots_20060726)
  - <sup>14</sup> *Massachusetts minimum wage to increase over two years*, CCH Business and Corporate Compliance, Aug. 16, 2006.  
<http://hr.cch.com/news/payroll/081606a.asp>
  - <sup>15</sup> [Ballot Initiative Strategy Center](#) web site, 2006  
[Minimum Wage Landscape map](#).
  - <sup>16</sup> Colorado Amendment 42
  - <sup>17</sup> *Who Needs a Raise? Potential Impact of a Higher Ohio Minimum Wage*, Policy Matters Ohio.
  - <sup>18</sup> The data for this section comes from an analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2005 Current Population Survey data for Colorado conducted for the Bell Policy Center by the Economic Policy Institute. Unless otherwise cited, the data presented comes from this analysis.
  - <sup>19</sup> *Making Work Pay: The Impact of the 1996-97 Minimum Wage Increase*, Jared Berstein and John Schmitt, Economic Policy Institute.
  - <sup>20</sup> *Getting the Raise They Deserved: The Success of Oregon's Minimum Wage and the Need for Reform*, Jeff Thompson and Charles Sheketoff, Oregon Center for Public Policy, March 12, 2001.
- California's Recent Minimum Wage Increases: Real Wage Gains with No Loss of Jobs Minimum Wage Remains Inadequate to Meet California's Cost of Living*, California Budget Project, June 2000.
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