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The economic impacts of a minimum wage increase for Oakland and Alameda County

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Prepared by Movement Economics

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Executive Summary

In March 2026, a coalition of community organizations proposed a ballot measure to raise the minimum wage in Alameda County, California to $30 by 2030 for large employers and janitorial firms, by 2035 for medium-sized employers, and by 2037 for small employers. Movement Economics conducted a comprehensive study of the economic impact this proposed minimum wage policy would have if adopted by the City of Oakland and if adopted by all of Alameda County. We apply a nationally recognized model developed by the UC Berkeley Center for Wage and Employment Dynamics (CWED) and the UC Berkeley Labor Center that has been used to produce prospective studies of the impacts of minimum wage policies, living wage policies, and industry wage standards for local and state governments across the country. Using this model, we estimate the likely impact of the proposed minimum wage policy on worker earnings, employer operating costs, consumer prices, employment, the size of the local economy, and government tax revenues. The following report describes the results of this study as well as the methods and data sources used to produce them.

Our findings suggest that raising the minimum wage in Oakland and/or Alameda County would increase earnings for a large group of workers while having a negligible effect on employment, the size of the local economy, and tax revenues. If all jurisdictions within the County adopted the minimum wage policy simultaneously, more than four times as many workers would experience an increase in their earnings compared to a policy that would only cover the City of Oakland. Our findings are consistent with a large body of research on the impacts of local minimum wage policies.

Key findings

- We find that by 2030, the proposed minimum wage policy would result in **higher earnings for about one in five Oakland workers (40,000)** and **one in five Alameda County workers (182,000)** if adopted countywide.
- We find that the proposed minimum wage policy would **increase earnings of impacted workers by 11.2 percent in Oakland and 21.2 percent in Alameda County if adopted countywide**. We estimate that **aggregate annual worker earnings would increase by $260 million in Oakland and $2.2 billion in Alameda County.**
- Despite increasing earnings for a large number of workers, we find that the proposed minimum wage policy would only **increase employer operating costs by 0.5 percent in Oakland and 0.9 percent in Alameda County**. However, industries that employ a larger proportion of low-wage workers would experience larger cost increases. Employer operating costs would increase by 2.9 percent for food services businesses and 2.7 percent for retail businesses in Alameda County.
- Assuming that all cost increases will be passed on to consumers through higher prices, we find that the proposed minimum wage policy would **increase consumer prices by 0.5 percent in Oakland and 0.9 percent in Alameda County.** Consumer prices for food services would increase by 1.2 percent in Oakland and 2.9 percent in Alameda County. These price increases would, in effect, **redistribute income from higher income consumers to lower wage workers**. Impacted workers would also pay higher prices, but the size of the increase in prices in Alameda County (0.9 percent) would be very small relative to the projected average increase in their earnings (21.2 percent).
- We find that adopting the proposed minimum wage policy countywide **would have a negligible impact on employment**. We estimate that by 2030, the proposed policy would increase employment by less than 0.1 percent in Oakland (100 jobs) and by about 0.2 percent in Alameda County (1,300 jobs).
- We find that adopting the proposed minimum wage policy **would have a negligible impact on the size of the local economy**. We estimate that by 2030,

the proposed policy would increase the size of the local economy by 0.3 percent ($120 million) if adopted in Oakland and by 0.5 percent ($1 billion) if adopted across all of Alameda County.

- We find that adopting the proposed minimum wage policy **would have a negligible impact on tax revenues.** We estimate that by 2030, the proposed policy would generate $63 million in additional tax revenues if adopted in Oakland, including an additional $3 million in local sales tax revenues. We find that the policy would generate $529 million in additional tax revenues from Alameda County if adopted countywide, including an additional $25 million in local sales tax revenues.

Introduction

In March 2026, a coalition of community organizations proposed a ballot measure to raise the minimum wage in Alameda County, California to $30 by 2030 for large employers and janitorial firms, by 2035 for medium-sized employers, and by 2037 for small employers. Movement Economics conducted a comprehensive study of the economic impact this proposed minimum wage policy would have if adopted by the City of Oakland and if adopted by all of Alameda County. We apply a nationally recognized model developed by the UC Berkeley Center for Wage and Employment Dynamics (CWED) and the UC Berkeley Labor Center that has been used to produce prospective studies of the impacts of minimum wage policies, living wage policies, and industry wage standards for local and state governments across the country. Using this model, we estimate the likely impact of the proposed minimum wage policy on worker earnings, employer operating costs, consumer prices, employment, the size of the local economy, and government tax revenues. The following report describes the results of this study as well as the methods and data sources used to produce them.

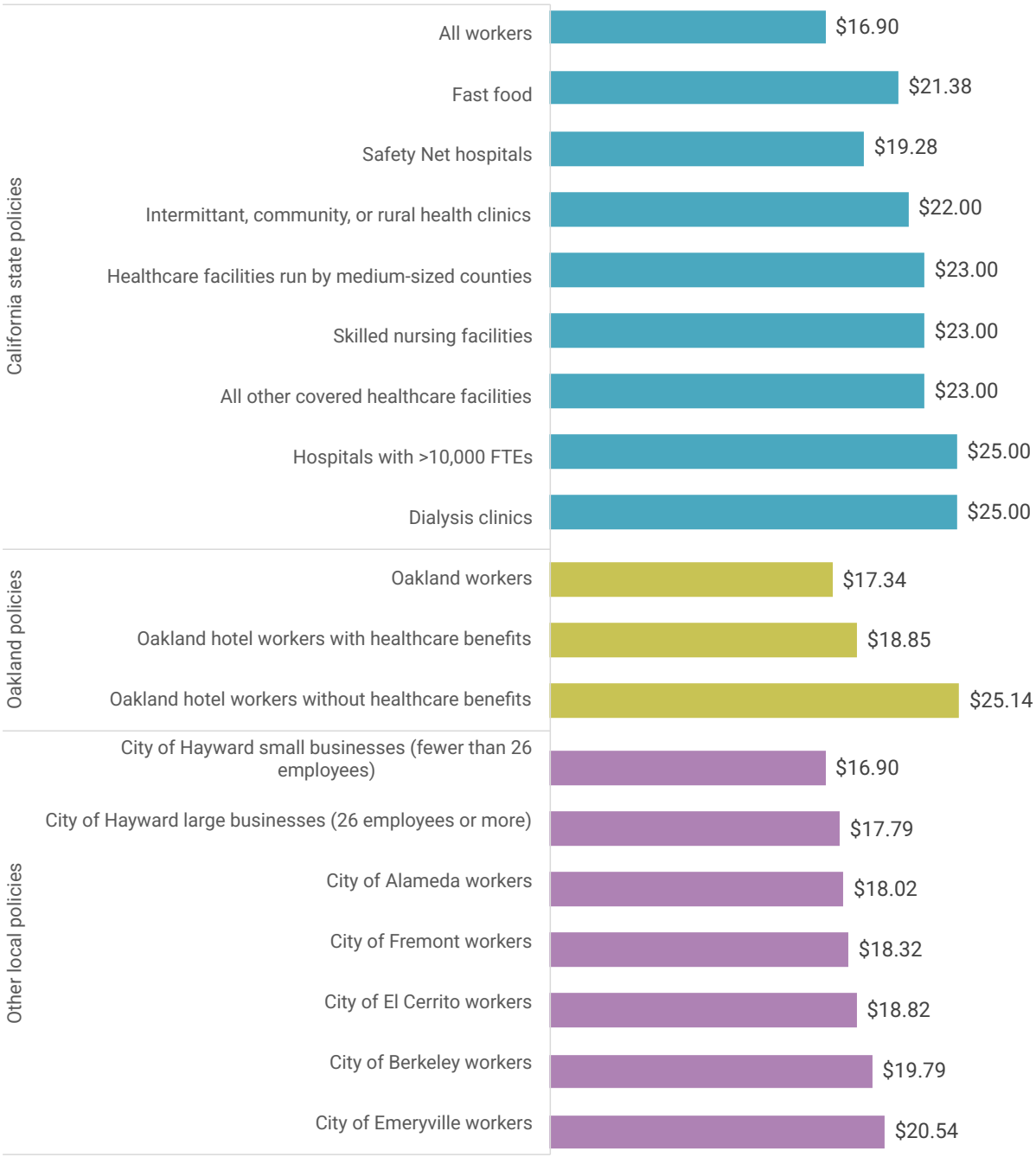
Our findings suggest that raising the minimum wage in Oakland and/or Alameda County would increase earnings for a large group of workers and have a net positive effect on employment, the size of the local economy, and tax revenues. If all jurisdictions within the County adopted the minimum wage policy simultaneously, more than four times as many workers would experience an increase in their earnings compared to a policy that would only cover the City of Oakland. Our findings are consistent with a large body of research on the impacts of local minimum wage policies.

Minimum Wage Policies Modeled

The State of California and the Bay Area have been leaders in adopting and expanding minimum wage policies for workers overall and for specific categories of workers. Thirty-nine cities and counties in California have adopted local minimum wage rates; eight of these, including Oakland, are within Alameda County (UC Berkeley Labor Center 2024). In 2023, the passage of California Assembly Bill 1228 created a separate, higher minimum wage and minimum wage increase schedule for fast food industry workers. This set fast food workers' minimum hourly wage at $20.00 in 2024, when the statewide minimum wage was $16.00. Starting the same year, Senate Bills 525, 828, and 159 increased the minimum wage rates for several types of California healthcare industry workers. **Figure 1** demonstrates the 2026 minimum wage rates in effect in Alameda County, including those set by local jurisdictions and California state policies that cover specific groups of workers or jurisdictions without local policies.

In 2026, applicable statewide minimum wage rates will range from a base rate of $16.90 to $25.00 for large hospitals and dialysis clinics. Local minimum wage rates in Alameda County range from the Oakland base rate of $17.34 to the Emeryville rate of $20.54. Out of the Alameda County municipalities with local minimum wage rates, only Hayward's rate for small businesses is lower than Oakland's base rate.

Figure 1: Minimum wage levels in effect within Alameda County, 2026



Source: Minimum wage rates are from the State of California Department of Industrial Relations, City of Oakland, City of El Cerrito, and City of Hayward. 2026 rates for the City of Berkeley, City of Emeryville, and City of Fremont were projected using the San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose MSA Consumer Price Index for Urban Wage Earners and Clerical Workers (CPI-W), per each municipality's local minimum wage ordinance.
Note: Safety net hospitals include hospitals with a high governmental payor mix (~90% of patients covered by Medicaid or Medi-Cal) and independent hospitals with an elevated governmental payor mix (~75% of patients covered by Medicaid or Medi-Cal). The skilled nursing facilities' wage level will only take effect if the California legislature passes a patient care minimum spending requirement.

Table 1: Proposed ballot measure minimum wage phase-in schedules, 2027-2037

Year	**Large employers** (100+ employees and $1 billion+ in annual revenues; janitorial services employers of all sizes)	**Medium employers** (25-99 employees with any amount of annual revenue; 100+ employees and <$1 billion in annual revenues)	**Small employers** (<25 employees)
2027	$19.90	$18.38	$18.21
2028	$23.30	$19.48	$19.12
2029	$26.70	$20.65	$20.07
2030	$30.00	$21.89	$21.08
2031	$30.90	$23.20	$22.13
2032	$31.83	$24.60	$23.24
2033	$32.78	$26.07	$24.40
2034	$33.77	$27.64	$25.62
2035	$34.78	$30.00	$26.90
2036	$35.82	$31.80	$28.25
2037	$36.90	$33.71	$30.00

Source: Inflation-based minimum wage increases after the large employer minimum wage level reaches $30 and after the other minimum wage levels reach the large employer level are based on California Department of Finance projections (2026a) *of the San Francisco Bay CPI-W through 2030 and Congressional Budget Office projections* (2026a) *of inflation in later years.*

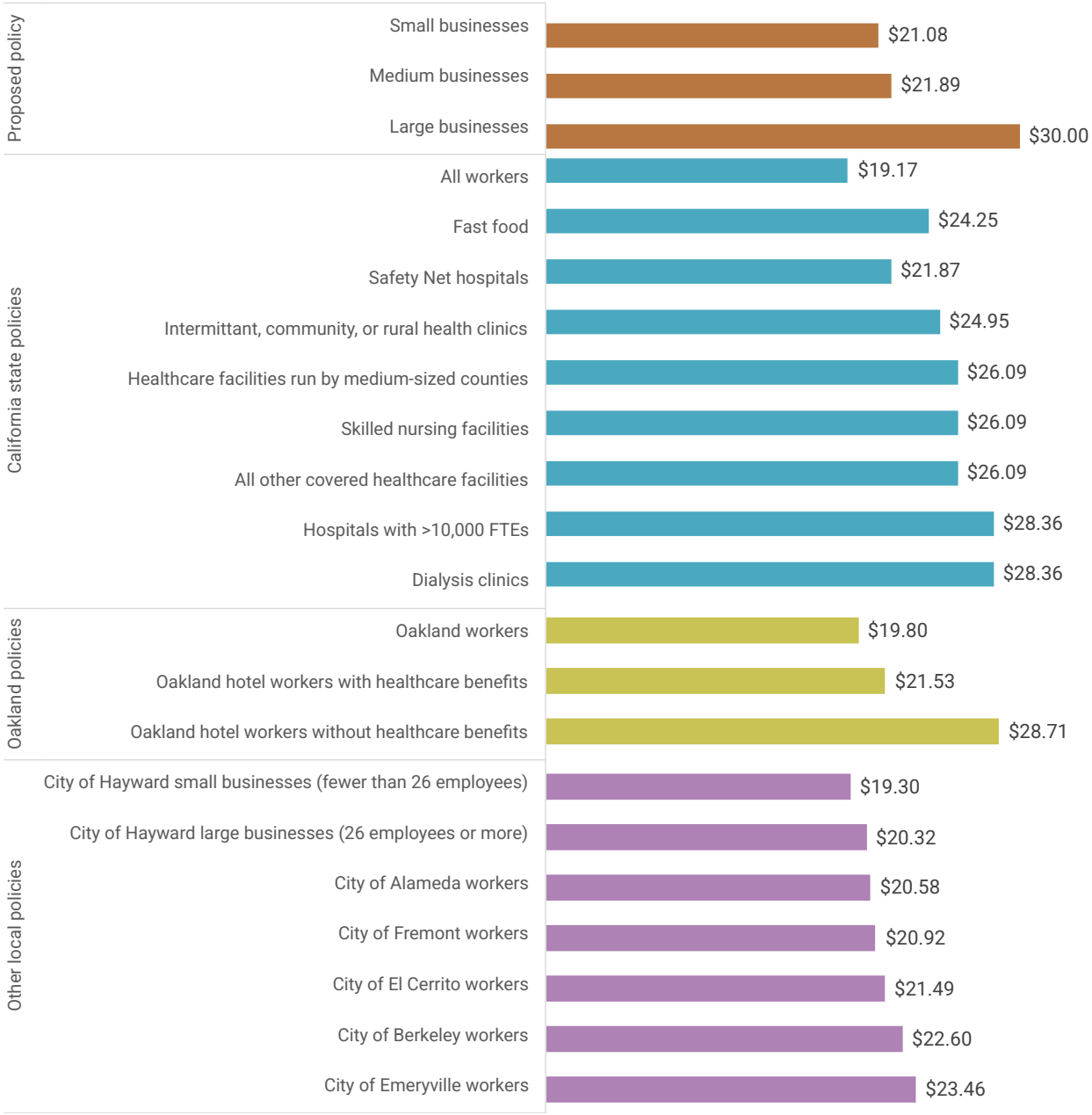
Table 1 describes the minimum wage policy that we model in this study. The ballot measure specifies that the minimum wage will reach $30 an hour by 2030 for large employers and janitorial firms, by 2035 for medium-sized employers with 25-99 employees, and by 2037 for small employers with less than 25 employees. The ballot measure defines large employers as those with 100 or more employees and an annual gross revenue of more than $1 billion. The large business minimum wage would also apply to janitorial services firms of any annual revenue size and any number of employees. Medium-sized employers are defined as those with between 25 and 99 employees and any amount of annual gross revenue, and employers with 100 or more employees and less than $1 billion in annual gross revenue. Small businesses are defined as those with less than 25 employees. Once the large employer minimum wage reaches $30 an hour, it would increase each year by the previous year's growth in the San Francisco MSA CPI-W. The proposed policy specifies that the small and medium

employer rates must catch up to the large employer rate by 2047, ten years after the small employer rate reaches $30 an hour.

Our analysis projects impacts through 2030, when the large employer wage level reaches $30 an hour. **Figure 2** compares the 2030 projected minimum wage rates under the proposed policy to projected statewide and Alameda County minimum wage rates. By 2030, the proposed minimum wage for large businesses and janitorial firms would be higher than all other minimum wage policies in effect within the county. However, the proposed minimum wage for small and medium-sized businesses would be lower than the state minimum wage levels for some healthcare workers, the Oakland minimum wage level for hotel workers without health benefits, and the minimum wage in Emeryville and Berkeley.

The proposed minimum wage policy would raise wages to a higher level than previously set by any local or state government in the United States. However, average earnings and the cost of living are much higher in Alameda County than in most geographic regions in the country. In 2024, the median hourly wage in the San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont MSA was $35.56 compared to only $23.80 nationally (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2024a). Previous studies have estimated that minimum wage levels can reach between 67 and 82 percent of the local median wage before they begin to have a negative impact on employment (Dube 2019; Godøy and Reich 2020). We project that the ratio of the proposed minimum wage policy for large employers to the median hourly wage would be 74 percent in 2030 (see Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods). This is above the level that Dube (2019) estimates to have no impact on employment levels (67 percent) and below the 82 percent minimum-to-median wage ratio that Godøy and Reich (2020) find to have no impact on employment or work hours. However, these ratios typically are used to assess the potential impacts of a minimum wage floor, while the large employer minimum wage level would only apply to a subset of workers initially. The small and medium-sized employer wage levels may not reach the large employer level until 2047. The likely employment impacts are therefore inconclusive based on the ratio of the new minimum wage to the median hourly wage alone. The minimum wage to

Figure 2: Projected minimum wage levels in effect within Alameda County compared to proposed minimum wage levels, 2030



Source: 2030 wage rates were projected using estimates of growth in the Consumer Price Index for Urban Wage Earners and Clerical Workers (CPI-W) for the San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose Metropolitan Statistical Area and California. Existing minimum wage rates are indexed to CPI growth in future years except for the state fast food minimum wage, which is set by the Fast Food Council and can be increased by the lesser of 3.5 percent or annual CPI growth (California Department of Industrial Relations 2024).
Note: Safety net hospitals include hospitals with a high governmental payor mix (~90% of patients covered by Medicaid or Medi-Cal) and independent hospitals with an elevated governmental payor mix (~75% of patients covered by Medicaid or Medi-Cal). The skilled nursing facilities' wage level will only take effect if the California legislature passes a patient care minimum spending requirement.

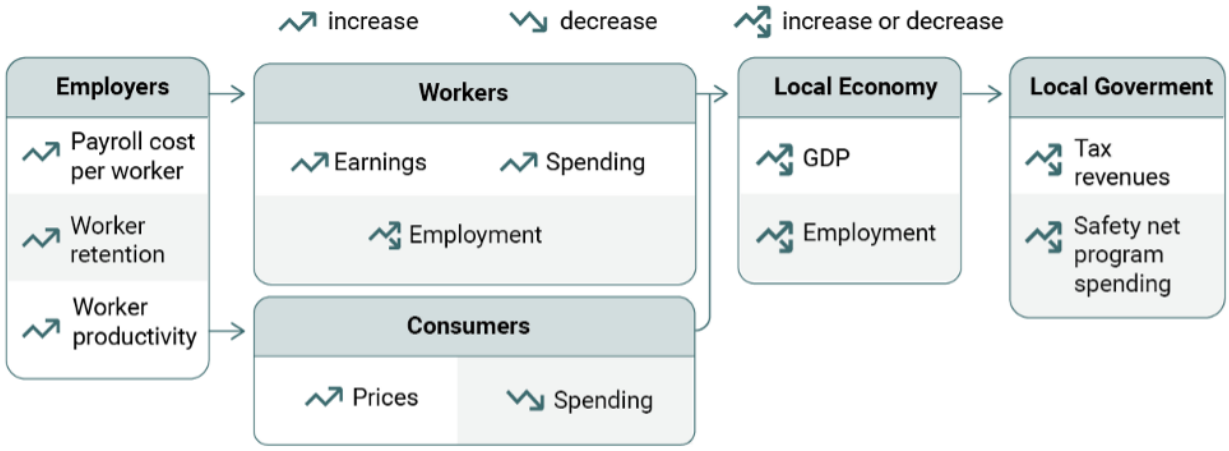
median hourly wage comparison also does not take into account many of the characteristics specific to the local economy and labor market in Alameda County that will shape the ultimate impacts. Our study described in this report provides a more rigorous and detailed analysis of the projected economic impacts of the proposed minimum wage policy.

Methods and Data

Our methods for estimating the economic impacts of a minimum wage increase are based primarily on a model developed by the Center for Wages and Employment Dynamics (CWED) and the UC Berkeley Labor Center (Reich et al. 2017). This model has been used to produce studies of the economic impacts of minimum and living wage policies for multiple local and state government agencies in California and other states. Here we provide a high-level overview of our methods. The Technical Appendix provides a detailed description of the data and methods used in each step of our analysis.

Figure 3 shows our theoretical model of the economic impacts of a minimum wage increase. When the minimum wage increases and workers are paid more, they spend more. If the economy is not at full employment, this creates additional jobs, increases the size of the local economy, and increases the amount of tax revenues collected by government agencies. At the same time, employers see their payroll costs increase for each individual worker but also experience an increase in worker retention and productivity. These productivity gains somewhat offset the increase in payroll costs but also reduce overall employment and worker earnings as fewer workers are needed to complete the same amount of work. As payroll costs increase, employers may choose to invest in automation technologies that could potentially reduce employment. In addition, we expect that some or all of the increased costs to employers will be passed on to consumers in the form of higher prices. As prices increase, consumers reduce their spending, which in turn reduces employment. The combined effect of increased worker spending from higher earnings, decreased worker spending from fewer jobs, and decreased consumer spending determine the size of the impact on employment and the local economy and whether those impacts are positive or negative.

Figure 3: Theoretical model for estimating the economic impacts of a minimum wage increase



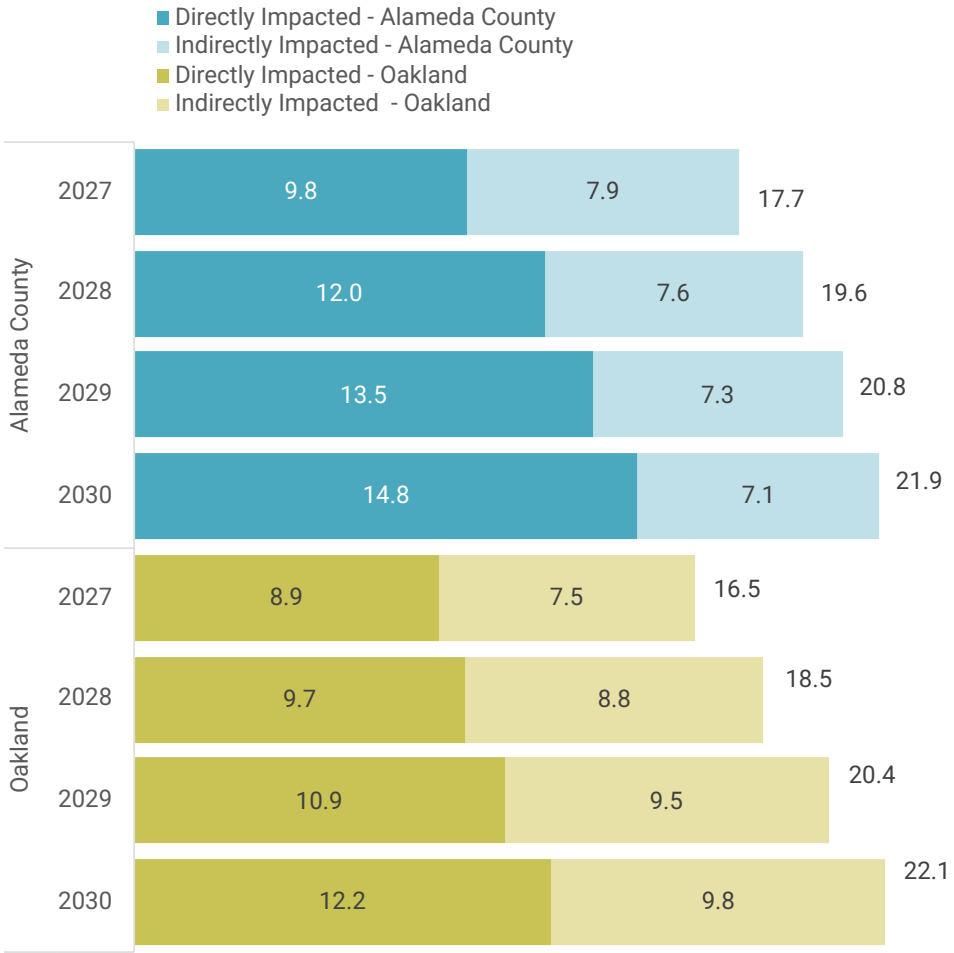
Impact on Worker Earnings

We first model the impact that a local minimum wage policy would have on worker earnings. Workers who earned less in the previous year than the proposed minimum wage level for the following year are **directly impacted**. Workers who, in the previous year, earned at or just above the proposed minimum wage for the next year are **indirectly impacted**. Employers typically pay different wage levels to workers based on their position titles or responsibilities, education levels, skill sets, and experience. Our model assumes that indirectly impacted workers will receive a small wage increase as employers attempt to maintain wage differences and avoid wage compression across their workforces. (See Technical Appendix for more detail.)

Figure 4 reports our findings on the proportion of workers who would experience a wage increase as a result of the proposed minimum wage policy. We estimate that adopting the proposed policy across Alameda County would increase earnings for slightly more than one in five workers (182,000) by 2030. About one in seven Alameda County workers (14.8 percent) would be directly impacted and 7.1 percent would be indirectly impacted.

We project that by 2030, there will be about 177,000 workers in Oakland and 782,000 workers in Alameda County. More than one in five Oakland workers (40,000) would be impacted by the proposed minimum wage increase by 2030. 12.2 percent of Oakland workers would be directly impacted and 9.8 percent would be indirectly impacted.

Figure 4: Estimates of the proportion of workers impacted by a minimum wage increase, Alameda County and Oakland



Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.

Table 2 describes the demographic characteristics of impacted workers compared to those of all workers in Alameda County. Compared to the general workforce, workers who would be impacted by the proposed minimum wage policy are more likely to be

Black, bi-racial/multiracial, or to report their race as "Other." They are also more likely to be women and Hispanic/Latino.

Table 2: Demographic characteristics of all workers and workers impacted by a minimum wage increase, Alameda County 2030

Worker characteristics	Share of all workers	Share of impacted workers
American Indian or Alaska Native	1.3	1.9
Asian	31.7	25.6
Black	8.3	9.6
Other	15.5	28.5
Two or More Race Groups	12.7	15.0
White	30.7	19.4
Latinx/Hispanic	27.4	44.2
Women	46.1	51.8
14-17	0.4	0.8
18-24	8.2	16.6
25-44	49.7	44.0
45-64	36.6	32.6
65-99	5.1	6.0
Parents of minor children	41.9	33.8

Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.

One common misconception is that most minimum wage workers are teenagers and/or young workers who still receive economic support from their families and do not rely on their earnings to meet their basic needs. Our results suggest that this is not the case in Alameda County. Although the proposed minimum wage increase would disproportionately impact workers under the age of twenty-five, the vast majority of impacted workers would be older. Less than one percent of impacted workers would be under 18. More than four in five impacted workers (83 percent) would be 25 and over and nearly 40 percent would be 45 and over. In addition, about one in three impacted workers would be parents of children under 18.

Table 3: Major industry composition of all workers and impacted workers, Alameda County 2030

Major industry	Share of all workers	Share of impacted workers
Retail trade	9.0	15.8
Food services	5.0	10.5
Manufacturing	13.5	10.2
Administrative and waste services	4.8	9.2
Social assistance	4.7	8.5
Transportation and warehousing	4.4	6.7
Educational services	7.6	6.5
Construction	6.2	5.1
Ambulatory health care services	5.5	4.7
Other services	4.8	3.9
Professional and technical services	15.0	3.4
Wholesale trade	2.6	3.1
Nursing and residential care facilities	1.5	2.4
Arts, entertainment, and recreation	1.8	2.2
Real estate, rental, and leasing	1.5	1.7
Information	2.8	1.4
Finance and insurance	2.8	1.7
Accommodation	0.5	1.0
Hospitals	2.1	0.6
Agriculture	0.3	0.5
Public administration	2.3	0.4

Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.
Note: Other services include a wide range of firms, such as repair and maintenance firms, personal and laundry services, religious and social service organizations, and private households.

Table 4: Major industry composition of all workers and impacted workers, Oakland 2030

Major industry	Share of all workers	Share of impacted workers
Social assistance	9.1	16.6
Administrative and waste services	6.4	11.9
Food services	5.2	11.0
Retail trade	6.2	10.7
Transportation and warehousing	6.0	10.7
Other services	6.9	5.4
Ambulatory health care services	6.5	5.2
Manufacturing	3.5	3.6
Construction	4.5	3.5
Professional and technical services	13.5	3.3
Educational services	2.7	2.8
Arts, entertainment, and recreation	2.1	2.6
Public administration	11.5	2.1
Nursing and residential care facilities	1.4	2.0
Finance and insurance	5.8	1.9
Real estate, rental, and leasing	1.7	1.7
Information	2.0	1.3
Wholesale trade	1.5	1.2
Accommodation	0.7	1.0
Agriculture	0.5	0.9
Hospitals	2.2	0.5

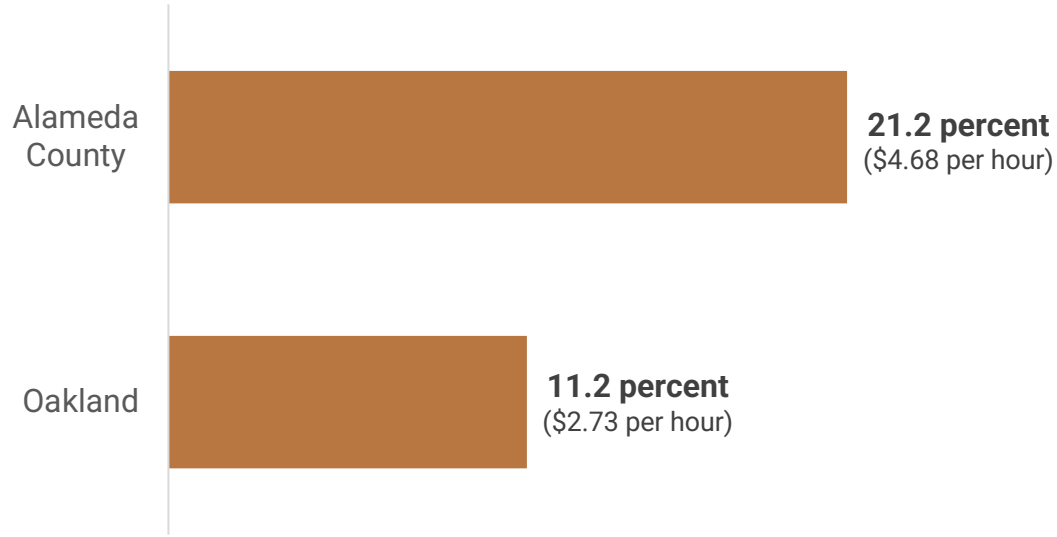
Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.
Note: Other services include a wide range of firms, such as repair and maintenance firms, personal and laundry services, religious and social service organizations, and private households.

Tables 3 and 4 describe the industry composition of impacted workers compared to the overall workforce. The industries with the most impacted workers in Alameda County would be retail, food services, manufacturing, and administrative and waste services. Together, these five industries account for nearly half (45.7 percent) of the impacted workers. About 3 percent of impacted workers in Alameda County are employed in the automobile manufacturing industry. Tesla is the largest manufacturing employer in Alameda County, with about 20,000 employees at their production facility in Fremont (Tesla 2024). About 4 percent of impacted workers in Alameda County are employed in the services to buildings industry, which includes janitorial firms that would be covered by the large employer minimum wage level.

The industry composition of impacted workers in Oakland (**Table 4**) is different from Alameda County because of the different types of employers located there. More than one in four workers who would be impacted by the proposed policy in Oakland are employed in either social assistance or administrative and waste services. Another 32.4 percent of workers who would be impacted in Oakland are employed in food services, transportation and warehousing, or retail.

Figure 5 reports our estimated impacts of the proposed ballot measure on the hourly wage of impacted workers. We estimate that the proposed minimum wage policy would increase the earnings of impacted workers in Alameda County by 21.2 percent, or about $4.68 more per hour and $8,900 more annually. We estimate that the earnings of impacted workers in Oakland would increase by 11.2 percent, or about $2.73 more per hour and $5,500 more annually. Aggregate annual worker earnings would increase by $260 million in Oakland and $2.2 billion in Alameda County (see Technical Appendix for a description of how we calculate aggregate annual worker earnings).

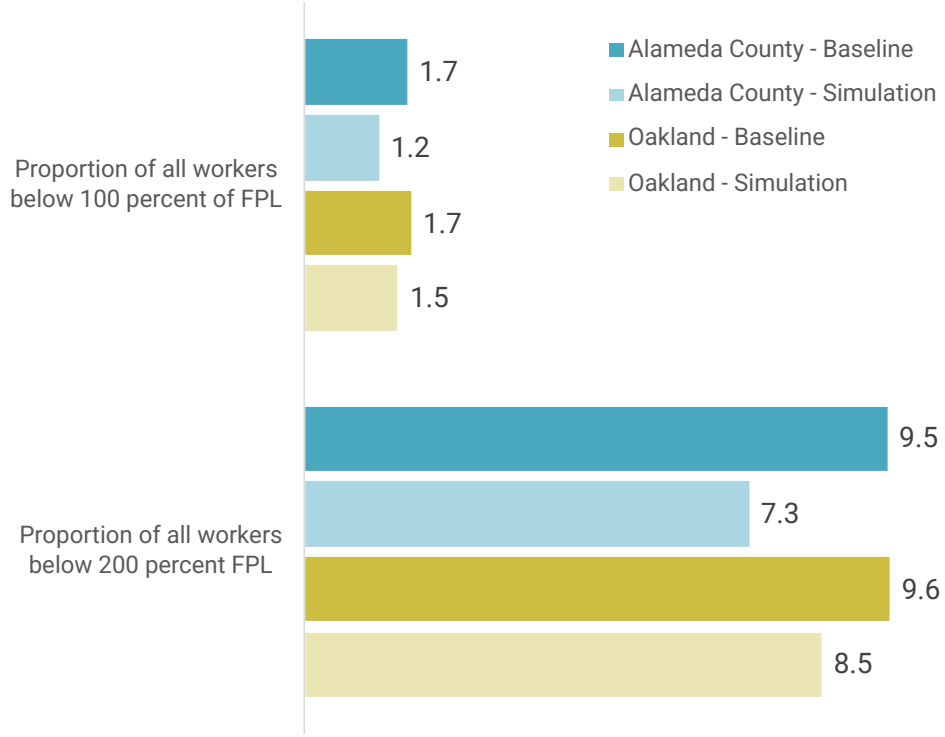
Figure 5: Average percentage increase in hourly earnings for impacted workers (minimum wage simulation compared to baseline simulation), 2030



Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.

Increasing the local minimum wage rates would reduce poverty by lifting some workers' families above the Federal Poverty Level. **Figure 6** shows our estimated impacts of the proposed minimum wage policy on the proportion of workers living below 100 and 200 percent of the Federal Poverty Level. We estimate that the minimum wage increase would reduce the proportion of workers living below 100 percent of the Federal Poverty Line (FPL) from 1.7 percent to 1.2 percent in Alameda County and from 1.7 percent to 1.5 percent in Oakland. This would mean that approximately 900 workers in Alameda County and 100 workers in Oakland would be lifted above 100 percent of the FPL. We estimate that the minimum wage increase would reduce the proportion of workers living below 200 percent of the FPL from 9.5 percent to 7.3 percent in Alameda County and from 9.6 percent to 8.5 percent in Oakland. This would mean that approximately 4,000 workers in Alameda County and 400 workers in Oakland would be lifted above 200 percent of the FPL.

Figure 6: Projected proportion of workers below 100 percent and 200 percent of the Federal Poverty Level, 2030



Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.

Enrollment in social safety net programs

It is well-documented that low-wage workers and their families are more likely to rely on government-funded social programs such as Medicaid, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), and Section 8 housing vouchers to meet their basic needs (Brown Barnes 2021; Jacobs et al. 2021; Cooper 2016; Jacobs et al. 2015). A study by the UC Berkeley Labor Center estimates that in 2022, about one in three low-wage workers in California had at least one family member enrolled in Medi-Cal (Jacobs et al. 2021). When workers earn more, they are less likely to rely on social safety net programs, which could reduce costs for government agencies. However, for some workers, a wage increase may be large enough to push their earnings above eligibility limits for social safety net programs but too small to allow them to cover the cost of those benefits on their own.

A study by the UC Berkeley Labor Center finds that as many as one in ten fast food workers (up to 73,800 workers) may lose eligibility for Medi-Cal as a result of California's fast food minimum wage adopted in 2024 (Hunter et al. 2025). They also find that for workers who switch from Medi-Cal to Covered California plans, the increase in their earnings from the higher minimum wage will be more than enough to cover premium costs. However, this may not be the case if Congress fails to extend ACA subsidies (Dietz et al. 2024).

Our estimated impacts of an Alameda County minimum wage on poverty rates (see **Figure 6**), which determine eligibility for many public benefits programs, suggest that a relatively small proportion of impacted workers would lose eligibility for social safety net programs. For example, the California SNAP program caps eligibility for benefits at 200 percent of the FPL. We find that a minimum wage increase in Alameda County would reduce the number of workers living under 200 percent of the FPL in 2030 from 17,000 to 13,000. This means that about 4,000 workers, only 2 percent of impacted workers, could potentially lose eligibility for SNAP. Maximum monthly SNAP benefits range from $298 for a single person to $994 for a family of four (SNAP Screener 2026). We project that impacted workers in Alameda County would receive an increase in their earnings of about $750 a month. Since these workers were already close to the SNAP earnings eligibility threshold, they were likely to be receiving the lower range of benefits, and the increase in their earnings would likely be larger than the value of the benefits for which they would no longer be eligible.

Impact on Employer Operating Costs

Next, we describe the impacts of the proposed minimum wage increase on employer operating costs. We first describe the proportion of workers who would be impacted in each industry. We then report our estimated increases in labor costs and overall operating costs. As described in the previous section, we find that increasing the minimum wage would increase the earnings of impacted workers by 21.2 percent in Alameda County and 11.2 percent in Oakland (see **Figure 5**). However, overall employer

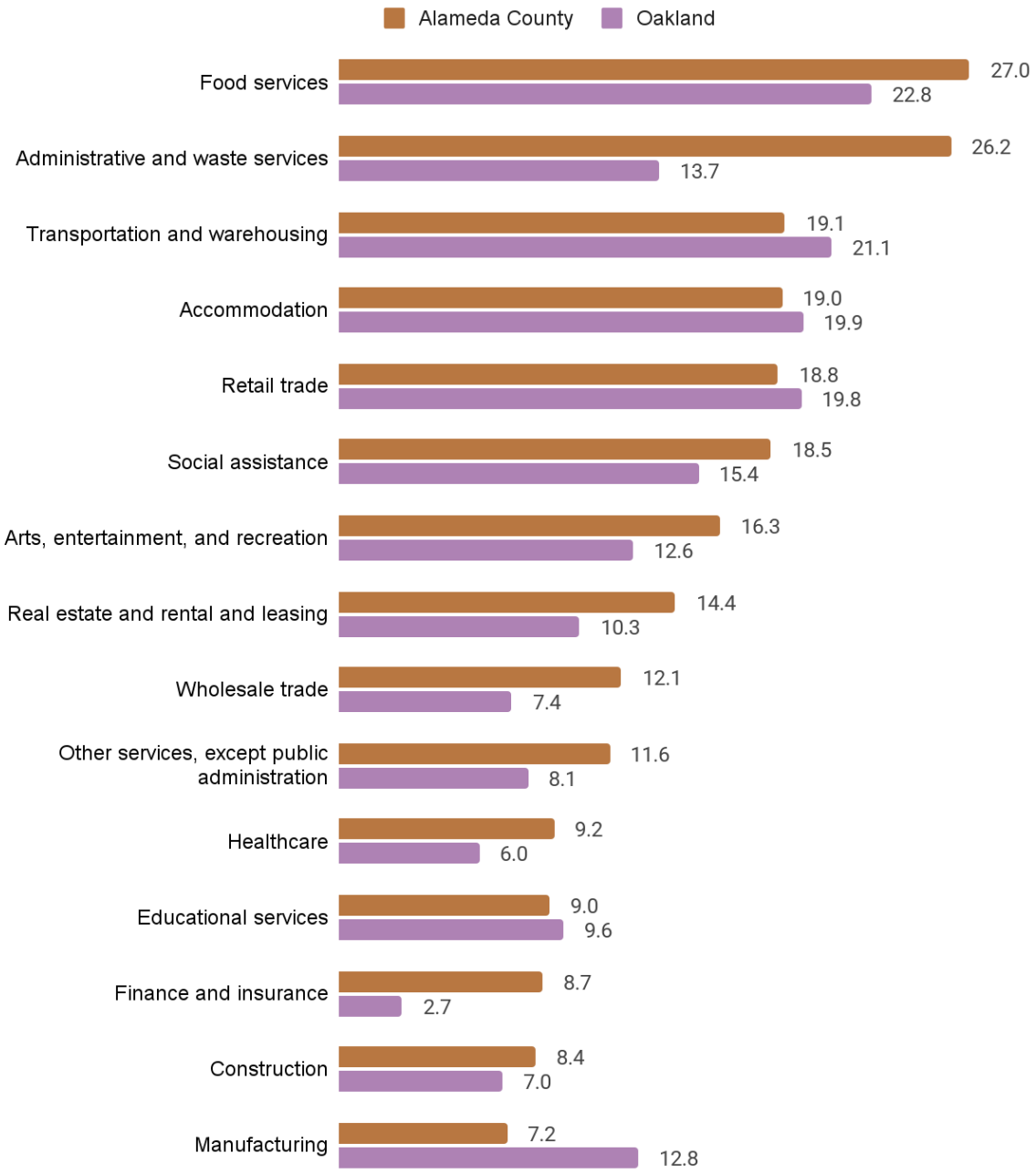
costs would not increase by nearly as much for two reasons. First, when worker compensation increases, worker productivity and retention also increase, offsetting some of the additional compensation costs. Second, wages represent only a portion of operating costs, which also include worker benefits, materials, equipment, rent, insurance, and marketing.

Proportion of workers directly impacted by major industry

Not all industries would be equally impacted by a minimum wage increase– those that pay lower average wages would need to raise the wages of a larger proportion of their workers. **Figure 7** describes the proportion of workers within major industries that would be directly impacted by the proposed minimum wage policy. In Alameda County, the industries with the largest share of their workers directly impacted would be food services, administrative and waste services, transportation and warehousing, and accommodation. In Oakland, the industries with the largest share of workers directly impacted would be food services, transportation and warehousing, accommodation, and retail.

These estimates include workers who would be directly impacted by a minimum wage increase. However, our estimates of the total proportion of impacted workers include workers who would be indirectly impacted as well (see **Figure 4**). These are workers who earn just above the new minimum wage level, and whom we assume would receive a small wage increase as employers seek to maintain a wage differential between workers in different types of positions and with different experience and skill levels.

Figure 7: Proportion of workers directly impacted by major industry, Alameda County 2030



Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.
Note: Some major industries are excluded from this figure due to a small sample size. These estimates do not include workers who would be indirectly impacted. Other services include a wide range of firms, such as repair and maintenance firms, personal and laundry services, religious and social service organizations, and private households.

Restaurants

We find that the food service industry would see some of the biggest impacts of the proposed minimum wage policy, as it has the highest proportion of workers who would receive a wage increase. It would also experience the largest increase in operating costs in Alameda County. Previous research suggests that restaurants are able to pass on most of these costs to consumers in the form of higher prices (Reich and Sosinskiy 2024; Ashenfelter and Jurajda 2022; Allegretto and Reich 2016; MacDonald and Nilsson 2016; Aaronson et al. 2008; Aaronson 2001). A recent comprehensive study of the impacts of minimum wage policies across the country found no measurable effect on restaurant employment (Dube et al. 2024). A study of the impact of the recent $20 fast food minimum wage in California similarly found no change in the number of fast food workers (Reich and Sosinskiy 2024).

A study of minimum wage increase impacts in San Francisco online delivery platform data found that the policy increased the likelihood that some restaurants would go out of business (Luca and Luca 2017). However, restaurants were only more likely to go out of business if they had low average ratings on the online delivery platforms, suggesting that they were already struggling and vulnerable to closing down.

Overall, the restaurant industry in Alameda County appears to be healthy - the food services industry in Alameda County is projected to add approximately 10,000 new jobs between 2022 and 2032, growing by 12 percent (California Employment Development Department 2026). Most restaurants in Alameda County (81 percent) and Oakland (87 percent) would be covered by either the small or medium-sized employer minimum wage levels (see **Figure 8**), providing them with a much longer phase-in period to adjust to the wage increases.

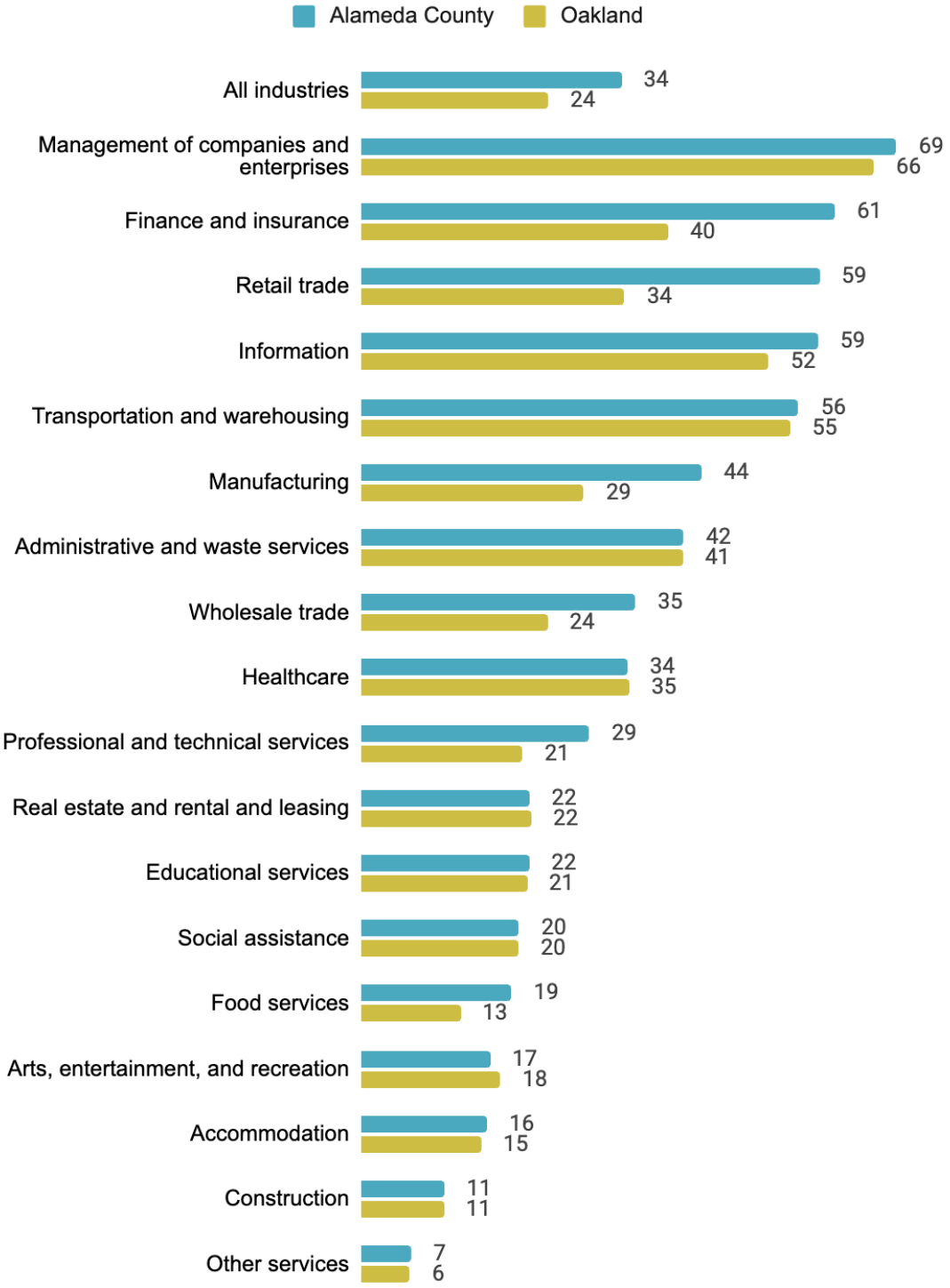
Proportion of workers directly impacted by firm size

Under the proposed minimum wage policy, we project that, by 2030, the minimum wage would be $30.00 for large employers and janitorial services companies, $21.89 for medium-sized employers, and $21.08 for small employers. Eventually, the minimum wage rates for small and medium-sized employers would catch up to the rate for large employers and janitorial services companies. The share of employers that are small, medium, and large size employers differs by industry and in Oakland compared to Alameda County.

Figure 8 describes the share of workers who would be covered by the large employer minimum wage level that applies to businesses with 100 or more employees and $1 billion or more in annual revenues and janitorial services firms of all sizes. We estimate that overall, slightly more than one in three Alameda County workers and one in four Oakland workers would be covered by the large employer minimum wage level. More than half of Alameda County workers in management, finance and insurance, retail, information, and transportation and warehousing would be covered by the large employer minimum wage level. In Oakland, more than half of workers in management and transportation and warehousing would be covered by the large employer minimum wage level. In Oakland, a much smaller share of workers in finance and insurance, retail, and manufacturing would be covered by the large employer minimum wage level.

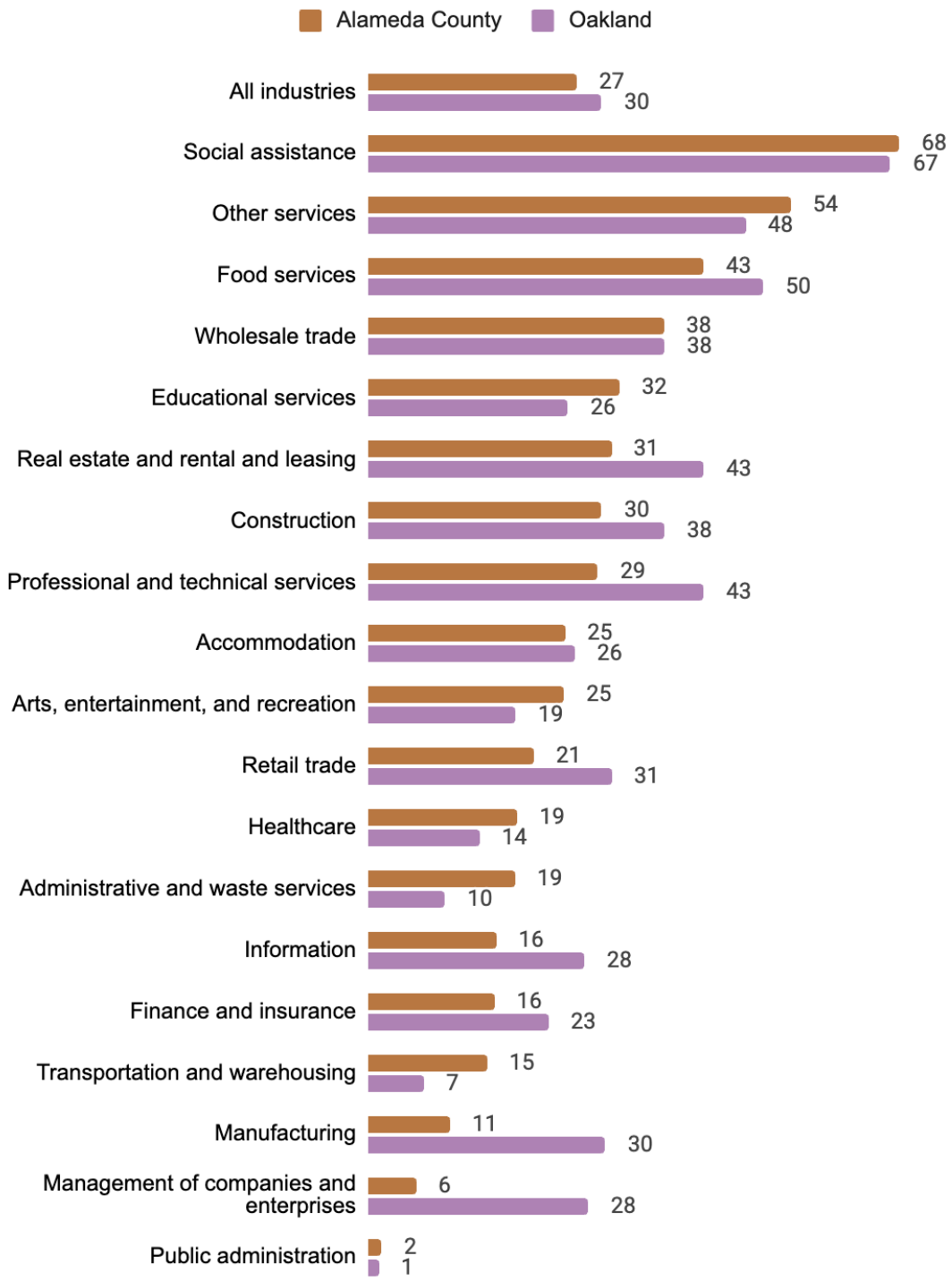
Figure 9 similarly describes the share of workers within industries that would be covered by the small employer minimum wage level that applies to businesses with less than 25 employees. In both Alameda County and Oakland, most workers in social assistance and other services are employed by small firms. A larger share of Oakland workers than Alameda County workers are employed by small firms in the food services, real estate, professional and technical services, construction, finance and insurance, retail, information, management, and manufacturing industries.

Figure 8: Share of workers who would be covered by the large employer minimum wage level in the proposed ballot measure by industry



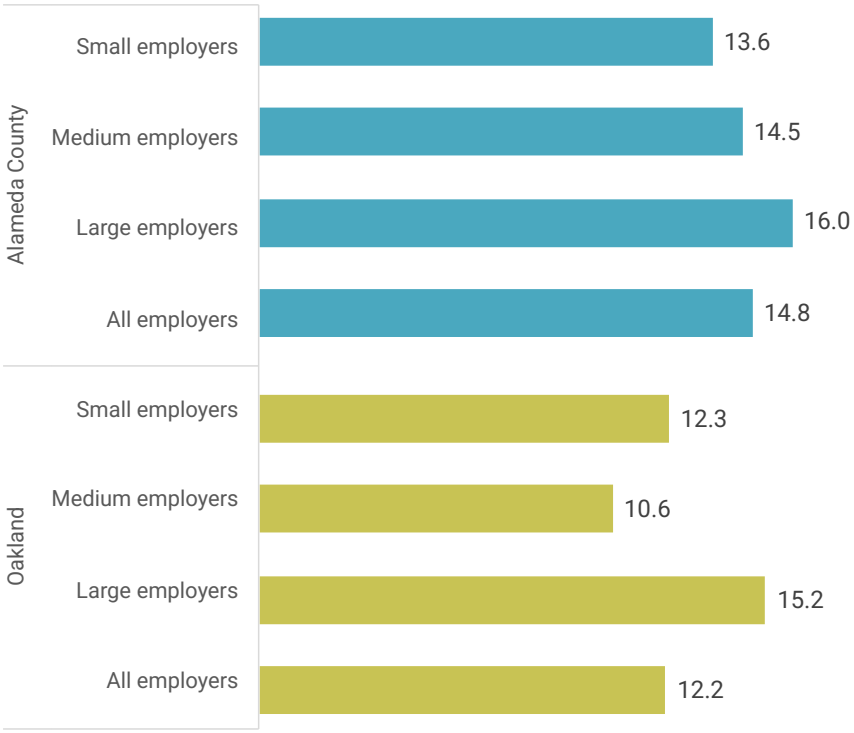
Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.

Figure 9: Share of workers who would be covered by the small employer minimum wage level in the proposed ballot measure by industry



Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.

Figure 10: Estimates of the proportion of workers directly impacted by employer size as defined in the proposed ballot measure, 2030



Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.
Note: The large employer minimum wage level would cover employers with 100+ employees and $1 billion+ annual revenues and janitorial services firms of all sizes. The medium-sized employer minimum wage level would cover employers with 25-99 employees and employers with 100+ employees and <$1 billion in annual revenues. The small business minimum wage level would cover employers with less than 25 employees.

Figure 10 describes the projected share of workers who would be directly impacted by employer size. Directly impacted workers are those who would receive a wage increase in order for employers to comply with the new minimum wage policy. These estimates exclude indirectly impacted workers, who earn just above the new minimum wage level and who would also likely receive a small wage increase as well. A greater share of workers covered by the large employer minimum wage level would be directly impacted - 16.0 percent in Alameda County and 15.2 percent in Oakland. A smaller share of workers who would be covered by the small business minimum wage level would be directly impacted - 13.6 percent in Alameda County and 12.3 percent in Oakland. In Oakland, an even smaller share of workers covered by the medium-sized employer minimum wage

level would be impacted - 10.6 percent. The difference in the share of workers impacted across employer size in Oakland and Alameda County likely reflects differences in the wage distribution of workers within each employer size group.

Impact on labor costs

To estimate the increases in labor costs for employers, we first estimate the average percentage difference in worker wages between the baseline and simulation scenarios. We assume that some of the cost of increased wages will be offset by savings from increased productivity and retention, based on existing research (see "Impact on productivity and retention"). Next, we add to these estimated compensation costs the additional cost of payroll taxes, worker's compensation insurance, and unemployment insurance that would result from a minimum wage increase, as these costs are determined by wages. Finally, we account for the proportion of total labor costs that go toward other sources of worker compensation, such as health insurance, retirement benefits, and paid leave.

Table 5 reports our estimated impacts of the proposed minimum wage policy on employer labor costs by major industry and for all industries. Alameda County food services employers would experience the largest increase in labor costs (7.1 percent). After food services, retail, transportation and warehousing, social assistance, and administrative and waste services would experience the largest increases in labor costs in Alameda County. These same industries would also see the largest increase in labor costs in Oakland, but we estimate that these increases would be smaller than for Alameda County employers.

Table 5: Projected percentage increase in labor costs by major industry, 2030

Major industry	Alameda County	Oakland
Food services	7.1	2.8
Retail trade	5.8	2.9
Transportation and warehousing	5.1	2.8
Social assistance	4.2	2.0
Administrative and waste services	3.4	1.7
Accommodation	3.2	0.5
Wholesale trade	2.3	0.9
Nursing and residential care facilities	2.1	1.3
Arts, entertainment, and recreation	1.7	0.5
Other services	1.1	0.3
Real estate, rental, and leasing	1.1	0.6
Finance and insurance	0.9	0.2
Construction	0.8	0.4
Educational services	0.8	0.7
Ambulatory health care services	0.7	0.4
Manufacturing	0.6	1.3
Hospitals	0.3	0.1
Information	0.2	0.6
Public administration	0.2	0.1
Professional and technical services	0.1	0.1
All industries	**2.3**	**1.3**

Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.
Note: Some major industries are excluded from this table due to small sample sizes. Other services include a wide range of firms, such as repair and maintenance firms, personal and laundry services, religious and social service organizations, and private households.

Impact on productivity and retention

A wide body of literature has demonstrated the connections between higher wages and increased worker productivity, including when wages increase as a result of a minimum wage policy (Haelbig et al. 2023; Ku 2022; Coviello et al. 2022; Card et al. 2016; Hirsch et al. 2015; Reich et al. 2014; Ton 2012; Wolfers and Zilinsky 2015). Higher wages incentivize workers to continue working for a specific employer and/or within a specific occupation for a longer period of time. When workers continue working in the same kind of job for longer periods, they gain valuable experience that increases their productivity over time. Spending more time in the same kind of job, even if they move between different employers, makes them more likely to receive training and education specific to that job, which also contributes to their productivity. Higher wages also incentivize workers to exert more effort, increasing the amount of work they complete over a given period of time (Ku 2022; Coviello et al. 2022).

By reducing worker turnover for employers, wage increases can also reduce costs associated with recruiting, onboarding, and training new workers. Studies of minimum wage increases have found that cost savings associated with reductions in turnover offset the costs of wage increases by between 15 and 20 percent (Pollin and Wicks-Lim 2015; Dube, Freeman, et al. 2010; Dube, Lester, et al. 2010).

We conservatively assume that productivity and retention savings combined offset 17.5 percent of the additional compensation costs associated with the minimum wage policy, based on an average of the estimates from the literature on worker turnover. This may lead us to underestimate the impact of increased productivity and retention, as our estimates only account for the cost savings associated with lower turnover and do not directly account for increased worker productivity. More recent studies suggest that productivity increases may offset a larger proportion of increased labor costs (Haelbig et al. 2023; Ku 2022).

Increase in total operating costs

Labor costs represent only one of many expenses that contribute to a business's overall operating costs. Other costs may include materials, equipment, rent, insurance, and marketing. To estimate the impact of the proposed minimum wage policy on total operating costs, we multiply our estimated increases in labor costs (see **Table 5**) by the estimated percentages of operating costs that go towards labor (see **Figure TA.1**).

Table 6: Projected percentage increase in employer operating costs by major industry, 2030

Major industry	Alameda County	Oakland
Food services	2.9	1.2
Retail trade	2.7	1.3
Social assistance	2.6	1.2
Transportation and warehousing	2.1	1.1
Administrative and waste services	1.7	0.9
Accommodation	1.5	0.2
Nursing and residential care facilities	1.2	0.7
Wholesale trade	0.8	0.3
Arts, entertainment, and recreation	0.7	0.2
Educational services	0.5	0.4
Other services	0.5	0.2
Ambulatory health care services	0.4	0.2
Construction	0.3	0.1
Finance and insurance	0.2	0.0
Hospitals	0.2	0.0
Manufacturing	0.2	0.3
Information	0.1	0.2
Professional and technical services	0.1	0.1
Public administration	0.1	0.1
Real estate, rental, and leasing	0.1	0.1
All industries	**0.9**	**0.5**

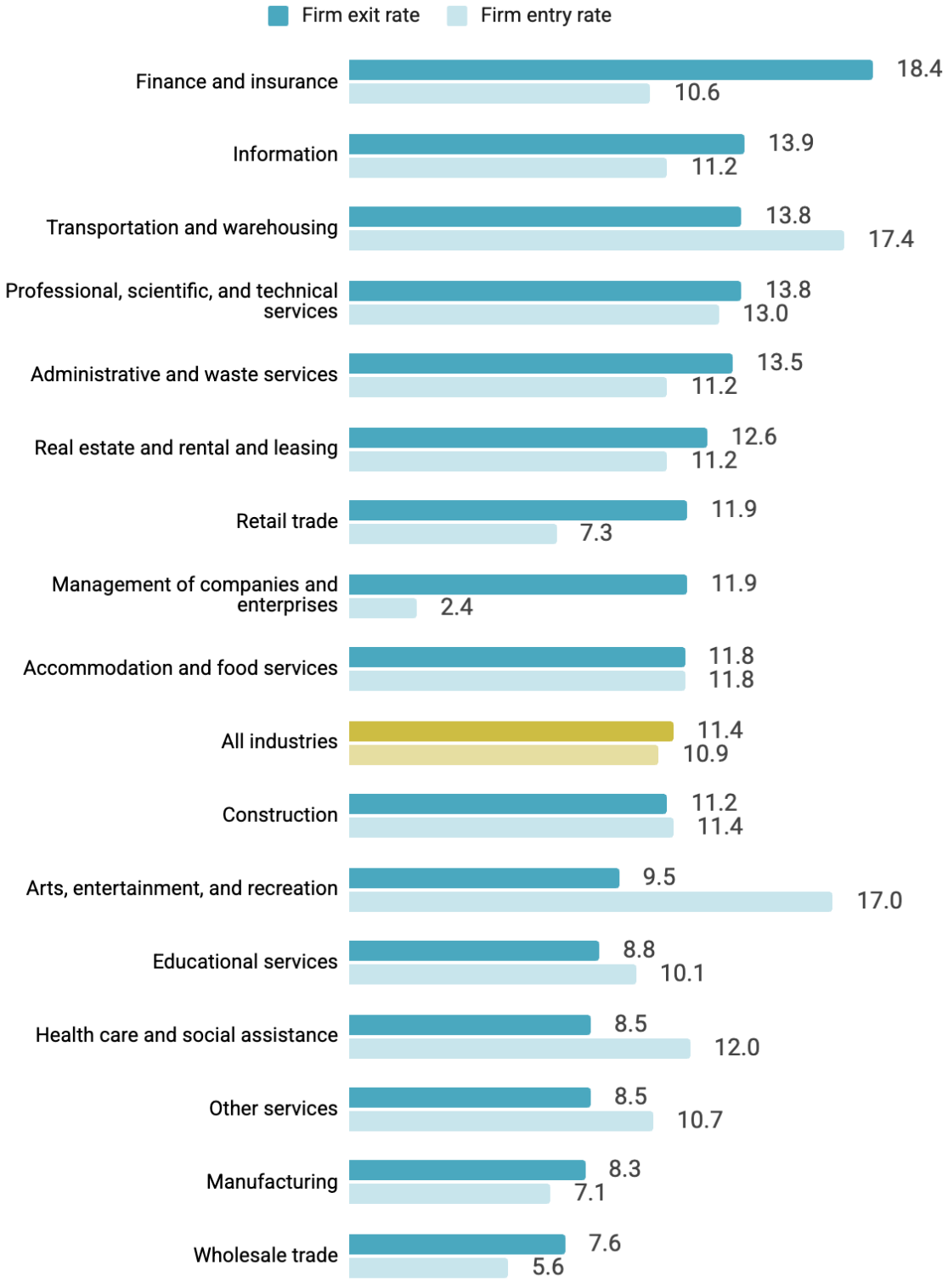
Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, and 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.
Note: Some major industries are excluded from this table due to a small sample size. Other services include a wide range of firms, such as repair and maintenance firms, personal and laundry services, religious and social service organizations, and private households.

Table 6 reports our estimated impacts of the proposed minimum wage policy on employer operating costs. Across all industries, we estimate that the proposed minimum wage policy would increase employer costs by 0.9 percent in Alameda County and 0.5 percent in Oakland. We find that employers in food services would experience the largest increase in their overall costs, followed by retail, social assistance, and transportation and warehousing.

Impact on firm exits

One common concern related to minimum wage policies is that the increased costs will cause some employers to go out of business. Many businesses close every year as part of the regular economic cycle, even with no change in the minimum wage rate. Every year, about 11 percent of businesses in Alameda County close (see **Figure 11**) and about 11 percent of businesses are established, entering the market for the first time. Exit rates are higher in some industries, such as finance and insurance, transportation and warehousing, information, and professional, scientific and technical services. Research has demonstrated that, in the aggregate, minimum wage policies have little to no effect on employment levels. However, the impact on individual businesses may vary widely. An analysis of online delivery platform data found that a minimum wage increase in San Francisco only increased the likelihood that restaurants would go out of business if they had low average customer ratings (Luca and Luca 2017). Similarly, a study from Portugal found that minimum wage laws there seemed to accelerate the exit of financially distressed and low-productivity firms, therefore increasing the overall productivity of the economy (Alexandre et al. 2022). These findings suggest that a minimum wage increase could be the final straw for firms that are already on the verge of going under, leading them to shut down on a shorter timeline than they would have otherwise. A 2026 analysis of US tax returns finds that minimum wage policies reduce the number of operating firms by 2 percent, but do not reduce overall employment, leading to a smaller number of more productive firms (Rao and Risch 2026).

Figure 11: Firm exit and entry rates by industry, Alameda County 2023



Source: Authors' analysis of 2023 Business Dynamics Statistics data.

The proposed policy's longer phase-in period for small and medium-sized employers could make it easier for struggling businesses to adjust while still increasing earnings for a large number of workers. Connecting struggling businesses to existing public resources could also provide support during the transition of a minimum wage increase. For example, a minimum wage ordinance adopted by Edgewater, Colorado in May 2023 included the creation of a business support program. After the ordinance passed, the program sent letters to businesses informing them of the local minimum wage increase schedule and providing a list of support resources that could help them through the transition. Since then, the program has maintained regular contact with businesses through a monthly newsletter that contains support resources such as grant opportunities and free or low-cost business consulting, training, and workshops offered by the Colorado Small Business Development Center Network (Thomason et al. 2025). Alameda County and/or individual cities could invest in new programs to support businesses that would be particularly impacted by the proposed minimum wage increase. One example of this type of program is Measure C in Alameda County, which helps subsidize the cost of increasing child care worker wages.

Child Care and Measure C

Child care is another industry that could be vulnerable to disproportionate impacts from minimum wage increases. Child care workers are typically paid low wages even though many positions require higher levels of education and training to meet quality standards and licensing requirements. The median hourly wage of child care workers in the San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont MSA ($21.62) is 40 percent lower than the median hourly wage for all workers ($35.56) (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2024b). This suggests that a disproportionate share of child care workers would receive wage increases as the result of the proposed minimum wage policy. The unique characteristics of the child care industry make it more difficult for child care providers to absorb these additional costs. The true cost of high-quality child care is beyond the means of most working families. Some public subsidies are available for low-income families, but substantially more public investment would be needed to provide sufficient, affordable, quality care to all working families (Thomason et al. 2018). Passing the costs of wage increases on to families would make the already high cost of child care less affordable. These impacts could have implications beyond the child care industry itself as workers with young children rely on access to affordable care to work.

Alameda County is well positioned to support child care providers in raising wages due to Measure C, passed by voters in March 2020. Measure C sets aside revenues from a 0.5 percent sales tax for early childhood education programs. Due to legal challenges, the county was unable to begin distributing Measure C funds until 2025. Measure C funds provide subsidies to child care providers who agree to raise wages for their workers as well as covering the cost of additional subsidized child care slots to increase access to affordable care ("The Children's Health & Child Care Initiative for Alameda County" 2025). Measure C requires that participating childcare providers pay workers at least $25 an hour. This wage level is higher than the proposed minimum wage levels for small and medium-sized businesses through 2030. Participation in Measure C funded programs could therefore help many child care providers raise their workers' wages above the proposed minimum wage levels.

Consumer Impacts

Because they increase payroll costs for employers, minimum wage increases often raise concerns about higher prices for consumers. However, research indicates that the effects of higher minimum wage rates on consumer prices are minimal. A 2016 study of 28 US metropolitan areas found that restaurant prices increased by an average of only 0.36 percent for every 10-percent minimum wage increase between 1978 and 2015 (MacDonald and Nilsson 2016). This same study found that the specifics of minimum wage policy design, particularly phase-in schedules, have a significant impact on the degree to which minimum wage increases affect consumer prices. A separate study examined restaurant menus before and after San Jose, California raised their minimum wage in 2013; it found that their large, one-time minimum wage increase of 25 percent only resulted in restaurants raising their prices by an average of 1.45 percent. Because this study also found no statistically significant change in San Jose's restaurant employment numbers following the increase, its authors concluded that restaurants predominantly used price increases to pass higher payroll costs on to consumers (Allegretto and Reich 2016).

The impact that a minimum wage increase will ultimately have on prices for consumers depends on (1) the percentage increase in operating costs for employers and (2) the proportion of operating cost increases that are passed on to consumers. We conservatively assume that 100 percent of the increase in operating costs will be passed on to consumers in the form of higher prices, based on previous research demonstrating that minimum wage increase costs are completely passed on to consumers in the grocery store industry (Renkin et al. 2020; Leung 2021). However, other studies have found that costs are mostly, but not completely, passed on to consumers, including for the restaurant industry specifically (Harasztosi and Lindner 2019; MacDonald and Nilsson 2016; Aaronson et al. 2008; Aaronson 2001).

Because we assume that employers will fully pass increased costs on to consumers, our estimates of the impact on consumer prices (see **Table 7**) are equal to our estimates of the impact on employer operating costs (see **Table 6**). We estimate that consumer prices overall would increase by 0.9 percent in Alameda County and 0.5 percent in Oakland as a result of the proposed minimum wage policy. Consumer price impacts would be largest for food services, retail, social assistance, and transportation and warehousing.

If businesses do end up absorbing some of the increased costs, the impact on consumer prices would be smaller than what we estimate here. For example, social assistance firms and nursing residential care facilities may rely on public programs for some share of their revenues. For these firms, passing increased costs onto clients or funders may require renegotiating contract terms or changing reimbursement rates set by local, state, or federal law. When employers are not able to easily pass on increased costs, they may absorb some or all of the additional costs associated with the proposed minimum wage policy.

Table 7: Projected percentage increase in consumer prices by major industry, 2030

Major industry	Alameda County	Oakland
Food services	2.9	1.2
Retail trade	2.7	1.3
Social assistance	2.6	1.2
Transportation and warehousing	2.1	1.1
Administrative and waste services	1.7	0.9
Accommodation	1.5	0.2
Nursing and residential care facilities	1.2	0.7
Wholesale trade	0.8	0.3
Arts, entertainment, and recreation	0.7	0.2
Educational services	0.5	0.4
Other services	0.5	0.2
Ambulatory health care services	0.4	0.2
Construction	0.3	0.1
Finance and insurance	0.2	0.0
Hospitals	0.2	0.0
Manufacturing	0.2	0.3
Information	0.1	0.2
Professional and technical services	0.1	0.1
Public administration	0.1	0.1
Real estate, rental, and leasing	0.1	0.1
All industries	**0.9**	**0.5**

Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data, and 2024 Bureau of Economic Analysis data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.

Note: Some major industries are excluded from this table due to a small sample size. Other services include a wide range of firms, such as repair and maintenance firms, personal and laundry services, religious and social service organizations, and private households.

Our estimated consumer price increases are on top of regular inflation, which is projected to be 3.3 to 3.4 percent annually between 2027 and 2030 (see **Table TA.1**). In the years following the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the US saw historic inflation levels that made it much harder for many working families to meet their basic needs. The Bay Area CPI-W increased by 4.1 percent in 2021 and 6.3 percent in 2022 (State of California Department of Industrial Relations 2026). Inflation has since slowed, with the Bay Area CPI-W increasing by between 2.3 and 3.3 percent annually between 2023 and 2025. The US and Israeli war on Iran that began on February 28, 2026 has driven up oil prices, which the OECD now estimates will increase inflation above previous projections through the end of 2026 (Thomas 2026).

Impacted workers are also consumers and would therefore be impacted by price increases resulting from the proposed minimum wage policy. However, the 0.9 percent increase in prices in Alameda County would be very small relative to the 21.2 percent projected increase in the earnings of impacted workers (see **Figure 5**). These price increases would effectively redistribute income from higher income consumers to lower income workers. Previous research suggests that minimum wage policies do increase overall consumption, thereby having a redistributive effect. A 2022 study finds that a 10 percent increase in the minimum wage leads to a 1.1 percent increase in sales (Alonso 2022).

Employment Impacts

When workers began calling for minimum wage increases in the early 2010s as part of the Fight for $15 movement, labor economists debated whether local minimum wage increases would lead to widespread job losses, especially in geographical areas with lower average wages (Bernhardt et al. 2014). At that point, few local minimum wage policies had been adopted that economists could study to confirm or disprove these projections– in 2010 only three US cities had passed local minimum wage laws. For decades prior, economists had debated whether minimum wage policies reduce

employment. Most studies pre-2000 found that minimum wage policies had little to no impact on employment (Schmitt 2013). However, this previous research focused primarily on state and national-level policies.

As of 2024, 30 states, DC, and 63 local governments had minimum wage policies above the federal minimum wage of $7.25 (Economic Policy Institute 2024). Seven states have minimum wages at or above $15 an hour (California, Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Washington) and more than two dozen local governments have minimum wages at or above $17 an hour (in Arizona, California, Colorado, D.C., Maryland, and Washington). The growing adoption of local minimum wage policies has provided many opportunities for researchers to study their impacts on local economies. A 2018 retrospective study of six local minimum wage laws of between $12 and $15 an hour found that these policies caused either an insignificant loss of jobs or led to a slight increase in jobs (Allegretto et al. 2018). A 2020 study of local minimum wage policies found negligible impacts on local employment levels (Dube and Lindner 2020). A comprehensive review of 88 studies on the employment impacts of minimum wage policies in the United States and internationally found that the majority suggest negligible impacts on employment (Dube and Zipperer 2024). A 2026 study of the potential impacts of a federal $20 an hour minimum wage also finds that employment impacts would be minimal (Reich 2026).

We estimate the impact that a minimum wage policy would have on employment in Alameda County and Oakland through four different pathways: ***reduced consumer spending*** that results from increased prices, capital-labor substitution as employers invest in ***automation*** in response to labor cost increases, ***productivity gains***, and ***increased worker spending*** that results from higher earnings. Our model assumes that the first three of these pathways would have a negative impact on employment, but that these negative impacts could be offset wholly or in part by the positive employment impacts from increased worker spending. Our assumption of some negative employment impacts is conservative given the broad research cited above that has found minimum wage policies to have little to no impact on employment.

Below, we describe the impact of each of these pathways separately and then describe our estimates of their combined impact on future employment. We provide a high-level description of our methods and assumptions, which follow those of the CWED minimum wage studies, such as Reich et al. (2017). We provide a more detailed description of these methods in the Technical Appendix.

Reduced consumer spending

As described in the previous section, we estimate that a minimum wage increase will cause a relatively small increase in the price of goods and services as employers pass on the cost of higher wages to consumers. When prices increase as the result of a minimum wage increase, consumers reduce their spending. In turn, businesses see fewer sales and employ fewer workers.

To estimate the impact of reduced consumer spending on employment, we first estimate the dollar amount of reduced consumer spending. We multiply the total amount of consumer spending in Alameda County by our estimate of the percentage increase in consumer prices (see **Table 7**) and an estimate of the price elasticity of demand (0.72). We then use data from the Consumer Expenditures Survey (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2025a) to model how the reduction in spending would be distributed across industries and apply BEA RIMS II multipliers (Bureau of Economic Analysis 2025) to model the change in the number of jobs that would result from the dollar amount of reduced consumer spending.

Increased automation

Over the last few decades, many businesses have adopted new technologies that automate processes previously completed by workers. For example, self-checkout stations in grocery stores and machines to pay for parking in a garage are now very common. The adoption of these new technologies has increased over time as their costs have decreased relative to labor costs. Although we estimate that the proposed minimum wage policy would increase labor costs for employers, previous studies

suggest that any impacts on automation would be small (Aaronson and Phelan 2019). Existing technologies that could automate tasks of low-wage workers have already been widely adopted by some industries, limiting opportunities for employers to further automate tasks until additional technologies are developed. A study by Lordan and Neumark finds that the degree to which minimum wage increases lead to automation varies significantly by industry (2018).

We model the impact of increased automation based on standard economic formulas for capital-labor substitution, using the percent increase in labor costs (see **Table 5**) and the number of workers impacted (see "Impact on Worker Earnings").

Increased worker productivity

In the previous section on employer impacts, we describe how higher wages increase worker productivity. Productivity gains offset some of the additional cost of minimum wage increases but also mean that employers need fewer workers to complete the same amount of work. Following the methods of the CWED studies, we assume that the impact of productivity gains on employment is equal to the number of workers impacted (see "Impact on Worker Earnings") multiplied by -0.005 (Reich et al. 2017).

Increased worker spending

We estimate that the proposed minimum wage policy would increase annual worker earnings by $2.2 billion in Alameda County and $260 million in Oakland. When workers and their families spend these additional earnings on housing, food, transportation, and other goods and services, aggregate consumer spending increases. This creates a "multiplier effect," where an increase in worker income creates an even larger increase in the size of the local economy. If the economy is not at full employment, this means that new jobs are created. We use Consumer Expenditures Survey data (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2025a) to model how workers will spend their additional after-tax earnings and BEA RIMS II multipliers (Bureau of Economic Analysis 2025) to model the number of additional jobs created by the increased worker spending.

Net impact on employment

Table 8 describes our estimates of the employment impact of the proposed minimum wage policy. Reduced consumer spending, increased automation, and gains in worker productivity would all result in a slightly lower number of jobs in Alameda County, while the increase in worker spending would result in a slightly higher number of jobs. We estimate that these effects combined would have a negligible impact on employment. We estimate a very small impact on employment countywide, resulting in about 1,300 additional Alameda County jobs by 2030. We estimate that the proposed minimum wage policy would have an even smaller impact in Oakland, adding approximately 100 jobs by 2030. In each of these cases, the employment impacts are very small relative to total employment, representing an increase of only about 0.2 percent in Alameda County and less than 0.1 percent in Oakland. These estimates are consistent with previous research on the impact of minimum wage policies on employment, which typically find very small negative or positive impacts on employment (Dube and Zipperer 2024; Allegretto et al. 2018).

Table 8: Estimates of impact on employment, 2030

	Alameda County	Oakland
Impact of increased worker spending	5,900	700
Impact of reduced consumer spending	-2,900	-300
Impact of substitution and productivity	-1,600	-300
Net impact on employment	1,300	100
Percentage impact on employment	**0.2 percent**	**0.06 percent**

Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data, 2024 Bureau of Economic Analysis data, 2024 Consumer Expenditures Survey data, ITEP estimates of effective California income tax rates (2024), and Bureau of Economic Analysis RIMS II Multipliers. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.

The estimates we present in **Table 8** are for the net change in employment in Alameda County and Oakland. However, the increased worker earnings that would result from the proposed minimum wage policy would also impact employment in surrounding counties as workers spend their earnings on goods and services across the region. This additional regional impact would likely be small.

Local Economy Impacts

We use the same model described above to estimate the impacts of the proposed minimum wage policy on the size of the local economy. These estimates include the impact on GDP from reduced consumer spending, increased worker spending induced by higher earnings, and decreased worker spending resulting from productivity and automation employment impacts.

Table 9: Estimates of the impact on GDP (2026 dollars), 2030

	Alameda County	Oakland
Impact of increased worker spending	$1.9 billion	$220 million
Impact of reduced consumer spending	-$900 million	-$100 million
Impact of substitution and productivity	-$100 million	-$10 million
Net impact on GDP	$1.0 billion	$120 million
Percentage impact on GDP	**0.5 percent**	**0.3 percent**

Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data, 2024 Bureau of Economic Analysis data, 2024 Consumer Expenditures Survey data, ITEP estimates of effective California income tax rates (2024), and Bureau of Economic Analysis RIMS II Multipliers. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.

Table 9 reports our estimates of the impact on GDP in Alameda County and Oakland. Overall, we find that adopting the proposed minimum wage policy would have a negligible impact on the size of the local economy. We estimate that by 2030 GDP would increase by about 0.3 percent ($120 million) in Oakland and 0.5 percent ($1.0 billion) in Alameda County. We project 2030 GDP will be $43 billion in Oakland and $190 billion in

Alameda County (in 2026 dollars; see Technical Appendix for details on methods and data sources).

Tax Revenue Impacts

To estimate the impact of the proposed minimum wage policy on tax revenues at the local, state, and federal level, we apply effective state and federal tax rate assumptions to our estimates of the aggregate increase in worker earnings and a weighted average of local sales tax rates to our estimates of the net change in consumer spending. We find that the proposed minimum wage policy would have a negligible impact on tax revenues. **Table 10** describes our estimates of the impact of the proposed minimum wage policy on tax revenues from Alameda County and Oakland. We estimate that in Oakland, the policy would result in $63 million more tax revenues collected, including $3 million more in local sales tax and $9 million more in state income and SDI tax. We estimate that in Alameda County, the policy would result in $529 million more tax revenues collected, including $25 million more in local sales tax and $74 million more in state income and SDI tax. This would represent a very small increase relative to the current size of local government budgets. For example, the City of Oakland budget for 2025-2027 is $2.2 billion and the Alameda County budget for 2025-2026 is $6.1 billion (City of Oakland 2025; County of Alameda 2025).

Table 10: Estimates of the impact on tax revenues, 2030

	Alameda County	Oakland
Local (sales tax)	$25 million	$3 million
State (income and state SDI)	$74 million	$9 million
Federal (income and FICA)	$430 million	$51 million
Total impact on tax revenues	**$529 million**	**$63 million**

Source: Authors' analysis of 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data, 2022 Statistics of US Businesses data, 2024 Bureau of Economic Analysis data, 2024 Consumer Expenditures Survey data, Bureau of Economic Analysis RIMS II Multipliers, ITEP estimates of effective California income tax rates (2024), and 2024 California Department of Tax and Fee Administration data. See Technical Appendix for a detailed description of methods used to produce these estimates.

Conclusion

We find that the proposed minimum wage policy would increase earnings for a large group of workers, while having negligible effects on employment, the size of the local economy, and tax revenues. We project that the proposed policy would increase consumer prices 0.5 percent in Oakland and 0.9 percent in Alameda County. However, these price increases would be much smaller than the projected increase in worker earnings and would redistribute income from higher income consumers to lower wage workers. Adopting the policy countywide would improve earnings for a much larger group of workers (182,000) compared to a policy that would only cover Oakland (40,000 workers). Our findings are consistent with a large body of research on the impacts of local minimum wage policies.

Technical Appendix

Here we provide more detail on the data and methods used to produce the estimates described in the main report.

2026 Minimum wage levels in effect within Alameda County

Statewide 2026 minimum wage rates for all California workers, fast food workers, and specified healthcare workers were published by the State of California Department of Industrial Relations. Minimum wage rates for all Oakland workers, Oakland hotel workers with and without healthcare benefits, El Cerrito workers, and Hayward workers at both large and small businesses were published by the City of Oakland, City of El Cerrito, and City of Hayward respectively. Because the cities of Alameda, Berkeley, Emeryville, and Fremont do not update their minimum wage rates until July of each year, it was necessary to project the 2026 minimum wage rates for these municipalities. Per their local minimum wage ordinances, Alameda, Berkeley, Emeryville, and Fremont all index their minimum wage rates to the Consumer Price Index for Urban Wage Earners and Clerical Workers (CPI-W) for the San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose Metropolitan Statistical Area. To project their 2026 minimum wage rates, we multiplied each city's 2025 minimum wage rate by the percent change in the Bay Area MSA CPI-W from 2025 to 2026 (State of California Department of Industrial Relations 2026).

Projected 2030 minimum wage levels in effect within Alameda County compared to projected 2030 minimum wage levels under the proposed policy

The State of California and all the aforementioned cities within Alameda County index their minimum wage rates to either the statewide CPI-W or the Bay Area MSA CPI-W. We projected all statewide and local minimum wage rates through 2030 using projections from the California Department of Finance (2026).

Hourly wage estimates using American Community Survey data

We use 2023-2024 American Community Survey (ACS) data, with earnings data adjusted to 2027 dollars using the San Francisco Bay CPI-W (State of California Department of Industrial Relations 2026) and projections of the 2025-2027 San Francisco Bay CPI-W from the California Department of Finance (2026). The ACS provides data on annual earned income for individual workers. To construct an hourly wage variable, we divide annual earned income by weeks worked per year and the usual hours worked per week. Next, we randomly add an amount between $-0.25 and $0.25 to each individual's estimated hourly wage, which creates a more realistic wage distribution by smoothing some of the bunching that occurs in the wage estimates.

Approximating Oakland workers using American Community Survey data

The ACS variable that identifies work location (PWPUMA00) allows us to identify Alameda County workers, but not Oakland workers. Based on Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW) data, we estimate that Oakland workers represent approximately 23 percent of the workers in Alameda County. To produce estimates for Oakland, we reweight observations so that the distribution of workers across industries in our ACS dataset matches the industry distributions for Oakland from QCEW data purchased from the California Employment Development Department. We also reweight our data to account for an undercount of agricultural workers in QCEW data, based on an estimate from the Economic Policy Institute (Costa 2023).

The actual wage distribution for workers in Oakland may differ from the wage distribution in our ACS sample of Alameda County workers. We adjust our hourly wage estimates for workers in industries where QCEW data show that there is more than a ten percent difference in mean annual earnings for workers in Oakland and Alameda County. We find that compared to Alameda County workers, mean annual earnings are higher for Oakland workers in transportation and warehousing, administrative services, arts, entertainment, and recreation, wholesale trade, other services, and utilities. We find that mean annual earnings in Oakland are lower for workers in agriculture, manufacturing, information,

education, and public administration. For workers in these industries, we adjust our ACS hourly wage estimates by half of the percentage difference in annual mean earnings that we find in our analysis of QCEW data.

Inflation and wage growth assumptions

We adjust all wage estimates for inflation to 2025 dollars using the San Francisco Bay CPI-W (State of California Department of Industrial Relations 2026). For 2026 to 2030, we assume that wage growth is equal to projections of the percent growth in the San Francisco Bay CPI-W from the State of California Department of Finance (2026). **Table TA.1** describes our assumptions for each individual year.

Table TA.1: Wage growth assumptions 2024-2030

Year	Wage Growth Assumption	Source
2024	2.8	Actual annual increase in the San Francisco Bay CPI-W
2025	2.3	
2026	3.2	California Department of Finance projections of growth in the San Francisco Bay CPI-W
2027	3.3	
2028	3.4	
2029	3.4	
2030	3.4	

Source: California Department of Industrial Relations (2026) *and California Department of Finance* (2026a).

Ratio of projected minimum wage levels to projected median hourly wage

We estimate the median hourly wage for Alameda County and Oakland using 2023-2024 IPUMS ACS data. Our estimates for Oakland are reweighted to approximate the industry distribution for Oakland as found in QCEW data and account for differences in mean annual earnings between Oakland and Alameda County workers within industries (see more details in the section above on approximating Oakland workers using ACS data).

We project our 2024 median hourly wage estimates for Alameda County and Oakland through 2030 using the wage growth assumptions described in **Table TA.1**.

Employer size imputation

The IPUMS ACS data we use in our microsimulation model of worker impacts does not include data on employer size. We build a probability model to assign workers to small (<25 employees), medium (25-99 employees), and large (100+ employees) employer size categories. We first fit an ordered logistic regression model on Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic (ASEC) supplement data for California using MSA, major industry, major occupation, race, education, age, sex, weeks worked, usual hours, and log annual earnings as predictors. We then rake the predicted probabilities so that each industry's weighted-average firm size distribution matches the distribution of workers across employer size groups found in Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW) data our research team purchased for Alameda County and Oakland from the California Employment Development Department. This method accounts for multiple worker and job characteristics that vary across employer size and ensures that the distribution of workers across firm size categories within industries matches the distribution found in the QCEW data.

Employers above $1 billion in revenue assumption

Our assumption of the share of workers who are employed by businesses with more than $1 billion in annual revenues is based on national-level Statistics on US Businesses (SUSB) data. The American Business Survey (ABS) includes similar data on employment by employer revenues at the state and county level, but the highest available employer revenue category is $5 million or more. The share of workers employed at firms with $5 million or more in annual revenues is similar in the ABS data for Alameda County and the SUSB data for the US overall.

We assume that the share of workers employed at businesses with more than $1 billion in annual revenues is equal to what we find in national SUSB data by industry. We assume that businesses with more than $1 billion in annual revenues also have 100 or

more employees. Our analysis of SUSB data shows that average annual payroll per employee for employers with $1 billion or more in annual revenues is somewhat higher than for employers with lower revenue levels. To account for higher average wages among employers with $1 billion or more in annual revenues, we assume that the share of workers employed at these firms are those at the highest part of the wage distribution within their industry.

Estimates of impact on worker earnings

To estimate the impact on workers' earnings, we build a microsimulation model using individual-level data from the ACS. Our methods for estimating the impact on worker earnings are primarily based on the methods developed by the Center for Wage and Employment Dynamics (CWED) and the UC Berkeley Labor Center (Reich et al. 2017; Perry et al. 2016). We also incorporate some methods used in the Economic Policy Institute's Minimum Wage Simulation Model (Cooper et al. 2019).

Our microsimulation model allows us to estimate worker earnings through 2030 for the baseline scenario and the simulation scenario (see **Figure 5** in the main report). Our estimates of a minimum wage policy's impact on worker earnings are equal to the difference between 2030 earnings in the baseline and simulation scenarios.

We use 2023-2024 IPUMS ACS data and restrict our sample to employed W2 workers who work at least 13 weeks per year and three hours per week. We then estimate hourly wages (see previous section on "Hourly wage estimates using American Community Survey data") for each worker in our sample and inflate to 2025 dollars using the San Francisco Bay CPI-W (State of California Department of Industrial Relations 2026). We exclude from our sample workers earning less than 50 percent of the 2024 California state minimum wage. We reweight our ACS data to approximate the industry distribution in Oakland because the ACS does not allow us to identify workers in Oakland specifically (see previous section on "Approximating Oakland workers using American Community Survey data").

Next, we model each individual worker's annual hourly wage from 2025 through 2030 for the baseline and simulation scenarios (see **Figure 5** in the main report). For 2025 through 2027, we assume that workers' hourly wages will increase at the same rate as the San Francisco Bay CPI-W. Multiple cities within Alameda County and the state of California have existing minimum wage policies. Most of these local and state minimum wage levels are scheduled to increase by inflation during this time period. For each year 2027 to 2030, we model separately what each workers' hourly wage would be in the baseline and simulation scenarios. **Table TA.2** describes our methods for modeling each individual worker's hourly wage in the baseline and simulation scenarios.

Table TA.2: Methods for modeling hourly wages in microsimulation

Worker hourly wage	Minimum wage impact	Modeled hourly wage	Wage growth assumption
50 - 80 percent of the previous year's minimum wage	Not impacted	Worker's previous hourly wage * % difference between previous year's minimum wage and new minimum wage	1/2 annual projected CPI growth
80 percent of the previous year's minimum wage - 100 percent of the new minimum wage	Directly impacted	Greater of: a) Worker's previous hourly wage + (new minimum wage - previous year's minimum wage) b) Worker's previous hourly wage + (0.25 * (115 percent of the new minimum wage - worker's previous hourly wage)	1/2 annual projected CPI growth
100 - 115 percent of the new minimum wage	Indirectly impacted	Greater of: a) Worker's previous hourly wage + (new minimum wage - previous year's minimum wage) b) Worker's previous hourly wage + (0.25 * (115 percent of the new minimum wage - worker's previous hourly wage)	Annual projected CPI growth
> 115 percent of the new minimum wage	Not impacted	Worker's previous hourly wage	Annual projected CPI growth + 0.005

Note: These methods are based on those used by CWED and the UC Berkeley Labor Center (Reich et al. 2017) *and the Economic Policy Institute* (Cooper et al. 2019).

We assume that when a minimum wage increase goes into effect, **workers earning between 50 and 80 percent of the previous year's minimum wage** receive a wage increase equal to the percentage difference between the new and previous year's minimum wage. We assume that these workers are **subminimum wage workers** and do not include them in our definition of impacted workers. However, we estimate their hourly wages to account for them when estimating the total Alameda County wage bill in the baseline and simulation scenarios. In the year following the modeled minimum wage increase, we assume these workers' hourly wage increases by half of the projected annual wage growth.

For **workers earning between 80 percent of the previous year's minimum wage and 100 percent of the new minimum wage**, we assume that their hourly wage after the new minimum wage goes into effect will be equal to the greater of (1) the difference between the new minimum wage and the previous year's minimum wage and (2) one quarter of the difference between 115 percent of the new minimum wage and the worker's previous hourly wage. We consider these workers to be **directly impacted** by the minimum wage increase. In the year following the modeled minimum wage increase, we assume these workers' hourly wage increases by half of the projected annual wage growth.

For **workers earning between 100 and 115 percent of the new minimum wage**, we assume that their hourly wage after the new minimum wage goes into effect will equal to greater of (1) the difference between the new minimum wage and the previous year's minimum wage and (2) one quarter of the difference between 115 percent of the new minimum wage and the worker's previous hourly wage. We consider these workers to be **indirectly impacted** by the minimum wage increase. In the year following the modeled minimum wage increase, we assume these workers' hourly wage increases by projected annual wage growth.

We assume that **workers earning more than 115 percent of the new minimum wage** are **not impacted** by a minimum wage increase. In the year following the modeled minimum wage increase, we assume these workers' hourly wage increases by projected annual wage growth plus 0.005. **Table TA.1** describes our assumptions of annual wage growth through 2030.

Once we have estimated each individual worker's hourly wage annually through 2030 in the baseline and simulation scenarios, we calculate their annual earnings for each year in each scenario by multiplying their hourly wage by weeks worked per year and usual hours worked per week.

To estimate the impact of the modeled minimum wage policy on a worker's hourly wage, we subtract each worker's estimated hourly wage in the baseline scenario from their estimated hourly wage in the simulation scenario. To estimate the impact of the modeled policy on a worker's annual earnings, we subtract each worker's estimated annual earnings in the baseline scenario from their estimated annual earnings in the simulation scenario.

Estimated numbers of impacted workers

To estimate the number of workers impacted by the modeled minimum wage policy, we multiply our estimates of the proportion of workers impacted by our projections of the number of workers employed in Oakland and Alameda County in 2030. To project 2030 employment, we start with 2024 QCEW estimates of W2 employees in Oakland and Alameda County. We adjust the number of agricultural workers by applying an estimate of undercounting of these workers in QCEW data from the Economic Policy Institute (Costa 2023). Finally, we apply the California Department of Finance's projections of annual job growth for Alameda County between 2024 and 2030 (2026a).

Estimated impacts on poverty

To estimate the impact that an increase in worker earnings would have on poverty levels, we first estimate what the poverty threshold and baseline family income would be for

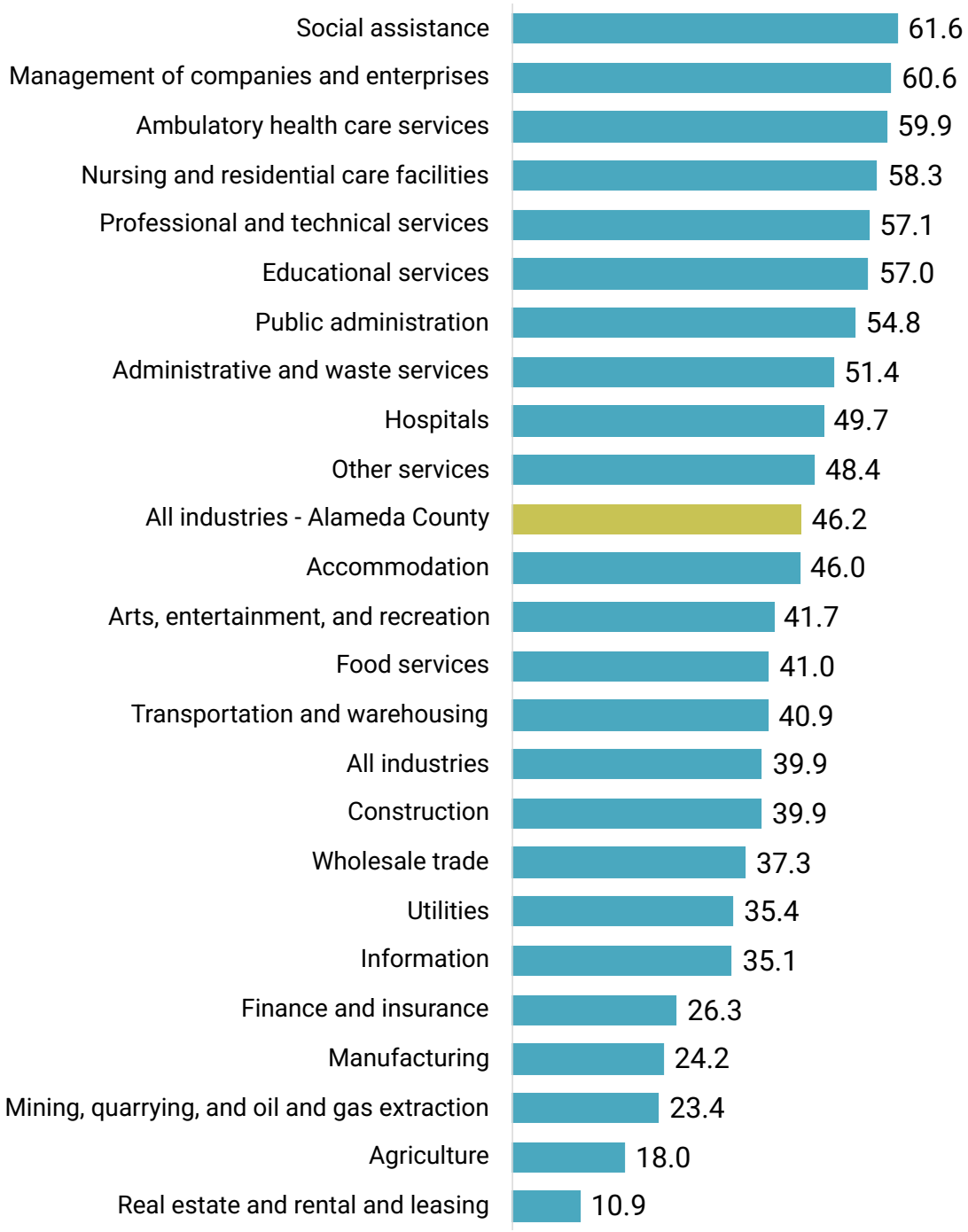
each individual worker in 2030 by adjusting for inflation using the same projections described in **Table TA.1** to project baseline family income and national CPI-U projections to project the poverty threshold (Congressional Budget Office 2026a). We then calculate what each worker's family income would be in the simulated scenarios by adding the difference between each worker's simulated and baseline earnings to their family's income (some families have multiple impacted workers and we add the additional earnings of all impacted workers to their family's income). We then calculate the proportion of workers under the poverty threshold in the baseline and simulated scenarios in 2030. These estimates of the impact on poverty do not account for our projections of employment impacts that would result from a minimum wage increase.

Estimated impacts on employer operating costs

To estimate impacts on employer operating costs, we first **estimate the percent difference in the total wage bill** by dividing the sum of all workers' 2030 annual earnings in the simulation scenarios by the sum of all workers' 2030 annual earnings in the baseline scenario. We assume that 17.5 percent of this difference in wages would be offset by an increase in worker retention and productivity, based on an assessment of previous studies (Pollin and Wicks-Lim 2015; Dube, Freeman, et al. 2010; Dube, Lester, et al. 2010; Reich, Allegretto, et al. 2016).

In addition to worker wages, employer labor costs include payroll taxes, workers' compensation insurance, unemployment insurance, health insurance, retirement benefits, and more. To **estimate the percentage difference in total labor costs**, we first estimate the additional cost of payroll taxes, worker's compensation insurance, and unemployment insurance as wages increase, based on an estimate of the ratio of these costs to wages (10 percent) from Bureau of Labor Statistics Employer Cost of Employee Compensation data (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2026). We then apply an estimate of the proportion of total labor costs that go toward other sources of worker compensation, such as health insurance, retirement benefits, and paid leave (19.9 percent) based on Employer Cost of Employee Compensation data (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2026).

Figure TA.1: Payroll costs as a share of total operating costs by major industry



Source: Authors' analysis of 2024 Bureau of Economic Analysis data, 2023-2024 IPUMS American Community Survey data, 2024 Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages data, and 2025 Employer Cost for Employee Compensation data. The estimate for all industries in Alameda County is an average of the industry estimates, weighted by each industry's share of total operating costs in the county.

To **estimate the percentage difference in total operating costs**, we first estimate the proportion of total operating costs that are spent on labor costs by major industries (see **Figure TA.1**) based on data from the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) gross output tables (2024). Specifically, we divide employee compensation by the sum of employee compensation and the costs of all other intermediate inputs. Employee compensation measures wages and salaries as well as noncash benefits such as employer contributions to pension plans, health insurance, and social insurance programs. However, these estimates exclude taxes on production and imports, net of subsidies. This approach provides a detailed and standardized measure of the labor component in industry-level operating expenses.

To estimate the average labor share of operating costs across all industries in Alameda County, we take the average of the industry-level estimates, weighted by each industry's share of operating costs for Alameda County specifically.

Estimated impacts on consumer prices

We conservatively assume that the increase in operating costs to employers will be completely passed on to consumers in the form of higher prices. Our estimates of the impact on consumer prices are therefore equal to our estimates of the impact on employer operating costs. These estimates do not take into account supply chains within Alameda County that could be impacted multiple times as the producers of intermediate goods increase prices and then businesses that use those goods as inputs pass on those cost increases to consumers as well.

Estimated impacts on employment

We separately estimate the impact that a minimum wage would have on employment due to (1) reduced consumer spending, (2) increased worker spending, (3) increased automation, and (4) increased worker productivity. Our overall estimates of the net impact on employment are the sum of each of these four separate estimates.

To estimate the impact on employment due to **reduced consumer spending,** we first estimate the impact of reduced consumer spending due to increased prices on employment. We project Alameda County's GDP for 2030 by applying estimates of projected employment growth (California Department of Finance 2026a) and wage growth (see **Table TA.1**) to an estimate of 2024 GDP from the Federal Reserve Bank of St Louis (FRED) (2026). We assume that 58.8 percent of GDP can be attributed to consumer spending, based on an estimate from CWED and the UC Berkeley Labor Center (Reich, Montialoux, et al. 2016). We then apply our estimates of the percent increase in consumer prices (see **Table 7** in the main report) and an estimate of the price elasticity of demand (0.72 percent) to our estimate of the total dollar amount of GDP that can be attributed to consumer spending (Reich, Montialoux, et al. 2016). This gives us an estimate of the dollar amount decrease in consumer spending due to the increase in consumer prices. We use data from the Consumer Expenditures Survey to model the distribution of this change in consumer spending across industries. We then apply the Bureau of Economic Analysis RIMS II Type 1 final-demand multipliers for Alameda County to model the impact of this decrease in consumer spending on employment and local GDP.

To estimate the impact on employment due to **increased worker spending**, we multiply our estimates of the number of workers impacted in each industry in 2030 by our estimates of the average increase in annual earnings for workers in each industry. We then sum the additional earnings for workers across all industries to arrive at an estimate of additional aggregate worker earnings that would result from the proposed minimum wage policy. We estimate additional after-tax earnings by applying standard FICA and California SDI tax rates and estimates of effective federal and state income tax rates for different household income levels (ITEP 2024; Congressional Budget Office 2026b). We conservatively assume a minimum effective tax rate of zero when actual effective tax rates are negative. Research shows that the impact of tax credits such as the EITC have a minimal impact on consumer spending (Reich 2026).

We then use California data from the Consumer Expenditures Survey to estimate savings rates by household income deciles. We apply these to our estimates of additional after-tax earnings to model the total dollar amount increase in worker spending on goods and services (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2025a). The Consumer Expenditures Survey data shows a negative savings rate for California households in the bottom 60 percent of the income distribution, as those households on average spend more than their annual income by going into debt. Our analysis of this data shows that the bottom 20 percent of California households spend 237 percent of their annual income and those in the 20-40th percentiles spend 119 percent of their annual income. Previous studies on savings rates by household income also find negative savings rates for most of the household income distribution. A national study by Bureau of Labor Statistics and Bureau of Economic Analysis researchers finds a negative savings rate for the bottom 70 percent of the income distribution, with the bottom 10 percent of households spending 143 percent of their annual earnings and households in the 50-60th percentiles spending 116 percent of their annual earnings (Gindelsky and Martin 2024).

In this context, low-income households' marginal propensity to spend (MPS) might exceed 1 if the additional earnings from a minimum wage increase help to ease their credit constraints, allowing them to borrow more to spend. Aaronson et al (2012) find that households with minimum wage workers spend more than the additional earnings brought about by a minimum wage increase (MPS > 1). Minimum wage policies that increased household income by $250 per quarter led to an increase in household spending of $700 per quarter, driven primarily by car purchases using collateralized debt.

We conservatively assume an MPS of 1 (a savings rate of zero) for households in the bottom 60 percent of the household income distribution in Alameda County and Oakland. This assumption may cause us to underestimate the increase in worker spending, as well as our estimated impacts on employment, GDP, and sales tax revenue. We assume a savings rate of 24 percent for households in the 60-80th percentiles of the income distribution and a savings rate of 42 percent for households in the highest quintile in the income distribution, based on our analysis of Consumer Expenditures Survey data for

California. **Table TA.3** describes our savings rate assumptions as well as the share of additional pre-tax and pre-savings earnings that we project will go to each household income quintile.

Next, we use data from the Consumer Expenditures Survey to model the distribution of this increase in worker spending across industries. We then apply Bureau of Economic Analysis RIMS II Type 1 final-demand multipliers for Alameda County to model the impact of this increase in worker spending on employment and local GDP.

Table TA.3: Savings rate assumptions and share of pre-tax pre-savings additional earnings by household income quintiles, Alameda County

Household Income Quintile	Savings Rate Assumption	Share of projected additional pre-tax pre-savings earnings for impacted workers
Lowest quintile	Zero percent (analysis of Consumer Expenditures Survey data shows -137 percent savings rate)	33 percent
Second quintile	Zero percent (analysis of Consumer Expenditures Survey data shows -19 percent savings rate)	28 percent
Third quintile	Zero percent (analysis of Consumer Expenditures Survey data shows -1 percent savings rate)	19 percent
Fourth quintile	24 percent (based on analysis of Consumer Expenditures Survey data)	12 percent
Highest quintile	42 percent (based on analysis of Consumer Expenditures Survey data)	7 percent

To estimate the impact on employment due to **increased automation,** we multiply our estimates of the percent increase in labor costs (see **Table 5** in the main report) by the number of workers impacted, an estimate of capital-labor substitution elasticity, and an estimate of the capital share of operating costs. We assume a capital-labor substitution elasticity of -0.2, based on an average of estimates calculated by Reich et al. (2017). Our estimates of the capital share of operating costs is equal to 1 minus the average labor share of operating costs for Alameda County (see **Figure TA.2**).

To estimate the impact on employment due to **increased worker productivity,** we multiply our estimates of the number of workers impacted by an estimate of the impact of increased productivity on employment (-0.005) from Reich et al. (2017).

We next multiply our estimate of the decrease in employment that results from increased automation and increased worker productivity by an estimate of median annual earnings of impacted workers in 2030. We then estimate the employment impacts that result from this net decrease in earnings in the same way we model these impacts for the increase in worker earnings, as described above.

We assume that Alameda County will not reach full employment during the time period modeled. The Alameda County unemployment rate was 4.5 percent in 2024 and is projected to stay at approximately that level through 2030 (California Department of Finance 2026b).

Estimates of impact on local GDP

We first project Alameda County GDP through 2030 by applying our annual wage growth assumptions (see **Table TA.1**) and projections of employment growth from the California Department of Finance (2026b) to a 2024 estimate of Alameda County GDP (Federal Reserve Bank of St Louis 2026). We estimate Oakland GDP by multiplying our estimates of Alameda County GDP by an estimate of the share of Alameda County workers who work in Oakland (27 percent), based on 2024 QCEW data purchased from the California Employment Development Department. We then estimate the GDP impacts that result from this net decrease in earnings in the same way we model the employment impacts (see previous section), using BEA RIMS II multipliers for GDP specifically.

Estimates of impact on tax revenues

Table TA.4 describes the tax revenue streams that we include in our model of the impacts of the proposed minimum wage policy on tax revenues and our tax rate assumptions for each. Our projections are based on existing tax rates and therefore assume that these will be constant through 2030.

To estimate the change in **federal income tax revenues**, we apply estimates from the Congressional Budget Office of the effective tax rates for household income quintiles (2026b) to the additional earnings we project will result from the minimum wage policy in 2030. Since the Congressional Budget Office estimates are based on federal household income quintiles, we project the most recent estimates of thresholds for each federal household income quintile (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2025b) to 2030 using Congressional Budget Office projections of the CPI-U through 2030 (2026a). We project 2030 household income for each worker in our microsimulation model by applying the wage growth assumptions described in **Table TA.1**. We then apply the effective tax rates to workers in our microsimulation model based on our projection of their 2030 household income and our projection of the 2030 national household income quintiles.

Table TA.4: Tax rate assumptions used to model tax revenue impacts

Level	Tax	Rate
Federal	Income Tax	Congressional Budget Office estimates of effective tax rate by household income quintile, ranging from -10.1 percent to 16.6 percent
Federal	FICA (Social Security & Medicare)	15.3 percent
State	California State Income Tax	ITEP estimates of effective tax rate by household income quintiles, ranging from -1.8 percent to 8.8 percent
State	California State Disability Insurance	1.3 percent
Local	Sales Tax	10.75 percent for Oakland model 10.46 percent for Alameda County model (based on average tax rate across cities weighted by 2023 sales tax revenues)

To estimate the change in **federal FICA tax revenues**, we apply the existing combined Social Security and Medicare withholding rate of 15.3 percent (includes 7.65 percent employer contribution and 7.65 employee contribution) (Internal Revenue Service 2026) to the additional earnings we project will result from the minimum wage policy in 2030.

All workers impacted in our simulation would earn less than the maximum taxable base, which is $184,500 in 2026 (Social Security Administration, n.d.).

To estimate the change in **California state income tax revenues**, we apply ITEP estimates of the effective tax rates for household income quintiles (2024) to the additional earnings we project will result from the minimum wage policy in 2030. Since the ITEP estimates are based on state household income quintiles, we project the most recent estimates of thresholds for each state household income quintile (ITEP 2024) to 2030 using California Department of Finance projections of the California CPI-W (2026a). We project 2030 household income for each worker in our microsimulation model by applying the wage growth assumptions described in **Table TA.1**. We then apply the effective tax rates to workers in our microsimulation model based on our projection of their 2030 household income and our projection of the 2030 California household income quintiles.

To estimate the change for **California State Disability Insurance revenues**, we apply a projected rate of 1.3 percent through 2027 from the State of California Employment Development Department (2026) to the additional earnings we project will result from the minimum wage policy in 2030.

To estimate the change in **local sales tax revenues**, we first project the net change in consumer spending that would result from the proposed minimum wage policy as consumers reduce spending, impacted workers earn more, and automation and productivity reduce the number of jobs needed. For the net additional earnings that result from impacted workers earning more and automation and productivity reducing the number of jobs needed, we subtract an estimate of what workers will pay in federal income tax, state income tax, federal FICA, and State Disability Insurance, using the rates described above. We also apply assumptions of the share of additional earnings that will be saved vs spent on goods and services (see “Estimated impacts on employment” section). We use Consumer Expenditures Survey data to estimate the share of additional consumer spending that will be spent on goods and services covered by local sales tax

laws. We then use data from the California Department of Tax and Fee Administration (2026) to calculate an average sales tax rate for Alameda County weighted by collected sales tax revenues across cities (10.47 percent). We apply this weighted average to our estimate of the total additional consumer spending in sales-tax applicable categories.

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