# HOW RAISING INCOMES FOR LOW-WAGE WORKERS BOOSTS THE ECONOMY

A STUDY OF WASHINGTON STATE'S HOME CARE WORKFORCE





#### **ABOUT US**

The Washington State Budget & Policy Center uses research and analysis to advance the well-being of Washington state's communities, improve the economic security and social opportunity of everyone in the state, and support the essential role of government in promoting a just and prosperous society.

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The findings and conclusions in this report are those of the authors alone and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of these individuals and organizations.

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### Introduction

This report explores the impact of wage increases on statewide economic activity through a study of the potential impacts of increasing wages for state-paid home care workers in Washington state to \$15 per hour. The report also analyzes the potential local economic impact of this wage increase on five counties: Adams, Clark, Cowlitz, King, and Spokane.

In Washington state, public home care workers are paid through the state Medicaid program to provide support for seniors and people with disabilities to remain in their homes. Home care is provided either by an individual worker who directly contracts with the state, known as an "individual provider," or workers hired by private home care agencies. The analysis in this report focuses on the 34,686 state-paid individual provider home care workers for which detailed wage data is readily available from Service Employees International Union 775, the union that represents these workers.

A \$15 minimum wage for home care workers would impact 81 percent of the state's individual provider workforce.<sup>1</sup> The economic analysis in this report is focused on the impact and projected spending on workers – for wage increases up to \$15 per hour.

Our analysis concludes that a \$15 minimum wage for state-paid home care workers would help workers better cover their basic needs, provide at least \$180 million in annual stimulus to the state economy, and create more than 800 private sector jobs in the first year of implementation.

## Home Care Workers in Washington State

#### PROFESSION IS DEVALUED, DESPITE ANTICIPATED WORKFORCE GROWTH

Home care workers provide an essential service to tens of thousands of Washington's seniors and people with disabilities. They help seniors and people with disabilities with activities of daily living, like dressing, eating, shopping, and getting to and from medical appointments. Home care workers help people maintain their independence and stay in their own homes and communities. And they provide hands-on assistance with the personal care needs of these vulnerable populations.

Historical and contemporary perceptions about the value of care work and those who provide it influence current compensation levels. Nationally, home care workers are overwhelmingly female, with immigrants and people of color also making up a significant portion of the workforce.<sup>23</sup> In Washington state, 78 percent of individual provider home care workers are female.<sup>4</sup> This work is frequently seen as "women's work" or work that women are naturally well-suited to perform or should be doing for free.<sup>56</sup> Regardless of skill level, average earnings are lower the higher the percentage of female workers in an occupation.7 In fact, the dominance of female workers in a profession contributes to the low-paid nature of these jobs.<sup>8</sup> This devaluation exists despite the physically and emotionally taxing tasks often demanded of home care workers.

### SCOPE OF RACIAL EQUITY ANALYSIS

Data collected by Washington state on its individual provider home care worker population does not include racial demographics. As a result, this report is unable to analyze workers' wage levels by race and to make conclusions about the racial equity impact of raising wages for home care workers. Please see our recommendation related to data collection by race and ethnicity at the conclusion of this report.

#### Figure 1

### AT A GLANCE: WASHINGTON STATE INDIVIDUAL PROVIDER HOME CARE WORKERS

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL PROVIDER HOME CARE WORKERS IN WASHINGTON STATE\*



\*Individual provider home care workers are individuals that contract directly with the state and are the focus of the analysis in this report. Additionally, there are an estimated more than 15,000 agency-based workers in Washington state. Source: SEIU 775

GENDER		AVERAGE HOURLY WAGE
78%		<b>\$12.82</b> per hour
female	male	

Sources: SEIU 775; Budget & Policy Center (B&PC) calculations of wage data for Washington state individual provider home care workers as provided by SEIU 775



Despite the undervalued nature of the work, the need for home care in Washington state is expected to increase significantly as a result of the growing number of seniors needing care and because an increasing number of clients would prefer to receive care in their home. While job growth for all professions in the United States is projected to grow 7 percent between 2014 and 2024<sup>9</sup>, home care professions in Washington state are expected to grow by 56 percent between 2010 and 2030.<sup>10</sup>

#### HOME CARE WORKER WAGES DO NOT COVER BASIC NEEDS

Despite providing vital services, home care workers in Washington state receive a compensation that leaves many of them struggling to meet their basic needs. Of the more than 34,000 individual provider home care workers in Washington state, 81 percent currently make less than \$15 per hour.<sup>11</sup> Average hourly wages for individual provider home care workers in Washington state are \$12.82<sup>12</sup>, representing an average annual income of \$10,540.<sup>13</sup>

Hourly wage Rates	NUMBER OF WORKERS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
Less than \$12	6,089	18%
\$12 to \$12.99	18,481	53%
\$13.00 to \$13.99	3,550	10%
\$14.00 to \$14.99	38	< 1%
\$ 15 or more	6,528	19%

Source: B&PC analysis of individual provider home care wages as provided by SEIU 775  $\,$ 

In many counties, wages from home care work do not even provide half of the necessary income to meet basic needs. In Washington state, a family of two (one adult, one teenager) needs to make between \$22,284 and \$39,960 to meet all basic needs such as housing, transportation, food, and healthcare depending on their county of residence.<sup>14</sup> [A full comparison of average home care workers' wages by county compared to costs of meeting basic needs is available in Appendix A.]

#### Figure 3



Source: B&PC analysis of individual provider home care data in Washington state as provided by SEIU 775; UW Center for Women's Welfare, The Self-Sufficiency Standard, Washington 2014 (August 2015 revision)

Further complicating the economic stability of home care workers is the part-time nature of their profession. While aides often work for more than one client, arranging full-time work can be challenging given potentially fluctuating schedules dictated by clients. Additionally, when clients become hospitalized, home care workers can lose steady work for sustained periods of time.<sup>15</sup>

# Raising Home Care Worker Wages Will Strengthen Washington's Economy

Washington's individual provider home care workers recently negotiated a new collective bargaining agreement with the Governor that includes increased wage levels for the period of July 1, 2017–June 30, 2019 and that increases wages for all individual providers to at least \$15 per hour by January 1, 2016. It will be considered by the legislature for funding as part of the 2017-2019 biennial budget. [\*Authors' note: See below for details on what aspects of the collective bargaining agreement are included in our analysis.] An immediate \$15 per hour base wage for individual provider home care workers would provide an average wage increase of \$2.72 per hour for the 28,158 individual provider workers who currently make less than \$15 per hour in Washington state.<sup>16</sup> Based on the average number of hours worked per week, this wage increase would translate into \$2,236 in additional annual income for the average individual provider worker.<sup>17</sup> That's a total of \$63 million in additional earnings for all individual provider home care workers in Washington state. [For a county breakdown of projected earnings, see Appendix B.]

In addition, if a wage increase for individual providers is approved by the legislature, state law requires that a similar increase be provided to the estimated 15,000 home care workers employed by private home care agencies.<sup>18</sup> Given this contract parity between individual providers and agency workers, we assume that a comparable percentage of these 15,000 workers would receive a similar wage increase. Therefore, the estimated collective increase in earnings for private, agency-based workers would be more than \$27 million.<sup>19</sup>

In total, a base wage of \$15 would represent \$90 million in additional income for individual provider and agency-based home care workers in Washington.

# INCREASED WAGES WOULD SPUR ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

This infusion of income to home care workers would represent a significant increase in the purchasing power of this share of the state's workforce. Because low-wage workers tend to spend all of their income to meet basic needs,<sup>20</sup> they are well-positioned to generate local economic stimulus through necessary additional purchasing of local goods and services. This increase in local spending becomes additional income for area businesses – including business owners and employees – which, in turn, leads to increased spending.

An analysis of this wage increase using Regional Economic Models Inc. (REMI)<sup>21 22</sup>, a dynamic economic forecasting model, shows that the \$90 million in increased wages for home care workers will result in at least \$180 million in total annual economic stimulus to

<sup>\*</sup>The collective bargaining agreement for the 2017-2019 biennium includes wage increases for all home care workers, including those who currently earn more than \$15 per hour. This analysis only focuses on the economic impact of an increased base wage of \$15, not on the full impact of the collective bargaining agreement. In addition, the analysis does not take into account the economic impact of any overtime pay received by home care workers.

businesses, individuals, and communities throughout the state of Washington.<sup>23</sup> Additionally, it is projected that this economic stimulus would increase private sector employment by more than 800 jobs in 2017, with comparable job growth continuing through 2020.<sup>24</sup>

In addition, an increase in home care workers' incomes will generate additional state revenue from the sales tax collected from the money the workers spend. [The actual amount of state tax revenue this would generate is beyond the scope of our analysis.]

While economic stimulus can be generated through a number of policy priorities that benefit low-wage workers, the funding mechanism of home care work provides a particular incentive for investing in this type of economic stimulus. Half the cost of home care worker wages are covered by the federal government through the Medicaid program. As such, Washington state can spend \$45 million on home care wages to produce a \$180 million annual economic stimulus to the state while taking steps to lift wages of low-income home care workers. **Our analysis suggests that every \$1 that the state invests in home care wage increases will lead to a \$4 economic stimulus.** 

## Sound Investments for Local Economies

Giving home care workers a raise provides an opportunity to invest in economic development that will be felt throughout the entire state. Many industry subsidies provided by state governments often have localized effects in specific regions of the state, most often in metropolitan regions. In Washington, the ten industries that receive the largest state subsidies are all located in the Puget Sound region,<sup>25</sup> leaving rural areas without major hubs of industry and innovation left out from state investments in economic development.

As demonstrated in Figure 4 on the next page, counties with the highest proportion of home care workers are



#### HOME CARE WORKER PROFILE

#### **Agustina Cardenas**

grew up in a family that valued caretaking. An aunt who was a nurse instilled in her a value of caring for others. She derives satisfaction from knowing that the clients she

looks after are well-fed, well-taken care of, and safe. "Your client becomes your family," she says.

Despite her love for home care work, Agustina struggles to make ends meet while supporting her adult son who has a learning disability. A fulltime care worker, she drives 90 miles round trip from her home in Lind (population 564) in Adams County six or seven days a week to care for her client. Additionally, she works three other part-time jobs, including cleaning homes.

The financial strain of her low income results in real challenges. Recently, she went a month and a half without hot water at home while she came up with the money to repair a broken water heater. Since her husband, an avid handyman, passed away 17 years ago, she has to hire help for repairs on her 130-year-old home.

In considering what impact a \$15 wage could have, Agustina says the wage increase could alleviate ongoing concerns about how to pay for the gas for her commute. In addition, she could replace the aging windows in her house to save on heating bills.

If she had a higher wage, Agustina also says she'd be happy if she could hold just one additional job beyond her home care work – rather than three.







Source: B&PC analysis of individual provider home care data in Washington state as provided by SEIU 775

more likely to be outside of the Puget Sound region. In fact, the eight counties with the highest number of home care workers per 1,000 residents are all either east of the Cascade Mountains or on the coastal Olympic Peninsula. Among these counties, the average number of residents is fewer than 43,000.

# A STUDY OF FIVE WASHINGTON COUNTIES

To provide an overview of the impact of a \$15 base wage for home care workers in a variety of Washington communities and economies, this report offers a brief study of the anticipated collective wage increase in Adams, Clark, Cowlitz, King, and Spokane counties. [Limited details of this projected economic impact for *all* Washington counties can be found in Appendix B.]

County-level projections are limited to the actual wage increase for individual provider home care workers. They don't include wage increase details about agencybased home care workers. They also don't include comprehensive economic stimulus and employment impact details as modeled previously in this report.

### ADAMS COUNTY

Table 1							
COUNTY OVERVIEW							
Population						19,254	
Largest city							
Poverty rate						19%	
Racial demographics	59% Latino	39% White	1% Asian/Pacific Islander	1% Multiracial	<1% American Indian/ Alaska Native	<1% Black	
ECONOMIC IMPACT	OF A \$15 MI	NIMUM W					
Number of individual pro	ovider home ca	re workers m	aking less than \$1;	5 per hour		97	
Average hourly wage inc	Average hourly wage increase for workers making less than \$15 per hour \$3.50						
Average increase in annual income \$3,231						53,231	
Total collective annual wo	Total collective annual wage increase to workers making less than \$15 per hour \$228,673						
Sources: 2015 American Community Survey; U.S. Census Bureau's 2014 small area income and poverty estimates; B&PC analysis of SEIU 775 wage data for Washington individual provider home care workers							

# CLARK COUNTY

Table 2						
COUNTY OVERVIEW						
Population						459,495
Largest City	Vancouver					
Poverty Rate						10%
Racial Demographics	82% White	8% Latino	5% Asian/Pacific Islander	3% Multiracial	2% Black	<1% American Indian/ Alaska Native
ECONOMIC IMPACT (	DF A \$15 M	INIMUM W	AGE			
Number of individual pro	vider home co	ıre workers m	naking less than \$	15 per hour		2,445
Average hourly wage increase for workers making less than \$15 per hour \$2.70						\$2.70
Average increase in annual income \$2,197						\$2,197
Total collective annual wage increase to workers making less than \$15 per hour \$5,380,796						
Sources: 2015 American Community individual provider home care worker	Sources: 2015 American Community Survey; U.S. Census Bureau's 2014 small area income and poverty estimates; B&PC analysis of SEIU 775 wage data for Washington					

# COWLITZ COUNTY

Table 3						
COUNTY OVERVIEW						
Population						103,468
Largest city						Longview
Poverty rate						21%
Racial demographics	86% White	8% Latino	3% Multiracial	1% American Indian/ Alaska Native	1% Asian/Pacific Islander	1% Black
ECONOMIC IMPACT C	DF A \$15 MI	NIMUM WA	\GE			
Number of individual prov	vider home ca	re workers mo	aking less than \$1	5 per hour		519
Average hourly wage incr	ease for work	ers making le	ss than \$15 per h	iour	(	\$2.72
Average increase in annual income \$2,434						2,434
Total collective annual wage increase to workers making less than \$15 per hour \$1,265,220						
Sources: 2015 American Community S individual provider home care workers		Bureau's 2014 sm	all area income and pov	erty estimates; B&PC analysis c	of SEIU 775 wage data	for Washington

# KING COUNTY

Table 4						
COUNTY OVERVIEW						
Population						2,117,125
Largest city						Seattle
Poverty rate						11%
Racial demographics	65% White	15% Asian/Pacific Islander	9% Latino	6% Black	4% Multiracial	1% American Indian/ Alaska Native

ECONOMIC IMPACT OF A \$15 MINIMUM WAGE	
Number of individual provider home care workers making less than \$15 per hour	7,532
Average hourly wage increase for workers making less than \$15 per hour	\$2.72
Average increase in annual income	\$2,103
Total collective annual wage increase to workers making less than \$15 per hour	\$15,837,964
Sources: 2015 American Community Survey; U.S. Census Bureau's 2014 small area income and poverty estimates; B&PC analysis of SEIU 7 individual provider home care workers	75 wage data for Washington

# SPOKANE COUNTY

Table 5							
COUNTY OVERVIEW							
Population	490,945						
Largest city						Spokane	
Poverty rate						16%	
Racial demographics	87% White	5% Latino	3% Multiracial	1% American Indian/ Alaska Native	2% Asian/Pacific Islander	2% Black	
ECONOMIC IMPACT C	ECONOMIC IMPACT OF A \$15 MINIMUM WAGE						
Number of individual prov	Number of individual provider home care workers making less than \$15 per hour 2,211						
Average hourly wage increase for workers making less than \$15 per hour						\$2.70	
Average increase in annual income \$2,17						\$2,173	
Total collective annual way	ge increase to	o workers mo	aking less than \$	15 per hour		\$4,804,857	
0.00154.00.00							

Sources: 2015 American Community Survey; U.S. Census Bureau's 2014 small area income and poverty estimates; B&PC analysis of SEIU 775 wage data for Washington individual provider home care workers

## Conclusion and Recommendations

A \$15 minimum wage for Washington state's home care workers will generate an economic stimulus of \$180 million dollars annually for Washington state and an increase of more than 800 private employment jobs in its first year of implementation. This form of stimulus represents a smart investment of state resources. With half of the wage increase funded by the federal government through Medicaid, **our analysis suggests that every \$1 that the state invests in home care wage increases will lead to a \$4 economic stimulus.** 

A \$15 minimum wage will also provide an annual raise of over \$2,200 to the average home care worker, thereby increasing their ability to meet the costs of basic needs, including housing, transportation, and food for themselves and their families.

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Given this analysis, the Washington State Budget & Policy Center recommends the following:

- 1. The 2017-2019 collective bargaining agreement for individual provider home care workers should be funded by the state legislature in the 2017 session to ensure a \$15 base wage for home care workers and to raise wages across the board for home care professionals providing vital services in all communities. The legislature should also fund a corresponding increase for private, agencybased home care workers as provided in the agency parity law.
- 2. Because pay increases for home care workers and all low-wage workers result in increased economic security for families as well as an economic stimulus for communities, **legislators should take steps**

to advance policies such as increasing the minimum wage and funding the Working Families Tax Rebate. Doing so would better ensure that all Washington state residents have an income that allows them to meet the needs of themselves and their families.

**3.** In order to ensure that state agencies and independent organizations can conduct racial equity analyses on proposed policies like the wage-related policies being assessed within this report, legislators and state agencies should invest resources to ensure data about workers is available by race and ethnicity, including by disaggregated categories.

### APPENDIX A:

Individual provider home care worker wages compared to costs of meeting basic needs by county

Table 6		
COUNTY	AVERAGE INDIVIDUAL PROVIDER HOME CARE WORKER MONTHLY INCOME	MONTHLY COST OF MEETING BASIC NEEDS (ONE ADULT + ONE TEENAGER)
Adams	\$1,000	\$1,871
Asotin	\$993	\$1,919
Benton	\$955	\$2,191
Chelan	\$906	\$2,174
Clallam	\$971	\$2,230
Clark	\$865	\$2,452
Columbia	\$874	\$1,883
Cowlitz	\$946	\$2,065
Douglas	\$833	\$2,049
erry	\$1,100	\$1,879
Franklin	\$951	\$2,085
Garfield	\$649	\$1,877
Grant	\$949	\$1,970
Grays Harbor	\$943	\$2,063
sland	\$939	\$2,424
lefferson	\$888	\$2,608
King	\$821	\$3,157
Kitsap	\$991	\$2,586
Kittitas	\$816	\$2,328
Klickitat	\$1,046	\$1,965
Lewis	\$920	\$2,082
incoln	\$811	\$1,857
Mason	\$930	\$2,348
Okanogan	\$982	\$1,915
Pacific	\$911	\$2,115
Pend Oreille	\$1,088	\$1,931
Pierce	\$938	\$2,742
San Juan	\$915	\$2,463
Skagit	\$787	\$2,470
Skamania	\$895	\$2,078
Snohomish	\$830	\$3,330
Spokane	\$864	\$2,086
btevens	\$907	\$1,911
hurston	\$877	\$2,564
Vahkiakum	\$898	\$1,907
Walla Walla	\$904	\$2,113
Whatcom	\$786	\$2,410
Whitman	\$834	\$2,147
Yakima	\$930	\$2,009

Source: B&PC analysis of individual provider wage and hourly data as provided by SEIU 775; Center for Women's Welfare, University of Washington. The Self-Sufficiency Standard, Washington state 2014 (August 2015 revision) [data file and report]. Benton, King, Kitsap, Pierce, and Snohomish County tabulations prepared for Washington State Budget & Policy Center. Original dataset available from Center for Women's Welfare site: http://selfsufficiencystandard.org/washington.

### APPENDIX B:

### Individual providers impacted by a \$15 base wage and their collective wage increase by county

able 7			
COUNTY	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL PROVIDER HOME CARE WORKERS	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL PROVIDER HOME CARE WORKERS MAKING LESS THAN \$15/HOUR	COLLECTIVE PERSONAL INCOME INCREASE TO INDIVIDUAL PROVIDER WORKERS UNDER A \$15 MINIMUM WAGE
Adams	122	97	\$228,673
Asotin	87	62	\$152,392
Benton	1,036	871	\$2,121,656
Chelan	283	243	\$564,642
Clallam	326	270	\$685,540
Clark	2,922	2,445	\$5,380,797
Columbia	40	33	\$75,866
Cowlitz	606	519	\$1,265,220
Douglas	53	44	\$96,715
Ferry	68	50	\$142,736
Franklin	621	485	\$1,173,129
Garfield	13	13	\$24,776
Grant	659	524	\$1,242,886
Grays Harbor	638	525	\$1,261,476
Island	291	243	\$592,132
Jefferson	119	103	\$230,030
King	9,312	7,532	\$15,837,964
Kitsap	987	752	\$1,884,383
Kittitas	94	78	\$167,178
Klickitat	77	60	\$155,405
Lewis	460	372	\$869,963
Lincoln	64	52	\$110,567
Mason	291	239	\$583,089
Okanogan	320	253	\$662,493
Pacific	173	138	\$308,825
Pend Oreille	86	60	\$150,675
Pierce	4,320	3,481	\$8,229,069
San Juan	22	20	\$47,928
Skagit	509	414	\$847,746
Skamania	46	39	\$89,072
Snohomish	3,303	2,680	\$5,620,131
Spokane	2,760	2,000	\$4,804,857
Stevens	256	194	\$431,641
Thurston	1,114	925	\$2,097,636
Wahkiakum	1,114	15	\$38,969
Walla Walla	334	264	\$574,392
Whatcom	854	714	\$1,462,858
Whatcom Whitman	70	64	\$1,402,838 \$144,355
Yakima	1,331	1,074	\$2,474,548
Washington State	34,686	28,158	\$62,832,410

Source: B&PC analysis of individual provider wage and hourly data as provided by SEIU 775.

### **ENDNOTES**

- 1. B&PC analysis of SEIU 775 wage data for Washington state individual provider home care workers.
- 2. Institute for Women's Policy Research. (2013.) *Women and the care crisis: Valuing in-home care in policy and practice.* Available at http://www.iwpr.org/publications/pubs/women-and-the-care-crisis-valuing-in-home-care-in-policy-and-practice/at\_download/file.
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- 11. B&PC analysis of SEIU 775 wage data for Washington state individual provider home care workers.
- 12. Ibid.
- 13. B&PC analysis of SEIU data of monthly hours worked by Washington state individual provider home care workers indicates the average individual provider works 15.81 hours per week.
- 14. Center for Women's Welfare, University of Washington. The Self-Sufficiency Standard for Washington State 2014 (August 2015 revision) [data file and report]. Benton, King, Kitsap, Pierce, and Snohomish County tabulations prepared for Washington State Budget & Policy Center. Original dataset available from Center for Women's Welfare site: http://selfsufficiencystandard.org/washington.
- 15. Paraprofessional Healthcare Institute. (2015.) *Paying the price: How poverty wages undermine home care in America.* Available at http://phinational.org/sites/phinational.org/files/research-report/paying-the-price.pdf.
- 16. B&PC analysis of SEIU 775 wage data for Washington state individual provider home care workers.
- 17. Ibid.
- 18. Analysis by SEIU and B&PC estimate the total number of Washington state agency-based home care workers at 15,245.
- 19. Given the contract parity between individual provider and agency-based home care workers, assumptions regarding the percentage of workers making below \$15/hour (81 percent) and the anticipated raise for those workers (\$2.72) is applied. The average number of hours worked per week by individual providers (15.81) is also assumed. As such, projected number of agency-based workers to receive a raise (12,348) is multiplied by the estimated raise (\$2.72), the estimated number of hours worked per week (15.81) and an assumption of working every week of the year (52 weeks).

### **ENDNOTES** (continued)

- 20. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Consumer Expenditure Survey, households making \$50,000 \$69,999 spend 87 percent of their pre-tax income (the median household income in Washington is \$62,000). In contrast, household's making \$30,000 \$39,999 spend 109 percent of their pre-tax income.
- 21. The REMI Model. *Regional Economic Models, Inc.* Available at http://www.remi.com/the-remi-model.
- 22. The REMI model incorporates four aspects of economic modeling: input-output models that account for transactions between industries, supply demand equilibrium, advanced statistical modeling to quantify economic relationships and responses, and geographic specificity, providing tailored projections to regions under consideration.
- 23. This projection models the cost of the home care wage increase assuming it's funded within the current state budget without new tax increases. The analysis factors in proportional reductions in all other state spending - and related fiscal consequences - in its estimate. See table below for information on economic stimulus and employment projections associated with a \$15 base wage for Washington state individual provider and agency-based home care workers, with Washington state's 50 percent share projected from general budget funding. The table shows economic and employment projections of a \$15 base wage for individual provider and agency-based home care workers in Washington state as modeled by Richard Sims, chief economist, National Education Association. (Of note, this analysis does not account for the economic benefits of the improvement in the quality of the home care workforce associated with a higher industry wage, such as lower turnover, reduced recruitment and training costs, and the ability to attract and retain higher-quality workers.)

	2017	2018	2019	2020
Private, non-farm	863	905	899	855
employment increase				
Total state economic	\$179.6	\$189.3	\$195.8	\$199.1
stimulus through net				
personal income (in				
millions)				

24. Ibid.

25. Good Jobs First. Summary of state and local awards, Washington state. Available at http://subsidytracker. goodjobsfirst.org/prog.php?statesum=WA

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