

WHO EARNS THE MINIMUM WAGE IN CANADA?

Ben Eisen and Milagros Palacios



Contents

Executive Summary / i

Introduction / 1

The Evolution of Canada's Minimum Wage, 2009-2019 / 2

Results of the Analysis: Who Earns the Minimum Wage in Canada? / 4

Conclusions / 10

Appendix Tables: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning
Minimum Wage, 2019 (or latest available year) / 11

References / 23

About the authors / 25

Acknowledgments / 25

Publishing information / 26

Supporting the Fraser Institute / 27

Purpose, funding, and independence / 27

About the Fraser Institute / 28

Editorial Advisory Board / 29

Executive Summary

Over the past decade all Canadian provinces have raised their real (inflation-adjusted) minimum wage. The size of these increases has varied considerably from place to place. The four largest provinces implemented particularly large increases. These ranged from 20.2 percent in Quebec to 46.4 percent in Alberta.

One of the most common arguments in favour of raising the minimum wage is that doing so will help reduce poverty. However, the research literature, particularly in Canada, does not show clear evidence of a link between a higher minimum wage and reduced poverty.

The extent to which minimum wage increases can help reduce poverty depends on many factors. One of the most important of these is the specific characteristics of minimum wage workers. For example, if we disregard the possible negative effects on employment levels, higher wage floors are more likely to be an effective anti-poverty tool if minimum wage workers are heavily concentrated in low-income households. Conversely, if a large share of minimum wage workers are secondary or tertiary earners in households that are not low-income, this would blunt the effectiveness of minimum wage increases.

This paper seeks to contribute to the public discourse. Specifically, it examines the age and household income levels of minimum wage earners to help shed light on the question, “who earns the minimum wage in Canada?”

We use Statistics Canada’s “Low Income Cutoff” line, or LICO, to assess the extent to which minimum wage earners live in low income families.

We show that that 8.8 percent of all workers earn the minimum wage. Further, we find that 7.7 percent of all minimum wage earners in Canada live in households that are below the LICO after taxes and transfers. This means that 92.3 percent of minimum wage earners live in households that are above the LICO. The reason for this is driven primarily by the fact that most minimum wage workers are not primary breadwinners in their households but rather are secondary or tertiary earners. Out of the eight provinces for which adequate data was available, the share ranked from a low of 6.6 percent in Alberta to 14.5 percent in Manitoba.

Our analysis also examines the age profile of minimum wage workers. We find that 53 percent of all minimum wage workers are between the ages of 15 and 24. The share of minimum wage workers in this age group varies considerably from province to province.

For many younger minimum-wage workers, the evidence suggests that jobs paying the minimum wage are a first step towards higher-paid compensation. One recent study, for instance, shows that 46.4 percent of minimum wage workers had been in their job for less than a year. Finally, our data show that just 2.2 percent of minimum wage workers are single parents with a child or children under the age of 18.

Across Canada, minimum wages have increased in recent years particularly in the country's most populous provinces. The stated goal has been to reduce poverty. The extent to which this policy tool can achieve that objective depends in part on various characteristics of minimum wage workers, particularly the household income status of those working at the wage floor. In this study we seek to shed light on these issues by providing insight into the question, "who earns the minimum wage in Canada?"

Introduction

Over the past decade, several provinces have increased their minimum wage. Often the stated objective of these minimum wage increases is to reduce poverty.¹ However, the research literature does not show a clear relationship between higher minimum wages and reduced poverty (Sen et al., 2011).

The extent to which raising the minimum wage can be an effective anti-poverty strategy hinges on a number of factors. One of these is the characteristics of minimum wage workers. More specifically, all else being equal, a higher minimum wage is more likely to be an effective anti-poverty tool if a large share of minimum-wage workers lives in low-income households. However, if a large share of minimum-wage workers lives in households that are not low-income—for example if they are secondary or tertiary earners in middle- or high-income families—this would blunt the effectiveness of the minimum wage as an anti-poverty tool.

This paper aims to contribute to policy discussions surrounding the minimum wage by examining the characteristics of minimum wage workers across Canada. More specifically, it examines the age, household income, household demographic profile, and educational status of minimum wage workers. In short, this bulletin seeks to shed light on the question, “who earns the minimum wage in Canada?” It does not examine other factors that influence the effectiveness of the minimum wage as an anti-poverty tool such as the size of unemployment effects from increases to the minimum wage.²

¹ For example, see Ontario (2014, January 30).

² This study uses the methodology and structure of past examinations of the minimum wage in various provinces that has been outlined in Fraser Institute research projects written by Charles Lammam, Hugh MacIntyre, and various other authors. We thank Mr. Lammam and Mr. MacIntyre for this contribution, while noting they bear no responsibility for errors in this report which are the sole responsibility of its authors.

The Evolution of Canada's Minimum Wage, 2009-2019

Before discussing the characteristics of minimum wage earners across Canada, we will briefly examine the evolution of the minimum wage in Canada over approximately the past decade. Between 2009 and 2019, all 10 provinces increased their minimum wages. The scale of the increases differed significantly from place to place. Table 1 below shows the minimum wage, in 2019 dollars, in each province in 2009 and 2019, as well as the dollar and percentage increase.

Table 1 shows that while several provinces increased their minimum wages substantially, the increase in others was small. All four of Canada's largest provinces (Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, and Alberta), cumulatively representing 86 percent of Canada's population, enacted

Table 1: Minimum Wage, real (\$2019), 2009 and 2019

	2009	2019	Change	
			in \$	in %
Newfoundland & Labrador	10.64	11.15	0.51	4.8%
Prince Edward Island	9.60	12.08	2.47	25.8%
Nova Scotia	10.07	11.41	1.34	13.3%
New Brunswick	9.62	11.44	1.82	18.9%
Quebec	10.26	12.33	2.07	20.2%
Ontario	11.26	14.00	2.74	24.3%
Manitoba	10.47	11.43	0.96	9.2%
Saskatchewan	10.79	11.13	0.33	3.1%
Alberta	10.25	15.00	4.75	46.4%
British Columbia	9.36	13.35	3.99	42.6%

Sources: Canada Labour Program, 2020; Statistics Canada, CANSIM Table 18-10-0005-01; calculations by authors.

minimum wage increases of more than 20 percent. Alberta's was the largest minimum wage increase in both dollar and percentage terms, with a 46.4 percent increase.

Ontario, the most populous province, also saw a substantial minimum wage increase of 24 percent between 2009 and 2019.

Clearly there has been a strong trend towards higher minimum wages over the past decade. We will now examine the household characteristics and the age of minimum wage earners.

Results of the Analysis: Who Earns the Minimum Wage in Canada?

Economic profile of minimum wage earners' households

Recent data sheds light on the economic characteristics of the households in which minimum wage earners live.³ Our analysis in this section relies on pre-COVID data from Statistics Canada from 2018.⁴ The labour market shocks associated with the pandemic and recovery, which may be largely transitory or largely durable, are therefore not captured in this analysis. Our data show that there are 1.4 million Canadians working for minimum wage, making up 8.8 percent of all workers in the country (Statistics Canada, 2020a).

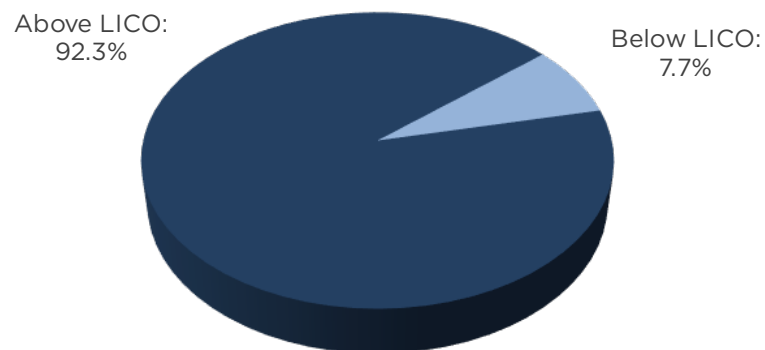
Defining poverty or low income

Statistics Canada uses several different metrics to measure low-income status. These include the Low Income Measure (LIM), the LICO (LICO) and the Market Based Measure (MBM). Each has different advantages and disadvantages in assessing low-income status. One advantage of the LICO is that it is closely tied to the share of family income used to pay for necessities relative to the average household. This connection to necessities is useful because the challenges associated with living in low-income are often linked to the difficulty of affording basic household necessities

³ This section provides an overview of key results. Much more detailed information for Canada and each of the provinces can be found in the appendices in the back of this report.

⁴ Low-income data come from a custom tabulation of the 2018 Canadian Income Survey (CIS).

Figure 1: Share of Minimum Wage Earners Living in Households below and above LICO, 2018



Source: Statistics Canada, 2020b.

(Murphy et al., 2016). For this analysis, we use LICO (after taxes) as the metric in defining low-income status.

The economic profile of households with minimum wage earners and the incidence of low-income status

We use a special tabulation from Statistics Canada that is based on the Canadian Income Survey (Statistics Canada, 2020b), to estimate the proportion of minimum wage workers who are considered to be in low-income status. Figure 1 shows that after tax and transfers, 7.7 percent of minimum wage workers in Canada live in low-income households. In other words, 92.3 percent of minimum wage workers do not live in low-income households.

However, minimum wage earners are substantially more likely than the general public to live in a low-income household. Our data show that 20.2 percent of the total population of workers living below the LICO line are minimum-wage workers. This is substantially higher than the general population, where only 8.8 percent of workers are minimum-wage earners.

Table 2 shows the share of all minimum wage workers living in low-income households in each province for which provincial-level data are available.

Table 2: Distribution of Minimum Wage Earners Living in Low-Income Households by Province, 2018

Province	Percentage (%)
Canada	7.7
Newfoundland and Labrador	N/A
Prince Edward Island	18.2
Nova Scotia	8.9
New Brunswick	N/A
Quebec	9.4
Ontario	7.2
Manitoba	14.5
Saskatchewan	7.6
Alberta	6.6
British Columbia	7.9

Note: N/A = too unreliable to be published.

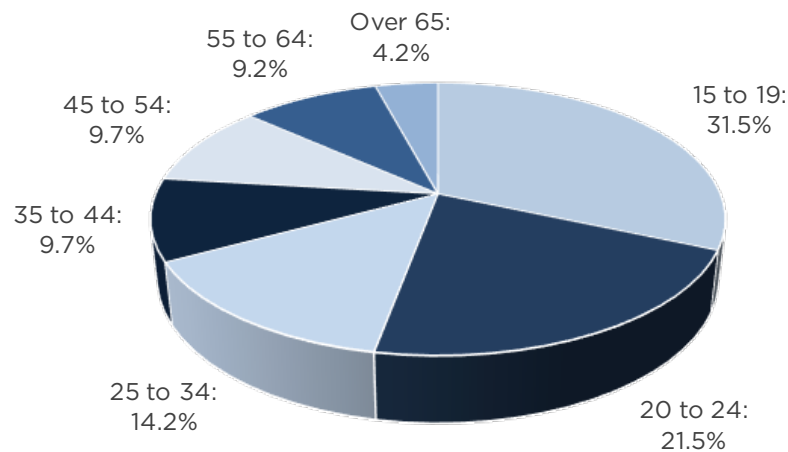
Source: Statistics Canada, 2020b.

Age distribution of minimum wage workers and family composition

As noted above, the majority of Canadians earning minimum wage do not live in low-income households.⁵ We see that most minimum wage earners are not the primary or sole earners in their households. This confirms the finding of past research (Ontario, Ministry of Labour, 2014).

This result is largely a function of the distribution of minimum wage workers by age group. Figure 2 shows that across Canada, 31.5 percent of minimum wage workers are between the ages of 15 and 19. A further 21.5 percent are between age 20 and 24. Cumulatively, this means that 53 percent of all minimum wage workers are between the ages of 15 and 24, many of whom are secondary or tertiary earners within households that are not low-income (Statistics Canada, 2020b). The share of minimum wage workers in each of the older age groups is substantially smaller, as Figure 2 illustrates.

⁵ The data in this section are based on a special tabulation of the Labour Force Survey provided for Statistics Canada for 2019.

Figure 2: Share of Minimum Wage Earners in Canada, by Age, 2019

Source: Statistics Canada, 2020a.

The trend described above is applicable across Canada, although there is some variation from province to province. Table 3 shows the share of minimum wage workers between the ages of 15-24 in each province and for Canada as a whole.

For many teenagers and young adults, minimum wage jobs are a first step towards higher paid employment. Further, younger minimum wage workers do not typically remain minimum wage workers for long; as they gain experience, their salaries rise (Long, 1999). One Canadian study found that approximately half (46.4 percent) of workers earning minimum wage in Ontario had been in their job for less than a year (Gunderson, 2007).

Unsurprisingly, given that the data above show that a large share of minimum wage earners are younger workers who live in households that are not low-income, an examination of the family status of minimum wage workers shows that many of these workers are secondary or tertiary earners in their families. Specifically, across Canada, 53.3 percent of minimum wage workers are sons or daughters living with family members. An additional 27.3 percent live with a spouse. Of this group, approximately 67 percent their spouses were either self-employed or earned more than the minimum wage.

These results demonstrate that the reason the majority of minimum wage workers in Canada are not living in low-income status is because they are secondary or tertiary earners within their households. Further, our data show that only a small share of minimum wage workers

Table 3: Share of minimum wage earners age 15-24, by province, 2019

Jurisdiction	Share of total minimum wage earners (%)
Canada	53.0%
Newfoundland and Labrador	46.3%
Prince Edward Island	49.0%
Nova Scotia	55.4%
New Brunswick	54.7%
Quebec	59.3%
Ontario	52.3%
Manitoba	56.3%
Saskatchewan	56.1%
Alberta	46.4%
British Columbia	52.6%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2020a.

are single parents with children under the age of 18. These data show that 2.2 percent of minimum wage workers fall into this category.

Summary

This paper has not sought to address important questions about the disemployment effects of minimum wage increases or the overall effect of higher minimum wages on poverty in Canada. For an overview of the research on some of these important questions, see Lammam, Macintyre, and Sorge (2018: 8). Instead, we have focused narrowly on the question of “who earns the minimum wage in Canada?”

Our results show that a large majority of minimum wage workers live in households that do not fall below the low income cutoff line. Specifically, 7.7 percent of minimum wage workers belong to low income households.

Further, we find that in all provinces for which data are available, and for Canada as a whole, a majority of minimum wage workers are age 15 to 24. Finally, we find that a very small share, 2.2 percent, of minimum wage workers are single parents with children under the age of 18.

This paper has provided a summary of key data, which begins to shed light on the complexity of the link between the minimum wage and poverty. Appendix Tables A1 to A11 provide much more detailed information on the characteristics of minimum wage workers in Canada overall and in the individual provinces.

Conclusion

Over the past decade, provincial governments across Canada have, to one extent or another, increased real minimum wages. The extent of these increases has differed from place to place, but the direction in all instances has been the same: upwards. This paper has sought to shed light on the effect of these policies and, particularly, their usefulness as an anti-poverty tool. We have done so by providing information to help answer the question “who earns the minimum wage in Canada?” We find that the majority of minimum wage workers are teens or young adults, that most live in households that are not low-income, and that only a small share of minimum wage workers are single parents with children under the age of 18.

Appendix Tables: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or latest available year)

Table A1: Canada / 12

Table A2: Newfoundland & Labrador / 13

Table A3: Prince Edward Island / 14

Table A4: Nova Scotia / 15

Table A5: New Brunswick / 16

Table A6: Quebec / 17

Table A7: Ontario / 18

Table A8: Manitoba / 19

Table A9: Saskatchewan / 20

Table A10: Alberta / 21

Table A11: British Columbia / 22

Notes:

1) The sum of persons with a working or non-working spouse does not add up to the total number of persons with spouses since certain spouses may have been outside the target group. This happens when one of the spouse is a member of the armed forces or is in an institution (and there may be other possible reasons). The LFS only collects information on the spouse not out of scope.

2) The question concerning education status was not asked for persons 65 and over. For this reason, the sum of the totals based on education status for "non-family persons" and "son, daughter or other relative living with the family" is not exactly equal to the total number of persons from those two categories.

3) Low income data comes from the Canadian Income Survey (CIS) and the latest year available is 2018.

4) "N/A" in the tables indicates that data are not available.

Sources: Statistics Canada (2020a and 2020b); calculations by authors.

Appendix Table A1: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or Latest Available Year), Canada

	Total employees		Minimum wage		
	Total (thousands)	Share (%)	Total (thousands)	Incidence (%)	Share (%)
Total	16,153.0	100.0	1,420.0	8.8	100.0
Age					
15 to 19	842.9	5.2	447.3	53.1	31.5
20 to 24	1,600.9	9.9	304.8	19.0	21.5
25 to 34	3,799.7	23.5	201.2	5.3	14.2
35 to 44	3,534.4	21.9	138.1	3.9	9.7
45 to 54	3,269.1	20.2	137.8	4.2	9.7
55 to 64	2,567.8	15.9	131.0	5.1	9.2
Education attainment					
Less than a high school diploma	1,294.0	8.0	345.3	26.7	24.3
High school diploma	2,897.1	17.9	371.5	12.8	26.2
At least some post-secondary	11,961.9	74.1	703.2	5.9	49.5
Some post-secondary	1,026.2	6.4	203.0	19.8	14.3
Post-secondary diploma or certificate	5,837.8	36.1	305.1	5.2	21.5
University degree	5,098.0	31.6	195.1	3.8	13.7
Job status					
Full-time	13,278.4	82.2	607.4	4.6	42.8
Part-time	2,874.6	17.8	812.6	28.3	57.2
Household status					
Member of a couple (1)	9,188.8	56.9	388.2	4.2	27.3
Spouse not employed	1,616.0	10.0	90.1	5.6	6.3
Youngest child is less than 18 years	608.1	3.8	33.2	5.5	2.3
No children or youngest child 18 or older	1,008.0	6.2	56.9	5.6	4.0
Spouse employed	7,538.3	46.7	296.3	3.9	20.9
Spouse making minimum wage or less	249.7	1.5	35.1	14.1	2.5
Spouse making greater than minimum wage	6,289.7	38.9	214.6	3.4	15.1
Spouse self-employed	998.8	6.2	46.6	4.7	3.3
Head of household, no spouse	1,212.1	7.5	96.0	7.9	6.8
Youngest child is less than 18 years	535.3	3.3	30.6	5.7	2.2
No children or youngest child 18 or older	676.8	4.2	65.4	9.7	4.6
Son, daughter, or other relative living with family (2)	3,084.5	19.1	756.2	24.5	53.3
15-19 in school	475.7	2.9	284.4	59.8	20.0
15-19 not in school	307.8	1.9	138.1	44.9	9.7
20-24 in school	282.0	1.7	89.8	31.8	6.3
20-24 not in school	675.4	4.2	120.3	17.8	8.5
25 or over in school	70.7	0.4	11.4	16.1	0.8
25 or over not in school	1,272.8	7.9	112.3	8.8	7.9
Single	2,636.0	16.3	171.9	6.5	12.1
Living alone	1,830.8	11.3	83.5	4.6	5.9
15-24	125.4	0.8	15.9	12.7	1.1
25-54	1,185.1	7.3	33.0	2.8	2.3
55 and over	520.3	3.2	34.6	6.7	2.4
Living with non-relatives	805.3	5.0	88.4	11.0	6.2
15-24	216.9	1.3	45.8	21.1	3.2
25-54	518.7	3.2	35.9	6.9	2.5
55 and over	69.7	0.4	6.7	9.6	0.5
Member of a low-income household (income after tax and transfers) (3)					
Below low income cut-off	569.0	3.7	115.0	20.2	7.7
Below low income measure	797.0	5.2	161.0	20.2	10.9
Below market basket measure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table A2: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or Latest Available Year), Newfoundland & Labrador

	Total employees		Minimum wage		
	Total (thousands)	Share (%)	Total (thousands)	Incidence (%)	Share (%)
Total	208.9	100.0	5.4	2.6	100.0
Age					
15 to 19	8.8	4.2	1.5	17.0	27.8
20 to 24	17.2	8.2	1.0	5.8	18.5
25 to 34	41.9	20.1	1.0	2.4	18.5
35 to 44	45.2	21.6	0.6	1.3	11.1
45 to 54	51.0	24.4	0.5	1.0	9.3
55 to 64	36.7	17.6	x	x	x
Education attainment					
Less than a high school diploma	17.1	8.2	1.4	8.2	25.9
High school diploma	37.8	18.1	1.6	4.2	29.6
At least some post-secondary	154.0	73.7	2.4	1.6	44.4
Some post-secondary	8.7	4.2	x	x	x
Post-secondary diploma or certificate	97.3	46.6	1.5	1.5	27.8
University degree	47.9	22.9	x	x	x
Job status					
Full-time	177.6	85.0	2.8	1.6	51.9
Part-time	31.4	15.0	2.6	8.3	48.1
Household status					
Member of a couple (1)	134.1	64.2	1.9	1.4	35.2
Spouse not employed	33.4	16.0	0.5	1.5	9.3
Youngest child is less than 18 years	11.1	5.3	x	x	x
No children or youngest child 18 or older	22.3	10.7	x	x	x
Spouse employed	100.2	48.0	1.3	1.3	24.1
Spouse making minimum wage or less	1.2	0.6	x	x	x
Spouse making greater than minimum wage	92.4	44.2	1.1	1.2	20.4
Spouse self-employed	6.7	3.2	x	x	x
Head of household, no spouse	14.1	6.7	x	x	x
Youngest child is less than 18 years	6.9	3.3	x	x	x
No children or youngest child 18 or older	7.2	3.4	x	x	x
Son, daughter, or other relative living with family (2)	33.6	16.1	2.6	7.7	48.1
15-19 in school	4.3	2.1	1.0	23.3	18.5
15-19 not in school	3.9	1.9	x	x	x
20-24 in school	2.9	1.4	x	x	x
20-24 not in school	7.4	3.5	x	x	x
25 or over in school	x	x	x	x	x
25 or over not in school	14.5	6.9	x	x	x
Single	26.9	12.9	0.7	2.6	13.0
Living alone	18.3	8.8	x	x	x
15-24	0.9	0.4	x	x	x
25-54	11.5	5.5	x	x	x
55 and over	5.9	2.8	x	x	x
Living with non-relatives	8.6	4.1	x	x	x
15-24	3.1	1.5	x	x	x
25-54	4.9	2.3	x	x	x
55 and over	0.6	0.3	x	x	x
Member of a low-income household (income after tax and transfers) (3)					
Below low income cut-off	N/A	2.2	N/A	N/A	N/A
Below low income measure	11.0	5.4	N/A	N/A	21.4
Below market basket measure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table A3: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or Latest Available Year), Prince Edward Island

	Total employees		Minimum wage		
	Total (thousands)	Share (%)	Total (thousands)	Incidence (%)	Share (%)
Total	67.3	100.0	5.1	7.6	100.0
Age					
15 to 19	3.9	5.8	1.7	43.6	33.3
20 to 24	7.4	11.0	0.8	10.8	15.7
25 to 34	13.9	20.7	0.8	5.8	15.7
35 to 44	13.2	19.6	0.5	3.8	9.8
45 to 54	14.1	21.0	0.5	3.5	9.8
55 to 64	11.5	17.1	0.5	4.3	9.8
Education attainment					
Less than a high school diploma	7.1	10.5	1.6	22.5	31.4
High school diploma	14.6	21.7	1.6	11.0	31.4
At least some post-secondary	45.6	67.8	1.9	4.2	37.3
Some post-secondary	3.1	4.6	0.4	12.9	7.8
Post-secondary diploma or certificate	25.7	38.2	1.0	3.9	19.6
University degree	16.8	25.0	0.4	2.4	7.8
Job status					
Full-time	57.2	85.0	2.6	4.5	51.0
Part-time	10.0	14.9	2.5	25.0	49.0
Household status					
Member of a couple (1)	40.1	59.6	1.5	3.7	29.4
Spouse not employed	8.1	12.0	0.4	4.9	7.8
Youngest child is less than 18 years	2.6	3.9	x	x	x
No children or youngest child 18 or older	5.5	8.2	0.3	5.5	5.9
Spouse employed	32.0	47.5	1.0	3.1	19.6
Spouse making minimum wage or less	0.9	1.3	x	x	x
Spouse making greater than minimum wage	27.0	40.1	0.9	3.3	17.6
Spouse self-employed	4.0	5.9	x	x	x
Head of household, no spouse	5.2	7.7	0.3	5.8	5.9
Youngest child is less than 18 years	2.4	3.6	x	x	x
No children or youngest child 18 or older	2.8	4.2	x	x	x
Son, daughter, or other relative living with family (2)	11.3	16.8	2.4	21.2	47.1
15-19 in school	2.0	3.0	0.9	45.0	17.6
15-19 not in school	1.6	2.4	0.6	37.5	11.8
20-24 in school	0.5	0.7	x	x	x
20-24 not in school	3.0	4.5	0.3	10.0	5.9
25 or over in school	x	x	x	x	x
25 or over not in school	4.0	5.9	0.5	12.5	9.8
Single	10.6	15.8	0.9	8.5	17.6
Living alone	6.8	10.1	0.3	4.4	5.9
15-24	0.5	0.7	x	x	x
25-54	3.9	5.8	x	x	x
55 and over	2.5	3.7	x	x	x
Living with non-relatives	3.8	5.6	0.6	15.8	11.8
15-24	1.7	2.5	x	x	x
25-54	1.7	2.5	0.3	17.6	5.9
55 and over	0.4	0.6	x	x	x
Member of a low-income household (income after tax and transfers) (3)					
Below low income cut-off	2.0	3.8	N/A	N/A	18.2
Below low income measure	4.0	6.3	N/A	N/A	13.4
Below market basket measure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table A4: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or Latest Available Year), Nova Scotia

	Total employees		Minimum wage		
	Total (thousands)	Share (%)	Total (thousands)	Incidence (%)	Share (%)
Total	409.6	100.0	34.5	8.4	100.0
Age					
15 to 19	22.9	5.6	12.0	52.4	34.8
20 to 24	41.1	10.0	7.1	17.3	20.6
25 to 34	89.7	21.9	4.6	5.1	13.3
35 to 44	82.0	20.0	3.3	4.0	9.6
45 to 54	88.3	21.6	2.8	3.2	8.1
55 to 64	70.7	17.3	3.6	5.1	10.4
Education attainment					
Less than a high school diploma	37.3	9.1	10.4	27.9	30.1
High school diploma	78.9	19.3	8.3	10.5	24.1
At least some post-secondary	293.5	71.7	15.8	5.4	45.8
Some post-secondary	27.8	6.8	5.5	19.8	15.9
Post-secondary diploma or certificate	147.7	36.1	6.6	4.5	19.1
University degree	118.0	28.8	3.7	3.1	10.7
Job status					
Full-time	336.3	82.1	13.7	4.1	39.7
Part-time	73.3	17.9	20.7	28.2	60.0
Household status					
Member of a couple (1)	231.6	56.5	9.6	4.1	27.8
Spouse not employed	46.9	11.5	2.5	5.3	7.2
Youngest child is less than 18 years	13.4	3.3	x	x	x
No children or youngest child 18 or older	33.5	8.2	2.0	6.0	5.8
Spouse employed	181.7	44.4	6.9	3.8	20.0
Spouse making minimum wage or less	5.8	1.4	x	x	x
Spouse making greater than minimum wage	154.7	37.8	5.0	3.2	14.5
Spouse self-employed	21.3	5.2	1.2	5.6	3.5
Head of household, no spouse	30.7	7.5	2.5	8.1	7.2
Youngest child is less than 18 years	16.7	4.1	1.1	6.6	3.2
No children or youngest child 18 or older	14.0	3.4	1.4	10.0	4.1
Son, daughter, or other relative living with family (2)	70.3	17.2	17.9	25.5	51.9
15-19 in school	13.6	3.3	7.6	55.9	22.0
15-19 not in school	8.1	2.0	4.0	49.4	11.6
20-24 in school	5.6	1.4	1.5	26.8	4.3
20-24 not in school	15.8	3.9	2.6	16.5	7.5
25 or over in school	x	x	x	x	x
25 or over not in school	26.4	6.4	2.2	8.3	6.4
Single	76.4	18.7	4.3	5.6	12.5
Living alone	50.9	12.4	2.2	4.3	6.4
15-24	3.9	1.0	x	x	x
25-54	33.3	8.1	1.1	3.3	3.2
55 and over	13.8	3.4	x	x	x
Living with non-relatives	25.5	6.2	2.1	8.2	6.1
15-24	8.0	2.0	1.2	15.0	3.5
25-54	15.1	3.7	x	x	x
55 and over	2.4	0.6	x	x	x
Member of a low-income household (income after tax and transfers) (3)					
Below low income cut-off	14.0	3.7	N/A	N/A	8.9
Below low income measure	28.0	7.2	N/A	N/A	15.0
Below market basket measure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table A5: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or Latest Available Year), New Brunswick

	Total employees		Minimum wage		
	Total (thousands)	Share (%)	Total (thousands)	Incidence (%)	Share (%)
Total	317.9	100.0	20.3	6.4	100.0
Age					
15 to 19	17.6	5.5	8.2	46.6	40.4
20 to 24	27.9	8.8	2.9	10.4	14.3
25 to 34	61.9	19.5	1.8	2.9	8.9
35 to 44	67.6	21.3	1.8	2.7	8.9
45 to 54	71.7	22.6	1.9	2.6	9.4
55 to 64	59.0	18.6	2.3	3.9	11.3
Education attainment					
Less than a high school diploma	29.8	9.4	6.8	22.8	33.5
High school diploma	72.4	22.8	5.9	8.1	29.1
At least some post-secondary	215.6	67.8	7.6	3.5	37.4
Some post-secondary	17.3	5.4	2.2	12.7	10.8
Post-secondary diploma or certificate	121.5	38.2	3.8	3.1	18.7
University degree	76.8	24.2	1.6	2.1	7.9
Job status					
Full-time	273.4	86.0	8.3	3.0	40.9
Part-time	44.5	14.0	12.0	27.0	59.1
Household status					
Member of a couple (1)	198.3	62.4	6.2	3.1	30.5
Spouse not employed	40.9	12.9	1.9	4.6	9.4
Youngest child is less than 18 years	11.4	3.6	x	x	x
No children or youngest child 18 or older	29.5	9.3	1.3	4.4	6.4
Spouse employed	155.7	49.0	4.0	2.6	19.7
Spouse making minimum wage or less	3.3	1.0	x	x	x
Spouse making greater than minimum wage	136.2	42.8	2.7	2.0	13.3
Spouse self-employed	16.2	5.1	0.7	4.3	3.4
Head of household, no spouse	23.4	7.4	0.9	3.8	4.4
Youngest child is less than 18 years	13.5	4.2	x	x	x
No children or youngest child 18 or older	9.9	3.1	x	x	x
Son, daughter, or other relative living with family (2)	48.6	15.3	11.0	22.6	54.2
15-19 in school	8.4	2.6	4.7	56.0	23.2
15-19 not in school	8.1	2.5	3.1	38.3	15.3
20-24 in school	2.0	0.6	x	x	x
20-24 not in school	11.2	3.5	1.2	10.7	5.9
25 or over in school	x	x	x	x	x
25 or over not in school	18.3	5.8	1.4	7.7	6.9
Single	47.3	14.9	2.2	4.7	10.8
Living alone	33.2	10.4	1.1	3.3	5.4
15-24	2.8	0.9	x	x	x
25-54	19.3	6.1	x	x	x
55 and over	11.1	3.5	x	x	x
Living with non-relatives	14.1	4.4	1.0	7.1	4.9
15-24	4.6	1.4	x	x	x
25-54	7.9	2.5	x	x	x
55 and over	1.5	0.5	x	x	x
Member of a low-income household (income after tax and transfers) (3)					
Below low income cut-off	8.0	2.5	N/A	N/A	N/A
Below low income measure	19.0	6.3	N/A	N/A	11.2
Below market basket measure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table A6: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or Latest Available Year), Quebec

	Total employees		Minimum wage		
	Total (thousands)	Share (%)	Total (thousands)	Incidence (%)	Share (%)
Total	3,772.0	100.0	266.1	7.1	100.0
Age					
15 to 19	209.2	5.5	106.5	50.9	40.0
20 to 24	350.9	9.3	51.4	14.6	19.3
25 to 34	837.9	22.2	29.9	3.6	11.2
35 to 44	867.5	23.0	19.5	2.2	7.3
45 to 54	781.4	20.7	21.9	2.8	8.2
55 to 64	616.5	16.3	26.6	4.3	10.0
Education attainment					
Less than a high school diploma	369.2	9.8	72.2	19.6	27.1
High school diploma	468.2	12.4	47.6	10.2	17.9
At least some post-secondary	2,934.6	77.8	146.4	5.0	55.0
Some post-secondary	227.2	6.0	54.0	23.8	20.3
Post-secondary diploma or certificate	1,651.1	43.8	71.8	4.3	27.0
University degree	1,056.3	28.0	20.7	2.0	7.8
Job status					
Full-time	3,085.4	81.8	103.8	3.4	39.0
Part-time	686.6	18.2	162.4	23.7	61.0
Household status					
Member of a couple (1)	2,162.6	57.3	68.5	3.2	25.7
Spouse not employed	331.7	8.8	14.4	4.3	5.4
Youngest child is less than 18 years	107.5	2.8	5.9	5.5	2.2
No children or youngest child 18 or older	224.3	5.9	8.4	3.7	3.2
Spouse employed	1,824.4	48.4	54.1	3.0	20.3
Spouse making minimum wage or less	46.6	1.2	6.7	14.4	2.5
Spouse making greater than minimum wage	1,565.2	41.5	39.9	2.5	15.0
Spouse self-employed	212.7	5.6	7.5	3.5	2.8
Head of household, no spouse	285.1	7.6	15.1	5.3	5.7
Youngest child is less than 18 years	155.2	4.1	4.7	3.0	1.8
No children or youngest child 18 or older	129.9	3.4	10.4	8.0	3.9
Son, daughter, or other relative living with family (2)	610.2	16.2	147.7	24.2	55.5
15-19 in school	127.6	3.4	73.2	57.4	27.5
15-19 not in school	67.7	1.8	27.2	40.2	10.2
20-24 in school	81.4	2.2	17.6	21.6	6.6
20-24 not in school	117.5	3.1	17.0	14.5	6.4
25 or over in school	19.7	0.5	x	x	x
25 or over not in school	196.2	5.2	10.9	5.6	4.1
Single	709.3	18.8	32.5	4.6	12.2
Living alone	565.8	15.0	19.7	3.5	7.4
15-24	36.3	1.0	3.8	10.5	1.4
25-54	377.0	10.0	7.0	1.9	2.6
55 and over	152.6	4.0	8.9	5.8	3.3
Living with non-relatives	143.5	3.8	12.8	8.9	4.8
15-24	36.8	1.0	7.6	20.7	2.9
25-54	89.1	2.4	3.9	4.4	1.5
55 and over	17.5	0.5	x	x	x
Member of a low-income household (income after tax and transfers) (3)					
Below low income cut-off	134.0	3.8	25.0	18.7	9.4
Below low income measure	199.0	5.7	36.0	18.1	13.5
Below market basket measure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table A7: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or Latest Available Year), Ontario

	Total employees		Minimum wage		
	Total (thousands)	Share (%)	Total (thousands)	Incidence (%)	Share (%)
Total	6,249.3	100.0	680.2	10.9	100.0
Age					
15 to 19	322.5	5.2	202.0	62.6	29.7
20 to 24	632.8	10.1	153.5	24.3	22.6
25 to 34	1,508.0	24.1	101.6	6.7	14.9
35 to 44	1,303.1	20.9	67.2	5.2	9.9
45 to 54	1,272.5	20.4	64.2	5.0	9.4
55 to 64	995.9	15.9	62.3	6.3	9.2
Education attainment					
Less than a high school diploma	442.3	7.1	160.5	36.3	23.6
High school diploma	1,167.0	18.7	182.5	15.6	26.8
At least some post-secondary	4,640.1	74.2	337.2	7.3	49.6
Some post-secondary	367.3	5.9	89.3	24.3	13.1
Post-secondary diploma or certificate	2,060.1	33.0	140.2	6.8	20.6
University degree	2,212.7	35.4	107.6	4.9	15.8
Job status					
Full-time	5,156.2	82.5	293.5	5.7	43.1
Part-time	1,093.2	17.5	386.7	35.4	56.9
Household status					
Member of a couple (1)	3,525.9	56.4	180.3	5.1	26.5
Spouse not employed	639.0	10.2	46.1	7.2	6.8
Youngest child is less than 18 years	248.8	4.0	16.9	6.8	2.5
No children or youngest child 18 or older	390.1	6.2	29.1	7.5	4.3
Spouse employed	2,874.3	46.0	133.3	4.6	19.6
Spouse making minimum wage or less	109.7	1.8	15.1	13.8	2.2
Spouse making greater than minimum wage	2,357.6	37.7	94.6	4.0	13.9
Spouse self-employed	407.0	6.5	23.6	5.8	3.5
Head of household, no spouse	477.9	7.6	48.4	10.1	7.1
Youngest child is less than 18 years	173.3	2.8	13.1	7.6	1.9
No children or youngest child 18 or older	304.7	4.9	35.3	11.6	5.2
Son, daughter, or other relative living with family (2)	1,402.1	22.4	378.2	27.0	55.6
15-19 in school	189.8	3.0	130.7	68.9	19.2
15-19 not in school	116.8	1.9	62.6	53.6	9.2
20-24 in school	116.7	1.9	48.0	41.1	7.1
20-24 not in school	319.3	5.1	66.6	20.9	9.8
25 or over in school	32.2	0.5	6.4	19.9	0.9
25 or over not in school	627.4	10.0	64.0	10.2	9.4
Single	829.7	13.3	71.2	8.6	10.5
Living alone	571.1	9.1	33.8	5.9	5.0
15-24	36.0	0.6	6.5	18.1	1.0
25-54	369.4	5.9	13.0	3.5	1.9
55 and over	165.7	2.7	14.3	8.6	2.1
Living with non-relatives	258.6	4.1	37.4	14.5	5.5
15-24	64.1	1.0	17.3	27.0	2.5
25-54	172.9	2.8	17.4	10.1	2.6
55 and over	21.7	0.3	2.7	12.4	0.4
Member of a low-income household (income after tax and transfers) (3)					
Below low income cut-off	184.0	3.1	54.0	29.3	7.2
Below low income measure	288.0	4.8	80.0	27.8	10.7
Below market basket measure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table A8: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or Latest Available Year), Manitoba

	Total employees		Minimum wage		
	Total (thousands)	Share (%)	Total (thousands)	Incidence (%)	Share (%)
Total	564.5	100.0	31.6	5.6	100.0
Age					
15 to 19	32.1	5.7	10.0	31.2	31.6
20 to 24	62.4	11.1	7.8	12.5	24.7
25 to 34	133.1	23.6	5.7	4.3	18.0
35 to 44	121.2	21.5	2.7	2.2	8.5
45 to 54	109.5	19.4	2.4	2.2	7.6
55 to 64	87.2	15.4	2.3	2.6	7.3
Education attainment					
Less than a high school diploma	53.2	9.4	7.7	14.5	24.4
High school diploma	123.7	21.9	9.3	7.5	29.4
At least some post-secondary	387.6	68.7	14.7	3.8	46.5
Some post-secondary	52.4	9.3	5.5	10.5	17.4
Post-secondary diploma or certificate	177.5	31.4	5.0	2.8	15.8
University degree	157.7	27.9	4.2	2.7	13.3
Job status					
Full-time	456.8	80.9	14.0	3.1	44.3
Part-time	107.6	19.1	17.7	16.4	56.0
Household status					
Member of a couple (1)	321.1	56.9	8.4	2.6	26.6
Spouse not employed	57.4	10.2	2.0	3.5	6.3
Youngest child is less than 18 years	23.6	4.2	0.9	3.8	2.8
No children or youngest child 18 or older	33.9	6.0	1.1	3.2	3.5
Spouse employed	262.6	46.5	6.4	2.4	20.3
Spouse making minimum wage or less	5.7	1.0	x	x	x
Spouse making greater than minimum wage	227.8	40.4	5.2	2.3	16.5
Spouse self-employed	29.0	5.1	x	x	x
Head of household, no spouse	41.9	7.4	2.3	5.5	7.3
Youngest child is less than 18 years	17.1	3.0	x	x	x
No children or youngest child 18 or older	24.8	4.4	1.8	7.3	5.7
Son, daughter, or other relative living with family (2)	115.3	20.4	16.6	14.4	52.5
15-19 in school	15.0	2.7	6.1	40.7	19.3
15-19 not in school	14.7	2.6	3.2	21.8	10.1
20-24 in school	9.1	1.6	2.0	22.0	6.3
20-24 not in school	26.3	4.7	2.6	9.9	8.2
25 or over in school	2.1	0.4	x	x	x
25 or over not in school	48.0	8.5	2.5	5.2	7.9
Single	85.5	15.1	4.3	5.0	13.6
Living alone	56.9	10.1	1.6	2.8	5.1
15-24	4.7	0.8	x	x	x
25-54	36.8	6.5	0.8	2.2	2.5
55 and over	15.4	2.7	0.6	3.9	1.9
Living with non-relatives	28.6	5.1	2.6	9.1	8.2
15-24	8.8	1.6	1.4	15.9	4.4
25-54	17.5	3.1	1.1	6.3	3.5
55 and over	2.2	0.4	x	x	x
Member of a low-income household (income after tax and transfers) (3)					
Below low income cut-off	25.0	4.6	N/A	NA	14.5
Below low income measure	33.0	6.0	5.0	15.2	14.3
Below market basket measure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table A9: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or Latest Available Year), Saskatchewan

	Total employees		Minimum wage		
	Total (thousands)	Share (%)	Total (thousands)	Incidence (%)	Share (%)
Total	480.9	100.0	17.3	3.6	100.0
Age					
15 to 19	25.4	5.3	6.8	26.8	39.3
20 to 24	47.5	9.9	2.9	6.1	16.8
25 to 34	118.6	24.7	2.8	2.4	16.2
35 to 44	109.9	22.9	1.9	1.7	11.0
45 to 54	87.8	18.3	1.3	1.5	7.5
55 to 64	73.5	15.3	0.8	1.1	4.6
Education attainment					
Less than a high school diploma	40.5	8.4	5.5	13.6	31.8
High school diploma	116.3	24.2	5.2	4.5	30.1
At least some post-secondary	324.2	67.4	6.6	2.0	38.2
Some post-secondary	34.9	7.3	1.7	4.9	9.8
Post-secondary diploma or certificate	162.5	33.8	2.3	1.4	13.3
University degree	126.9	26.4	2.5	2.0	14.5
Job status					
Full-time	396.5	82.4	6.9	1.7	39.9
Part-time	84.5	17.6	10.4	12.3	60.1
Household status					
Member of a couple (1)	285.9	59.5	4.8	1.7	27.7
Spouse not employed	44.8	9.3	1.0	2.2	5.8
Youngest child is less than 18 years	16.8	3.5	x	x	x
No children or youngest child 18 or older	28.0	5.8	0.6	2.1	3.5
Spouse employed	240.5	50.0	3.9	1.6	22.5
Spouse making minimum wage or less	3.0	0.6	x	x	x
Spouse making greater than minimum wage	204.7	42.6	2.7	1.3	15.6
Spouse self-employed	32.8	6.8	0.9	2.7	5.2
Head of household, no spouse	33.5	7.0	1.2	3.6	6.9
Youngest child is less than 18 years	19.1	4.0	x	x	x
No children or youngest child 18 or older	14.4	3.0	x	x	x
Son, daughter, or other relative living with family (2)	69.7	14.5	8.9	12.8	51.4
15-19 in school	13.6	2.8	4.4	32.4	25.4
15-19 not in school	9.4	2.0	1.9	20.2	11.0
20-24 in school	4.7	1.0	x	x	x
20-24 not in school	15.7	3.3	1.0	6.4	5.8
25 or over in school	1.4	0.3	x	x	x
25 or over not in school	24.9	5.2	1.0	4.0	5.8
Single	91.0	18.9	2.2	2.4	12.7
Living alone	58.6	12.2	1.0	1.7	5.8
15-24	5.8	1.2	x	x	x
25-54	34.8	7.2	x	x	x
55 and over	18.0	3.7	x	x	x
Living with non-relatives	32.4	6.7	1.2	3.7	6.9
15-24	10.7	2.2	0.8	7.5	4.6
25-54	20.0	4.2	x	x	x
55 and over	1.7	0.4	x	x	x
Member of a low-income household (income after tax and transfers) (3)					
Below low income cut-off	17.0	3.8	N/A	N/A	7.6
Below low income measure	23.0	5.2	N/A	N/A	8.1
Below market basket measure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table A10: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or Latest Available Year), Alberta

	Total employees		Minimum wage		
	Total (thousands)	Share (%)	Total (thousands)	Incidence (%)	Share (%)
Total	1,980.4	100.0	211.9	10.7	100.0
Age					
15 to 19	86.8	4.4	52.4	60.4	24.7
20 to 24	188.9	9.5	46.0	24.4	21.7
25 to 34	499.3	25.2	33.5	6.7	15.8
35 to 44	484.7	24.5	26.6	5.5	12.6
45 to 54	375.0	18.9	25.5	6.8	12.0
55 to 64	281.5	14.2	18.9	6.7	8.9
Education attainment					
Less than a high school diploma	152.2	7.7	46.6	30.6	22.0
High school diploma	407.5	20.6	67.4	16.5	31.8
At least some post-secondary	1,420.7	71.7	97.8	6.9	46.2
Some post-secondary	117.4	5.9	22.0	18.7	10.4
Post-secondary diploma or certificate	696.0	35.1	41.9	6.0	19.8
University degree	607.3	30.7	33.9	5.6	16.0
Job status					
Full-time	1,654.0	83.5	100.6	6.1	47.5
Part-time	326.4	16.5	111.3	34.1	52.5
Household status					
Member of a couple (1)	1,161.2	58.6	67.9	5.8	32.0
Spouse not employed	213.0	10.8	14.1	6.6	6.7
Youngest child is less than 18 years	98.5	5.0	5.3	5.4	2.5
No children or youngest child 18 or older	114.5	5.8	8.8	7.7	4.2
Spouse employed	943.9	47.7	53.5	5.7	25.2
Spouse making minimum wage or less	46.6	2.4	7.6	16.3	3.6
Spouse making greater than minimum wage	767.9	38.8	39.0	5.1	18.4
Spouse self-employed	129.3	6.5	6.9	5.3	3.3
Head of household, no spouse	140.1	7.1	15.8	11.3	7.5
Youngest child is less than 18 years	62.7	3.2	6.4	10.2	3.0
No children or youngest child 18 or older	77.4	3.9	9.4	12.1	4.4
Son, daughter, or other relative living with family (2)	321.2	16.2	99.1	30.9	46.8
15-19 in school	41.1	2.1	28.9	70.3	13.6
15-19 not in school	36.9	1.9	19.9	53.9	9.4
20-24 in school	26.2	1.3	11.5	43.9	5.4
20-24 not in school	77.1	3.9	19.6	25.4	9.2
25 or over in school	6.2	0.3	x	x	x
25 or over not in school	133.8	6.8	17.1	12.8	8.1
Single	354.1	17.9	27.6	7.8	13.0
Living alone	222.7	11.2	12.9	5.8	6.1
15-24	14.4	0.7	2.1	14.6	1.0
25-54	145.7	7.4	6.1	4.2	2.9
55 and over	62.6	3.2	4.8	7.7	2.3
Living with non-relatives	131.3	6.6	14.7	11.2	6.9
15-24	30.1	1.5	6.7	22.3	3.2
25-54	92.0	4.6	6.5	7.1	3.1
55 and over	9.3	0.5	x	x	x
Member of a low-income household (income after tax and transfers) (3)					
Below low income cut-off	73.0	3.9	15.0	20.5	6.6
Below low income measure	59.0	3.1	20.0	33.9	8.8
Below market basket measure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table A11: Total Employment and Number of Workers Earning Minimum Wage, 2019 (or Latest Available Year), British Columbia

	Total employees		Minimum wage		
	Total (thousands)	Share (%)	Total (thousands)	Incidence (%)	Share (%)
Total	2,102.2	100.0	147.6	7.0	100.0
Age					
15 to 19	113.6	5.4	46.3	40.8	31.4
20 to 24	224.7	10.7	31.3	13.9	21.2
25 to 34	495.5	23.6	19.5	3.9	13.2
35 to 44	439.9	20.9	14.1	3.2	9.6
45 to 54	417.8	19.9	16.7	4.0	11.3
55 to 64	335.5	16.0	13.1	3.9	8.9
Education attainment					
Less than a high school diploma	145.3	6.9	32.7	22.5	22.2
High school diploma	410.7	19.5	42.0	10.2	28.5
At least some post-secondary	1,546.2	73.6	72.9	4.7	49.4
Some post-secondary	170.1	8.1	21.8	12.8	14.8
Post-secondary diploma or certificate	698.5	33.2	30.9	4.4	20.9
University degree	677.6	32.2	20.1	3.0	13.6
Job status					
Full-time	1,685.0	80.2	61.2	3.6	41.5
Part-time	417.2	19.8	86.4	20.7	58.5
Household status					
Member of a couple (1)	1,127.9	53.7	39.2	3.5	26.6
Spouse not employed	200.9	9.6	7.2	3.6	4.9
Youngest child is less than 18 years	74.4	3.5	2.3	3.1	1.6
No children or youngest child 18 or older	126.5	6.0	4.9	3.9	3.3
Spouse employed	923.0	43.9	31.9	3.5	21.6
Spouse making minimum wage or less	27.0	1.3	3.4	12.6	2.3
Spouse making greater than minimum wage	756.2	36.0	23.6	3.1	16.0
Spouse self-employed	139.8	6.7	4.9	3.5	3.3
Head of household, no spouse	160.1	7.6	9.2	5.7	6.2
Youngest child is less than 18 years	68.3	3.2	3.5	5.1	2.4
No children or youngest child 18 or older	91.8	4.4	5.7	6.2	3.9
Son, daughter, or other relative living with family (2)	402.2	19.1	71.6	17.8	48.5
15-19 in school	60.2	2.9	26.8	44.5	18.2
15-19 not in school	40.6	1.9	15.1	37.2	10.2
20-24 in school	32.9	1.6	7.9	24.0	5.4
20-24 not in school	82.0	3.9	8.9	10.9	6.0
25 or over in school	7.3	0.3	x	x	x
25 or over not in school	179.2	8.5	12.3	6.9	8.3
Single	405.1	19.3	26.0	6.4	17.6
Living alone	246.3	11.7	10.5	4.3	7.1
15-24	20.0	1.0	x	x	x
25-54	153.4	7.3	3.8	2.5	2.6
55 and over	72.8	3.5	4.2	5.8	2.8
Living with non-relatives	158.9	7.6	15.6	9.8	10.6
15-24	49.0	2.3	9.6	19.6	6.5
25-54	97.5	4.6	5.5	5.6	3.7
55 and over	12.5	0.6	x	x	x
Member of a low-income household (income after tax and transfers) (3)					
Below low income cut-off	106.0	5.0	N/A	N/A	7.9
Below low income measure	133.0	6.3	11.0	8.3	8.5
Below market basket measure	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

References

Canada Labour Program (2020). Minimum Wage Database, Hourly Minimum Wages in Canada for Adult Workers. Government of Canada. <<http://srv116.services.gc.ca/dimt-wid/sm-mw/rpt2.aspx?lang=eng&dec=5>>, as of October 12, 2021.

Gunderson, Morley (2007). *Minimum Wages: Issues and Options for Ontario*. Government of Ontario, Ontario Ministry of Finance. <<https://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/publications/2007/Gunderson/Gunderson.pdf>>, as of October 12, 2021.

Lammam, Charles, Hugh MacIntyre, and Brennan Sorge (2016). *Increasing the Minimum Wage in Alberta: A Flawed Anti-Poverty Policy*. The Fraser Institute. <<https://www.fraserinstitute.org/sites/default/files/increasing-the-minimum-wage-in-alberta.pdf>>, as of October 12, 2021.

Murphy, Robert P., Charles Lammam, and Hugh MacIntyre (2016). *Raising the Minimum Wage: Misguided Policy, Unintended Consequences*. The Fraser Institute. <<https://www.fraserinstitute.org/studies/raising-the-minimum-wage-misguided-policy-unintended-consequences>>, as of October 12, 2021.

Ontario (2014, January 30). Ontario Increasing Minimum Wage. News Release. Government of Ontario. <<https://news.ontario.ca/en/release/28316/ontario-increasing-minimum-wage>>, as of October 13, 2021.

Ontario, Ministry of Labour (2014). *2014 Minimum Wage Advisory Panel: Report and Recommendations to the Ministry of Labour*. Government of Ontario. <<https://www.labour.gov.on.ca/english/es/advisorypanel.php>>, as of October 12, 2021.

Sen, Anindya, Kathleen Rybczynski, and Corey Van de Waal (2011). Teen Employment, Poverty, and the Minimum Wage: Evidence from Canada. *Labour Economics* 18, 1: 36-47.

Statistics Canada (2020a). Labour Force Survey, custom tabulation sent on February 4, 2020. Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada (2020b). Canadian Income Survey, custom table sent on March 11th, 2020. Statistics Canada, Centre for Income and Socioeconomic Well-being Statistics.

Statistics Canada (2021). Table 18-10-0005-01: Consumer Price Index, annual average, not seasonally adjusted. Statistics Canada. <<https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=1810000501>>, as of October 12, 2021.

About the Authors



Ben Eisen

Ben Eisen is a Senior Fellow in Fiscal and Provincial Prosperity Studies and former Director of Provincial Prosperity Studies at the Fraser Institute. He holds a BA from the University of Toronto and an MPP from the University of Toronto's School of Public Policy and Governance. He has published influential studies on several policy topics, including inter-governmental relations, public finance, and higher education policy.



Milagros Palacios

Milagros Palacios is the Director for the Addington Centre for Measurement at the Fraser Institute. She holds a BS in Industrial Engineering from the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru and an MSc in Economics from the University of Concepcion, Chile. Ms. Palacios has studied public policy involving taxation, government finances, investment, productivity, labour markets, and charitable giving, for nearly 10 years. Since joining the Institute, Ms. Palacios has authored or coauthored over 70 comprehensive research studies, 70 commentaries and four books. Her commentaries have appeared in major Canadian newspapers such as the *National Post*, *Toronto Sun*, *Windsor Star*, and *Vancouver Sun*.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank the anonymous reviewers for many helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier draft. Any remaining errors are the sole responsibility of the authors. As the researchers have worked independently, the views and conclusions expressed in this paper do not necessarily reflect those of the Board of Directors of the Fraser Institute, the staff, or supporters.

Publishing information

Distribution

These publications are available from <<http://www.fraserinstitute.org>> in Portable Document Format (PDF) and can be read with Adobe Acrobat® or Adobe Reader®, versions 8 or later. Adobe Reader® DC, the most recent version, is available free of charge from Adobe Systems Inc. at <<http://get.adobe.com/reader/>>. Readers having trouble viewing or printing our PDF files using applications from other manufacturers (e.g., Apple's Preview) should use Reader® or Acrobat®.

Ordering publications

To order printed publications from the Fraser Institute, please contact:

- e-mail: sales@fraserinstitute.org
- telephone: 604.688.0221 ext. 580 or, toll free, 1.800.665.3558 ext. 580
- fax: 604.688.8539.

Media

For media enquiries, please contact our Communications Department:

- 604.714.4582
- e-mail: communications@fraserinstitute.org.

Copyright

Copyright © 2021 by the Fraser Institute. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief passages quoted in critical articles and reviews.

Date of issue

October 2021

ISBN

978-0-88975-672-4

Citation

Ben Eisen and Milagros Palacios (2021). *Who Earns the Minimum Wage in Canada?* Fraser Institute. <<http://www.fraserinstitute.org>>.

Supporting the Fraser Institute

To learn how to support the Fraser Institute, please contact

- Development Department, Fraser Institute
Fourth Floor, 1770 Burrard Street
Vancouver, British Columbia, V6J 3G7 Canada
- telephone, toll-free: 1.800.665.3558 ext. 548
- e-mail: development@fraserinstitute.org
- website: <<http://www.fraserinstitute.org/donate>>

Purpose, funding, and independence

The Fraser Institute provides a useful public service. We report objective information about the economic and social effects of current public policies, and we offer evidence-based research and education about policy options that can improve the quality of life.

The Institute is a non-profit organization. Our activities are funded by charitable donations, unrestricted grants, ticket sales, and sponsorships from events, the licensing of products for public distribution, and the sale of publications.

All research is subject to rigorous review by external experts, and is conducted and published separately from the Institute's Board of Trustees and its donors.

The opinions expressed by authors are their own, and do not necessarily reflect those of the Institute, its Board of Trustees, its donors and supporters, or its staff. This publication in no way implies that the Fraser Institute, its trustees, or staff are in favour of, or oppose the passage of, any bill; or that they support or oppose any particular political party or candidate.

As a healthy part of public discussion among fellow citizens who desire to improve the lives of people through better public policy, the Institute welcomes evidence-focused scrutiny of the research we publish, including verification of data sources, replication of analytical methods, and intelligent debate about the practical effects of policy recommendations.

About the Fraser Institute

Our mission is to improve the quality of life for Canadians, their families, and future generations by studying, measuring, and broadly communicating the effects of government policies, entrepreneurship, and choice on their well-being.

Notre mission consiste à améliorer la qualité de vie des Canadiens et des générations à venir en étudiant, en mesurant et en diffusant les effets des politiques gouvernementales, de l'entrepreneuriat et des choix sur leur bien-être.

Peer review—validating the accuracy of our research

The Fraser Institute maintains a rigorous peer review process for its research. New research, major research projects, and substantively modified research conducted by the Fraser Institute are reviewed by experts with a recognized expertise in the topic area being addressed. Whenever possible, external review is a blind process. Updates to previously reviewed research or new editions of previously reviewed research are not reviewed unless the update includes substantive or material changes in the methodology.

The review process is overseen by the directors of the Institute's research departments who are responsible for ensuring all research published by the Institute passes through the appropriate peer review. If a dispute about the recommendations of the reviewers should arise during the Institute's peer review process, the Institute has an Editorial Advisory Board, a panel of scholars from Canada, the United States, and Europe to whom it can turn for help in resolving the dispute.

Editorial Advisory Board

Members

Prof. Terry L. Anderson

Prof. Robert Barro

Prof. Jean-Pierre Centi

Prof. John Chant

Prof. Bev Dahlby

Prof. Erwin Diewert

Prof. Stephen Easton

Prof. J.C. Herbert Emery

Prof. Jack L. Granatstein

Prof. Herbert G. Grubel

Prof. James Gwartney

Prof. Ronald W. Jones

Dr. Jerry Jordan

Prof. Ross McKittrick

Prof. Michael Parkin

Prof. Friedrich Schneider

Prof. Lawrence B. Smith

Dr. Vito Tanzi

Past members

Prof. Armen Alchian*

Prof. Michael Bliss*

Prof. James M. Buchanan* †

Prof. Friedrich A. Hayek* †

Prof. H.G. Johnson*

Prof. F.G. Pannance*

Prof. George Stigler* †

Sir Alan Walters*

Prof. Edwin G. West*

* deceased; † Nobel Laureate