

State Spending on Education: Promises or Pitfalls Ahead?

March 27, 2007

Sheila E. Murray
Bush School of Government and Public
Service
Texas A&M University
College Station, TX 77843-4220
smurray@bushschool.tamu.edu

Kim Rueben and Carol Rosenberg
Urban Institute
2100 M Street, NW
Washington DC 20037
krueben@ui.urban.edu

We would like to thank Julianna Koch for research assistance and Andy Reschovsky for comments on an earlier draft. The opinions expressed are solely the authors'.

Introduction

In fiscal year 2005, states spent about \$270 billion on elementary and secondary education (Table 1). Elementary and secondary education expenditures have been growing over time but have been relatively stable as a percent of state budgets (about 22 percent) over the last 20 years, despite changes in the demographic and political landscape. However, as Table 1 shows, other expenditures have been growing both in overall levels and as a share of state budgets. The most notable of these is state Medicaid expenditures, which were \$283 billion in 2005 and which has surpassed education as the largest state spending item.¹ Indeed, current overall state spending on Medicaid, making up 22.9 percent of 2005 expenditures, is larger than the 21.8 percent of state budgets going to K-12 education. These trends are expected to continue as the baby boom population ages and is expected to live longer and die sicker. As a share of the population, the elderly are expected to grow relative to the share of school aged children and working adults.

Demographic trends in the school age population could have important implications for the need for education spending and the political support for education. The number of children is expected to grow (although slower than the overall increase in population) and much of the increase will come from immigrant populations, thus increasing the need for education spending. The growth in student populations is expected to be uneven across states. In states with declining school age populations the need for education spending may fall. Although states with growing student populations may experience an increased need for education spending, the ability to spend state funds on education may diminish because the percentage of the population that is school age falls. In addition to the crowding out from rising Medicaid expenditures, it is possible that support for education spending may fall among a rising share of elderly voters and an overburdened share of working adults.

¹ Note these numbers are for overall state spending, not just state general fund expenditures. If we limit ourselves to general fund spending items, K-12 education is still the largest slice of state spending, making up 36 percent of general fund expenditures. (NASBO 2005).

Table 1: Total State Expenditures by Function

(Billions of Dollars)

	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
K-12 Education	66.5	114.3	151.1	211.0	269.7
Higher Education	33.3	61.1	74.8	107.9	131.2
Cash Assistance Welfare	18.4	25.1	28.8	24.6	24.7
Medicaid	33.1	62.6	142.4	184.5	283.4
Corrections	6.7	17.0	25.9	36.9	43.3
Transportation	32.1	49.6	65.5	86.1	106.4
All Other	110.0	171.4	230.9	300.9	381.1
Total	300.1	501.2	719.4	946.1	1,237.4

Share of Total State Expenditures by Function

	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
K-12 Education	22.2%	22.8%	21.0%	22.3%	21.8%
Higher Education	11.1%	12.2%	10.4%	11.4%	10.6%
Cash Assistance Welfare	6.1%	5.0%	4.0%	2.6%	2.0%
Medicaid	11.0%	12.5%	19.8%	19.5%	22.9%
Corrections	2.2%	3.4%	3.6%	3.9%	3.5%
Transportation	10.7%	9.9%	9.1%	9.1%	8.6%
All Other	36.7%	34.2%	32.1%	31.8%	30.8%

Note: Census classifies most of Medicaid funds under "Public Welfare-Vendor Payments." Some Medicaid spending is included under "Hospitals" when either the state or local government provides the service directly. Consequently, the Census and NASBO figures are not directly comparable.

Source: NASBO, various years.

However, there had been an earlier increase in the responsibility for education spending in the 1970s and 1980s as questions of equity and adequacy were raised across different states. The large role of education spending in state budgets has come about as state funds have made up an increasing share of school district budgets, due in part to lawsuits requiring education expenditures to be equalized across school districts within states. Often, equalizing spending has meant moving reliance from the property tax to state sources. Increasing costs of special education programs has also played a role in increasing state aid to school districts.

In this paper we examine trends in state aid for education and predict how future demographic trends will affect the pressures states face to fund education systems. These pressures can come from additional need to fund specific services, reflect court decisions on the appropriate level of support for education or be offset if voters shift attention to other spending areas. In the next section, we describe the increased role of state governments in education finance and policy. In addition to the larger state role from court adequacy cases, federal policy has also increased the role of states in education policy, namely through the provisions of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act (No Child Left Behind, NCLB) and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). These additional responsibilities are discussed in Section I. We discuss the impact of predicted demographic trends in the following sections. We first describe the predicted changes in the age profile of the U.S in Section II, and how similar changes in the number and distribution of students affected average spending per pupil. We then describe how these demographic changes will affect the political economy of support for public education (Section III). Section IV concludes our paper and synthesizes the different trends we believe will lead to a larger state role but possibly less political support for schools in the future.

Section I. Additional State Responsibility for Schools.

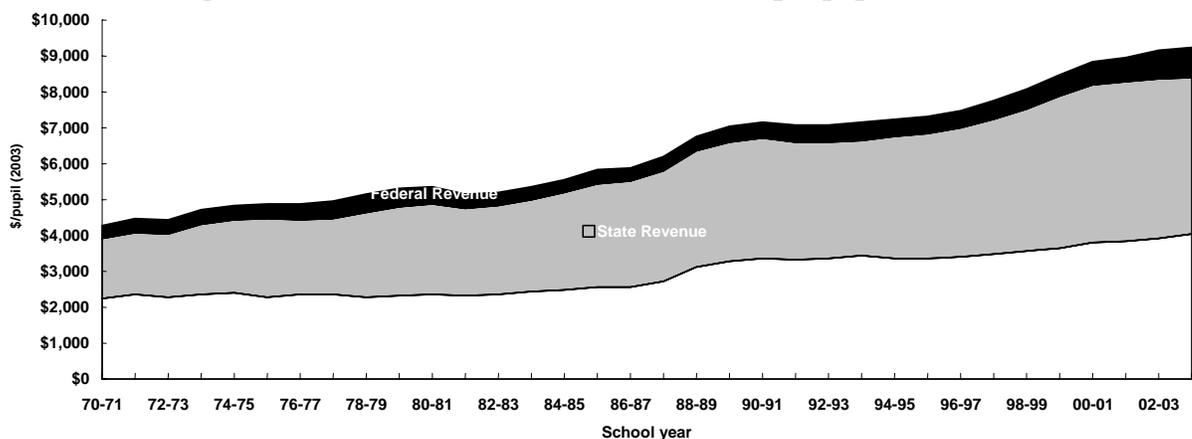
In this section we describe the trends in state revenues dedicated to education. We discuss how courts and voters have influenced these trends and how federal aid programs and mandates have increased the state role in education.

Increased Reliance on State Aid

The finance and governance of education in the United States is largely decentralized, with key responsibilities shared by state and local governments. In the past three decades states

have begun to assume a much larger role in public school finance. For example, as Figure 1 shows, in 1970 local districts were responsible for about 53 percent of K-12 revenues, while the state share was less than 40 percent. By the 2003-2004 school year, local governments' share of revenues fell 10 percentage points. The state share has, on average, surpassed the local share of spending per pupil. States provided roughly half of all resources for K-12 education, leaving the federal share at approximately 8.5 percent (NCES, *Digest of Education Statistics*, various years). As examined by Dye and Reschovsky (2007), in the last few years this pattern has tempered – though it is unclear whether the decrease in local share of education spending is due to cyclical changes or marks a change in direction in the state-local role.

Figure 1: Federal, state and local real revenues per pupil



Effect of State Institutions on State Aid to Education

State school finance equalization and tax and expenditure limitation movements can account for a large part of the shifting responsibility of education finance from local to state sources. Evans, Murray and Schwab (1997) have found that court-mandated school finance reforms have increased the state share of education while local funding decreased or remained the same. Rueben (1996) has found that states with restrictions on local governments have often shifted funding responsibility to the state, while states with state limits have pushed some funding requirements down to local governments. Thus, another potential impetus for additional state

funding for schools can be property tax limits or other revenue restrictions. Murray and Rueben (2006) investigate the impact of both school finance equalization and tax limits.

Murray and Rueben (2006) investigate the effect of school finance equalization on changes in the reliance on state aid for education spending. Table 2 presents their findings on the percent of state and local K-12 education spending coming from state aid by whether or not the state has had a court-mandated reform. States are aggregated according to whether they had a school finance decision prior to the 1989 *Rose* decision. Decisions in the early cases were based on equity arguments that relied on evidence of disparities in inputs and resources across the state. The remedies were largely aimed at correcting the disparity in inputs. The cases including *Rose* and a number of more recent cases have taken a very different approach. These cases focus on ensuring that all students in a state have equitable access to adequate educational opportunities (Minorini and Sugarman 1999, p47). The argument here is that at least some districts do not provide students with an adequate education and that it is the state's responsibility to see that they receive the funding to allow them to do so. The remedy might require some districts to spend more (perhaps significantly more) than other districts; if districts with many students from low-income families and families where English is not the first language need to spend more to provide an adequate education, so be it. However, because of hold harmless provisions in most state finance programs, it is likely that an adequacy decision would result in higher overall spending than in a pure equity case.

As Table 2 shows, education spending for state and local governments is increasingly reliant on state aid. Overall, state spending as a percentage of state and local education expenditures steadily increased from 45 percent in 1972 to 53 percent in 2004, although state share of revenue peaked in 2000-2001 and has declined slightly in recent years. If we equally weight states, this increasing reliance is even starker, increasing slightly more than 9 percentage points from 47 to 56.4 percent. This is especially true for states with school finance equalization decisions, with California being the most striking case. Reliance on state aid to school districts in

California fell short of the national average share in 1972, but increased 25 percentage points between 1972 and 1992. This reliance on state aid is driven by court reforms, and sometimes by property tax limits as well. The reliance on state aid of late court reform states (those most likely to face an adequacy decision) lagged behind both the national average and the average of states that never experienced reform in the early period, but increased by almost 10 percentage points in the 1997 to 2004 period.

Table 2: Percentage of State K-12 Education Expenditures from State Aid

	1972	1977	1982	1987	1992	1997	2002	2004	%Δ 2004 1972	Diff 2004 1972
US	45.4	51.6	54.3	53.3	52.2	53.7	53.2	53.2	17.1	7.8
California	39.9	51.7	69.6	75.4	61.0	68.2	61.8	64.8	62.5	24.9
Average										
Continental State	47.0	51.9	54.4	52.9	53.3	55.1	57.1	56.4	20.0	9.4
No CM	48.1	53.5	55.5	52.7	53.2	56.0	56.3	56.2	16.7	8.1
Early CM	46.2	51.6	56.5	59.9	59.3	59.3	58.8	58.2	26.2	12.1
CM w/o CA	47.2	51.5	54.3	57.3	59.0	57.8	58.3	57.1	21.1	10.0
Late CM	44.1	46.9	49.3	48.5	49.5	49.5	58.2	55.8	26.5	11.7
No TEL	46.1	50.1	52.2	49.7	51.6	51.6	55.0	54.4	17.9	8.3
Early TEL	49.3	53.7	57.3	58.0	56.3	60.1	61.3	59.5	20.7	10.2
w/o CA	50.0	53.8	56.5	56.8	56.0	59.6	61.3	59.2	18.4	9.2
Late TEL	44.3	55.2	56.4	53.4	53.3	58.0	54.8	57.3	29.3	13.0

Source: Murray and Rueben, 2006. States with early court mandates (CM) include Arkansas, California, Connecticut, New Jersey, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming. The late CM states include Alabama, Arizona, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas and Vermont. States with early tax and expenditure limits (TEL) include Arizona, Arkansas, California, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, Ohio Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, and Washington. Late TEL states include Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Murray and Rueben limit their analysis of the effect of tax limitation movements to the group of states that have limits on school district funding or, if school districts are dependent on another level of government (cities or counties), a limit on the primary revenue authority government². These limits can be overall limits on revenue or revenue growth allowed for school

² Most states have independent school districts or a mix, whereby some larger districts are part of the

districts or limits on both assessed values and property tax rates. (If there are limits on property tax rates but governments can change the assessment ratio, then effective property taxes and other revenues are not limited.) As noted by Fischel (1989), the presence of court mandated school finance reforms could in fact be a precursor for property tax limits. Table 2 also shows the dependence of school districts on state aid by tax limitation status. Dependency on state aid grew in states with early tax limitations. However, because of the increasing pairing of state and local tax limits during the later period, we do not find an increase in state fund reliance for late tax reform states.

Federal Mandates and State Education Spending

The influence of the federal government primarily comes through the reauthorizations of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. No Child Left Behind (NCLB) refers to the 2002 reauthorization of the act. The influence of the federal government has broadened over time. Prior to the 1994 reauthorization, the federal government focused on “at risk” students, about 25 percent of students. Most federal aid to education provided extra services for disadvantaged and disabled students. States and districts were able to opt out of the program if they wished. However, the 1994 legislation adopted under President Clinton affected all public schools in the country, regardless of whether they receive any federal aid and regardless of how many “at risk” students they have. There are many requirements to receive federal funds. The key accountability requirements for states to receive federal funds under NCLB are that states must test all public school students in grades 3 through 8 and once in high school; states must release test scores for every school and by racial, ethnic, economic, and other subgroups within each school; states and districts must determine whether every school has made adequate yearly progress; and states must impose sanctions on schools that fail to make adequate yearly progress

municipality in which they are located. In a number of large cities, mayors have often tried to and sometimes successfully play a larger role in school district actions. Los Angeles and the District of Columbia are the most recent cities whose mayors are looking for more control. The states with primarily dependent school districts are Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which have school districts dependent on cities or towns, and North Carolina and Maryland, which have county dependent districts.

for two consecutive years. In addition, NCLB requires that all public schools have “highly qualified” teachers in core academic subjects.

State education agencies are required to establish the state’s academic standards, the state assessment program, the system to determine accountability for local school districts, the criteria for determining teacher quality, the data systems for reporting all this information, and the assistance to help schools to improve after they have failed to make adequate progress under NCLB.

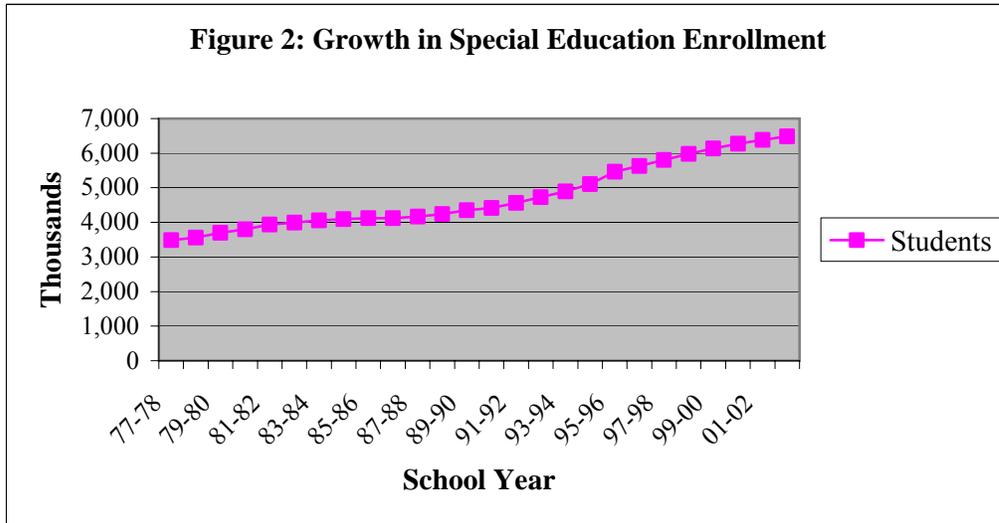
Estimates for these costs are not reported by the federal government or state governments. A few studies have estimated the costs of accountability systems and have reported that these costs are a small fraction of total education spending. For example, Hoxby (2002) analyzed the educational accountability costs of 25 states. Her estimates of these costs ranged from a low of \$1.79 per pupil (South Carolina) to a high of \$34.02 per pupil (Delaware). Hoxby asserts that if all states spent as much as Delaware, the costs of the accountability system would only amount to less than one half a percent of per pupil costs. These costs, however, do not reflect the costs of the sanctions or the costs of meeting higher teacher standards.

Federal Individual with Disabilities Education Act

The federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) requires school districts to develop an individual education program (IEP) for each student with a disability and provide those services specified in the IEP. The costs of the IEP are shared among the federal, state and local governments.

Figure 2 illustrates the growth in the number of children eligible for special education services. Between the 1978 and 2003 school year the number of special education students increased 186 percent at an average annual rate of growth of 2.6 percent. Special enrollments grew more rapidly from 1978 to 1982 and from 1992 to 1998. Compared to enrollments of all students, special education enrollments grew much faster; for example, between 1989 and 2003,

special education enrollments grew more two and half times as fast as total enrollments (53 percent versus 20 percent).



Data on special education are not reported annually by the U.S. Department of Education. However, under contract for the department, the Center for Special Education Finance has compiled estimates of revenues by source and expenditures from surveys of state governments and other published sources. Table 3 reports the most recent estimates from these collections (Parrish forthcoming). As Table 3 shows, total education spending is rising faster than regular education spending. Real special education spending increased 117 percent while real general education spending increased 69 percent. A large part of this increase is being driven by increased enrollments in special education. Much of the increased costs of special education are falling on local school districts. The share of special education coming from the federal government has increased slightly as the state share has decreased from 55 percent in 1994 to 47 percent in 1999.

Table 3: Trends in Special Education Funding

	1983	1988	1994	1999
Special Education (billions 1999\$)	21.3	27.3	33.7	46.1
General Education (billions 1999\$)	181.2	223.3	259.9	305.4
Eligible pupils (thousands)	3,990	4,167	4,896	5,978
Expenditure Per Pupil (1999\$)	5,338	6,551	6,883	7,712
Share of Special Education Revenues	Percentage			
Federal	7	6	6	8
State	56	58	55	47
Local	37	36	39	45

Source: Parrish (forthcoming). The numbers of eligible pupils are taken from Parrish et al. (2004)

Direct State Finance Programs

In addition to distributing federal dollars to districts, states have developed a system of allocating state sources to local school districts. States use a wide range of programs to fund their share of the cost of education. No two states fund education in exactly the same way; however, state aid to districts can be divided into two basic types based on: (1) the intent of the program and (2) how the resources may be spent.

- Basic support aid is intended to address differences among local school districts in educational need and ability to fund education and is to be spent on the day-to-day operations of the school district.
- Categorical aid is intended to address a specific educational need and must be spent on the identified need. Typical categorical programs include (but are not limited to) those for special education, transportation, compensatory programs (programs to provide supplemental educational services for disadvantaged students), vocational education and capital outlay. Categorical programs often do not take a district's ability to pay into account, but are often related to characteristics of students within a district.
- Other types of categorical programs may include non-recurring grants to reduce class size, improve teacher quality, professional development programs, support the

development of curriculum, aligning standards, development of data systems, rewards and sanctions for accountability program and textbooks.

- State governments may also make payments to state employee benefit programs such as retirement and health insurance on behalf of school districts. If states have increased their responsibilities for these programs, there can be additional pressure put on state budgets.
- State governments also help districts finance new facilities through capital program.

In the basic aid programs the level of funding is set by the state according to the “educational need” of the district and the state’s estimate of the cost of meeting that need. Educational need is oftentimes defined by the state as the number of students within a district (usually weighted by grade level or program) and other educational cost factors beyond the control of the district (such as cost of education indices and adjustments for rural or isolated districts, district size, teacher training and experience, municipal overburden, and enrollment growth). In most states the cost of educating different student populations (such as students at-risk or special education) is a part of the basic education aid program. In a handful of states, these costs are treated through categorical allotments that specify how the resources should be spent.

States use a variety of methods to determine the actual weights used in basic and categorical programs and the level of state funding for the aid programs. For example, when the Kentucky school finance system was invalidated, the legislature defined the minimum basic funding per pupil as what the state and localities were currently spending per pupil that year plus an increase for new state mandates.

More recently, states have also sponsored adequacy studies that use a variety of analytical methods to estimate basic costs and/or weights. Taylor et al. (2005) report that since 1993 at least

fifteen states have sponsored adequacy studies.³ These studies may use: statistical estimates from economic cost functions; the expenditure levels in districts/schools that meet performance benchmarks; the views of professional educators, or the expenditure levels of school districts implementing effective school-wide strategies.

Table 4 presents the major components of state aid for K-12 school districts by general aid and categorical programs. It is important to note, however, that aid based on educational need will be distributed both through the general aid and categorical programs. The largest portion of state aid, at least 70 percent, comes in the form of non-categorical general aid that school districts determine how to spend. Between 1992 and 2004, general aid as a share of state revenues has fallen 2.4 percentage points from 71.2 percent in 1992 to 69.9 percent in 2004. Although state spending on special education is also included in general aid in most states, as Table 4 shows, special education is the largest state categorical program at about 6 percent of state revenues. In 1992 educational programs for basic skills, bilingual education and gifted and talented were 1.7, 0.3 and 0.2 percent of state revenues. These programs increased steadily as a share of state revenues from 1992 to 2004; while programs for staff improvement, Vo-tech, school lunches, and transportation have fallen as percentages of state revenues. State programs to support district capital outlay programs and employee benefit payments have increased substantially during this time period.

³ The states are Mississippi, Illinois, Ohio, Wyoming, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, Louisiana, Kansas, Maryland, Kentucky, Arkansas, North Dakota, Maine and California. (Taylor et al., 2005)

Table 4: Major Components of State Revenues, 1992-2004

	1992	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	% Change 2004-1992
State Revenues per Pupil (2003\$)	3276	3482	3745	4211	4419	4343	32.6%
	Percentage of State Revenues						
General Aid	71.7%	71.3%	71.9%	70.3%	70.0%	69.9%	-2.4%
Selected State Categorical Programs							
Staff Improvement	2.0%	1.5%	1.3%	1.3%	1.5%	1.7%	-15.4%
Special Education	5.9%	6.1%	5.5%	5.0%	5.8%	6.0%	1.7%
Compensatory	1.7%	1.9%	1.5%	1.8%	2.2%	2.2%	34.6%
Bilingual	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	1.5%
G&T	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	26.8%
Vo-Tech	1.2%	0.9%	0.6%	0.6%	0.4%	0.3%	-73.2%
School Lunch	0.3%	0.4%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	-34.0%
Capital Outlay	2.1%	2.0%	2.2%	3.2%	3.3%	4.7%	127.1%
Transportation	2.5%	2.4%	2.0%	1.9%	1.7%	1.7%	-31.2%
On-Behalf (Employee Benefits)	2.0%	3.5%	3.4%	3.3%	3.1%	3.3%	67.7%

Authors' calculations from NCES, F-33 files.

It is interesting to note the distribution of these programs across states. Table 5 shows the change in the share of state revenues distributed by the major programs for states undergoing court mandates. The average growth in the states without a court mandate is very small. In contrast, in the court mandated states the distribution of state revenues among the major programs has changed considerably. In virtually all the early court mandated states, general state aid has fallen as a share of state revenues, while new categorical programs have been initiated and the share of revenues directed to categorical programs has increased. This mirrors the experience in California, in which state categorical programs increased sharply after 1976 (Sonstelie et al., 2000). In the late court mandated states, the changes are mixed, but state general aid has increased overall. Much of this comes from the revisions of the state aid formula to address inequality. For example, general aid in Alabama nearly doubled as a share of state revenues by 2004. Much of the decline in state general aid's share in the early court mandated states has come in the form of increased spending on capital projects, payments from the state for employee benefit programs and special education. In New York the state general aid share of revenues has fallen by 23 percentage points between 1992 and 2004 while special education's share has

increased 15 percentage points. The changing state role in employee benefit programs may be an area facing increasing pressures, as this includes payments for medical and pension expenses, two areas that are generally expected to grow in the current years as teaching staffs age and retire.

Table 5: Change in Distribution of Major Aid Programs, 1992 to 2004

State	Percentage Point Change in Share of State Revenue (2004-1992)						
	General Aid	Staff Improvement	Special Education	Compensatory	Bilingual	Capital Outlay	Employee Benefits
Early Court Mandated States							
	-0.11	0.01	-0.01	0.03	0.00	0.06	0.04
Late Court Mandated States							
	0.07	-0.06	-0.01	-0.02	0.00	0.00	0.03
Non-Court Mandated States							
	-0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02

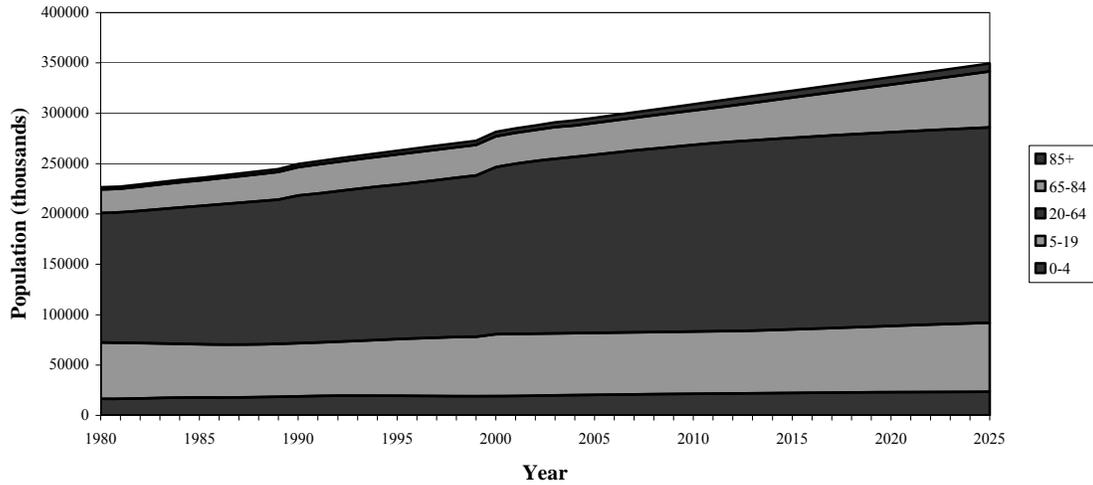
Source: Authors' calculations from school district F-33 files. Note: Categories will not sum to one as only major programs are reported.

Section II. Demographic Trends in the Population

As noted above, there has been shifting of education spending away from local revenue sources to the state. How will these trends interact with demographic shifts as the population ages and the percent of children falls? There is variation in whether these declines in the percent of the population that is school age reflect falling numbers of students or simply a slower growth rate in the number of students. Figure 3 and Table 6 show trends in the US population from 1980 through 2025, using U.S. Census Bureau estimates. Over this period, the population is expected to increase 54 percent from a little over 226 million people to just under 350 million people. Those 65 and older will account for much of the growth – increasing from 11.3 percent of the population in 1980 to 18.2 percent in 2025. During this time period the percent of the population which is 19 or under is expected to decline from 32 percent to 26.3 percent. This decline is especially stark for the school age population (those 5 to 19), which is expected to decline from 24.8 percent to 19.6 percent. However, this decline in the percent of the population does not

mean that there will be fewer children in 2025 – indeed, there will be 22 percent more school age children – but just that this increase is slower than the overall increase in the population.

Figure 3: US Population, 1980-2025



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1995, 2000, 2004.

Table 6: US Population by Age Group

(Thousands)

	0-4	5-19	20-64	65-84	85+	Total
1980	16,348	56,110	128,538	23,309	2,240	226,546
1985	17,695	52,719	137,534	25,283	2,595	235,825
1990	18,853	53,024	146,346	28,181	3,060	249,464
1995	19,532	56,153	153,499	29,935	3,685	262,803
2000	19,176	61,297	165,957	30,752	4,240	281,422
2005	20,495	61,476	176,839	31,576	5,120	295,507
2010	21,426	61,810	185,456	34,120	6,123	308,936
2015	22,358	62,850	190,367	39,969	6,822	322,366
2020	22,932	65,955	192,285	47,363	7,269	335,805
2025	23,518	68,508	193,889	55,513	8,011	349,439

US Population by Age Group, Percent Composition

	0-4	5-19	20-64	65-84	85+	Total
1980	7.2%	24.8%	56.7%	10.3%	1.0%	100.0%
1985	7.5%	22.4%	58.3%	10.7%	1.1%	100.0%
1990	7.6%	21.3%	58.7%	11.3%	1.2%	100.0%
1995	7.4%	21.4%	58.4%	11.4%	1.4%	100.0%
2000	6.8%	21.8%	59.0%	10.9%	1.5%	100.0%
2005	6.9%	20.8%	59.8%	10.7%	1.7%	100.0%
2010	6.9%	20.0%	60.0%	11.0%	2.0%	100.0%
2015	6.9%	19.5%	59.1%	12.4%	2.1%	100.0%
2020	6.8%	19.6%	57.3%	14.1%	2.2%	100.0%
2025	6.7%	19.6%	55.5%	15.9%	2.3%	100.0%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1995, 2000, 2004.

The change in the absolute and relative number of children expected in the population also varies by region and state. Table 7 presents information on regional changes in the number of school age children, the total population and the percentage of the population that is school aged. The numbers of students in the Northeast and Midwest were declining in the period from 1980 to 2000 and are expected to continue falling going forward. In contrast, states in the South had declines in the number of students until about 1990 and have since had increased enrollments, while states in the West have had increasing numbers of students (as well as overall population growth) and are expected to continue to have growth in the number of school age children. However, all regions are expected to face a declining percent of their population being of school age.

Table 7: Regional Changes in Population Growth Rates

Region	Total Children 5-19							
	Percent change from 1980			Level	Percent change from 2000			
	1985	1990	2000	2000	2005	2010	2020	2025
Northeast	-9.8%	-16.2%	-6.0%	11,099	-1.3%	-4.5%	-6.5%	-5.7%
Midwest	-9.4%	-12.4%	-4.2%	14,219	-2.6%	-4.5%	-3.8%	-3.1%
South	-3.9%	-2.6%	13.8%	21,665	2.0%	5.7%	18.4%	24.2%
West	-1.1%	11.2%	37.2%	14,315	1.9%	2.8%	13.5%	21.2%
Total	-6.0%	-5.5%	9.2%	61,297	0.3%	0.8%	7.6%	11.8%

Total Population

Region	Percent change from 1980			Level	Percent change from 2000			
	1985	1990	2000	2000	2005	2010	2020	2025
Northeast	1.2%	3.5%	9.1%	53,594	2.3%	4.1%	6.6%	7.2%
Midwest	-0.2%	1.5%	9.4%	64,393	2.5%	4.7%	7.9%	8.8%
South	6.7%	13.7%	33.0%	100,237	6.7%	13.3%	27.3%	34.8%
West	8.7%	23.0%	46.4%	63,198	7.3%	14.2%	29.2%	37.3%
Total	4.1%	10.1%	24.2%	281,422	5.0%	7.3%	19.3%	24.2%

Total Children 5-19 - Percent of Population

Region	Percent change from 1980			Level	Percent change from 2000			
	1985	1990	2000	2000	2005	2010	2020	2025
Northeast	-10.8%	-19.0%	-13.8%	20.7%	-3.5%	-8.3%	-12.3%	-12.0%
Midwest	-9.2%	-13.8%	-12.4%	22.1%	-5.0%	-8.7%	-10.8%	-10.9%
South	-9.9%	-14.4%	-14.4%	21.6%	-4.4%	-6.7%	-7.0%	-7.9%
West	-9.0%	-9.6%	-6.3%	22.7%	-5.0%	-10.0%	-12.1%	-11.7%
Total	-9.7%	-14.2%	-12.1%	21.8%	-4.5%	-8.1%	-9.8%	-10.0%

Northeast includes Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

Midwest region includes Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

South includes Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

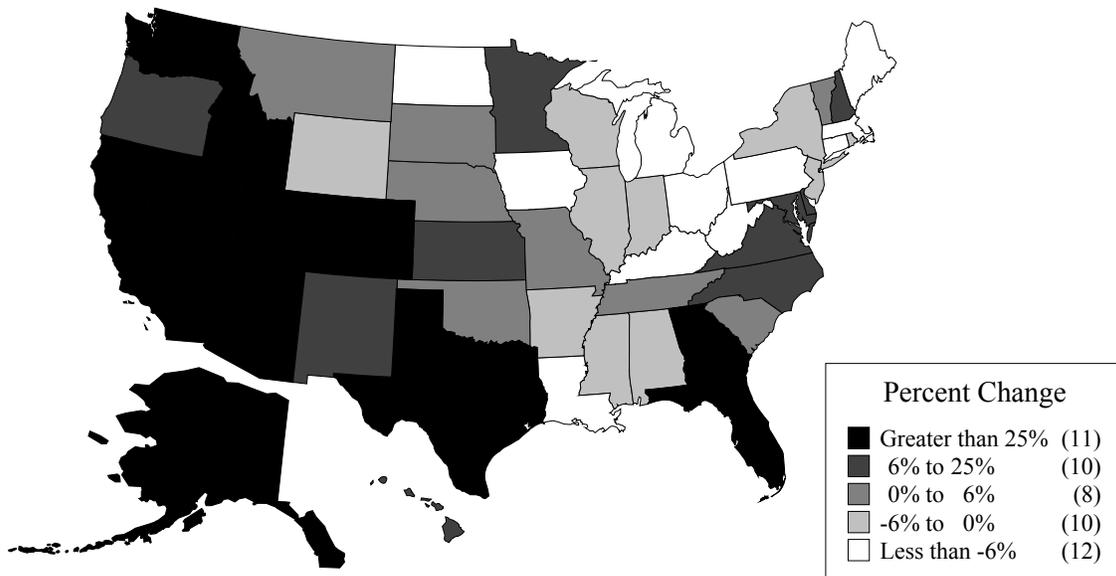
West includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1995, 2000, 2004. Population levels in 2000 are in thousands.

The changes in expected growth rates across states are even more dramatic. Arizona is projected to face a 41 percent increase in the number of 5 to 19 year olds between 2010 and 2030, and Florida and Texas are projected to have a 30 percent and 28 percent increase in the number of children 5 to 19 (see Appendix A). California is also expected to increase the number of 5 to 19 year olds by 13 percent over this period. In contrast, the number of 5 to 19 year olds in New York and Ohio is projected to *decrease* by 3 percent, Michigan's 5 to 19 year old population is projected to decline 2 percent and Pennsylvania and Alabama are projected to decline but by less than 1 percent. Forty to fifty percent of states are expected to have growing numbers of students between 2005 and 2009. Fewer states will see increases in subsequent years, but by 2016 over 80 percent of states are expected to again face growing student populations. Nearly all states face a

declining percent of their populations that is 5 to 19 until 2013; after this point, however, the percent of the population that is school age is expected to grow in over half of states, though virtually all states are still expected to have a lower percent of their population school age than in 2000.⁴ These patterns are not dissimilar to previous patterns of number and percent of the population that is school age. From 1980 to 2000 the percent of the population that was school age was also falling in virtually all states while the number of children varied across different areas. Figures 4 and 5 illustrate that the states with expected increases between 2000 and 2025 are largely the states that had growing populations between 1980 and 2000. Again, almost all states are expected to experience a decline in the percent of the population that is school age.

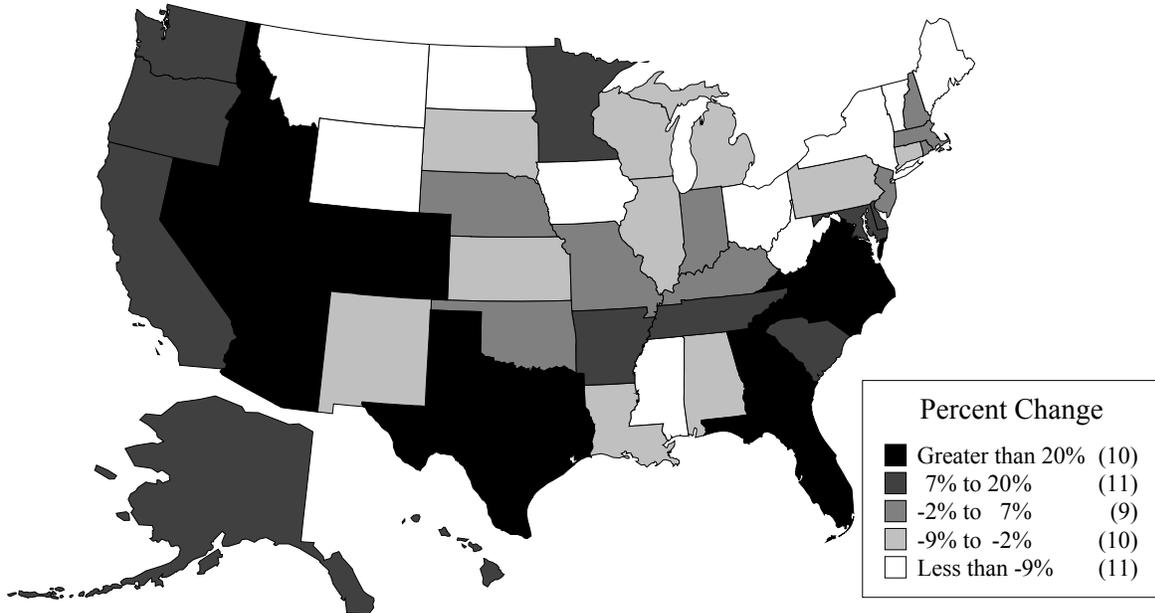
Figure 4: Total Children 5-19, Percent Change 1980-2000



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1995, 2000, 2004

⁴ The one exception is the District of Columbia. This largely reflects the large declines in the number of school age children in the District in the last two decades.

Figure 5: Total Children 5-19, Percent Change 2000-2025



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1995, 2000, 2004.

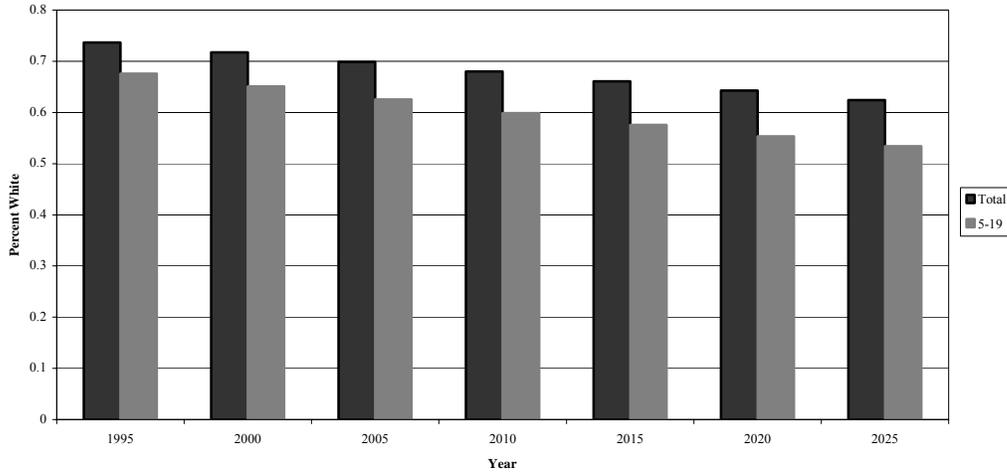
Changing Racial/Ethnic Mix of Student Population

In addition to differences in the age make-up of the population, there are changing trends in the racial and ethnic make-up going forward. Due to differences in migration and fertility patterns, the country is becoming more racially diverse, with school-age populations more non-white than the overall population. Figure 6 compares the percent of the overall population that is white non-Hispanic⁵ with the percentage of school age children that is white non-Hispanic. In 1995 the overall population was 74 percent white while the school age population was 68 percent white, a 6 percentage point difference. By 2025 the overall population is forecast to be 62 percent white while the school age population is expected to be 53 percent white – a 15 percentage point decline and a widening in the difference between the school age population and the overall population. Much of this difference is due to the growing percentage of the population that is Hispanic. Over this period the percentage of school age children that is

⁵ When we refer to white we mean white non-Hispanic

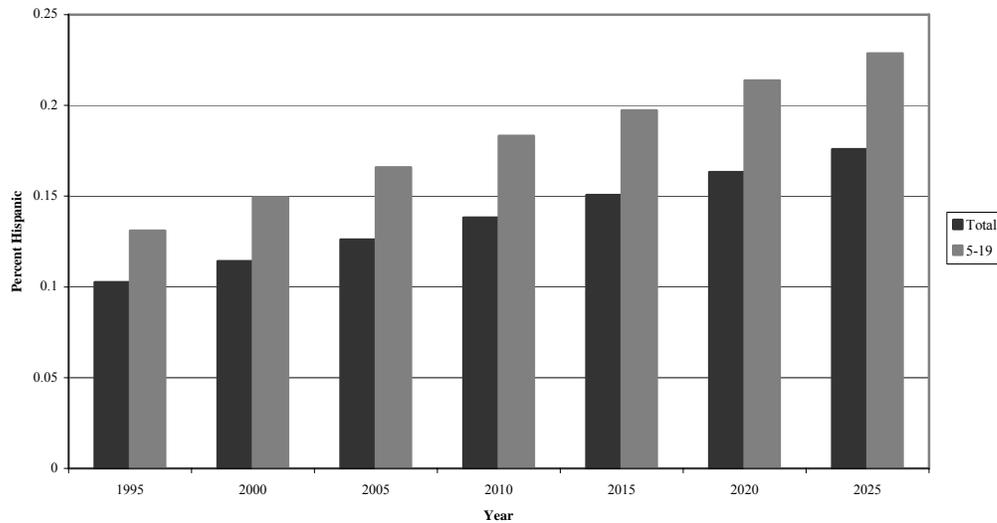
Hispanic increases from 13 percent to 23 percent from 1980 to 2025, while the percent of the total population that is Hispanic grows from 10 percent to 18 percent (Figure 7).

Figure 6: Percent White Non-Hispanic of US Population



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1996.

Figure 7: Percent Hispanic of US Population



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1996.

Changing Costs as Student Populations Change

We can learn about changing needs for funds by examining the patterns in education spending over the last 20 to 25 years. Do states cut spending on a per pupil or per capita basis as

the number of students change? Spending could be expected to decline as there are fewer students to educate; however, there could be fixed costs that can lead to increased per pupil spending. These pressures could include a reluctance to consolidate schools or districts in declining population areas or reflect additional costs as the student population changes. As noted in Section I, there are increasing pressures on states to provide adequate and appropriate educations for students. As the number of special needs students (students with disabilities, limited English proficiency and from poorer households) increases the costs for providing for these students may also increase. Rothstein (2001) estimates that the costs of educating a child living in poverty (including greater probability of requiring compensatory education, special education and language education services) is about 50 percent larger than the cost of educating the average student..

If spending per pupil were kept constant, this demographic change would translate into a decrease in the amount of money on a per capita basis needed to fund schools and possibly a smaller burden on taxpayers to provide for education spending. However, if past trends are an indication, slower growth in the absolute number of students has for many states translated into higher per pupil spending. For states that are losing students, this in part reflects splitting fixed assets over a smaller number of students. For example, as student populations in the Northeast shrunk prior to 2000, the number of teachers employed did not shrink as quickly, leading to lower student-teacher ratios. These lower student-teacher ratios were then often mandated in other states in categorical programs such as California's class-size reduction program.

Table 8 examines the relationship between the percent change in the number of school age children between 1980 and 2000 and the percent change in real spending per capita. We find that states with shrinking student populations spend *more* on a per pupil basis. The correlation between growth in student population and per pupil spending is $-.35$. The inverse relationship is even starker between changes in the share of the population that is school age and changes in real per pupil spending, with a correlation of $-.69$. This could in part be due to education maintaining

its share of the budget or reflect the difficulties of decreasing teaching staffs and consolidating schools. If instead we examine the relationship between changes in student population and per capita spending we still find larger percent changes in spending for states with slower growth in student populations.

Table 8: Percent Changes in Children 5-19 and Per Pupil Spending 1980 to 2000

Size of Pct Change	Average Pct Change in Children 5-19	Average Pct Change in Per Pupil Spending	Average Pct Change in Per Capita Spending
Less than -6%	-10.8%	73.1%	50.6%
-6% to 0%	-3.7%	79.0%	58.5%
0% to 6%	2.1%	69.3%	50.5%
6% to 25%	12.3%	67.9%	46.1%
Greater than 25%	46.7%	52.1%	39.7%

Percent Changes in Children 5-19 as a Percent of Total Population and Per Pupil Spending 1980 to 2000

Size of Pct Change	Average Pct Change in Children 5-19 as a Pct of Total	Average Pct Change in Per Pupil Spending	Average Pct Change in Per Capita Spending
Less than -16%	-18.0%	90.8%	60.1%
-16% to -14%	-15.3%	91.1%	66.0%
-14% to -12%	-13.2%	71.8%	52.4%
-12% to -10%	-11.0%	47.7%	34.2%
Greater than -10%	-7.1%	47.3%	38.1%

Source: Authors' calculations from Census of Governments, various years, and U.S. Census Bureau, 1995, 2000, 2004.

Section III. Changing Demography and the Political Economy of Support for Schools

Unlike demographic changes that occurred between 1980 and 2000 – when the decline in school age populations was accompanied by increases in the working age population – future shifts in the population will be a shift towards more elderly, who often, like children, are net recipients of government services, especially Medicaid. This pressure is especially true for those 85 and over, a group whose share of the population has already increased by 50 percent and is expected to more than double in the next two decades. The number of the population over 85 has

increased from 2.2 million in 1980 to 4.2 million in 2000 and is expected to rise to over 8 million by 2025. While still a small share of the population, this growth is expected to exert pressure on state budgets through rising health care costs. These elderly increase the cost to states as Medicaid and not Medicare picks up the cost of nursing home care. Thus, while we can expect per pupil spending costs to rise more quickly, this countervailing pressure might limit state revenues for education.

The aging of the baby boom population in the U.S. and elsewhere raises the specter of increasing intergenerational conflict over the disposition of limited resources. To the extent that older people vote in their narrowly defined self-interest, they may secure a share of public resources that rises even faster than their increasing share of the population. One potential implication of the shift in political power from the working population to the elderly is the possibility that disproportionately fewer public resources will be available for services for children, including elementary and secondary education. Various researchers have documented that, compared to younger groups, the elderly appear to have weaker preferences for K-12 education (Vinovskis 1993, Rubinfeld 1977); that they were less willing to vote favorably on certain school bond referenda (Button 1992) or more willing to support property tax limitations (Ladd and Wilson, 1983); and that, other factors held constant, school districts in New York with larger shares of the elderly spent less per pupil on education than other districts (Inman, 1978). However, elderly support for schools in the past may have reflected the capitalization of school quality or spending into house prices; as school spending is less related to property values (as reliance on property taxes falls) we might find additional reluctance of the elderly to support school spending.

James Poterba (1997 and 1998) has considered the experiences of all states between 1961 and 1991 to examine how the changing share of the elderly affects the willingness of states to support elementary and secondary education and finds that, other factors held constant, the higher the proportion of people over 65 in a state the lower the amount the states spends

(including both state and local spending) per child on K-12 education. Ladd and Murray (2001) and Harris, Evans and Schwab (2001) analyze the experience of local counties and school districts. In contrast to Poterba's findings, they find that the effect of the elderly share of the population on education spending is small and not statistically significant from zero. However, like Poterba, Ladd and Murray find a reduction in per-child education spending when the adults and the school-age population are members of different racial groups. Thus, while there has been little evidence so far to imply that the changing age demographics will lead to lower per pupil funding, the early evidence on changing support based on racial and ethnic changes may suggest declining support for education.

Other studies have investigated this relationship more closely. For example, Brunner and Balsdon (2004) analyzed surveys of California elderly voters and found the elderly prefer local to state spending on education. Using a national district level panel of education spending and demographics from 1972 to 1992, Harris et al. (2001) found that the share of elderly had a larger negative affect on state spending than on local spending. Using similar data, Rebeck (2007) finds that the relationship between the elderly share of the population and revenues per pupil is negative for districts that rely on representative democracy to determine revenues, but close to zero for districts with direct democracy. However, instrumenting for the share of elderly in a district, Rebeck finds this effect becomes insignificant. Estimating a median voter model, Fletcher and Kenny (2006) found opposition in education spending from new elderly residents.

Section IV. Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

This paper has demonstrated a shift of responsibility to state governments in place of local governments for education spending in the past three decades. Much of the increased responsibility is due to the implementation of court-mandated school finance reforms and (to a lesser extent) local tax limitation efforts. Looking forward another two decades, we present data

on the age profile of the United States. While declines in the percent of the population that is school age is continuing, other demographic trends suggest a decrease in support for education spending. As has often been noted, we are getting older. In 1980, slightly more than 11 percent of the population was at least 65 years old; in sharp contrast, forecasts anticipate that over 18 percent of the population will be at least 65 in 2025. This pattern reflects the confluence of a number of trends including the aging of the baby boom generation and increased longevity stemming from improvements in medical care. But in some ways we are also getting younger. As a consequence of the well documented “baby bust”, the number of K-12 students fell from 48.5 million in 1970 to 41.9 million in 1990. This decline in enrollments over the period accounted for nearly 25 percent of the increase in real expenditures per student from 1970 to 1990. (Hanushek and Rivkin, 1997). A very different picture is now emerging. The echo of the baby boom and sharply higher immigration together will increase the number of school aged children by 22 percent in 2025. As a share of the population, however, school aged children will decline from 24.8 percent in 1980 to 19.6 percent in 2025.

The changing age profile of the population has a number of obvious implications for public policy at the state level. Medicaid, for example, will undoubtedly be a key pressure on states in the years to come. But demographics will have some important effects on policy at the state and local level that warrant additional research. Public support for education is a particular concern. Seniors realize relatively less direct benefit from education spending than do other age groups. Consequently, as the population ages and political power shifts toward the elderly, we might expect spending on education to fall. Previous research has consistently demonstrated that the elderly are less likely to support increases in school spending when the children in their community are of a different race. Reduced support for education could then lead to sharp decreases in per pupil spending as the school age population continues to grow. Although previous research and earlier trends do not support a prognosis of widespread intergenerational conflict, dramatic changes in the share of the elderly could reverse the longstanding trend toward

rising spending per student. This effect reverses current trends in place that have led to increased spending per pupil, including growing special education and compensatory education systems, gearing up of accountability systems, implementation of class size limitations and increasing focus in the courts on states providing an adequate education. The political concerns, however, are unlikely to be muted: in the past, increasing costs per pupil were spread among an increase in the working age population, while future increases in costs of students will be spread among a rising non-working population. Evidence on how these trends will play out might be best found in states like California and Florida that are already experiencing some of these trends today.

References

- Balsdon, Edward and Eric Brunner. 2004, Intergenerational Conflict and the Political Economy of School Spending, *Journal of Urban Economics*, 56(2) 369-388.
- Button, JW.1992. A sign of generational conflict: the impact of Florida's aging voters on local school and tax referenda. *Social Science Quarterly* 73, 786-97.
- Evans, William N., Sheila E. Murray, and Robert M. Schwab. 1997. "School Houses, Court Houses and States Houses After *Serrano*." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*. 16(1): 10-31.
- Fischel, William A. 1989. "Did *Serrano* Cause Proposition 13." *National Tax Journal*. 42 (4): 465-474.
- Fletcher, Deborah and Lawrence W. Kenny "The Influence of the Elderly on School Spending in a Median Voter Framework" University of Florida working paper 2006
- Hanushek, Eric A., and Steven G. Rivkin. 1997. "Understanding the Twentieth Century Growth in U.S. School Spending." *Journal of Human Resources*. 32(1):35-68.
- Harris, Amy, William N. Evans and Robert M. Schwab. 2001, "Public Education Financing in an Aging America." *Journal of Public Economics*, September 2001, 81, 449-72.
- Hoxby, Caroline M.2002, "The Cost of Accountability" NBER working paper 8855, March 2002.
- Inman, R. P. 1978. Testing political economy's "as if" proposition: is the median income voter really decisive? *Public Choice* 33, 45-65.
- Ladd, Helen F. and Sheila E. Murray, "Intergenerational Conflict Reconsidered: County Demographics Structure and the Demand for Public Education" *Economics of Education Review* vol. 20 no. 4 (2001) pp. 343-357.
- Ladd, H. F. and Wilson J.B. (1983) Who supports tax limitations: evidence from Massachusetts' Proposition 21-2 *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 2, 256-279.
- Minorini, Paul and Stephen Sugarman. 1999. "School Finance Litigation in the Name of Educational Equity: Its Evolution, Impact and Future." In *Equity and Adequacy in School Finance* edited by Helen Ladd and Rosemary Chalk. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Murray, Sheila E. and Kim S. Rueben. 2006. School Finance Over Time: How Changing Structures Affect Support for K-12 Education Mimeo.
- National Association of State Budget Officers. 1987-2005 various years. "State Expenditure Report." Washington: NASBO.

- Parrish, Thomas B. (forthcoming) "Who's Paying the Rising Cost of Special Education" *Journal of Special Education Leadership*
- Parrish, Thomas, Jenifer Harr, Jean Wolman, Jennifer Anthony, Amy Merickel, and Phil Esra, *State Special Education Finance Systems, 1999-2000 Part II: Special Education Revenues and Expenditures*. (Palto Alto, CA: The Center for Special Education Finance (CSEF), March 2004
- Poterba, J. M. (1997) Demographic structure and the political economy of public education. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 16, 48-66.
- Poterba, J. M. (1998) Demographic change, intergenerational linkages, and public education. *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings* 88, 315-320.
- Reback, Randall, 2007, "Elderly Citizens and the Local Political Economy of Public Education: Governance and Results May Vary" paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Education Finance Association. Baltimore, Md: 2007
- Rothstein, Richard. 2001. "Closing the Gap: How the government can equalize education spending between the states" in *School Spending*, an Online Anthology from the American School Board Journal.
- Rubinfeld, D. L. 1977 Voting in a local school election: a micro analysis. *Review of Economics and Statistics* 59, 30-42.
- Rueben, Kim S., 1996, "Tax Limitations and Government Growth: The Effect of State Tax and Expenditure Limits on State and Local Government," mimeo, Public Policy Institute of California.
- Vinovskis, Maris. 1993. An historical perspective on support for schooling by different age cohorts. In *The Changing Contracts Across Generations*, eds. V. L. Bengston. and W. A. Achenbaum, pp. 45-65. Aldine de Gruyter, New York.
- Sonstelie, Jon C., Eric Brunner and Kenneth Ardon *For Better or For Worse? School Finance Reform in California* Public Policy Institute of California 2000
- Taylor, Lori A., Bruce Baker and Arnie Vedlitz, "Measuring Educational Adequacy in Public Schools" Bush School Working Paper #580, September 2005
- U.S. Census Bureau. 1995. "Historical Annual Time Series of State Population Estimates and Demographic Components of Change." <http://www.census.gov/popest/archives/1980s/#state>.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 1996. "Population Projections for States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1995 to 2025." http://www.census.gov/population/www/projections/st_yrby5.html.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2000. "1990 to 1999 Annual Time Series of State Population Estimates by Age and Sex." <http://www.census.gov/popest/archives/1990s/1990s.html#state>.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2004 "State Interim Population Projections by Age and Sex: 2004 to 2030." <http://www.census.gov/population/www/projections/projectionsagesex.html>.

U.S. Department of Commerce. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1972, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997-2004 Various years. *Census of Government School System Finance (F33)*. . University of Michigan: ICPSR.

U.S. Department of Education. National Center for Education Statistics. 1990. *Common Core of Data, 1989* in the U.S. Department of Education. National Center for Education Statistics. *School District Data Book*. Washington: www.ed.gov.

U.S. Department of Education. National Center for Education Statistics. Various years *Digest of Education Statistics*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Appendix A: Population by state (thousands)

State	Number of Children 5 to 19						Total Population					
	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030
Alabama	1,020	901	960	921	916	915	3,894	4,049	4,447	4,596	4,729	4,800
Alaska	106	135	161	147	172	189	402	553	627	694	774	821
Arizona	683	812	1,136	1,363	1,717	1,921	2,718	3,679	5,131	6,637	8,456	9,532
Arkansas	580	527	579	585	616	626	2,286	2,354	2,673	2,875	3,060	3,151
California	5,577	6,347	7,748	7,827	8,341	8,824	23,668	29,950	33,872	38,067	42,207	44,305
Colorado	708	716	927	970	1,085	1,139	2,890	3,304	4,301	4,832	5,279	5,523
Connecticut	750	612	702	691	666	677	3,108	3,289	3,406	3,577	3,676	3,691
Delaware	151	136	167	168	178	181	594	669	784	884	963	991
DC	136	97	103	92	91	88	638	604	572	530	481	455
Florida	2,118	2,428	3,103	3,368	4,025	4,389	9,746	13,018	15,982	19,252	23,407	25,912
Georgia	1,447	1,452	1,820	2,053	2,338	2,436	5,463	6,507	8,186	9,589	10,844	11,439
Hawaii	234	226	249	254	279	280	965	1,113	1,212	1,341	1,412	1,439
Idaho	250	263	316	324	370	388	944	1,012	1,294	1,517	1,741	1,853
Illinois	2,836	2,430	2,729	2,631	2,659	2,674	11,427	11,447	12,419	12,917	13,237	13,341
Indiana	1,418	1,225	1,340	1,347	1,364	1,381	5,490	5,555	6,080	6,392	6,627	6,721
Iowa	720	611	640	601	588	577	2,914	2,780	2,926	3,010	3,020	2,993
Kansas	562	546	610	580	592	595	2,364	2,481	2,688	2,805	2,891	2,919
Kentucky	946	817	848	845	852	846	3,661	3,693	4,042	4,265	4,424	4,490
Louisiana	1,144	1,012	1,051	969	984	967	4,206	4,219	4,469	4,613	4,719	4,762
Maine	286	259	265	228	223	223	1,125	1,231	1,275	1,357	1,409	1,414
Maryland	1,055	946	1,140	1,161	1,278	1,356	4,217	4,797	5,296	5,905	6,498	6,763
Massachusetts	1,384	1,125	1,278	1,279	1,250	1,263	5,737	6,019	6,349	6,649	6,856	6,939
Michigan	2,430	2,045	2,212	2,106	2,058	2,062	9,262	9,310	9,938	10,429	10,696	10,714
Minnesota	1,029	961	1,105	1,069	1,152	1,209	4,076	4,387	4,919	5,421	5,901	6,109
Mississippi	704	634	669	635	627	606	2,521	2,577	2,845	2,971	3,045	3,069
Missouri	1,199	1,098	1,224	1,183	1,218	1,234	4,917	5,126	5,595	5,922	6,200	6,315
Montana	197	186	203	177	182	183	787	800	902	969	1,023	1,037
Nebraska	386	356	387	369	381	381	1,570	1,581	1,711	1,769	1,803	1,813
Nevada	188	248	416	540	680	770	800	1,219	1,998	2,691	3,452	3,863
New Hampshire	233	226	268	257	270	285	921	1,112	1,236	1,386	1,525	1,586
New Jersey	1,785	1,482	1,720	1,722	1,735	1,755	7,365	7,757	8,414	9,018	9,462	9,637
New Mexico	356	369	434	389	396	396	1,303	1,520	1,819	1,980	2,084	2,107
New York	4,190	3,526	3,972	3,734	3,593	3,599	17,558	18,003	18,976	19,444	19,577	19,540
North Carolina	1,496	1,379	1,654	1,914	2,186	2,337	5,882	6,657	8,049	9,346	10,709	11,449
North Dakota	164	144	144	124	118	117	653	637	642	637	630	621
Ohio	2,716	2,330	2,461	2,305	2,251	2,228	10,798	10,862	11,353	11,576	11,644	11,606
Oklahoma	739	709	766	745	783	796	3,025	3,147	3,451	3,592	3,736	3,821
Oregon	618	611	721	710	797	863	2,633	2,859	3,421	3,791	4,260	4,536
Pennsylvania	2,818	2,351	2,543	2,350	2,309	2,333	11,864	11,896	12,281	12,584	12,787	12,802
Rhode Island	225	192	219	220	213	218	947	1,005	1,048	1,117	1,154	1,158
South Carolina	837	781	871	881	917	933	3,122	3,499	4,012	4,447	4,823	4,990
South Dakota	176	165	176	161	164	164	691	697	755	786	802	802
Tennessee	1,150	1,038	1,186	1,243	1,338	1,394	4,591	4,891	5,689	6,231	6,781	7,073
Texas	3,702	4,024	4,922	5,416	6,471	6,907	14,229	17,045	20,852	24,649	28,635	30,865
Utah	411	518	602	673	767	809	1,461	1,730	2,233	2,595	2,990	3,226
Vermont	132	121	132	117	114	120	511	565	609	653	691	703
Virginia	1,324	1,264	1,475	1,585	1,750	1,841	5,347	6,214	7,079	8,010	8,917	9,364
Washington	987	1,054	1,289	1,249	1,365	1,502	4,132	4,901	5,894	6,542	7,432	7,996
West Virginia	484	390	353	325	308	290	1,950	1,792	1,808	1,829	1,801	1,766
Wisconsin	1,204	1,083	1,190	1,108	1,134	1,154	4,706	4,902	5,364	5,727	6,005	6,088
Wyoming	119	114	114	96	95	91	470	453	494	520	531	529

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Division