ATRA SPECIAL REPORT

Action without information is dangerous. Information without action is futile.

What Happened to Teacher Pay?

PROGNOSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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Arizona's average teacher pay ranking relative to other states has been slipping. ASU's *Morrison Institute* and others have documented this and correlated it to growing difficulty in hiring. While pay is not the only factor impacting retention and recruitment, it is an important measurement for K-12 policy discussions. This report will explain why this phenomenon occurred, what can be done to fix it and more importantly, what policy options should be avoided.

For decades, Arizona occupied the enviable position of having an efficient public school operation, where despite having a low maintenance and operations (M&O) per-pupil spending ranking, its teacher and instructional pay was competitive. At the time Prop 301 was approved at the ballot in 2000, Arizona's average teacher pay was #34 in the nation. Arizona's average teacher pay in FY2016 ranked #43 per the National Education Association (NEA) — a considerable change. Last year, average teacher pay increased 4.4% to \$48,372 per the Auditor General.²

Where Does Arizona's Teacher Pay Rank?

National groups like the NEA and the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) only provide direct salary comparisons, requiring some analysis if one wishes to account for cost-of-living. The most commonly used cost-of-living tool to compare livability and wage competitiveness is the Cost of Living Index (COLI), produced by The Council for Community and Economic Research (C2ER). Since 1968, the

COLI has been used by researchers and media outlets alike, such as CNNMoney, Bankrate and NerdWallet.³ Per COLI, Arizona ranks 95.6 using 100 as the national average, meaning Arizona is less expensive than the national average but not by a wide margin. Using NEA averages⁴ and adjusting by COLI, Arizona ranks #40 in the nation for teacher pay (see table on next page).

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¹ "Finding & Keeping Educators for Arizona's Classrooms." ASU Morrison Institute for Public Policy. May 2017.

https://morrisoninstitute.asu.edu/products/finding-keeping-educators-arizonas-classrooms

² https://www.azauditor.gov/sites/default/files/18-203 State Pages.pdf

³ "Cost of Living Index." Council for Community and Economic Research. http://coli.org/

⁴ National Education Assn. http://www.nea.org/home/44479.htm

Average Teacher Pay Adjusted for Cost of Living

		2016 (\$)	RANK (2016)	COLI	INDEX
1	District of Columbia	75,810	4	103	73,673
2	Michigan	62,028	11	90	69,151
	Pennsylvania	65,151	10	102	63,874
	Illinois	61,342	12	97	63,109
	Ohio	56,441	21	92	61,150
	Wyoming	58,140	16	96	60,816
	New York	79,152	1	133	59,737
	Georgia	54,190	23	91	59,681
9	lowa	54,416	22	91	59,601
	United States	58,353	-	100	58,353
	Massachusetts	76,981	3	133	57,924
	Connecticut	72,013	5	126	57,290
	Minnesota	56,913	19	100	57,084
	Texas	51,890	27	91	56,897
	New Jersey	69,330	6	122	56,874
	Wisconsin	54,115	24	96	56,253
	Indiana	50,715	31 26	91	55,670
	Kentucky	52,134	28	94	55,639
	Nebraska	51,386	38	93	55,313
	Arkansas	48,218	2	88 141	54,918 54,737
	California Nevada	77,179	18		•
	Alabama	56,943 48,518	37	105 90	54,387 53,730
	Tennessee	48,217	39	90	53,694
	Rhode Island	66,197	9	124	53,557
	Missouri	47,957	40	90	53,345
	Kansas	47,755	42	90	52,943
	Louisiana	49,745	34	94	52,696
	Maryland	66,456	8	129	51,636
	Alaska	67,443	7	131	51,366
	Montana	51,034	29	100	50,831
	Oklahoma	45,276	49	89	50,758
32	North Carolina	47,941	41	95	50,678
	North Dakota	50,472	33	100	50,624
34	Mississippi	42,744	50	85	50,228
35	Washington	53,738	25	107	50,176
36	ldaho	46,122	47	92	50,024
	Virginia	50,834	30	102	49,740
	New Mexico	47,163	44	95	49,698
	Florida	49,199	35	99	49,546
	Arizona	47,218	43	96	49,391
	New Hampshire	56,616	20	115	49,231
	South Carolina	48,769	36	100	49,014
	Utah	46,887	45	96	48,994
44	Vermont	58,901	15	121	48,800
	West Virginia	45,622	48	96	47,572
	Oregon	60,359	13	129	46,681
	Colorado	46,155	46	102	45,117
	Maine	50,498	32	114	44,452
	South Dakota	42,025	51 14	100	42,236
	Delaware	59,960		156	38,510
21	Hawaii	57,431	17	188	30,500

Source: NEA Adjusted by COLI

So Why Do We Hear Arizona Teacher Pay Ranks Last?

The *Morrison* statistic uses the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) median salary from 2015 and adjusts it by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) Regional Price Parities. Interestingly, BLS reports the lowest wage for Arizona K-12 teachers of any source. They are lower than the averages reported by the Arizona Office of the Auditor General (OAG), the national teacher's union (NEA) and the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES)⁵. BLS reportedly takes a cross-section of W-2 data for its information. It's unclear why they report considerably lower average teacher pay. A review of the literature on teacher pay comparisons shows rare usage of BLS as their data source and none report Arizona last in teacher pay. NEA and NCES data pegs Arizona's average teacher salary right in line with OAG data.

Why BLS reports median elementary and high school teacher pay far below the statewide average is unclear even after accounting for differences in median and mean.

Dropping the *Morrison* ranking further is the use of Regional Price Parity (RPP) as its cost of living adjustment. Arizona's RPP is just 3.2 points lower than the U.S. average.⁶ A review of the literature shows no similar study adjusting teacher pay for RPP. The RPP only accounts for average rents and

⁵ http://www.nea.org/assets/docs/2017_Rankings_and_Estimates_Report-FINAL-SECURED.pdf; https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d16/tables/dt16_211.60.asp

⁶ "Regional Price Parities." Bureau of Economic Analysis.

excludes average cost of home purchases, which decreases the differences in cost of living between states and by comparison makes Arizona appear more expensive than it is.⁷ Worse, the RPP is particularly unfair to Arizona, where the cost to purchase a home is relatively affordable for renters. Per the Urban Institute, the Phoenix Metro area tops their *Housing Affordability for Renters Index* in a study of the nation's most populous metro areas.⁸ Adjusting for RPP is a limited approach which is not used by other salary comparison tools.

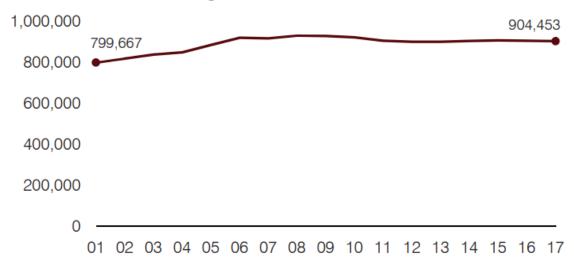
While it is true that Arizona's relative teacher pay has declined in the last twenty years, the Morrison ranking uses a statistic which does not correlate to other sources and adjusts by a less meaningful cost-of-living measure.

More complex tools like the *True Cost of Living* from HowMuch analyze various income levels and different expenditure trends to show a cross section of affordability at the neighborhood level. For working class families, Arizona cities Tucson, Mesa, Chandler, Gilbert, and Glendale appear in their top 10 most affordable cities in America. Arizona's sustained in-migration has long been grounded in opportunity and affordability. While it is true that Arizona's relative teacher pay has declined in the last twenty years, the *Morrison* report uses a statistic which does not correlate to other sources and adjusts by a less meaningful cost-of-living measure.

What Changed?

The reflexive answer to the teacher pay question is to generically blame cuts to K-12 funding. While Arizona did cut capital funding during the recession, Arizona's relative per-pupil current spending (PPCS)

Students attending



⁷ "Cost of Living Is Really All About Housing." Richard Florida. CityLab. https://www.citylab.com/equity/2014/07/cost-of-living-is-really-all-about-housing/373128/

⁸ "Where can renters afford to buy homes?" Laurie Goodman & Jun Zhu. Urban Institute. https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/where-can-renters-afford-buy-homes

⁹ "Where the Working Class Can (Not) Afford to Live." Raul Amoros. HowMuch. https://howmuch.net/articles/where-the-working-class-can-afford-to-live

ranking has not materially changed in twenty years. Spending over the last decade relative to the national average also has not changed. In 2006 Arizona's PPCS was 70.8% of the national average and it was 71% in 2014 (pre Prop 123). Relative to other states, operational spending has not changed much. In short, the recession impacted all states.

The most significant change in Arizona's K-12 education system is stagnant enrollment in district public schools beginning in 2006. Before that, Arizona's district public schools enjoyed considerable annual growth for decades. Since that time, total growth in public enrollment has been from charter schools. In 2006, charter school pupils represented just 8.5% of the population and now represent roughly 16% and growing. Online enrollment tripled from 15,000 to 50,000 pupils.

While overall district ADM is even over the last decade, it is the result of a small handful of growing suburban districts in the southeast and west valleys of Maricopa County while rural and urban districts have mostly contracted in size or remained flat. Contractions in student count do not often present obvious opportunities for cost reductions because of economies of scale; but dollars mostly follow the student and present immediate financial challenges. Despite negative district growth since 2007, districts have added in total 17 million square feet of space, or 12% of the total. Ninety new charter elementary schools have opened. Some districts have high levels of underutilized space because closing schools is a politically unpopular decision for a school board.

One hypothetical which illustrates the challenge is Mesa Unified losing ten pupils in each of its 70 schools, a situation which would not materially change its cost structure but would create a \$5 million budget hit. So while most district public schools have been slowly contracting in size, the charter school explosion has opened new opportunities and spread the landscape of students.

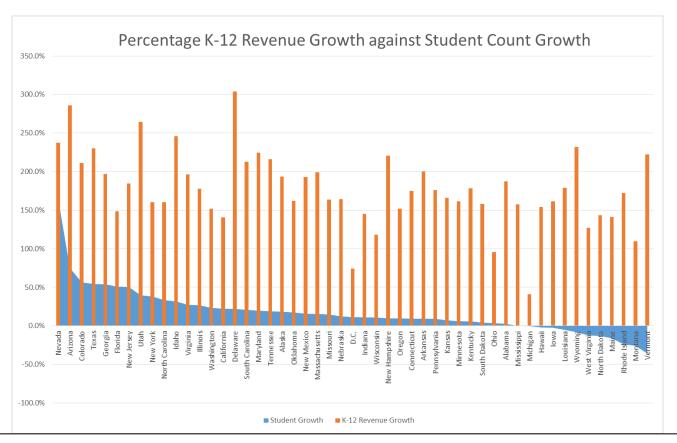
The lack of growth in district schools has significant impacts on wage competitiveness. Flat or declining districts have far less budget flexibility to provide wage increases. In a study of the 40 largest Arizona school districts (which represents about half of total enrollment), higher average teacher salary (adjusted by PPCS, to be fair) is strongly correlated to recent growth. Average teacher pay indexed to PPCS could be referred to as 'teacher pay efficiency' since it measures how much of available dollars are directed towards salaries. The top 20 districts in teacher pay efficiency have grown enrollment on average 6.2% in the last decade against almost zero growth overall during that period by districts overall. The list features nearly all the fast growing districts in the state such as Higley, Chandler, Litchfield Elementary, Tolleson Union, Agua Fria Union, and Laveen Elementary. Just three growing districts of the top 40 by size appear outside the top 20 of this teacher pay efficiency measure. It would be interesting to know how the districts who are contracting in size managed to crack the top 20, such as Alahambra, Cartwright, Mesa, and Gilbert. (See Table B the end of the document.)

Rising Costs Everywhere

Regrettably, public schools face budget pressures in almost all directions. Financial officers speak with desperation when they refer to Employee Related Expenses (ERE). Once a small budget nuisance, ERE now represents a massive financial burden which shapes the budget process and impacts hiring. Due to fixed costs, the lowest paid employees often have the highest ERE as a percentage of salary. Through the early

2000's, the Arizona State Retirement System (ASRS) cost roughly 4-7% of salary including the employee contribution. Today it costs 23%, with half coming out of the employee's paycheck.

Rising healthcare costs also impact ERE. The expenditures by the State of Arizona's public employee health program have increased 20.5% since FY 2015. 10 School districts have reportedly seen similar increases.



This graph represents total revenue and student growth since 1992. While nearly all states have substantially increased revenue to K-12 education, the disparity in student growth since then is sharp.

Local Education Agencies (LEAs) often face the choice of absorbing costs of rising healthcare premiums or increasing salaries and often choose the former.

Student services are also increasing in scope and cost. According to the Joint Legislative Budget Committee Appropriations Report, the number of pupils qualifying for Special Education (SPED) programs increases as a percentage of the population annually. SPED weighted ADM has grown 22.5% against 5.6% total enrollment growth over the last five years. The funding formula assumes a normal distribution of SPED students, something district officials say is decreasingly the case as SPED students use open enrollment to congregate in certain schools. Further, SPED advocates insist the financial weights are insufficient to fund modern SPED programs. The costs associated with this growing demand comes, at least in part, out of hide.

¹⁰ JLBC report on State Employee Health Insurance. January 2018. https://www.azleg.gov/jlbc/19doahealthjlbcpres.pdf

¹¹ JLBC FY 2018 Appropriations Report http://www.azleg.gov/jlbc/18AR/FY2018AppropRpt.pdf

Finally, district officials point to cuts in dedicated capital funding with the reductions in District Additional Assistance and the short-lived Building Renewal program. Depending on the size and scope of a district's voter-approved bond program, capital costs can compete for the same general fund dollars.

Arizona leads the nation in percentage of teachers with less than three years' experience.

Young Teachers

Growth states like Arizona tend to have younger teachers on average because of the increased opportunity from new positions created each year. The same is true amongst "younger" LEAs experiencing growth. Naturally, younger teachers tend to be on the lower end of the salary curve. Nine of the top ten student growth states over the last twenty years rank in the bottom 20 for average teacher pay including peers Utah, Nevada, Idaho Colorado, and Texas. Arizona appears to be an extreme case for young teachers. According to the NCES, Arizona is #2 in the nation for percentage of teachers with less than nine years' experience. Arizona leads the nation in percentage of teachers with less than three years' experience.¹²

The significant churn in teachers puts pressure on districts to increase starting pay for new teachers. This however causes "wage compression" and can engender internal conflict if other employee groups are not witnessing the same percentage pay increase. An LEA official from a large district remarked that "there is internal pressure to not simply improve starting wages without applying those same percentage increases across the board." A 2% pay increase for new teachers making \$34,000 a year isn't going to change their world much but a larger increase may limit the ability of the LEA to increase pay for veteran employees.

Labor tendencies among Millennials appears to impact teacher retention. According to a widely reported LinkedIn analysis, young people change jobs on average four times before age 32, double that of Generation X.¹³ During that period they are also more likely to switch career fields entirely.

Frustration over Take Home Pay

A new teacher making \$34,000 with average student loans (\$30,000)¹⁴ will have a monthly take home pay of about \$1,975 after accounting for taxes, ASRS, and student loans. Allocating 30% towards rent puts them in an undesirable apartment or bunking with roommates— hardly the lifestyle they imagined in college. Per a New America Education Policy study, the average Master of Education graduate was saddled with \$50,879 in combined debt, a \$20,153 increase since 2004.¹⁵ Masters programs have become so cost

¹² NCES. Years of full-time teaching experience by state. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tables/dt13 209.30.asp

¹³ "The new normal: 4 job changes by the time you're 32." Heather Long. April 2016.

http://money.cnn.com/2016/04/12/news/economy/millennials-change-jobs-frequently/index.html

¹⁴ "Report: Average Student Loan Debt Ticked Up for 2015 Graduates." Andrew Kreighbaum. October 2016. https://www.insidehighered.com/quicktakes/2016/10/18/report-average-student-loan-debt-ticked-2015-graduates

^{15 &}quot;The Graduate Student Debt Review." Jason Delisle. New American Education Policy Program. March 2014.

https://static.newamerica.org/attachments/750-the-graduate-student-debt-review/GradStudentDebtReview-Delisle-Final.pdf

prohibitive that one LEA representative said new teachers aren't matriculating nearly as often because they assume their teaching career will not be long enough to justify the investment and debt.

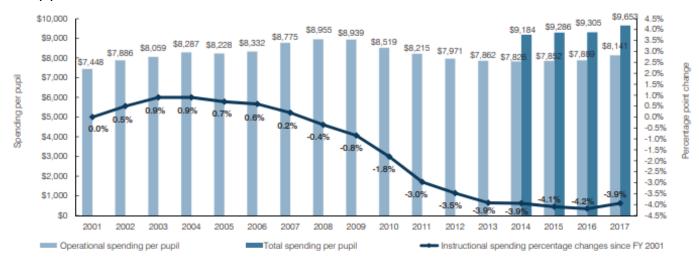
While education leaders acknowledge the other non-pay factors associated with retention and recruitment, one recurring theme is the "slow grind" up the pay scale young teachers face. While starting pay for a liberal arts degree holder may not be substantially more in other occupations, they express frustration with the slow pace of salary adjustments. For example, a 10-year teacher who began at \$34,000 will only make \$40,000 if they receive an annual 2% pay increase.

From this perspective, teacher pay and turnover becomes a bit of a chicken or the egg proposition. Is Arizona's average teacher pay low because there is high turnover and new teachers earn less or is the turnover high because young teachers aren't paid enough? It appears to be a combination of both.

Is Arizona Different?

Generally speaking, rising costs in student services and ERE in the face of tight budgets is a phenomenon faced by all states. Teacher retention and recruitment is a nationwide issue. ¹⁶ Part of the problem is supply, with a reported 35% drop in education majors nationally. There are likely several reasons for this but the most important may be that today's students (and their parents) witnessed a severe economic recession, which may influence students to choose a major they perceive will facilitate more career options.

The uniqueness of Arizona's teacher pay challenge is its substantial decentralization. The student diaspora from districts to charters has increased the number of classrooms and school sites. This less efficient system is illustrated in the OAG report on spending in the classroom, which has decreased steadily over twenty years.



The effect is a hidden operational cost for school choice. If controlling costs and maximizing teacher pay were the goal, the state would centrally manage all enrollment by maximizing classroom utilization in full schools. Preferring a market based approach to education, Arizona has the opposite system. School choice

¹⁶ For example, see:" A Coming Crisis in Teaching?" Learning Policy Institute. September 2016. https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/coming-crisis-teaching

enjoys broad popularity amongst Arizona parents and the data suggests outcomes are improving— but it appears to come at a cost to the system's overall operational efficiency from a teacher pay perspective. ¹⁷ Arizona does face unique challenges and solutions should bear these in mind.

What the State Should and Should Not Do

State policymakers should accept that there is a teacher pay competitiveness issue which ultimately impacts the ability of LEAs to answer the call to educate Arizona's students. However, the state must avoid reflexive solutions which might exacerbate other problems.

First, policymakers should dispense with the notion that many or most LEAs unnecessarily overspend on other budget items to the detriment of paying market wages. The robust school choice environment also exists for faculty and staff. If an LEA chooses to overspend on some items, it imperils its ability to hire teachers. Further, schools should be allowed to experiment with different staffing models.

The last thing Arizona should do is wander down the rocky road of dictating salary schedules from Phoenix as other states like Washington have done. There are countless reasons to avoid this, not

TEACHER CHOICE

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the least of which is each legislative session would become an annual shaming session (on both sides) as teachers are forced to negotiate their wages at the Capitol. Worse, these policies often benefit LEAs in higher socioeconomic areas with mature instructors meaning they download more per-pupil monies from the finance formula, reinforcing inequitable spending and creating grounds for a lawsuit challenging system equity. Finally, considerable research suggests the most important consideration for teachers as it relates to retention is support from administration, which may suggest that investments outside of teacher pay may be what an LEA needs to improve retention.¹⁸

In the 2017 legislative session, Arizona dipped its toes in centralized salaries by promising a small raise to all Arizona teachers. The 1.06% pay raise was executed by determining the salaries of all teachers who also taught last year and appropriating that to the LEA in a restricted pot of money. This means LEAs with access to inequitable sources of nonformula monies who have lower student-teacher ratios and higher

¹⁷ In addition to the oft-cited improvement in national tests like the NAEP, 86% of Arizona's 2010 full-time college going cohort graduated from four-year public college within six years, which ranked 9th in the nation.

https://nscresearchcenter.org/signaturereport12-statesupplement/

¹⁸ See national research at *The Learning Policy Institute* https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/role-principals-addressing-teacher-shortages-brief as well as Arizona research from the *Morrison Institute* (study linked above).

pay will get more new dollars than LEAs with higher turnover, lower pay, and larger classrooms. In effect, the rich got richer.

State policymakers must remind all interested parties they are not in the business of setting teacher salaries and encourage LEAs to implement staffing models which improve student outcomes. Attempting

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to satisfy a policy problem like teacher pay by creating a separate funding source is sure to be a losing effort. If there is a resource problem in K-12 education, state policymakers should add money to unrestricted funds.

There is an understandable desire by elected officials to direct restricted dollars towards teachers. Anecdotal stories of 7% raises in one school district while others received just 2% enrages lawmakers who want to see their budget priority materialize. This temptation needs to be guarded against. Restricted dollars and prohibiting the supplanting of funds is a

fantasy. A dollar to one program relieves internal pressure to use a dollar from another fund source.

The strength of Arizona's K-12 system is its robust marketplace, which is creating exciting school choice options for kids statewide. It is counter-intuitive to create old-school funding streams which do not follow the student. The state should determine how much it can afford and then appropriate on an equitable, per-pupil basis.

There are reasons to believe Arizona's teacher pay ranking can improve. Prop 123, which is in its second full year of implementation, represents about \$350 million per year in new funding. Those dollars were unrestricted and will pay for a variety of LEA needs. Using the FY18 JLBC estimate that \$34 million paid for a 1% raise, using two-thirds of the Prop 123 money for teacher raises equates to a \$3,000 average raise. In that scenario, Arizona's average teacher pay adjusted by COLI would rise from #40 to #28. This illustrates two important takeaways: first, Arizona's average teacher pay, while sluggish, is not far from the average and two, significant improvements in ranking are within reach.

Conclusion

Statistics related to K-12 education spending can be useful for policymakers to measure whether the revenue is sufficient to fund this vital public service. Although the situation is not as dire as the *Morrison Institute* reports, it is true that Arizona's teacher pay competitiveness has suffered largely because of system trends over the last decade. Instead of blinking, policymakers should insist on what works in Arizona: a state funded program that leaves staff decisions to locals. Improved teacher pay, while expensive, is not out of reach but ultimately is a budget priority for LEAs to sort out.

Table A

Average Salaries in Largest Arizona School Districts

	2017 ADM	2016 AVG teach salary		2017 ADM	2016 AVG teach salary	
1 Mesa Unified	60,618	55,413	14 Glendale Union	15,509	55,002	
2 Tucson Unified	44,948	43,745	15 Sunnyside Uni	15,501	38,283	
3 Chandler Unified	43,306	52,001	16 Tempe Union HS	13,561	54,019	
4 Peoria Unified	35,150	41,337	17 Amphitheater Uni	13,445	41,128	
5 Gilbert Unified	33,764	47,692	18 Glendale Elem	12,504	44,873	
6 Deer Valley Uni	32,657	44,712	19 Alhambra Elem	12,468	56,829	
7 Paradise Valley	30,665	49,389	20 Vail Uni	12,333	36,977	
8 Phx Union HS	26,936	60,924	21 Higley Uni	11,660	43,789	
9 Dysart Unified	23,857	46,738	22 Marana Uni	11,604	45,050	
10 Scottsdale Uni	22,628	48,853	23 Tolleson Union HS	11,275	43,696	
11 Washington El	21,953	39,910	24 Tempe Elem	11,012	39,936	
12 Cartwright Elem	16,765	51,060	25 Yuma Union HS	10,959	43,318	
13 Kyrene Elem	16,198	48,334				
			Total	409,445 Average	48,470	

Table B

Teacher Pay Efficiency v ADM Growth

					Total			
	ADM (Student Count)			FY 2016 AVG	Operational	Avg Salary/		
	2017	2008	2000 1	0 yr Chg	20 yr Chg	teach salary	per pupil \$	per pupil \$
1 Higley Uni	11,660	8,820	295	32.2%	3852.5%	43,789	5,542	7.90
2 Litchfield Elem	10,788	8,938	3,041	20.7%	254.8%	48,784	6,300	7.74
3 Chandler Unified	43,306	33,714	19,363	28.5%	123.7%	52,001	7,158	7.26
4 Tolleson Union HS	11,275	8,496	4,167	32.7%	170.6%	43,696	6,030	7.25
5 Dysart Unified	23,857	22,162	4,6 70	7.6%	410.9%	46,738	6,498	7.19
6 Tempe Union HS	13,561	12,951	12,536	4.7%	8.2%	54,019	7,553	7.15
7 Alhambra Elem	12,468	14,169	12,463	-12.0%	0.0%	56,829	7,956	7.14
8 Cartwright Elem	16,765	18,722	17,329	-10.5%	-3.3%	51,060	7,220	7.07
9 Kyrene Elem	16,198	17,030	18,610	-4.9%	-13.0%	48,334	6,860	7.05
10 Mesa Unified	60,618	67,575	67,623	-10.3%	-10.4%	55,413	7,897	7.02
11 Pendergast Elem	9,590	10,336	7,139	-7.2%	34.3%	47,382	6,756	7.01
12 Gilbert Unified	33,764	36,590	25,793	-7.7%	30.9%	47,692	6,811	7.00
13 Agua Fria Uni	7,703	5,848	2,158	31.7%	257.0%	48,330	6,981	6.92
14 Laveen Elem	6,278	4,400	1,570	42.7%	299.9%	45,253	6,564	6.89
15 Glendale Union	15,509	14,823	13,046	4.6%	18.9%	55,002	8,061	6.82
16 Crane Elem	6,031	5,934	4849	1.6%	24.4%	43,824	6,479	6.76
17 Paradise Valley	30,665	32,329	33,263	-5.1%	-7.8%	49,389	7,472	6.61
18 Deer Valley Uni	32,657	34,954	24,753	-6.6%	31.9%	44,712	6,880	6.50
19 Yuma Union HS	10,959	10,734	7,831	2.1%	39.9%	43,318	6,818	6.35
20 Glendale Elem	12,504	12,997	11,004	-3.8%	13.6%	44,873	7,155	6.27