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## **Migration into and out of Nebraska based on IRS tax filing data An analysis of new 2008 data versus historic annual data since 1989**

*Compiled by David Drozd, Center for Public Affairs Research, University of Nebraska Omaha  
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### Description

The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) compiles tax return data each year. They match returns from one year to the next utilizing social security numbers. The newest data for 2008 was released in October 2009. The 2008 data should be interpreted as tax returns filed in the spring of 2008 (April 2008) for tax year 2007. The comparison is made between where the people filed in the current year versus their address when filing in the previous year (spring of 2007 for the 2006 tax year). The data are limited to tax filers, which tend to under-represent certain groups, such as new immigrants, the elderly, and the poor.

Technically, the data include tax filings through September of the reference year. While most individuals file in the spring of the year, extensions are granted to some individuals. The IRS website states the following “The data used to produce migration data products come from individual income tax returns filed prior to late September of each calendar year and represent between 95 and 98 percent of total annual filings.”<sup>1</sup> Thus, the data represent nearly all tax returns filed, although matches are not always made between one year and the next. For example, spouses filing jointly in one year but separately in the other would not provide a unique match for both individuals per the methods that IRS takes to match the returns. However, even with these limitations IRS documents state “The county-to-county migration data may be the largest dataset that tracks movement of both households and people from county to county”.<sup>2</sup> The county to county movement is aggregated up to the state level, for which this analysis is based.

This data series has annual information since 1989. The information through 2008 represents 20 annual periods over which we can compare. The variable compared is the number of exemptions that moved, which is a proxy for the total number of persons (total migrating population). The data does not indicate any demographics about the movers such as age, gender or race, so there is no way to know who exactly is moving (i.e. more/less college or early working-age persons, retirees, mid-career married couples with kids, etc.). Thus, the information provides a general sense of the level of movement and whether each state is having a net inflow or outflow of persons with a specific state on an annual basis.

The following bullet points express major findings.

### States with which Nebraska had their **best ever** annual population movement in 2008 over the 20-year series of tax filing data

- Michigan – Nebraska had net immigration with this economically hard-hit state in last year’s 2007 data (+144), breaking a string of 10 straight years that we had lost more people to Michigan. The gain of 253 persons in the new 2008 data was the 8<sup>th</sup> time in the last 20 years that NE gained people from Michigan, but was the best ever recorded in this data series.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.irs.gov/taxstats/article/0,,id=212683,00.html> accessed October 21, 2009

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.irs.gov/pub/irs-soi/99gross\\_update.doc](http://www.irs.gov/pub/irs-soi/99gross_update.doc) accessed October 21, 2009

- Florida – Nebraska still lost people overall to Florida, but the loss of 40 persons was the lowest in the series. The average loss in the preceding 19 years averaged more than 500 persons (-502). The net loss has become relatively smaller in each of the last five years (positive upward trend – see graph on page 8).
- Georgia – Like with Florida, Nebraska still lost persons to the peach state, but the level for 2008 at -1 was virtually flat. This marked the 4<sup>th</sup> straight year of improvement with Georgia. The prior 19-year average was a loss of 206 persons.
- Arkansas – Nebraska gained persons from Arkansas for only the second time in the series (+24), besting the previous modest gain of +1 in 1991 (17 years ago). The preceding 19-year average movement was a loss of 137 to Arkansas.
- Tennessee – Much like Arkansas, Nebraska gained persons from Tennessee for only the 4<sup>th</sup> time in the series (+49). The prior 19-year average was a loss of 106 persons to this state known for its country music and the Grand Ole Opry.
- Wisconsin – Nebraska typically loses persons to Wisconsin, but we gained 76 persons in 2008, for only the 3<sup>rd</sup> annual gain in the series. The 19-year average was a loss of 111 persons.
- Minnesota – A **very important change** in 2008 was a net increase with Minnesota, as that has never happened before in this series. Nebraska gained 94 persons from Minnesota over 2007-08. The prior 19-year average was a loss of 284 persons. Two years ago we lost 236 to Minnesota, so the shift to a 94 person gain is an improvement of 330 persons overall from 2007-08, the second best improvement of any state (Missouri was the best and will be discussed later). The improvement of 330 can be broken down into 176 more people coming from Minnesota and 154 fewer Nebraskans leaving for MN.
- Rhode Island – While Nebraska has tended to gain people on net from RI (16 of 20 years), the 55 person increase in 2008 was the best ever, eclipsing a 46 person increase in 1992 (16 years). The average change in the preceding 19 years was only a 19 person gain, so the increase in 2008 was more than twice the typical change.

States with which Nebraska had their best annual net tax return movement in 2008 in many years, but not the best ever for the 20-year data series

- Arizona – Nebraska continued to lose persons to this notable retirement and vibrant young adult destination, but the loss of 273 was the smallest since a 211 person decline in 1993 (15 years). The average loss of the preceding 19 years was 585 persons, much higher than what occurred between 2007 and 2008. The average loss between 1994 and 2007 (the 14 years in between these smaller losses in 1993 and 2008) was nearly 700 persons per year (-694). Nebraska has never had net immigration from Arizona in the 20 year dataset/timeframe.
- Nevada – Nebraska's 2008 loss of 44 persons to Nevada was the smallest since a 41 person loss in 1995 (13 years). The average change over the preceding 19 years was a 151 person loss. The average loss over 1996 and 2007 (the 12 years in between the smaller losses in 1995 and 2008) was -177, so the current loss was only one-fourth of the typical change that had been occurring with Nevada. Only once has net immigration occurred from Nevada (1993).

- Alabama – Nebraska’s gain from Alabama (+28) was the first increase since 1999 (9 years) and the best overall net migration since an 80 person gain in 1996 (12 years). The average change between 1997-2007 was a 45 person loss, so 2008 represented almost a 75 person improvement versus what has typically happened with Alabama. Having a net gain from Alabama has been rare, with only 4 of the 20 years showing a net increase.

#### Other notable changes

- Missouri – Nebraska gained persons from Missouri (+47), for only the 3<sup>rd</sup> time in 20 years (one of those years of increase, 2005, stemmed from a large transfer of workers from St. Louis to Omaha by Union Pacific). The average change between 1989 and 2007 was a loss of 480 persons. Last year Nebraska lost 767 persons to Missouri, so the increase of 47 led to a net positive change of 814 persons, Nebraska’s best improvement with any state between 2007 and 2008. The net improvement can be broken down into 463 more people coming to NE from MO and 351 fewer Nebraskan’s leaving for Missouri. While it’s hard to analyze all the specific component changes, it was noted that the outflow to Missouri was the lowest ever in the series (see graph on page 8).
- Iowa – Nebraska had a net increase from Iowa (+26), for only the 5<sup>th</sup> time in 20 years. The prior year had shown a decline of 31 persons after a large decline of 798 persons three years ago. The average change over the first 19 years in the data series was a loss of 207 persons.
- Ohio – Nebraska gained 37 persons from the economically hard hit state of Ohio in 2008 after losing 97 to Ohio in 2007. This was only the 5<sup>th</sup> time in 20 years to gain persons from the Buckeye state. The average change prior to 2008 was a loss of 68 persons.

#### Change summary

The state of Ohio just mentioned is a good example for leading into this summary. Nebraska had a better net change in 2008 than in the prior year with 31 states (see table on page 6). Ohio and several other states hit first by the recession or housing market decline lead that list of notable states including Florida, Georgia, Nevada, Michigan, and Arizona. While previously mentioning that Missouri and Minnesota had the best annual improvements, the changes with Tennessee, Texas, and Wyoming round out the top five states with which Nebraska had the best net improvement. Thus, Nebraska tended to do better with the South and Midwest Regions of the country, as fewer Nebraskans headed for “warm sunny areas” and we pulled in relatively more people from areas hit by the first stages of the economic downturn. The data does not indicate any demographics about the movers such as age, gender or race, so there is no way to know if the improved migration stems from more/less college- or early working-age persons, retirees, mid-career married couples with kids or who exactly was moving – it only shows the net movement and it is the relatively strength here versus the rest of the time series that is noteworthy.

Overall, Nebraska had net gains of persons from 22 states in 2008. In last year’s 2007 data we only gained from 11 states. Thirteen states turned to have a net increase (Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Wisconsin) while two states that had net increases two years ago turned to have a net decline (Delaware, Hawaii). Back in 2002 and 2001, Nebraska had net immigration from only 8 and 10 states respectively and the gain from 22 states is the best since we gained

from 24 states in 1996 (12 years). During the large immigration period the state witnessed in the mid 1990s, the most states we ever had net immigration with was 28 in 1995.

While Nebraska's domestic migration figures are a relative improvement, the state still lost more people than it gained in 2008. More than 2,500 more Nebraskans left the state than moved in from elsewhere in the U.S., but that is about half as much as the net outmigration in the prior year (-4,700) and only a third of the -7,800 loss in 2001. The loss in 2008 was the smallest since 1996 (12 years) and only half of the 1997-2007 average of -5,014. 1996 was also the last of only three net domestic immigrations that the state has seen in the 20 years since 1989.

The chart on page 7 shows the relative difference between 2008 and earlier time periods. Missouri and Minnesota, among the top states Nebraska typically has net losses with, were in the top 10 states being gained from in 2008. California continues to be the state with the best net increases, but Michigan is second on the list (economic impacts). Even states not mentioned in the summary above like Alaska and Montana make the top 10 gainers list – we have tended to lose persons to these two states in the past 10 years (see pages 11-12). Arizona was typically the state we lost the most persons to (on net), but it did not have that distinction in 2008. As mentioned above, Iowa is also a top net outmigration destination, but we pulled in people from Iowa on net in 2008, representing a fairly consistent strength in migration changes from 2007-2008 versus other annual periods in the 20 year dataset.

### Exceptions

- California – Nebraska continues to have large net increases with California, but the level in 2008 (+704) was nearly 375 persons less than the 1,077 person increase in 2007. However, the gain in 2008 still outpaced that seen annually between 2004 and 2006. California does not fit the pattern seen for other states hit hard by the housing downturn, which had net improvement in 2008 for Nebraska. While the data cannot show this, it can be speculated that a possible explanation is a reduction in the number of Hispanics/Latinos moving to Nebraska from California. Nebraska had large inflows from California in the mid 1990s, when the state also saw a dramatic increase in the population of Hispanics/Latinos (see graphs on page 10). The inflow from California in 2008 is actually the lowest on record for the 20 years in the dataset (see graph on page 10), suggesting that ethnic movement may also be lower than in the recent past. Population estimates released in May 2009 by the U.S. Census Bureau showed a slowing in the growth of the Hispanic/Latino population in recent years in Nebraska.<sup>3</sup>
- South Dakota – Nebraska's net change with South Dakota was the worst on record for the past 20 years. Nebraska had a net loss of 461 persons to South Dakota in 2008, eclipsing the high of 444 more moving out in the prior year of 2007 (see graph on page 9). Nebraska has now lost population to South Dakota for each of the past 9 years. Nebraska's changes with South Dakota were better in the 1990s, when losses were small (-118 average), no net movement occurred in some years, and a few net gains occurred.
- Kentucky – Nebraska has lost population to Kentucky each year since 1995 (13 years) but the decline of 99 persons in 2008 was the highest in the entire data series. The average loss in the recent string of declines was only 44 persons, so the 2008 change represents more than

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<sup>3</sup> [http://www.unomaha.edu/~cpar/documents/NEsummary\\_of\\_changes\\_00-08.pdf](http://www.unomaha.edu/~cpar/documents/NEsummary_of_changes_00-08.pdf) see page 15

twice the average. No explanation is readily available for this change, as it bucks the trend of Nebraska's better net movements with states in the south like Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, or the states bordering Kentucky like Ohio and West Virginia.

### Summary

Net migration in Nebraska, as documented through IRS tax filings, show a relative improvement in 2008 versus recent years. Nebraska had its best net change ever with a large number of states as well as a few others that were the best in over 10 years. Most gains stemmed from parts of the South and Midwest, although Nebraska had improvements with at least one state in each region.

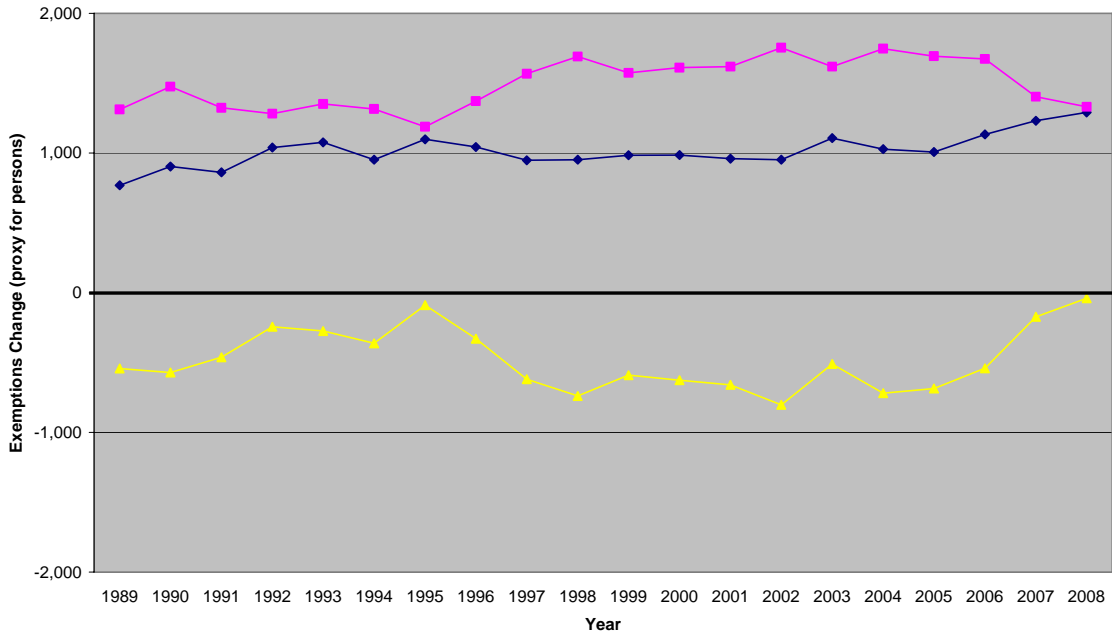
These data indicate that Nebraska was a destination for many persons affected by the economic and/or housing downturns. Additionally, and equally important, fewer Nebraskans were leaving the state for these areas and other parts of the sunbelt. These data suggest that Nebraska may have its population estimates increased the next time the Census Bureau releases figures in December 2009 (for a July 1, 2009 reference date). These changes are important given the political representation and federal and state funding formulas impacted by the 2010 Census headcount (now less than six months away on April 1, 2010). Given the timing of the economic downturn in Nebraska versus the U.S. as a whole, one can speculate that the tax filing data for 2009 will also show strong figures for Nebraska, since our economy has held up relatively well and a relatively low unemployment environment still exists. Only time will tell, but the latest information for 2008 was relatively strong and has several noteworthy changes in migration trends that should continue to be analyzed.

2007-08 Net		
Rank	State	Person Change
1	Missouri	814
2	Minnesota	330
3	Tennessee	162
4	Texas	142
4	Wyoming	142
6	Ohio	134
7	Florida	133
8	Arkansas	131
9	Mississippi	120
10	Georgia	117
11	Nevada	114
12	Montana	110
13	Michigan	109
14	Arizona	107
15	Wisconsin	106
16	Alabama	76
17	Alaska	69
18	South Carolina	66
19	Rhode Island	64
20	Iowa	57
21	Kansas	48
22	Virginia	45
23	Idaho	35
24	West Virginia	22
25	Oregon	21
26	Utah	19
27	Dist. of Columbia	18
28	Massachusetts	12
29	Illinois	10
30	Maine	8
31	Vermont	4
32	New Hampshire	-9
33	Maryland	-14
34	Connecticut	-15
35	South Dakota	-17
36	Oklahoma	-20
37	Delaware	-23
38	New Jersey	-25
38	New York	-25
40	Indiana	-30
41	New Mexico	-52
42	Washington	-60
43	Colorado	-62
44	Hawaii	-64
45	Pennsylvania	-69
46	North Carolina	-71
47	Kentucky	-84
48	Louisiana	-104
49	North Dakota	-109
50	California	-373





**Net Change in Tax Return Exemptions for Nebraska with Florida: 1989 to 2008**

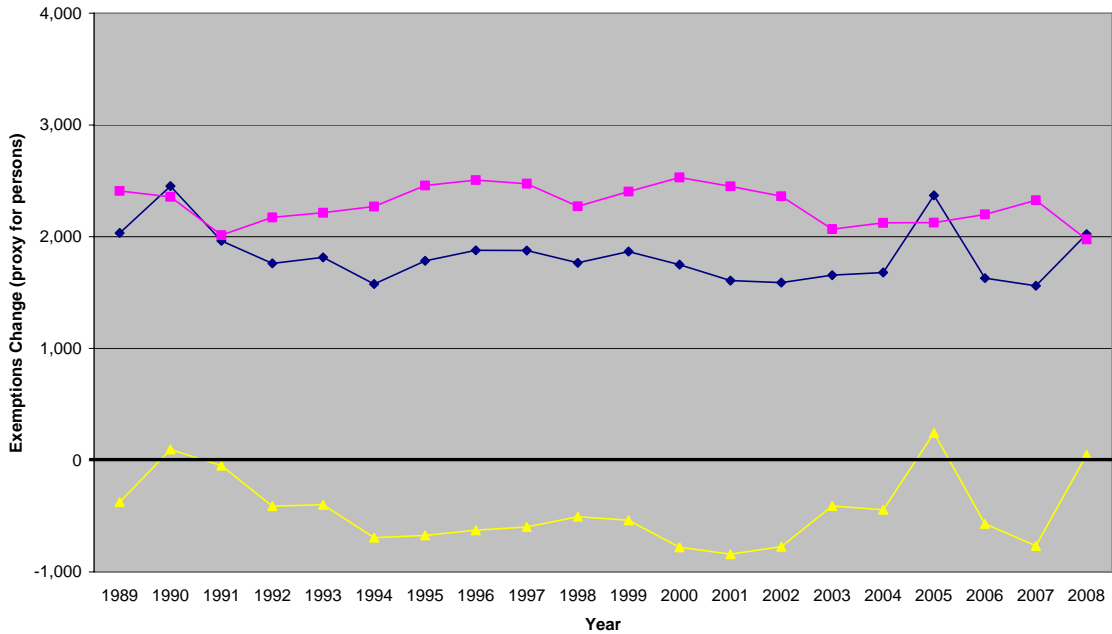


Source: IRS State-to-State Migration Files

Legend: Total Inflow (blue diamond), Total Outflow (magenta square), Total Net Flow (yellow triangle)

Compiled and Prepared by: David Drozd, CPAR @ UNO 10-19-09

**Net Change in Tax Return Exemptions for Nebraska with Missouri: 1989 to 2008**

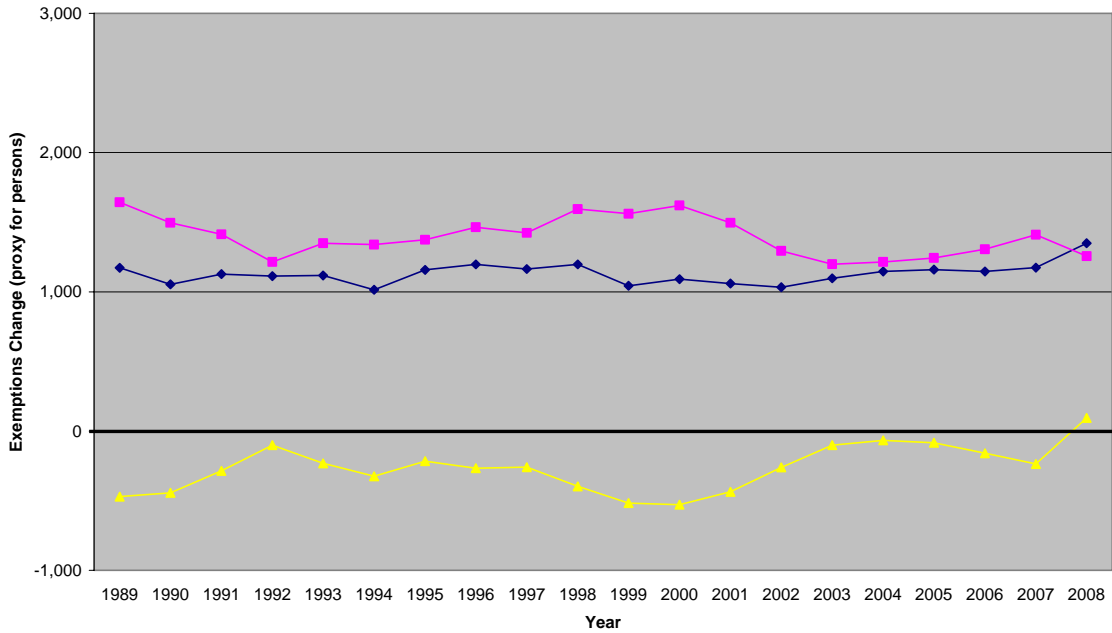


Source: IRS State-to-State Migration Files

Legend: Total Inflow (blue diamond), Total Outflow (magenta square), Total Net Flow (yellow triangle)

Compiled and Prepared by: David Drozd, CPAR @ UNO 10-19-09

**Net Change in Tax Return Exemptions for Nebraska with Minnesota: 1989 to 2008**

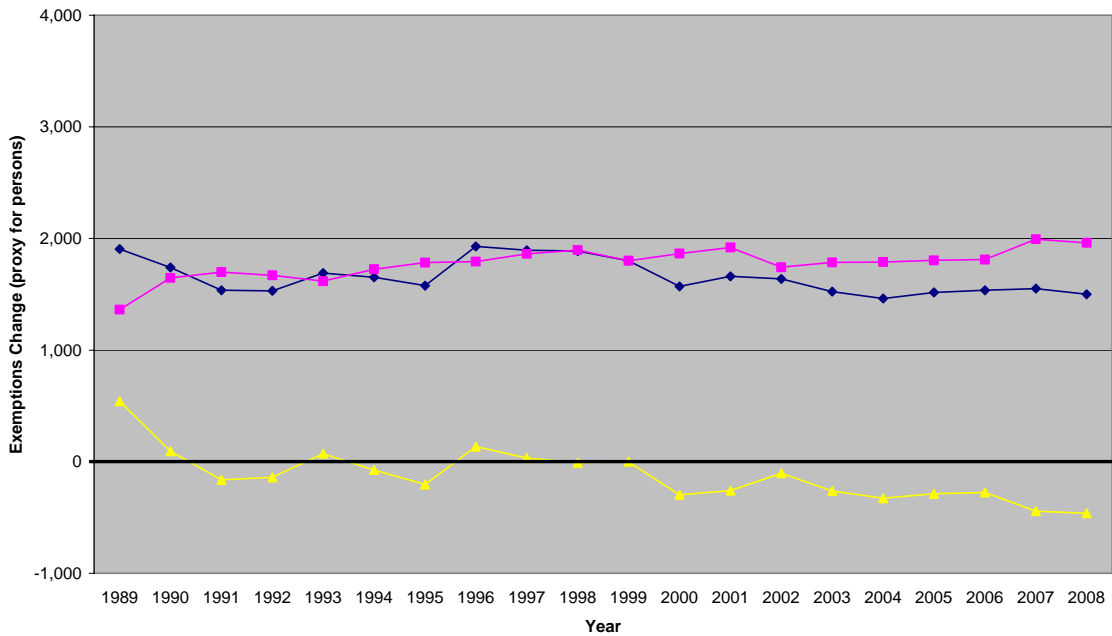


Source: IRS State-to-State Migration Files

Legend: Total Inflow (blue diamond), Total Outflow (pink square), Total Net Flow (yellow triangle)

Compiled and Prepared by: David Drozd, CPAR @ UNO 10-19-09

**Net Change in Tax Return Exemptions for Nebraska with South Dakota: 1989 to 2008**

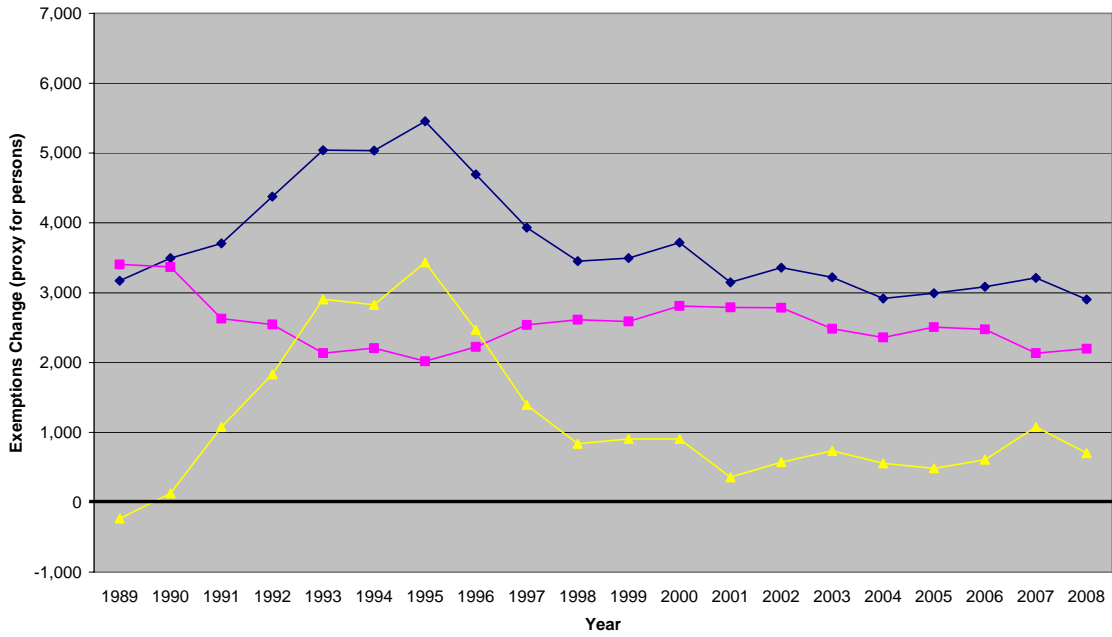


Source: IRS State-to-State Migration Files

Legend: Total Inflow (blue diamond), Total Outflow (pink square), Total Net Flow (yellow triangle)

Compiled and Prepared by: David Drozd, CPAR @ UNO 10-19-09

**Net Change in Tax Return Exemptions for Nebraska with California: 1989 to 2008**

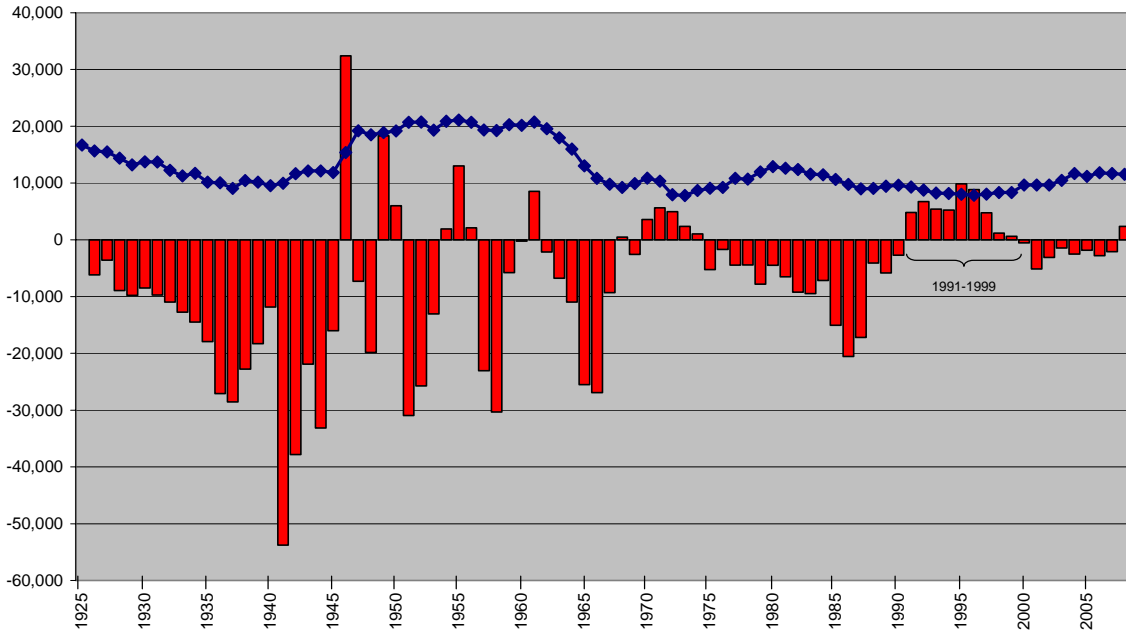


Source: IRS State-to-State Migration Files

Legend: Total Inflow (blue diamond), Total Outflow (magenta square), Total Net Flow (yellow triangle)

Compiled and Prepared by: David Drozd, CPAR @ UNO 10-19-09

**Nebraska Components of Population Change, 1925-2008**



Source: Vital Statistics, Nebraska Department of Health and Human Services; Annual Population Estimates, U.S. Census Bureau - released 12-22-08

Legend: Net Migration (red bar), Natural Change (blue diamond)

**Number of Net Tax Return Exemptions for Nebraska with Other States: 1989 to 2008**

Source: IRS State-to-State Migration Files (Statistics of Income Division)

Compiled and Prepared by: David Drozd, Center for Public Affairs Research, University of Nebraska Omaha

Date: October 19, 2009

Category	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Total Net Flow	-4,602	-2,521	474	1,202	-658	162	2,868	2,332	-2,208	-5,456
Total Net Domestic	-5,103	-2,697	-616	67	-1,515	-457	2,047	1,174	-2,868	-6,082
Net Foreign Filers	501	176	1,090	1,135	857	619	821	1,158	660	626
Northeast Region	-323	31	474	714	281	217	462	550	-13	-5
South Region	-1,465	-766	-32	-806	-2,886	-1,746	-482	-1,019	-1,429	-2,902
Midwest Region	-1,059	-194	-486	-523	-1,045	-989	-1,460	-442	-1,644	-2,702
West Region	-2,256	-1,768	-572	682	2,135	2,061	3,527	2,085	218	-473
Alabama	15	-110	-85	-101	-217	-40	-86	80	-14	-102
Alaska	55	-2	-57	36	224	-19	22	120	72	67
Arizona	-536	-331	-67	-255	-211	-385	-324	-591	-997	-1,070
Arkansas	-555	-186	1	-3	-157	-131	-185	-110	-24	-188
California	-234	128	1,077	1,833	2,906	2,828	3,434	2,471	1,393	837
Colorado	-451	-756	-539	-372	-559	-208	-70	-146	79	49
Connecticut	-50	-11	33	106	139	87	24	45	-111	-41
Delaware	-42	6	12	4	-13	-1	-38	16	35	-9
Dist. of Columbia	-11	2	19	20	-8	-17	-7	-9	-4	-27
Florida	-543	-571	-462	-243	-274	-362	-89	-329	-619	-739
Georgia	-216	-112	-23	-42	-158	-273	-165	-320	-379	-236
Hawaii	-7	134	-8	12	41	80	49	166	86	10
Idaho	-153	-146	-49	-53	-57	-24	-15	47	-144	-43
Illinois	-320	43	-52	81	-312	184	147	846	136	-83
Indiana	-126	-114	-21	-137	-78	62	-48	-77	-34	-144
Iowa	133	-52	-85	-118	-63	135	-558	-253	-402	-655
Kansas	-365	70	256	278	108	-405	-187	-184	-486	-610
Kentucky	-62	36	-20	-92	-20	27	15	-68	-25	-55
Louisiana	172	213	94	147	39	-18	86	69	3	-38
Maine	-21	31	55	73	10	51	61	-4	23	11
Maryland	-130	-133	6	75	33	-13	6	-72	110	48
Massachusetts	-63	29	29	56	50	62	31	-12	-59	-7
Michigan	-198	-60	5	41	153	28	100	112	-67	-112
Minnesota	-471	-443	-285	-102	-232	-325	-216	-267	-259	-397
Mississippi	208	81	90	76	-37	-99	90	77	44	-46
Missouri	-375	96	-49	-412	-399	-693	-674	-627	-598	-506
Montana	-27	-2	-25	-43	50	-33	55	50	80	8
Nevada	-225	-234	-296	-33	101	-24	-41	-113	-183	-297
New Hampshire	-24	52	264	14	-7	-33	-7	11	-11	-13
New Jersey	-5	55	84	125	52	24	38	3	-13	53
New Mexico	-3	-106	-49	-56	-18	-59	53	-15	-12	-13
New York	-130	-17	94	191	27	7	177	353	114	-49
North Carolina	-171	-125	-40	-134	-35	-108	-135	-113	-170	-128
North Dakota	349	286	184	165	62	117	179	74	219	124
Ohio	-14	-29	-60	-71	-218	1	-25	-133	-94	-53
Oklahoma	172	55	9	-31	-21	-133	-3	-86	43	-114
Oregon	-275	-236	-109	1	-130	-61	35	-11	-90	-107
Pennsylvania	-31	-95	-110	80	-9	2	87	104	29	-7
Rhode Island	18	6	21	46	39	34	29	43	40	44
South Carolina	-59	-79	-50	-25	73	-37	37	28	-28	-131
South Dakota	542	94	-163	-139	72	-74	-205	135	33	-9
Tennessee	-114	-45	-34	19	-103	-90	-223	-108	-76	-237
Texas	152	357	589	-90	-362	-462	147	-166	-384	-720
Utah	32	221	4	-2	-34	21	23	6	37	-7
Vermont	-17	-19	4	23	-20	-17	22	7	-25	4
Virginia	-295	-173	-124	-371	-1,589	30	77	106	51	-147
Washington	-355	-434	-248	-210	-109	-41	212	109	-85	-36
West Virginia	14	18	-14	-15	-37	-19	-9	-14	8	-33
Wisconsin	-214	-85	-216	-109	-138	-19	27	-68	-92	-257
Wyoming	-77	-4	-206	-176	-69	-14	94	-8	-18	129

**Number of Net Tax Return Exemptions for Nebraska with Other States: 1989 to 2008**

Source: IRS State-to-State Migration Files (Statistics of Income Division)

Compiled and Prepared by: David Drozd, Center for Public Affairs Research, University of Nebraska Omaha

Date: October 19, 2009

Category	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total Net Flow	-4,940	-6,199	-7,137	-5,161	-2,217	-3,282	-3,041	-4,223	-4,175	-2,125
Total Net Domestic	-5,766	-6,715	-7,772	-5,990	-2,915	-3,858	-3,653	-4,882	-4,652	-2,533
Net Foreign Filers	826	516	635	829	698	576	612	659	477	408
Northeast Region	-4	-313	-273	-338	66	132	69	16	151	96
South Region	-2,567	-2,370	-2,346	-2,623	-1,948	-2,271	-2,382	-2,030	-2,362	-1,646
Midwest Region	-2,149	-3,200	-2,280	-1,265	-937	-1,551	-242	-1,940	-1,707	-255
West Region	-1,046	-832	-2,873	-1,764	-96	-168	-1,098	-928	-734	-728
Alabama	19	-5	-26	0	-68	-65	-104	-78	-48	28
Alaska	53	14	-92	-42	0	-31	5	-13	-24	45
Arizona	-968	-871	-969	-714	-538	-657	-750	-505	-380	-273
Arkansas	-76	-79	-23	-118	-201	-134	-184	-135	-107	24
California	906	907	359	575	737	557	484	608	1,077	704
Colorado	-948	-720	-1,181	-687	257	692	57	-278	-409	-471
Connecticut	-30	-22	-12	-90	2	0	-17	-12	-10	-25
Delaware	16	-27	-19	-2	-18	-27	-17	-23	5	-18
Dist. of Columbia	-25	-26	4	-5	-21	-37	25	-18	-32	-14
Florida	-590	-626	-659	-802	-511	-719	-686	-541	-173	-40
Georgia	-265	-347	-262	-268	-91	-125	-291	-220	-118	-1
Hawaii	48	-9	-35	-54	-20	50	9	-6	54	-10
Idaho	-92	70	-111	-171	-89	-8	-20	30	-72	-37
Illinois	29	-127	-240	-50	111	-75	280	-56	-50	-40
Indiana	11	-92	-195	22	-154	-42	21	-29	-14	-44
Iowa	-356	-626	364	122	-190	-503	-228	-798	-31	26
Kansas	-642	-385	-249	-155	104	55	-183	-100	-314	-266
Kentucky	-80	-32	-4	-40	-54	-61	-26	-64	-15	-99
Louisiana	55	31	32	6	-91	-77	-128	124	-1	-105
Maine	-22	-31	-39	-7	-38	-25	-9	15	11	19
Maryland	-90	20	-162	-83	-26	-142	-17	11	-84	-98
Massachusetts	-26	-74	-76	-41	-53	30	-61	-43	-25	-13
Michigan	-160	-311	-113	-73	-8	-4	-13	-8	144	253
Minnesota	-518	-529	-436	-261	-101	-67	-84	-160	-236	94
Mississippi	-36	54	89	163	24	29	-43	142	-44	76
Missouri	-537	-780	-842	-774	-410	-443	245	-571	-767	47
Montana	41	4	-29	-62	-16	-84	-138	-78	-69	41
Nevada	-116	-167	-230	-126	-108	-266	-148	-206	-158	-44
New Hampshire	-6	-18	-42	-9	9	-6	18	-1	23	14
New Jersey	-72	1	-50	-3	15	64	3	39	44	19
New Mexico	-39	55	-71	-62	-12	-146	-100	-128	-13	-65
New York	58	-43	14	-93	143	99	80	92	27	2
North Carolina	-18	-281	-326	-234	-62	-207	-97	-193	-38	-109
North Dakota	174	271	101	184	57	-29	92	118	132	23
Ohio	-106	-109	-226	20	3	64	-65	-75	-97	37
Oklahoma	-240	-29	8	-90	-47	54	-54	-102	-96	-116
Oregon	-156	-135	-221	-177	-82	-76	-93	-29	-132	-111
Pennsylvania	72	-84	-66	-64	-8	-48	41	-89	83	14
Rhode Island	2	-11	27	-30	-6	20	28	28	-9	55
South Carolina	-42	-124	-112	-90	-107	-155	-68	-62	-117	-51
South Dakota	0	-296	-258	-104	-262	-328	-288	-275	-444	-461
Tennessee	-152	7	-117	-159	15	-110	-153	-216	-113	49
Texas	-813	-763	-590	-657	-447	-287	-419	-620	-1,250	-1,108
Utah	89	42	-69	44	42	-9	38	-80	-40	-21
Vermont	20	-31	-29	-1	2	-2	-14	-13	7	11
Virginia	-235	-160	-211	-222	-245	-157	-143	-31	-121	-76
Washington	39	-7	-63	-142	-81	-69	-145	-39	-160	-220
West Virginia	5	17	32	-22	2	-51	23	-4	-10	12
Wisconsin	-44	-216	-186	-196	-87	-179	-19	14	-30	76
Wyoming	97	-15	-161	-146	-186	-121	-297	-204	-408	-266