

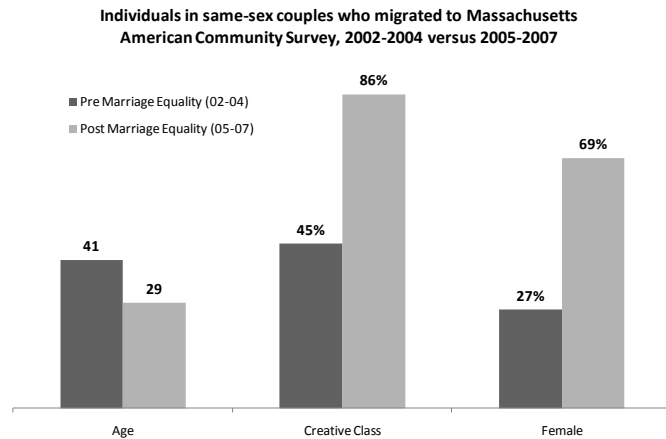


Marriage Equality and the Creative Class

Executive summary

In the debate over extending marriage to same-sex couples, there have been several arguments about the positive economic impacts for states that do so. One argument is that marriage will attract some same-sex couples to move to a state, in particular young, mobile, and highly educated individuals—members of what has been called the creative class—who are vital to economic development in a post-industrial economy. Massachusetts, with five years of experience in extending marriage to same-sex couples, provides the first opportunity in the United States to empirically assess this argument.

Data from the American Community Survey suggest that marriage equality has a small but positive impact on the number of individuals in same-sex couples who are attracted to a state. However, marriage equality appears to have a larger impact on the types of individuals in same-sex couples who are attracted to a state. In Massachusetts, marriage equality resulted in an increase of younger, female, and more highly educated and skilled individuals in same-sex couples moving to the state. Specifically, the data show:



- Overall, from 2002 to 2004 Massachusetts saw a net loss of 603 individuals in same-sex couples. After marriage equality, it gained 119 individuals in same-sex couples.
- Creative class individuals in same-sex couples were 2.5 times more likely to move to Massachusetts in the three years after marriage equality than in the three years before. Among all states, Massachusetts ranked 3rd in this statistic. Among New England and Northeastern states, Massachusetts ranked 1st.
- Individuals in same-sex couples who moved to Massachusetts after marriage equality were younger than individuals who moved before—the average age fell from 41 to 29.
- Nearly seven in ten (69%) individuals in same-sex couples who moved to Massachusetts after marriage equality were female, compared to only 27% among those who moved before. This is consistent with data showing that approximately two-thirds of marriages in the state are among female couples.
- The proportion in the creative class among individuals in same-sex couples who moved to Massachusetts after marriage equality (86%) was nearly double the proportion among those who moved before marriage equality (45%).
- The Health and Marriage Equality in Massachusetts survey of 559 individuals who are part of a married same-sex couple in Massachusetts found that 8% had moved to the state. More than half (51%) of these said that marriage equality or the state's LGBT rights climate was a factor in their decision to move there—20% cited this as the only factor for their move.

Analyses find no clear evidence for a distinctive impact of marriage equality on the migration patterns of all adults or of the creative class outside of those in same-sex couples. Assuming that LGBT-friendly policies provide a positive signal to the creative class, that signal may already have been established in Massachusetts, a state with a long history of support for LGBT-rights. Among the broader creative class population, marriage equality may constitute more of a confirmation of what was already known about Massachusetts rather than a signal of substantial change in the state.

The evidence that marriage equality may enhance the ability of Massachusetts to attract highly-skilled creative class workers among those in same-sex couples offers some support that the policy has the potential to have a long-term positive economic impact.

Introduction

Businesspeople, policymakers, and scholars have focused much recent attention on the value of diversity in the United States. Our nation's diversity in its population and workforce, as well as its diversity in policies across states, may influence economic development patterns through its effect on creativity and the movement of creative people across places.

Indeed, one of the most provocative conclusions to come out of Richard Florida's best-selling book *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Basic Books, 2002) was his assertion that a vibrant and visible lesbian and gay community marks one of the best predictors of a region's ability to attract a group of workers that he dubs the creative class. Florida argues that the creative class (comprised of an eclectic mix of individuals in occupations including artists, teachers, financiers, software engineers, and scientists) represents a key to regional economic development in today's post-industrial and global economy. The creative class is a relatively young, highly educated, and mobile workforce that values innovation and diversity as keys to creating stimulating work environments.¹

Florida argues that LGBT-friendly policies like marriage equality signal a welcoming and diversity-friendly climate that fosters entrepreneurship and innovation and attracts the creative class and the companies that employ them. This study tests Florida's hypothesis in the context of same-sex couples and the laws that provide legal recognition for their relationships.

¹ Analyses of 2007 American Community Survey data show that 3.6% of the creative class moved to a new state in the last year compared to 3.2% of non-creative class workers. The average age of creative class workers is 44 versus an average age of 47 among non-creative class workers. Fully 56% in the creative class have a college degree versus 13% of non-creative class workers.

Individuals in same-sex couples are nearly twice as likely as other adults to be in Florida's creative class. It seems reasonable to assume that among the creative class, those in same-sex couples would be the most inclined to migrate to a state offering marriage equality. Among same-sex couples, those in the creative class (like their heterosexual counterparts) are more educated and mobile than those not in the creative class. This also suggests that they would have the adequate resources and perhaps be among the first to migrate and take advantage of marriage equality.

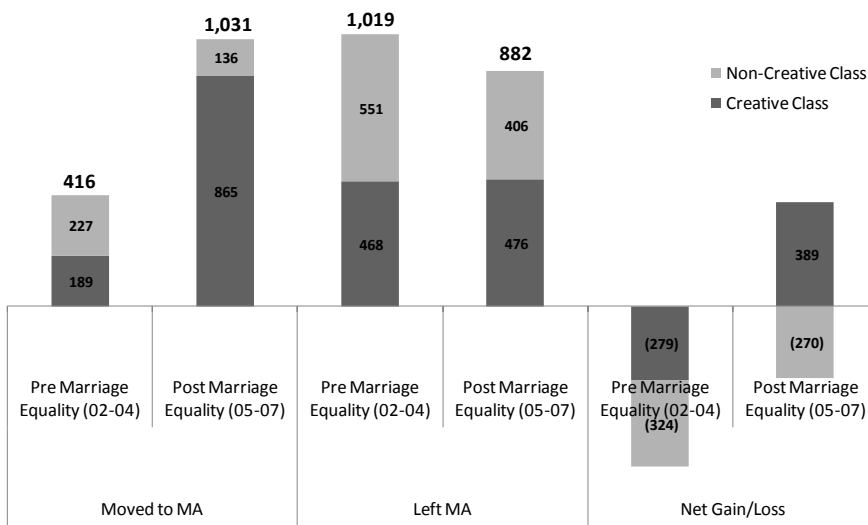
To assess the creative class-migration link, this research brief compares migration patterns of the U.S. population and of same-sex couples. Analyses look for evidence that, consistent with Florida's theories, marriage equality had an impact on migration of the creative class to Massachusetts.

Migration of same-sex couples to Massachusetts

In considering the relationship between marriage equality and population migration patterns, analyses begin with an examination of the group most likely to be directly affected: same-sex couples. Annual data from the American Community Survey (2002-2007) allows for the identification of same-sex couples and provides information about where partners lived in each prior year. Patterns are considered among those in same-sex couples in the three years prior to marriage equality (2002-2004) and the three years after the policy began (2005-2007). One might expect that people in same-sex couples who moved to a different state were more likely to move to Massachusetts after marriage equality than before. If Richard Florida's thesis is true, one would expect this pattern to be stronger for those in the creative class who are part of same-sex couples.

Analyses show that creative class individuals who were part of a same-sex couple were 2.5

Figure 1. Numbers of individuals in same-sex couples migrating to and from Massachusetts, American Community Survey, 2002-2004 versus 2005-2007



times more likely to move to Massachusetts in the three years after marriage equality than they were to migrate there in the three years before the legalization of marriage for same-sex couples.² Further, this group was only half as likely to leave Massachusetts in the three years after marriage equality as it was in the three years preceding the law, though this difference was not statistically significant.

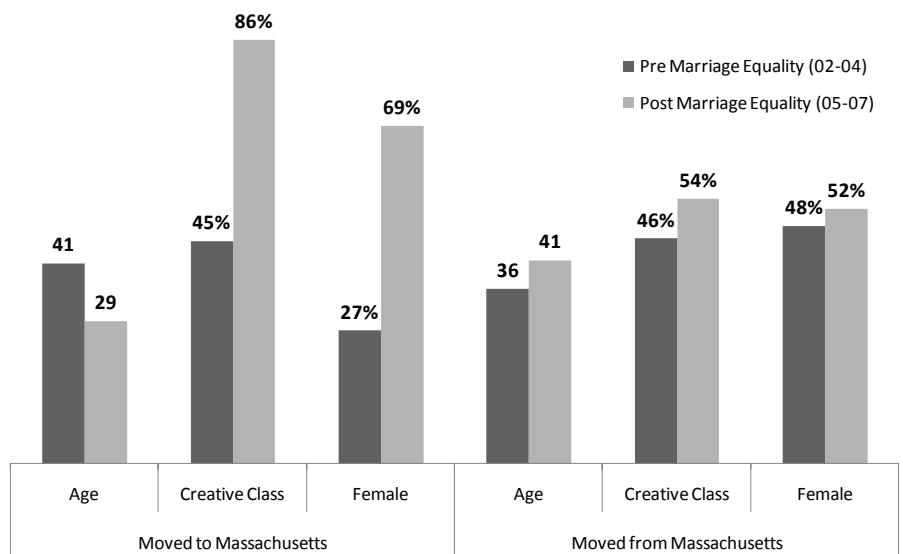
Figure 1 shows the estimated number of individuals in same-sex couples who moved to or from Massachusetts in the three years prior to versus the three years after marriage equality. Overall, the number of individuals in same-sex couples moving to Massachusetts increased from 416 to 1,031 in the two time periods. Leavers among same-sex couples decreased from 1,019 to 882. From 2002 to 2004 Massachusetts saw a net loss of an estimated 603 individuals in same-sex couples. After

² The difference is statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level

marriage equality, the state saw a net increase that was entirely due to a gain of an estimated 389 creative class individuals in same-sex couples. Post marriage equality, Massachusetts still lost 270 non-creative class workers among same-sex couples (a lower number than was lost pre-marriage equality). In total, the state gained an estimated 119 individuals in same-sex couples after marriage equality.

Demographic comparisons between those who moved to and those who left Massachusetts before and after marriage equality are consistent with an improvement in the ability of the state to attract a high-skilled labor force among those in same-sex couples. As shown in Figure 2, post marriage equality movers into the state (among those in same-sex couples) were younger (average age of 29 years old v. 41 years old) and much more likely to be in the creative class

Figure 2. Demographic differences among individuals in same-sex couples who migrated to and from Massachusetts, American Community Survey, 2002-2004 versus 2005-2007



(86% v. 45%) and more likely to be female (27% v. 69%).³ Among those who left the state, the differences are not nearly as dramatic.⁴

The fact that movers who were part of a same-sex couple were 2.5 times more likely to be female after marriage equality is striking. Among same-sex couples who were married in Massachusetts, nearly two-thirds were female. This may be related to the fact that female couples are more likely to have children than their male counterparts and the benefits of marriage (like easier establishment of parental rights and access to health insurance for children) are more salient to them. These data suggest that it also might mean that they are more drawn to migrate to the state than are male couples.

The Health and Marriage Equality in Massachusetts (HMEM) survey, conducted by the Massachusetts Department of Public Health (MA DPH), surveyed 559 individuals who are part of a same-sex married couple living in Massachusetts in May 2009. Data from this survey provide a final indication of the extent to which marriage equality plays a role in the decision to migrate to the state. Among survey respondents, 8% moved to the state since marriage equality was enacted there. This compares to the ACS data showing that 4% of all individuals in same-sex couples had moved to the state post marriage equality. While the HMEM survey was not a random sample, it is interesting to note that migration was much more likely among the married same-sex spouses than among a sample of same-sex couples that includes both married and unmarried partners.

The HMEM survey also asked respondents to identify the three primary reasons for moving to Massachusetts. More than half (51%) said that

marriage equality or the state's LGBT rights climate was a factor in their decision to move there. One in five identified those as the sole factors in their decision to move. Employment prospects constituted the most commonly cited factor (55%). After those two reasons, the desire to be near family or a spouse/partner was the other most commonly cited reason for moving to the state (28%).

Comparing migration patterns to those in other states

The court decision making Massachusetts the first state to enact marriage equality in 2004 followed a long history of the state being at the forefront of LGBT rights. In 1989, it became only the second state (after Wisconsin in 1982) to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation.⁵ It added sexual orientation to its hate crimes statute in 2002.⁶ For many, including likely those in the creative class, Massachusetts has long been known as a socially progressive state.

Analyses for this study include a replication of all migration analyses conducted for individuals in same-sex couples discussed above using the entire US adult population (see Appendix Table 3). Assuming that LGBT-friendly policies provide a positive signal to the creative class, that signal has actually been long-established in Massachusetts. In the broader population, marriage equality may have constituted more of a confirmation of what was already known about Massachusetts as opposed to a signal of substantial change in the state. This is perhaps why we find no clear evidence for a distinctive impact of marriage equality on the migration patterns of all adults or the creative class outside of those in same-sex couples.

³ The differences in age and creative class are significant at the p<0.10 level and the female difference is significant at the p<0.05 level.

⁴ Age is significant at the p<0.10 level and differences in creative class and female are not statistically significant.

⁵ See National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, State Nondiscrimination Laws in the U.S., http://www.thetaskforce.org/downloads/reports/issue_maps/non_discrimination_7_08_color.pdf

⁶ See Human Rights Campaign, Hate Crimes Laws, http://www.hrc.org/documents/hate_crime_laws.pdf

Even among all individuals in same-sex couples, the migration patterns observed in Massachusetts are not completely distinctive when viewed nationally (see Appendix Tables 1-3). The odds of an individual in a same-sex couple moving to Massachusetts were nearly 1.3 times higher after marriage equality than before the law came into effect (though the difference is not statistically significant). Twenty states ranked above Massachusetts in that statistic. Some, like Alabama and Arkansas (ranked 2nd at 6th) may be a product of unique migration patterns following Hurricane Katrina. Others, like Alaska (ranked 1st) and South Dakota (ranked 4th) could be a product of the fact that even small changes in states with relatively few same-sex couples could result in large differences in the two time periods compared. Even within New England, the odds of an individual in a same-sex couple moving to New Hampshire after marriage equality became legal were higher (though also not statistically significant) than the odds of moving to Massachusetts. In general, the analyses do not support a conclusion that marriage equality had a distinctive impact on the migration patterns among all individuals in same-sex couples.

However, among individuals in the creative class who are part of same-sex couples, there is some evidence that marriage equality created a distinctive national migration draw to Massachusetts. Nationally, the state ranked 3rd (behind Illinois and Arizona) in the odds that a creative class individual in a same-sex couple would move to Massachusetts after marriage equality (relative to before). Among New England states and in the broader Northeast region, Massachusetts ranked 1st in that statistic. While the patterns observed cannot be considered conclusive, they do suggest that among creative class individuals in same-sex couples, marriage equality may have been a key factor in the decision to relocate to the state.

Conclusion

Our analyses find evidence that marriage equality may have an impact on the migration of creative class workers among same-sex couples in the United States. They were 2.5 times more likely to move to the state after marriage equality than before. This positions Massachusetts as a leader within the Northeast region in attracting this segment of the workforce.

Findings also offer evidence that marriage equality played a broader role in the migration decision of many married same-sex couples. Women may see marriage protections as more salient since they are more likely to have children than are gay men. Notably, they comprise a much larger portion of individuals in same-sex couples who moved to Massachusetts after marriage equality.

Further, the HMEM survey found that more than half of individuals who are married to a same-sex spouse cited marriage equality and the positive LGB political climate in the state as one of the primary reasons they chose to move to Massachusetts.

The evidence that marriage equality may enhance the ability of Massachusetts to attract highly-skilled creative class workers among those in same-sex couples offers some support that the policy has the potential to have a long-term positive economic impact.

Appendix Table 1. Migration patterns to states among individuals in same-sex couples, American Community Survey 2002-2007.

	Individuals in same-sex couples who moved to state				Creative class individuals in same-sex couples who moved to state				
	Pre-marriage equality (2002-2004)	Post-marriage equality (2005-2007)	Odds of moving post-marriage equality	National rank (high to low)	Pre-marriage equality (2002-2004)	Post-marriage equality (2005-2007)	Odds of moving post-marriage equality	National rank (high to low)	
Northeast	Connecticut	421	201	0.37	43	270	104	0.31	41
	Maine	126	118	0.88	40	39	32	0.78	27
	Massachusetts	416	1,001	1.32	21	189	865	2.55	3
	New Hampshire	129	409	2.60	8	129	187	1.20	6
	New Jersey	1,528	718	0.44	38	969	460	0.45	34
	New York	894	1,730	1.59	15	514	1,102	1.78	12
	Pennsylvania	794	1,105	1.10	39	328	541	1.32	24
	Rhode Island	239	199	0.66	28	163	-	-	38
	Vermont	79	238	2.00	11	79	162	1.37	11
Midwest	Illinois	159	1,373	7.34	3	78	745	8.18	1
	Indiana	82	288	2.96	7	-	167	-	-
	Iowa	520	436	0.69	26	279	136	0.41	32
	Kansas	251	311	1.13	22	105	63	0.56	10
	Michigan	847	207	0.18	47	433	207	0.36	40
	Minnesota	440	327	0.69	34	136	138	0.95	15
	Missouri	419	790	1.77	17	237	305	1.22	21
	Nebraska	473	73	0.11	49	318	-	-	-
	North Dakota	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Ohio	444	1,016	1.93	12	134	402	2.56	5
	South Dakota	39	-	-	4	39	-	-	7
	Wisconsin	174	396	1.66	20	-	172	-	16
South	Alabama	-	867	-	2	-	445	-	-
	Arkansas	212	508	2.12	6	-	217	-	-
	Delaware	219	102	0.29	45	89	76	0.54	37

	District of Columbia	223	363	1.05	25	147	240	1.07	20
	Florida	2,146	3,450	1.29	24	964	1,783	1.50	14
	Georgia	1,179	587	0.45	35	631	331	0.48	36
	Kentucky	422	308	0.60	30	-	98	-	
	Louisiana	395	467	0.82	23	238	202	0.60	28
	Maryland	327	1,526	3.88	13	327	903	2.32	9
	Mississippi	85	53	0.56	33	-	-	-	
	North Carolina	481	1,134	2.40	9	320	639	2.06	4
	Oklahoma	74	378	2.79	5	74	90	0.67	30
	South Carolina	603	671	1.02	16	110	158	1.33	18
	Tennessee	1,387	677	0.35	36	633	347	0.40	33
	Texas	1,038	2,343	1.97	18	519	811	1.38	13
	Virginia	1,196	945	0.59	37	357	371	0.79	26
	West Virginia	228	58	0.13	29	79	-	-	25
West	Alaska	-	252	-	1	-	-	-	-
	Arizona	170	1,112	5.53	10	62	686	9.49	2
	California	3,500	2,745	0.62	42	1,812	1,282	0.57	31
	Colorado	404	576	1.49	27	190	392	2.18	22
	Hawaii	207	186	0.71	19	123	84	0.55	23
	Idaho	15	38	1.86	31	15	38	1.88	8
	Montana	46	7	0.21	48	-	7	-	42
	Nevada	488	389	0.76	41	231	247	1.03	19
	New Mexico	476	272	0.51	44	224	156	0.63	29
	Oregon	623	947	1.53	14	375	413	1.12	17
	Utah	135	245	1.71	32	135	155	1.10	35
	Washington	1,836	595	0.25	46	1,144	314	0.21	39
	Wyoming	20	-	-	-	20	-	-	-

Note: Figures in **bold** indicate a statistically significant difference between the proportion who moved before v. after marriage equality (p<0.10)
Figures in *italics* indicate a statistically significant difference between the proportion who moved before v. after marriage equality (p<0.05)

Appendix Table 2. Migration patterns from states among individuals in same-sex couples, American Community Survey 2002-2007.

	Individuals in same-sex couples who moved from state				Creative class individuals in same-sex couples who moved from state				
	Pre-marriage equality (2002-2004)	Post-marriage equality (2005-2007)	Odds of leaving post-marriage equality	National rank (low to high)	Pre-marriage equality (2002-2004)	Post-marriage equality (2005-2007)	Odds of leaving post-marriage equality	National Rank (low to high)	
Northeast	Connecticut	340	473	1.42	28	69	308	4.53	36
	Maine	233	-	-		59	-	-	
	Massachusetts	1,019	882	0.48	7	468	476	0.56	5
	New Hampshire	121	271	1.54	29	64	78	0.84	15
	New Jersey	843	564	1.03	22	369	411	1.71	22
	New York	2,443	1,756	0.69	10	1,613	823	0.49	3
	Pennsylvania	1,274	880	0.67	9	784	549	0.68	9
	Rhode Island	161	36	-		25	-	-	
	Vermont	-	178	4.07	40	-	120	2.73	29
Midwest	Illinois	1,179	1,052	0.95	21	619	574	0.99	16
	Indiana	328	752	2.15	36	149	426	2.67	28
	Iowa	451	407	0.24	2	216	-	-	
	Kansas	192	355	0.95	20	143	199	0.71	12
	Michigan	957	923	0.76	13	210	582	2.18	25
	Minnesota	-	562	2.98	39	-	339	3.27	31
	Missouri	725	767	0.87	16	160	203	1.04	18
	Nebraska	194	59	-		176	-	-	
	North Dakota	150	713	1.92	33	-	-	-	
	Ohio	975	706	1.12	23	43	280	9.92	37
	South Dakota	-	-	-		-	-	-	
	Wisconsin	276	430	2.11	35	122	299	3.31	32
South	Alabama	313	343	1.28	25	78	104	1.55	21
	Arkansas	361	141	0.41	6	-	-	-	
	Delaware	-	80	-		-	65	-	

	District of Columbia	365	629	1.71	31	209	416	1.97	23
	Florida	1,185	2,097	1.40	27	834	1,362	1.29	19
	Georgia	1,078	1,557	1.22	24	452	1,067	2.00	24
	Kentucky	260	467	2.72	38	57	97	2.59	27
	Louisiana	258	256	0.89	17	173	136	0.71	11
	Maryland	607	1,102	0.92	19	427	690	0.81	14
	Mississippi	50	780	7.01	44	25	196	3.47	33
	North Carolina	1,323	889	0.69	11	427	266	0.64	7
	Oklahoma	163	635	4.69	41	-	150	-	
	South Carolina	520	142	0.30	5	159	-	-	
	Tennessee	334	767	1.98	34	256	190	0.64	8
	Texas	599	1,768	1.69	30	346	887	1.47	20
	Virginia	796	839	0.58	8	514	647	0.69	10
	West Virginia	123	539	1.89	32	38	284	3.18	30
West	Alaska	144	36	0.28	4	-	36	-	
	Arizona	622	588	0.71	12	368	241	0.49	4
	California	1,861	2,550	0.90	18	1,116	1,356	0.80	13
	Colorado	928	393	0.82	14	573	304	1.02	17
	Hawaii	356	335	1.38	26	92	225	3.60	34
	Idaho	-	101	-		-	-	-	
	Montana	593	53	0.16	1	593	-	-	
	Nevada	-	414	5.84	42	-	229	4.21	35
	New Mexico	137	108	0.27	3	79	108	0.46	2
	Oregon	276	428	0.87	15	188	144	0.43	1
	Utah	115	-	-		-	-	-	
	Washington	367	889	2.22	37	240	167	0.63	6
	Wyoming	27	378	6.14	43	8	45	2.55	26

Note: Figures in **bold** indicate a statistically significant difference between the proportion who moved before v. after marriage equality ($p < 0.10$)
Figures in *italics* indicate a statistically significant difference between the proportion who moved before v. after marriage equality ($p < 0.05$)

Appendix Table 3. Net gains (losses) in migration to/from states, American Community Survey 2002-2007.

	Individuals in same-sex couples				All adults				
	All		Creative Class		All		Creative Class		
	Pre-marriage equality	Post-marriage equality	Pre-marriage equality	Post-marriage equality	Pre-marriage equality	Post-marriage equality	Pre-marriage equality	Post-marriage equality	
Northeast	Connecticut	81	(272)	201	(203)	11,480	(138)	4,058	1,060
	Maine	(107)	118	(20)	32	8,045	1,202	1,881	431
	Massachusetts	(603)	119	(279)	389	(9,609)	4,351	(1,686)	(979)
	New Hampshire	8	138	65	109	5,472	8,274	2,122	3,377
	New Jersey	685	154	600	50	33,587	(4,648)	13,829	7,518
	New York	(1,549)	(26)	(1,098)	279	(69,730)	(47,345)	(21,742)	(11,336)
	Pennsylvania	(480)	225	(456)	(8)	20,633	43,845	(1,827)	1,959
	Rhode Island	77	163	138	-	3,943	2,877	(190)	109
Vermont	79	60	79	42	(1,925)	222	280	307	
Midwest	Illinois	(1,020)	322	(541)	171	10,994	(4,696)	3,285	2,117
	Indiana	(246)	(464)	(149)	(259)	14,282	17,840	(1,889)	(427)
	Iowa	69	29	63	136	(487)	14,462	(4,337)	5,186
	Kansas	59	(44)	(38)	(135)	3,669	6,534	(799)	(1,704)
	Michigan	(110)	(717)	223	(376)	13,108	(26,985)	8,844	(12,340)
	Minnesota	440	(235)	136	(201)	15,502	6,404	1,859	8,629
	Missouri	(306)	24	77	102	18,926	15,029	2,802	(637)
	Nebraska	279	14	143	-	7,846	1,053	523	(1,354)
	North Dakota	(109)	(713)	-	-	1,609	2,704	(1,111)	(1,268)
	Ohio	(531)	310	91	122	1,843	(3,395)	(3,228)	(3,277)
	South Dakota	39	-	39	-	(5,698)	3,904	(1,615)	(149)
	Wisconsin	(102)	(34)	(122)	(127)	27,064	10,341	4,271	392
South	Alabama	(313)	524	(78)	341	10,567	33,781	751	8,148
	Arkansas	(149)	367	-	217	26,357	18,570	4,491	4,053
	Delaware	219	22	89	11	9,552	8,223	1,515	1,887
	District of Columbia	(142)	(266)	(62)	(176)	658	(2,951)	2,376	4,266

	Florida	960	1,353	130	421	305,854	173,684	81,442	49,831
	Georgia	101	(970)	179	(736)	50,575	118,006	12,365	26,985
	Kentucky	163	(159)	(57)	1	17,014	28,471	2,061	3,111
	Louisiana	137	211	65	66	(1,035)	(54,187)	1,300	(14,160)
	Maryland	(280)	424	(99)	213	39,598	20,336	14,389	11,689
	Mississippi	35	(728)	(25)	(196)	3,850	(6,029)	(411)	(5,324)
	North Carolina	(842)	245	(107)	373	48,929	110,622	10,776	27,963
	Oklahoma	(89)	(256)	74	(60)	21,093	27,999	1,658	1,999
	South Carolina	83	529	(48)	158	39,159	54,784	11,686	18,044
	Tennessee	1,053	(90)	377	157	36,605	38,051	10,474	9,518
	Texas	439	575	174	(76)	118,223	237,080	30,883	60,009
	Virginia	400	106	(157)	(275)	57,487	59,886	19,093	16,403
	West Virginia	105	(481)	41	(284)	1,375	6,790	(1,223)	(29)
West	Alaska	(144)	216	-	(36)	(12,842)	(12,843)	(4,347)	(2,832)
	Arizona	(452)	524	(306)	444	100,916	117,598	24,270	30,563
	California	1,639	196	696	(74)	122,501	106,477	42,998	30,502
	Colorado	(524)	184	(383)	88	28,693	41,935	9,211	12,160
	Hawaii	(149)	(149)	31	(142)	4,931	5,169	2,254	455
	Idaho	15	(63)	15	38	12,355	24,826	2,408	6,333
	Montana	(547)	(46)	(593)	7	2,948	5,109	907	738
	Nevada	488	(24)	231	17	34,763	40,963	9,457	11,386
	New Mexico	338	163	145	48	9,044	16,060	3,447	5,360
	Oregon	347	520	187	269	32,712	39,913	10,363	13,791
	Utah	20	245	135	155	11,239	32,349	(2,480)	4,478
	Washington	1,469	(294)	903	148	50,515	80,716	18,333	31,907
	Wyoming	(8)	(378)	12	(45)	2,379	(181)	845	677

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