

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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# **The President's 2008 Appropriation Veto Threats**

## What's at Stake?

## A State-by-State Analysis of Key Programs in the Labor-Health-Education and Military Construction-Veterans Conference Agreement

- Title I (Education for the Disadvantaged)
- Special Education (IDEA)
- 21<sup>st</sup> Century Learning Centers (After-School Care)
- Vocational Education
- Head Start
- Dislocated Worker Activities
- Veterans' Health Care

### **Title I (Education for the Disadvantaged)**

The 2008 Labor-Health-Education appropriations conference agreement provides \$14.8 billion for Title I. Had Congress instead provided just what the President requested, it would have fully funded services to 117,000 fewer children and reduced the number of additional qualified teachers states could put in classrooms by 8,000. Title I grants form the cornerstone of federal K-12 education funding under the No Child Left Behind Act. This year, Title I grants will provide extra academic support to more than 18 million students in more than 54,000 public schools, most of them in high-poverty areas.

The following table estimates the impact of the President's \$401 million cut below the Congressional level using the assumptions detailed in the technical notes. Although states can use Title I funds for several purposes, the table assumes that the funding increase pays for teacher hiring. State allocations do not equal the difference in funding levels because the table does not show funding for administration and other set-asides or funding for non-state regions other than the District of Columbia.

			Reduction				Reduction
			in				in
	President's		Children		President's		Children
	Cut vs.	Teachers	Fully		Cut vs.	Teachers	Fully
	Congress	Not Hired	Funded		Congress	Not Hired	Funded
Alabama	-\$6,445,000	-161	-1,874	Montana	-\$1,234,000	-31	-359
Alaska	-\$1,325,000		-385	Nebraska	-\$1,750,000		-509
Arizona	-\$7,053,000		-2,051	Nevada	-\$2,097,000		-610
Arkansas	-\$4,920,000	-118	-1,431	New Hampshire	<b>e</b> -\$878,000	-19	-255
California	-\$51,737,000	-870	-15,044	New Jersey	-\$11,644,000	-200	-3,386
Colorado	-\$3,857,000		-1,122	New Mexico	-\$3,870,000	-96	-1,125
Connecticut	-\$4,351,000		-1,265	New York	-\$23,927,000	-414	-6,958
Delaware	-\$1,216,000	-23	-354	North Carolina	-\$10,495,000	-236	-3,052
District of							
Columbia	-\$780,000	-13	-227	North Dakota	-\$1,057,000		-307
Florida	-\$12,698,000	-301	-3,692	Ohio	-\$16,116,000	-322	-4,686
Georgia	-\$13,222,000		-3,845	Oklahoma	-\$5,889,000	-154	-1,712
Hawaii	-\$1,215,000		-353	Oregon	-\$4,451,000	-85	-1,294
Idaho	-\$1,389,000		-404	Pennsylvania	-\$15,334,000	-283	-4,459
Illinois	-\$11,852,000	-207	-3,446	Rhode Island	-\$1,971,000		-573
Indiana	-\$10,446,000		-3,038	South Carolina	-\$7,454,000		-2,167
lowa	-\$3,278,000		-953	South Dakota	-\$1,465,000	-42	-426
Kansas	-\$6,597,000	-164	-1,918	Tennessee	-\$6,285,000	-147	-1,828
Kentucky	-\$9,470,000		-2,754	Texas	-\$34,055,000	-808	-9,903
Louisiana	-\$9,484,000		-2,758	Utah	-\$2,292,000		-666
Maine	-\$1,304,000		-379	Vermont	-\$1,017,000		-296
Maryland	-\$4,398,000	-82	-1,279	Virginia	-\$5,569,000	-121	-1,619
Massachusetts	-\$5,135,000		-1,493	Washington	-\$6,942,000	-148	-2,019
Michigan	-\$15,378,000		-4,472	West Virginia	-\$3,564,000		-1,036
Minnesota	-\$3,482,000	-72	-1,013	Wisconsin	-\$7,286,000	-163	-2,119
Mississippi	-\$7,747,000	-206	-2,253	Wyoming	-\$1,160,000	-28	-337
Missouri	-\$5,278,000	-132	-1,535				

Sources and Technical Notes: State allocations are estimated according to the statutory formula by the Congressional Research Service. The President's funding levels are from his 2008 budget, and Congressional funding levels are from the conference report on H.R. 3043. For illustrative purposes, the number of new teachers hired is estimated using each state's average teacher salary for the 2004-2005 school year, adjusted upward for inflation according to projections by National Center for Education Statistics in "Projections of Education Statistics to 2015." Number of children fully funded is calculated using a per-child average of \$3,439, using the Title I authorization and a number of formula children provided by the Congressional Research Service.

### **Special Education (IDEA)**

The 2008 Labor-Health-Education appropriations conference agreement provides \$11.3 billion for IDEA state grants. Had Congress instead provided just what the President requested, federal funding for disabled children would be lower by an average of \$117 per child. The bill increases the federal share of the cost of educating children with disabilities to help ensure that children with disabilities can meet the same achievement standards set for all children. The bill raises the federal contribution to 17.7 percent, in contrast to the President's budget that actually cuts the federal share to 16.5 percent.

The following table estimates the impact of the President's \$800 million cut below the Congressional level using the assumptions detailed in the technical notes. State allocations do not total to the difference in funding levels because the table does not show funding for administration and other set-asides or funding for non-state regions other than the District of Columbia.

		Funding			Funding
		Lost Per			Lost Per
	President's Cut	Disabled		President's Cut	Disabled
	vs. Congress	Child		vs. Congress	Child
Alabama	-\$11,811,000	-\$128	Montana	-\$2,667,000	-\$138
Alaska	-\$2,925,000		Nebraska	-\$4,775,000	
Arizona	-\$15,236,000	-\$122	Nevada	-\$5,730,000	
Arkansas	-\$7,362,000	-\$109	New Hampshire	-\$3,037,000	
California	-\$81,237,000	-\$120	New Jersey	-\$23,111,000	-\$93
Colorado	-\$12,888,000	-\$154	New Mexico	-\$5,854,000	-\$116
Connecticut	-\$8,518,000		New York	-\$48,821,000	-\$109
Delaware	-\$2,791,000	-\$148	North Carolina	-\$26,826,000	
District of Columbia	-\$1,404,000	-\$120	North Dakota	-\$2,267,000	
Florida	-\$44,506,000	-\$112	Ohio	-\$28,814,000	-\$108
Georgia	-\$26,785,000	-\$136	Oklahoma	-\$9,635,000	-\$100
Hawaii	-\$2,637,000	-\$120	Oregon	-\$8,517,000	-\$110
Idaho	-\$4,490,000	-\$155	Pennsylvania	-\$27,995,000	-\$97
Illinois	-\$32,793,000	-\$101	Rhode Island	-\$2,796,000	-\$91
Indiana	-\$17,432,000	-\$98	South Carolina	-\$12,578,000	-\$114
Iowa	-\$7,806,000	-\$108	South Dakota	-\$2,700,000	-\$153
Kansas	-\$6,947,000	-\$106	Tennessee	-\$15,683,000	-\$131
Kentucky	-\$10,210,000	-\$94	Texas	-\$81,741,000	-\$161
Louisiana	-\$12,566,000	-\$139	Utah	-\$9,024,000	-\$149
Maine	-\$3,499,000	-\$96	Vermont	-\$2,186,000	-\$157
Maryland	-\$12,949,000	-\$117	Virginia	-\$18,321,000	-\$105
Massachusetts	-\$18,150,000	-\$112	Washington	-\$14,606,000	-\$117
Michigan	-\$26,385,000	-\$108	West Virginia	-\$4,855,000	-\$98
Minnesota	-\$12,267,000	-\$105	Wisconsin	-\$13,458,000	-\$103
Mississippi	-\$9,004,000	-\$132	Wyoming	-\$2,293,000	-\$167
Missouri	-\$14,538,000	-\$102			

**Sources and Technical Notes:** State allocations were estimated according to the statutory formula by the Congressional Research Service. The President's funding levels are from his 2008 budget, and Congressional funding levels are from the conference report on H.R. 3043. The per-child funding estimate assumes that the number of children eligible for special education remains at the level most recently reported by the Department of Education.

## 21st Century Learning Centers (After-School)

The 2008 Labor-Health-Education appropriations conference agreement provides \$1.1 billion for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Learning After-School Centers. This investment provides a safe place for supervised after-school activities for 130,000 more students than the President's budget, providing services that include academic assistance, career exploration, skills development and internships, and athletic programs.

The following table estimates the impact of the President's \$100 million cut below the Congressional level using the assumptions detailed in the technical notes. State allocations do not total to the difference in funding levels because the table does not show funding for administration and other set-asides or funding for non-state regions other than the District of Columbia.

		Reduction			Reduction
		in Children			in Children
		in After-			in After-
	President's Cut	school		President's Cut	school
	vs. Congress	Programs		vs. Congress	Programs
Alabama	-\$1,626,000	-2,145	Montana	-\$317,000	-418
Alaska	-\$317,000	-418	Nebraska	-\$317,000	-418
Arizona	-\$2,111,000	-2,785	Nevada	-\$610,000	-805
Arkansas	-\$1,142,000	-1,506	New Hampshire	-\$317,000	-418
California	-\$13,687,000	-18,057	New Jersey	-\$2,493,000	-3,289
Colorado	-\$1,086,000	-1,433	New Mexico	-\$974,000	
Connecticut	-\$958,000	-1,264	New York	-\$8,680,000	-11,452
Delaware	-\$317,000	-418	North Carolina	-\$2,519,000	-3,323
District of Columbia	-\$317,000	-418	North Dakota	-\$317,000	-418
Florida	-\$4,399,000	-5,803	Ohio	-\$3,705,000	-4,889
Georgia	-\$3,337,000	-4,402	Oklahoma	-\$1,260,000	-1,662
Hawaii	-\$317,000	-418	Oregon	-\$1,088,000	-1,435
Idaho	-\$317,000	-418	Pennsylvania	-\$4,025,000	-5,310
Illinois	-\$4,308,000	-5,684	Rhode Island	-\$317,000	-418
Indiana	-\$2,035,000	-2,685	South Carolina	-\$1,575,000	-2,078
Iowa	-\$635,000	-837	South Dakota	-\$317,000	-418
Kansas	-\$989,000	-1,305	Tennessee	-\$1,658,000	-2,188
Kentucky	-\$1,775,000	-2,342	Texas	-\$9,449,000	-12,466
Louisiana	-\$2,343,000	-3,091	Utah	-\$317,000	-418
Maine	-\$317,000	-418	Vermont	-\$317,000	-418
Maryland	-\$1,400,000	-1,847	Virginia	-\$1,657,000	-2,186
Massachusetts	-\$1,706,000	-2,251	Washington	-\$1,572,000	
Michigan	-\$3,696,000	-4,876	West Virginia	-\$882,000	
Minnesota	-\$918,000	-1,211	Wisconsin	-\$1,667,000	-2,199
Mississippi	-\$1,722,000	-2,272	Wyoming	-\$317,000	-418
Missouri	-\$1,543,000	-2,035			

**Sources and Technical Notes:** State allocations are estimated according to the statutory formula, which is based on state Title I allocations, adjusted to ensure that no state receives less than 0.5 percent of funding available for states. Title I allocations were estimated by the Congressional Research Service. The President's funding levels are from his 2008 budget, and Congressional funding levels are from the conference report on H.R. 3043. For illustrative purposes, the number of children not receiving after-school care is estimated using the 2008 per-child cost for this program (national), as provided in the Department of Education 2008 Congressional Budget Justification.

#### **Vocational Education (Career and Technical Education)**

The 2008 Labor-Health-Education appropriations conference agreement provides \$1.2 billion for career and vocational education in high schools and community and technical colleges. This funding is \$606 million more than the President's budget, which cuts the state grant program by 49 percent below last year's level, withdrawing assistance for the approximately 8 million students currently supported by federally funded vocational education.

The following table estimates the impact of the President's \$606 million cut below the Congressional level using the assumptions detailed in the technical notes. State allocations do not total to the difference in funding levels because the table does not show funding for administration and other set-asides or funding for non-state regions other than the District of Columbia.

	President's Cut		President's Cut
	vs. Congress		vs. Congress
Alabama	-\$8,559,000	Montana	-\$2,885,000
Alaska	-\$2,833,000	Nebraska	-\$3,253,000
Arizona	-\$15,211,000	Nevada	-\$5,480,000
Arkansas	-\$5,830,000	New Hampshire	-\$2,925,000
California	-\$69,948,000	New Jersey	-\$12,824,000
Colorado	-\$8,255,000	New Mexico	-\$4,510,000
Connecticut	-\$5,529,000	New York	-\$31,567,000
Delaware	-\$3,053,000	North Carolina	-\$19,252,000
District of Columbia	-\$2,833,000	North Dakota	-\$2,833,000
Florida	-\$36,522,000	Ohio	-\$21,279,000
Georgia	-\$22,523,000	Oklahoma	-\$6,534,000
Hawaii	-\$2,925,000	Oregon	-\$7,022,000
Idaho	-\$3,254,000	Pennsylvania	-\$22,499,000
Illinois	-\$23,689,000	Rhode Island	-\$2,925,000
Indiana	-\$12,335,000	South Carolina	-\$9,805,000
Iowa	-\$5,442,000	South Dakota	-\$2,891,000
Kansas	-\$5,329,000	Tennessee	-\$11,592,000
Kentucky	-\$7,526,000	Texas	-\$50,660,000
Louisiana	-\$8,744,000	Utah	-\$6,385,000
Maine	-\$2,923,000	Vermont	-\$2,833,000
Maryland	-\$8,387,000	Virginia	-\$12,637,000
Massachusetts	-\$9,115,000	Washington	-\$11,423,000
Michigan	-\$20,464,000	West Virginia	-\$3,503,000
Minnesota	-\$8,514,000	Wisconsin	-\$10,312,000
Mississippi	-\$6,009,000	Wyoming	-\$2,833,000
Missouri	-\$11,823,000		

*Sources and Technical Notes:* State allocations were estimated according to the statutory formula by the Congressional Research Service. The President's funding levels are from his 2008 budget, and Congressional funding levels are from the conference report on H.R. 3043. Data on current program enrollment is from the Department of Education.

### **Head Start**

The 2008 Labor-Health-Education appropriations conference agreement provides \$7.0 billion for Head Start, enough for states to provide school readiness and other comprehensive services to 30,000 more children than would be possible had Congress provided just what the President requested. In fact, the President's budget could have cut off 13,500 children currently in Head Start, even though the program serves only about 919,000 children – less than half of all children who are eligible.

The following table estimates the impact of the President's \$254 million cut below the Congressional level using the assumptions detailed in the technical notes. State allocations do not total to the difference in funding levels because the table does not show funding for administration and other set-asides or funding for non-state regions other than the District of Columbia.

		Reduction			Reduction
		in Children			in Children
	President's Cut	Receiving		President's Cut	Receiving
	vs. Congress	Head Start		vs. Congress	Head Start
Alabama	-\$3,940,000	-547	Montana	-\$774,000	-107
Alaska	-\$461,000	-64	Nebraska	-\$1,332,000	-185
Arizona	-\$3,825,000	-530	Nevada	-\$897,000	-124
Arkansas	-\$2,385,000	-331	New Hampshire	-\$495,000	-69
California	-\$30,732,000	-4,262	New Jersey	-\$4,767,000	-661
Colorado	-\$2,525,000	-350	New Mexico	-\$1,933,000	-268
Connecticut	-\$1,918,000	-266	New York	-\$16,008,000	-2,220
Delaware	-\$489,000	-68	North Carolina	-\$5,221,000	-724
District of Columbia	-\$928,000		North Dakota	-\$635,000	
Florida	-\$9,724,000	-1,349	Ohio	-\$9,124,000	-1,265
Georgia	-\$6,227,000	-864	Oklahoma	-\$2,995,000	-415
Hawaii	-\$846,000		Oregon	-\$2,198,000	-305
Idaho	-\$843,000	-117	Pennsylvania	-\$8,432,000	-1,169
Illinois	-\$10,006,000	-1,388	Rhode Island	-\$814,000	-113
Indiana	-\$3,555,000	-493	South Carolina	-\$3,049,000	-423
Iowa	-\$1,905,000	-264	South Dakota	-\$696,000	-96
Kansas	-\$1,882,000	-261	Tennessee	-\$4,410,000	-612
Kentucky	-\$3,985,000	-553	Texas	-\$17,690,000	-2,454
Louisiana	-\$5,392,000	-748	Utah	-\$1,396,000	-194
Maine	-\$1,020,000	-142	Vermont	-\$501,000	-69
Maryland	-\$2,884,000		Virginia	-\$3,662,000	-508
Massachusetts	-\$4,004,000	-555	Washington	-\$3,709,000	-514
Michigan	-\$8,667,000	-1,202	West Virginia	-\$1,871,000	
Minnesota	-\$2,661,000	-369	Wisconsin	-\$3,358,000	-466
Mississippi	-\$5,975,000	-829	Wyoming	-\$457,000	-63
Missouri	-\$4,397,000	-610			

Sources and Technical Notes: State allocations are estimated based on the distribution provided in the President's 2008 budget request. The President's funding levels are from his 2008 budget, and Congressional funding levels are from the conference report on H.R. 3043. For illustrative purposes, the number of children receiving assistance is estimated using the Department of Health and Human Services' estimated cost per 2008 Head Start slot, which was provided in its Congressional Justification for the President's 2008 budget. Reductions or increases in the number of children receiving services could vary from these estimates based on centers' flexibility to absorb funding cuts or apply increases.

#### **Dislocated Worker Activities**

The 2008 Labor-Health-Education appropriations conference agreement includes \$1.5 billion for job training, career guidance, placement, and other services for 89,000 more dislocated workers – including those who lost their jobs due to trade – than the President's budget. In 2005, 83 percent of people participating in the program found a job within three months, and the vast majority remained employed after nine months. The President's 2008 budget cuts funds targeted for dislocated workers by \$357 million (24 percent).

The following table estimates the impact of the President's \$357 million cut below the Congressional level using the assumptions detailed in the technical notes. State allocations do not equal the difference between the President's budget and the appropriation for the program because the table does not show the mandated reserve fund or the funding for some states and outlying areas. The bill also reduces the President's proposed rescission of prior year balances in workforce investment programs by \$90 million.

		Workers			Workers
	President's Cut	Not		President's Cut	Not
	vs. Congress	Assisted		vs. Congress	Assisted
Alabama	-\$2,126,000	-532	Missouri	-\$6,600,000	-1,650
Alaska	-\$1,597,000	-399	Montana	-\$385,000	-96
Arizona	-\$2,646,000	-662	Nebraska	-\$764,000	-191
Arkansas	-\$3,478,000	-870	Nevada	-\$1,677,000	-419
California	-\$42,243,000	-10,561	New Hampshire	-\$611,000	-153
Colorado	-\$2,540,000	-635	New Jersey	-\$5,746,000	-1,436
Connecticut	-\$2,368,000	-592	New Mexico	-\$838,000	-210
Delaware	-\$438,000	-110	New York	-\$14,419,000	-3,605
District of Columbia	-\$1,276,000	-319	North Carolina	-\$8,412,000	-2,103
Florida	-\$7,376,000	-1,844	Ohio	-\$20,779,000	-5,195
Georgia	-\$6,386,000	-1,596	Oklahoma	-\$1,810,000	-452
Hawaii	-\$396,000	-99	Oregon	-\$5,295,000	-1,324
Idaho	-\$431,000	-108	Pennsylvania	-\$9,051,000	-2,263
Illinois	-\$13,700,000	-3,425	Rhode Island	-\$1,046,000	-261
Indiana	-\$5,920,000	-1,480	South Carolina	-\$10,281,000	-2,570
Iowa	-\$1,461,000	-365	South Dakota	-\$340,000	-85
Kansas	-\$1,687,000	-422	Tennessee	-\$5,188,000	-1,297
Kentucky	-\$7,043,000	-1,761	Texas	-\$14,106,000	-3,526
Louisiana	-\$2,334,000	-583	Utah	-\$714,000	-179
Maine	-\$949,000	-237	Vermont	-\$340,000	-85
Maryland	-\$3,041,000	-760	Virginia	-\$3,047,000	-762
Massachusetts	-\$7,135,000	-1,784	Washington	-\$5,579,000	-1,395
Michigan	-\$32,096,000	-8,024	West Virginia	-\$1,468,000	-367
Minnesota	-\$3,198,000	-799	Wisconsin	-\$6,597,000	-1,649
Mississippi	-\$7,434,000	-1,858			

**Sources and Technical Notes:** The conference agreement includes funding for a number of other job training programs in addition to the Dislocated Worker program. North Dakota and Wyoming are not shown because allocations could not be estimated with statistical significance due to small sample sizes in the Census Bureau's data. State allocations – awarded on a calendar year basis – are estimated based on the statutory formula using unadjusted unemployment data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) and CRS estimates of long-term unemployment. The President's funding level is distributed according to current law. The President's funding levels are from his 2008 budget, and Congressional funding levels are from the conference report on H.R. 3043. For illustrative purposes, the number of job training slots lost is estimated using the Department of Labor's 2008 cost per participant under current law.

#### Veterans' Health Care

The 2008 Military Construction and Veterans Affairs conference agreement provides \$43 billion in appropriated funding for veterans, almost \$4 billion more than the President's budget. Of this total, \$37.2 billion is for veterans' health care. The Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) provides health care to more than 5 million of the nation's 24 million veterans and more than 500,000 family members each year. VA's services cover the continuum of care, including inpatient and outpatient care, prosthetics, pharmaceuticals, mental health, and long-term care. VA health care is the largest appropriated veterans program, accounting for 85 to 90 percent of all veterans' appropriations. This funding is spent nationwide through VA's health care system – including 155 hospitals, 925 outpatient clinics, 135 nursing homes, and other public and private facilities.

The following table estimates the impact of the President's budget providing \$2.6 billion less than the Congressional level for veterans' health care, using the assumptions detailed in the technical notes.

	President's Cut		President's Cut
	vs. Congress		vs. Congress
Alabama	-\$44,800,000	Montana	-\$11,600,000
Alaska	-\$8,700,000	Nebraska	-\$19,500,000
Arizona	-\$58,100,000	Nevada	-\$29,500,000
Arkansas	-\$45,400,000	New Hampshire	-\$13,000,000
California	-\$237,900,000	New Jersey	-\$42,700,000
Colorado	-\$31,800,000	New Mexico	-\$24,000,000
Connecticut	-\$26,400,000	New York	-\$155,800,000
Delaware	-\$6,700,000	North Carolina	-\$74,400,000
District of Columbia	-\$10,300,000	North Dakota	-\$6,100,000
Florida	-\$195,200,000	Ohio	-\$98,600,000
Georgia	-\$67,100,000	Oklahoma	-\$36,000,000
Hawaii	-\$10,100,000	Oregon	-\$40,500,000
Idaho	-\$13,900,000	Pennsylvania	-\$108,100,000
Illinois	-\$96,700,000	Rhode Island	-\$10,300,000
Indiana	-\$48,200,000	South Carolina	-\$44,200,000
Iowa	-\$27,800,000	South Dakota	-\$15,100,000
Kansas	-\$26,800,000	Tennessee	-\$60,500,000
Kentucky	-\$44,900,000	Texas	-\$184,400,000
Louisiana	-\$43,700,000	Utah	-\$16,400,000
Maine	-\$16,600,000	Vermont	-\$6,600,000
Maryland	-\$44,800,000	Virginia	-\$58,300,000
Massachusetts	-\$54,500,000	Washington	-\$47,600,000
Michigan	-\$59,400,000	West Virginia	-\$32,300,000
Minnesota	-\$46,200,000	Wisconsin	-\$49,600,000
Mississippi	-\$38,300,000	Wyoming	-\$9,400,000
Missouri	-\$56,500,000		

**Sources and Technical Notes:** The President's funding levels are from his 2008 budget, and Congressional funding levels are from the conference report on H.R. 3043. Shares are based on 2006 actual spending data by state, as provided by the Department of Veterans Affairs. VA spending by state is relatively consistent from year to year but past spending patterns do not determine future spending.