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Purple Rain: Temperamental Politics and Budgets in Arizona

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Abstract

Arizona's evolving political landscape has become a key factor in its fiscal outlook. Once a solid Republican stronghold, the state has shifted to swing status, as seen in President Joe Biden's narrow 0.3% margin win in the 2020 election and a closely divided state legislature. Strong economic growth in prior years led to FY23 General Fund revenues being revised upwards from \$15.9 billion to \$17.9 billion. Despite this, declining tax revenues and increased spending, particularly on a universal school voucher program, created a projected \$1.71 billion deficit for FY25. The state's Republican-led legislature implemented a 2.5% flat income tax and expanded school vouchers, significantly impacting revenue. To address the deficit, the FY25 budget, finalized at \$16.8 billion, included cuts to many programs, most notably a \$430 million reduction in the Arizona Water Infrastructure and Financing Authority. The political status quo remained consistent after the 2024 election, where Republicans won a marginal gain in both chambers of the state legislature, Democrats kept control of the U.S. Senate seat up for reelection, and the U.S. House seats remained at 6–3 for Republicans and Democrats, respectively. This report examines the fiscal trajectory, proposed tax policy changes, and political state driving Arizona's FY25 budget negotiations.

Introduction

Arizona's economic performance trails the national averages in indicators of productivity and prosperity, particularly in major economic centers like the Phoenix and Tucson metropolitan areas. Arizona's financial challenges are associated with below-average per capita employment in traded clusters, low aggregate earnings, and subpar educational attainment and infrastructure quality. The challenges are amplified by the state's lack of investment to address the issues that hinder Arizona's economic competitiveness. Additionally, the new flat tax rate and increased spending on school vouchers financially strain the state's General Fund, further exacerbating dwindling state investments. Economists in Arizona point to targeting high-paying traded sectors like aerospace, semiconductors, and addressing educational shortcomings to create a path to reversing the declining trends in productivity and prosperity. Increasing educational attainment will empower Arizona to gain its competitive edge back, especially in STEM fields, with a more educated workforce ready for the challenges of today's market. While lawmakers were able to close the \$1.71 billion deficit they faced at the beginning of the 2024 legislative session, the state is likely to continue to struggle with lower revenues due to the enactment of the flat tax and other past tax cuts. The dominance of policies such as voucher programs and flat taxes points to the control Republicans have in the state legislature, with budget negotiations being complicated due to the political differences in key state policymakers and administrators. The results of the 2024 election demonstrate that Arizona remains a mixed state politically both at the state and federal level, meaning that these tense negotiations may be sustained into the next two years.

Demographics, Economy, and Government Revenue

Demographics

Arizona's demographic landscape has undergone significant changes over the past decade, marked by consistent population growth and a gradual shift away from a majority-white population to a majority-minority population. From 2012 to 2022, the state's population increased steadily, indicating continuous growth and a dynamic influx of residents. In 2012, non-Hispanic whites constituted the largest demographic group, comprising approximately 3,701,932 individuals, which accounted for about 58% of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau 2012a). By 2022, their proportion increased to 3,801,121 individuals, representing a small increase of nearly 3% across the decade (U.S. Census Bureau 2022a).

Other racial groups have experienced larger increases in their respective populations. For instance, the population of Black Arizonans increased by almost 25% from 2012 to 2022. Asian Arizonans also saw a 35% increase and individuals identifying as two or more races exhibited a 125% increase within the decade. The Hispanic community has steadily increased over the years, as in 2012 there were approximately 1,902,946 Hispanic or Latino individuals which rose by nearly 21% to 2,297,513 individuals by 2022. The American Indian and Alaska Native residents saw a 3% decrease in population counts over the decade, with a 2012 population of 257,107 decreasing to 249,047 in 2022.

While Arizona's total population increased by nearly 12% from 2012 to 2022, Arizona was not among the six states chosen to gain seats in the U.S. House of Representatives in 2021, which

holds implications for the capacity of Congress to represent the growing, diverse population of the state (Duda 2021).

Figure 1: Arizona's Demographic Percentage of Race and Ethnicity

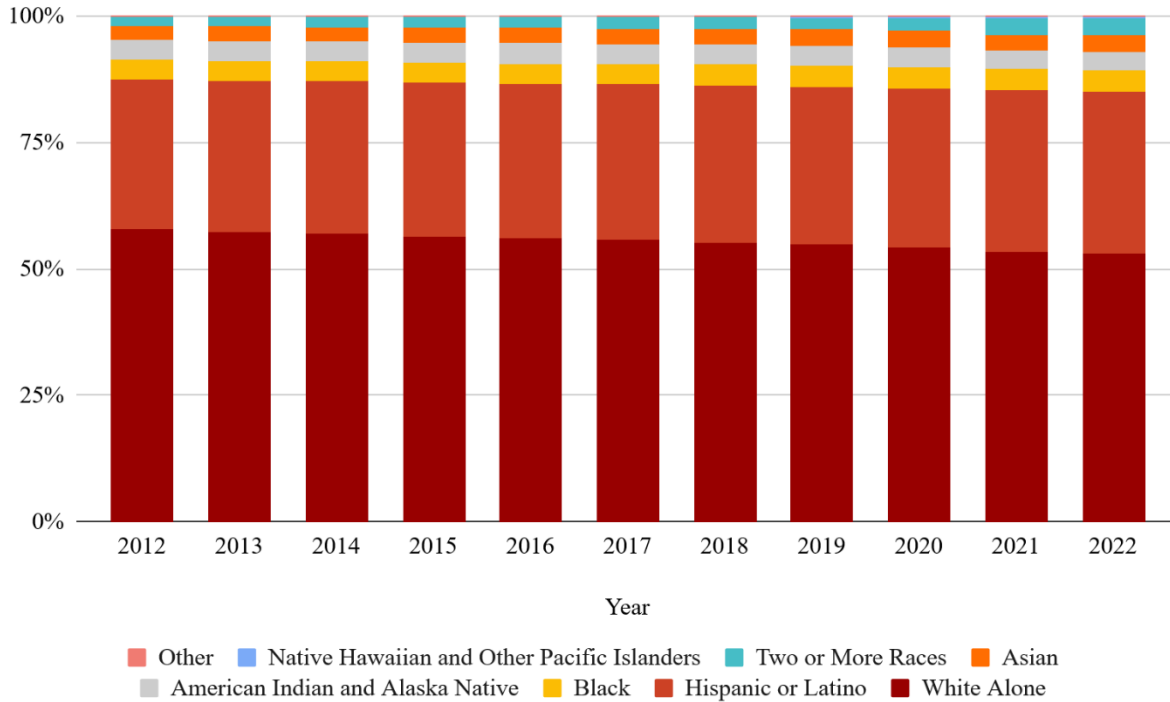


Figure 1. Arizona's demographic percentage is comprised of race and ethnicity, as well as respective data values. U.S. Census Bureau 2012a, 2013a, 2014a, 2015a, 2016a, 2017a, 2018a, 2019a, 2020a, 2021a, 2022a.

Table 1: Arizona's Demographic Percentage of Race and Ethnicity

Year	White Alone	Black	American Indian and Alaska Native	Asian	Native Hawaiian & Other Pacific Islanders	Other	Two or More Races	Hispanic or Latino
2012	57.7%	3.8%	4%	2.7%	0.2%	0.1%	1.7%	29.7%
2013	57.3%	3.9%	4%	2.8%	0.2%	0.1%	1.8%	29.9%
2014	56.9%	3.9%	4%	2.8%	0.2%	0.1%	1.9%	30.1%
2015	56.5%	4%	4%	2.9%	0.2%	0.1%	2%	30.3%
2016	56.1%	4%	4%	3%	0.2%	0.1%	2.1%	30.5%
2017	55.6%	4.1%	3.9%	3%	0.2%	0.1%	2.2%	30.9%
2018	55.1%	4.1%	3.9%	3.2%	0.2%	0.1%	2.2%	31.1%
2019	54.7%	4.2%	3.9%	3.2%	0.2%	0.2%	2.3%	31.3%
2020	54.1%	4.3%	3.8%	3.2%	0.2%	0.2%	2.6%	31.5%
2021	53.4%	4.2%	3.6%	3.2%	0.2%	0.3%	3.2%	31.9%
2022	53%	4.3%	3.5%	3.3%	0.2%	0.3%	3.4%	32%

Table 1. *Table of Arizona's demographic percentage made up of race and ethnicity as well as respective data values.* U.S. Census Bureau 2012a, 2013a, 2014a, 2015a, 2016a, 2017a, 2018a, 2019a, 2020a, 2021a, 2022a.

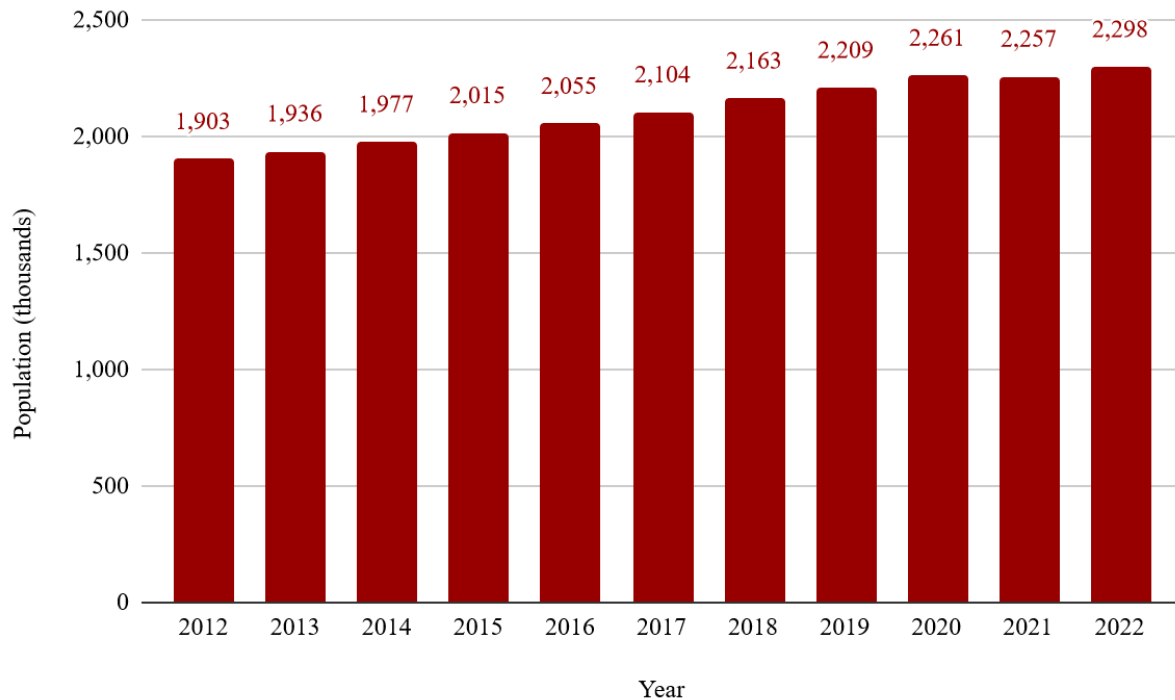
Figure 2: Arizona’s Demographic Makeup (Hispanic or Latino)

Table 2. *Arizona's demographic makeup: Hispanic or Latino (of any race) (thousands). U.S. Census Bureau 2012a, 2013a, 2014a, 2015a, 2016a, 2017a, 2018a, 2019a, 2020a, 2021a, 2022a.*

Economy and Government Revenue

Arizona's productivity and prosperity trailed national averages, but from 2008 to 2021, there was relative improvement due to decreased living costs compared to the national average (Hoffman and Rex 2023a). Phoenix and Tucson, which make up 85–90% of the state's economic activity, are responsible for Arizona's poor performance in productivity, employment-to-population ratio, and prosperity indicators. Despite mixed comparisons in areas like Flagstaff, Sierra Vista, and Yuma, low employment-to-population ratios statewide have resulted in most areas falling below average on prosperity indicators compared to productivity indicators.

Arizona's economic challenges are attributed to three primary factors related to traded clusters: their smaller portion of total employment compared to the national average, low average earnings per worker despite adjustments for the cost of living, and below-average per capita employment in traded clusters (Hoffman and Rex 2023b). Traded clusters are concentrations of industries and firms that produce goods and services that are sold outside the region in which they are produced (Metropolitan Council 2015). The major traded clusters within Arizona in 2021 that were greater than the U.S. average included “aerospace vehicles and defense,” “metal mining,” “communications equipment and services,” “medical devices,” and “downstream metal products” (Hoffman and Rex 2023c). Arizona was far above the average in the subcluster “semiconductor manufacturing industry,” which bolstered the regional IT and analytical instruments traded cluster, accounting for 15% of the cluster's aggregate earnings in 2021. Per

capita, aggregate earnings adjusted for the cost of living was 21% less than the U.S. average in Arizona in the traded clusters. Arizona also unfavorably compares to some of the nation's largest and highest-paying traded clusters, indicating a significant gap in adjusted average earnings per worker. This gap suggests the nature of work in these industries in Arizona differs fundamentally, requiring fewer skills and resulting in lower wages.

Arizona's economic competitiveness is hindered by subpar educational attainment and the quality of infrastructure, with inadequate investments posing further challenges. Despite tax cuts reducing public spending, Arizona's low tax burdens offer an opportunity to increase public revenue without negative economic effects. Current education and infrastructure funding levels threaten the future growth of high-paying traded activities. Targeting high-paying traded activities like aerospace and semiconductors helps reverse the state's declining productivity and prosperity trends (Hoffman and Rex 2023d). However, educational attainment in Arizona has declined over time, falling below the national average in the present day, impacting the state's standing in STEM economic activity. While the state's share in computer and engineering technician categories surpasses the national average, its performance in science-related categories lags, particularly in metro Phoenix, where the change in STEM share between 2005 and 2019 was below the average of large metro areas, especially in engineering-related fields. In 2019, the STEM share of occupational aggregate earnings of 10.34% in metro Phoenix was slightly above the national average but below the 11.66% average share of its size class, ranking 21st of the 36 metro areas with employment of at least one million. The subpar overall ranking can be traced to three of the six occupational categories: science (last in the size class), science technician (rank 32nd), and engineering (22nd) (Hill, Kent, and Hoffman 2021).

Moreover, Arizona faced a fiscal challenge in 2024 as initial projections of a \$10 million surplus for FY24 shifted to an anticipated \$835 million deficit. This change was attributed to policies enacted under Republican Governor Doug Ducey, who implemented a flat income tax of 2.5% in 2021, down from a top rate of 4.5% (Sievers 2023). This reduced sales tax revenue and caused higher-than-expected spending on school vouchers (Sievers 2024b). The flat tax system created a drastic change from FY24 budget deliberations when lawmakers negotiated a budget working with a \$2.3 billion projected surplus. To garner political favor in the narrowly divided state legislature, a portion of the surplus was distributed to lawmakers in \$20–\$30 million increments for them to assign as they saw fit (Pitzl 2023). Critiques of the FY24 budget raised concerns about spending, including substantial allocations without proper deliberations, leading to excessive and unchecked spending (Robb 2023).

In addition to the flat tax, the state's school voucher programs have sparked debate about their impact on the General Fund. Arizona's education system has two main school voucher programs: School Tuition Organizations (STOs) and Empowerment Scholarship Accounts (ESAs) (Arizona Center for Economic Progress 2023). ESAs were created in 2011, allowing eligible students to utilize state funds for private education or homeschooling. In 2022, Republican lawmakers and Republican Governor Doug Ducey expanded ESAs to all eligible school-enrolled children in Arizona, increasing the estimated total public subsidies of private schools to over \$600 million for the 2023 school year (Wells 2022). ESAs cost roughly \$723.5 million in fiscal year 2024, higher than the \$624 million that the state budgeted (Sievers 2024b). Because part of this cost is offset by students who switch from public to private schooling utilizing the universal ESA

program, the exact burden that the program places on the state is contested. While an AZ Republican Superintendent Tom Horne claims that 59% of students currently using ESAs previously attended public schools, the Hobbs Administration estimates that around 50,000 students receiving the universal vouchers never went to public school. According to her office's estimates, 67% of those enrolled in ESA never attended public schools.

Most state revenue comes from the General Fund. This fund supports over 60 agencies, 10 of which receive 87% (the Arizona Department of Education is the primary beneficiary). There are two types of funding: the \$5 billion appropriated from the legislature and the \$13 billion non-appropriated funds that can be spent without legislative permission. The composition of the General Fund is 48% sales/use taxes (\$8.1 billion), 33% individual income (\$5.6 billion), 10% corporate income (\$1.7 billion), 4.7% insurance premiums (\$0.8 billion), and 4.7% other taxed sources (\$0.8 billion) (Arizona Center for Economic Progress n.d.). Another source of revenue includes sales tax from the Arizona Lottery, funding programs for at-risk citizens, wildlife protection, and college education (Arizona Lottery n.d.).

Figure 3: Arizona's Gross State Product

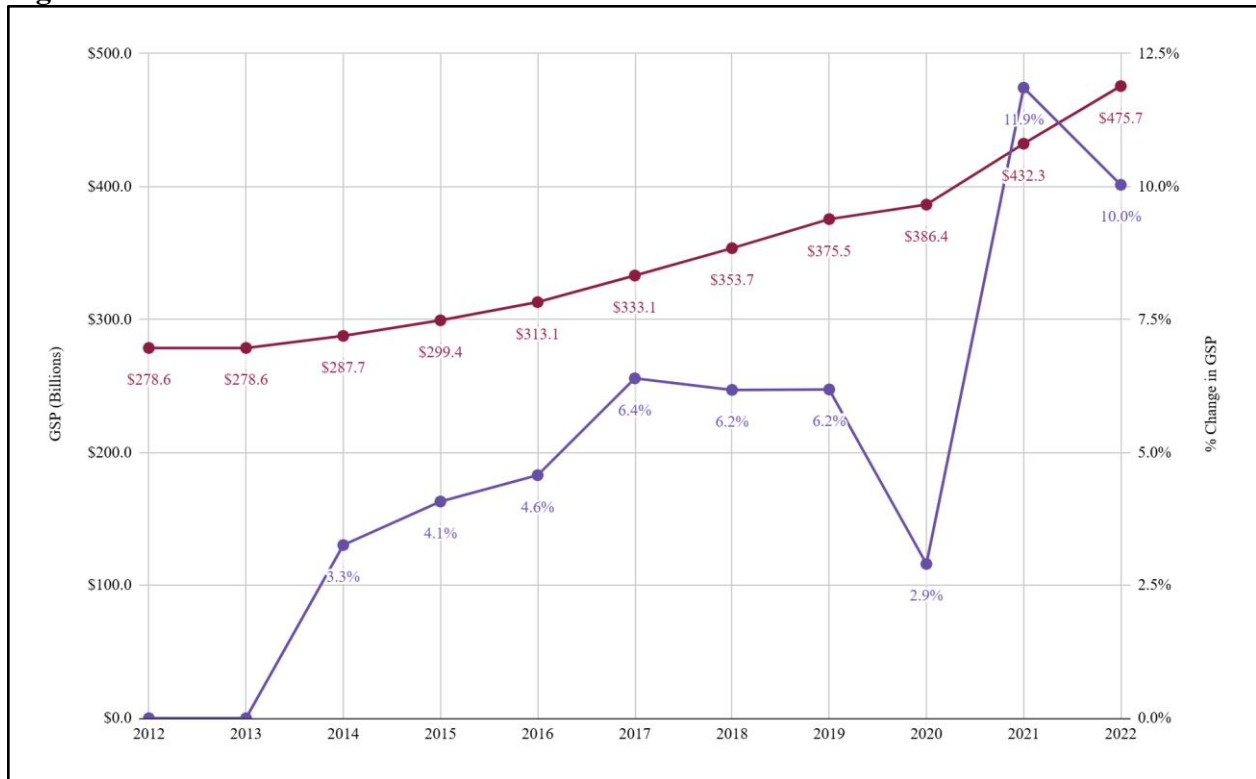


Figure 3. *Arizona's gross state product, 2012–2022.* U.S. Census Bureau 2023.

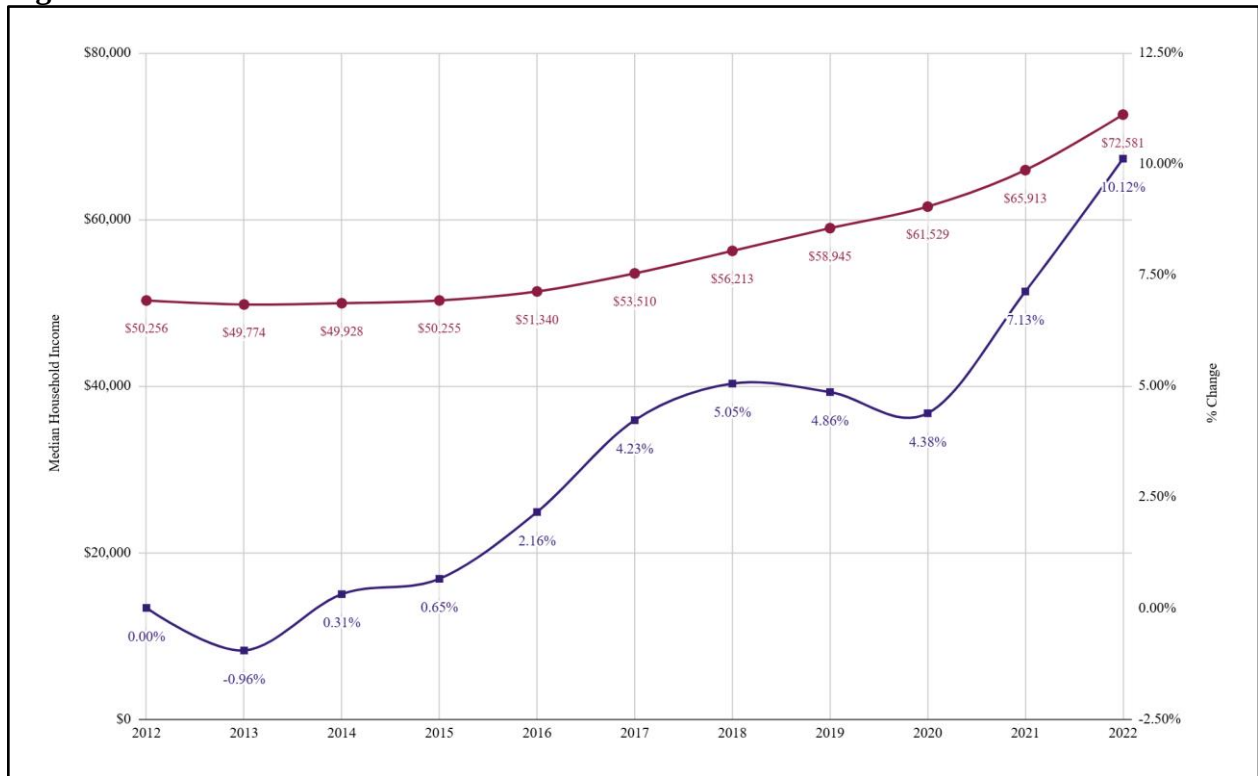
Figure 4: Arizona Median Household Income

Figure 4. *Arizona median household income, 2012–2022.* U.S. Census Bureau 2012c, 2013c, 2014c, 2015c, 2016c, 2017c, 2018c, 2019c, 2020c, 2021c, 2022c.

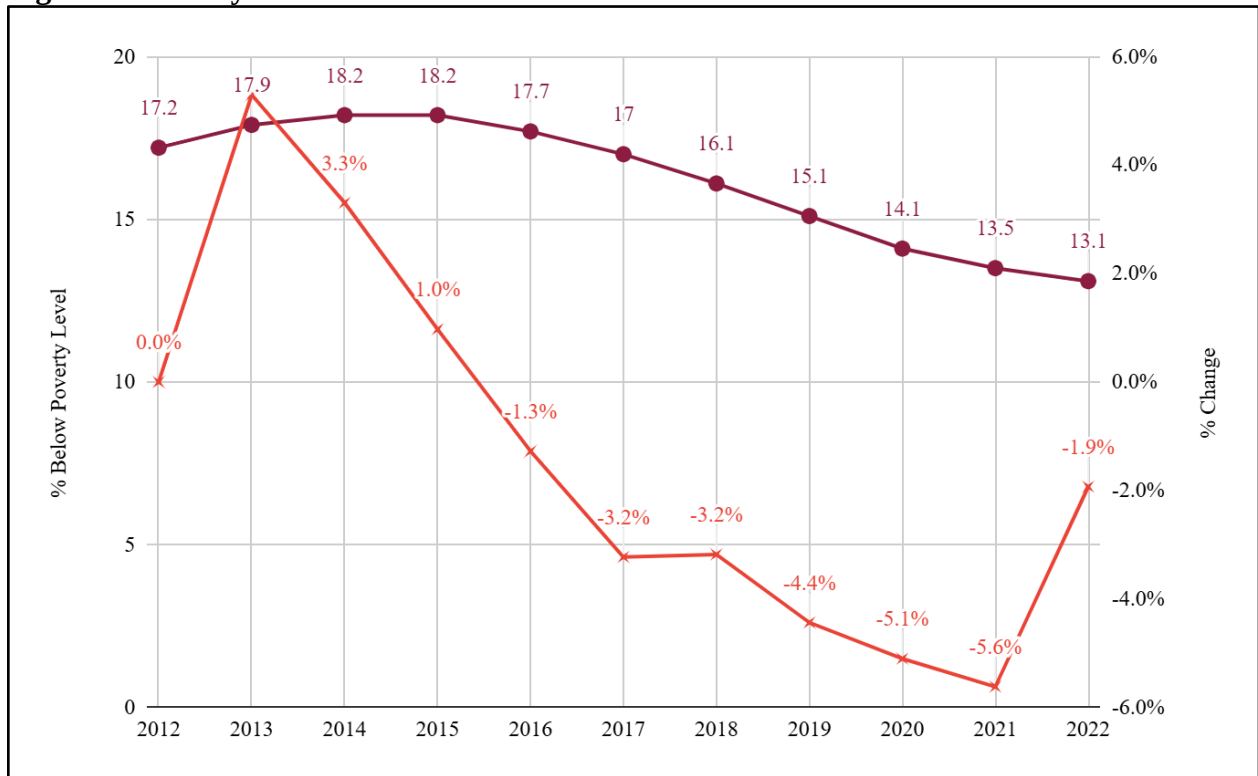
Figure 5: Poverty Level in Arizona

Figure 5. *Arizona poverty level 2012–2022.* U.S. Census Bureau 2012d, 2013d, 2014d, 2015d, 2016d, 2017d, 2018d, 2019d, 2020d, 2021d, 2022d.

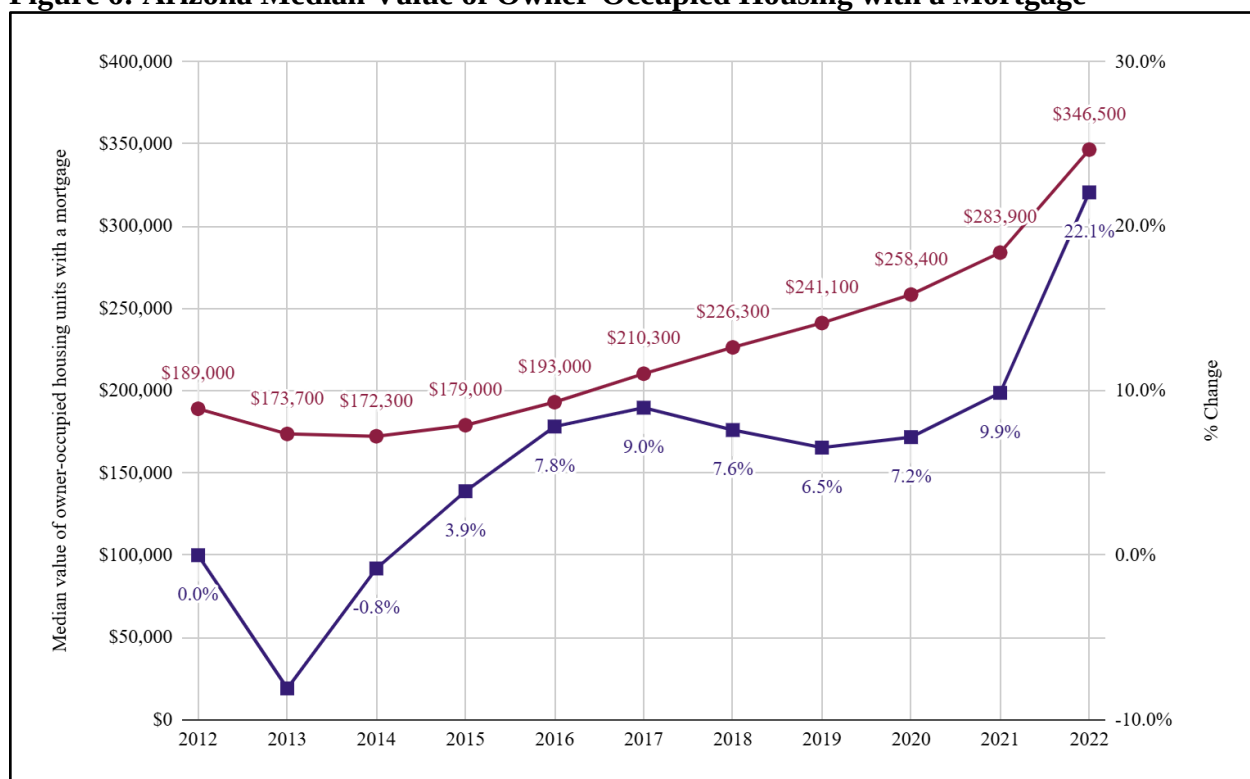
Figure 6: Arizona Median Value of Owner-Occupied Housing with a Mortgage

Figure 6. *Arizona median value of owner-occupied housing with a mortgage 2012–2022.* U.S. Census Bureau 2012b, 2013b, 2014b, 2015b, 2016b, 2017b, 2018b, 2019b, 2020b, 2021b, 2022b.

Political Context

Arizona's political landscape has seen a significant transformation in recent years, solidifying it as a purple state. After the 2022 elections, the Arizona House of Representatives was narrowly controlled by a Republican majority, with 31 out of the 60 seats in the chamber held by Republicans and 29 by Democrats. Following the 2022 elections, the Arizona Senate was split between 16 Republican senators and 14 Democrat senators. For years, Arizona had historically been a Republican stronghold, but with the high-profile election victories of key Democrat Kyrsten Sinema in 2018, Mark Kelly in 2020, and President Joe Biden in the same year, Republican influence had been waning on the national level (Davis 2024). However, the election of 2024 showed Arizona's support for the Former President and President-Elect Donald Trump (McGraw 2024), meaning despite the win of Democrat Ruben Gallego as Senator Kyrsten Sinema's replacement and the incumbency of Democrat Governor Katie Hobbs, Republican influence remains strong in the state.

Examining trends in voter registration and voting turnout provides a deeper insight into Arizona's status as a swing state. Republicans have more sway in rural Arizona, while Democrats have a strong presence in the populous counties of Maricopa and Pima. In the 2020 presidential race, President Biden secured Arizona's electoral votes, marginally winning 5 of the state's 15 counties (Steinbach 2022). In 2022, the midterm elections exhibited similar trends that

followed the same party lines. Figures 7 and 8 demonstrate a stark disconnect between voter registration trends and presidential election results, highlighting the growing influence of independent voters, who accounted for 34.7% of registered AZ voters in 2022, up from 31.5% in 2018. In 2020, Democrats only had 32.2% of the state's voter registration. However, they secured 49.4% of the votes in the presidential election, a 5% increase in total votes compared to the 2016 presidential election. Republicans lost about 0.4% of the total votes from the 2016 to 2020 presidential election. Changing voter demographics could also be due to a changing voter turnout, which sat at 65.92% for the 2020 election cycle and 49.44% for the 2022 election cycle compared to 56.2% in 2016 and 49.1% in 2018 (Arizona Secretary of State, 2024). However, increased voter turnout may have more relation with the arguably more popular presidential races rather than midterm races, which has ramifications for state and local elections as well.

Regardless of one-third of Arizona's political demographic being registered as Independent, the state remains politically divisive with Democrats and Republicans confining to their values. One example of this was in the response to senior Senator Kyrsten Sinema, whose transition from the Democrat Party to being Independent in 2022 harmed her reputation with Democratic voters. Arguably, Kyrsten Sinema aligned herself with a more centrist view, but due to her growing unpopularity amongst her constituents, she announced that she would not seek reelection.

After the 2022 elections, the state legislature remained closely divided with nuanced underlying political affiliations. While Republicans had a razor-thin control of both the AZ House and Senate, Democrats secured three statewide offices of the governorship (Katie Hobbs), the secretary of state (Adrian Fontes), and the attorney general (Kris Mayes) (Cooper 2023). Figures 9 and 10 show the historical party control over both the House and the Senate, respectively, and how Democrats closed the gap with Republicans in both chambers. From 2012 to 2017, the Arizona State House of Representatives was consistently dominated by a Republican majority of 16–10 seats. However, this margin narrowed in 2018, leading to a consistent arrangement of 29 Democrat representatives and 31 Republican representatives. As for the Senate, from 2012 to 2019, the Arizona State Senate was comprised of 17 Republican and 13 Democratic senators, a margin narrowed in 2020 to 16 Republican and 14 Democrat senators (National Conference of State Legislatures 2023).

Arizona had a crucial role to play in the 2024 election cycle. The state had highly contested rhetoric between the national abortion debate, an influx of migrants at the Arizona-Mexico border, a growing housing and inflation crisis, and worsening climate outcomes. *Time Magazine* argued Arizona was the “most important state in 2024 politics,” not without reason given the contested Senate race that ended in a Ruben Gallego victory, making history as Arizona's first Latino senator. His victory against candidate Kari Lake amidst state and national support for President Trump reflects Arizona's evolving political landscape. The Senate outcome helps Democrats maintain a foothold in the state while Republicans secure a 53–47 Senate majority, counting independents who caucus with Democrats. In the state level 2024 election, Republicans rebounded from their losses in 2020 by winning a 17–13 majority in the Arizona State Senate as well as a 33–29 majority in the State House. While Democrats maintain power at the federal level with two federal Senate seats, Democrats control the governorship, internal legislative control remains dominated by Republican. This suggests that the discourse between legislative

leaders and administrators will remain contentious and divisive, as seen in the 2024 budgetary negotiations.

Figure 7: Party Makeup of Arizona Registered Voters

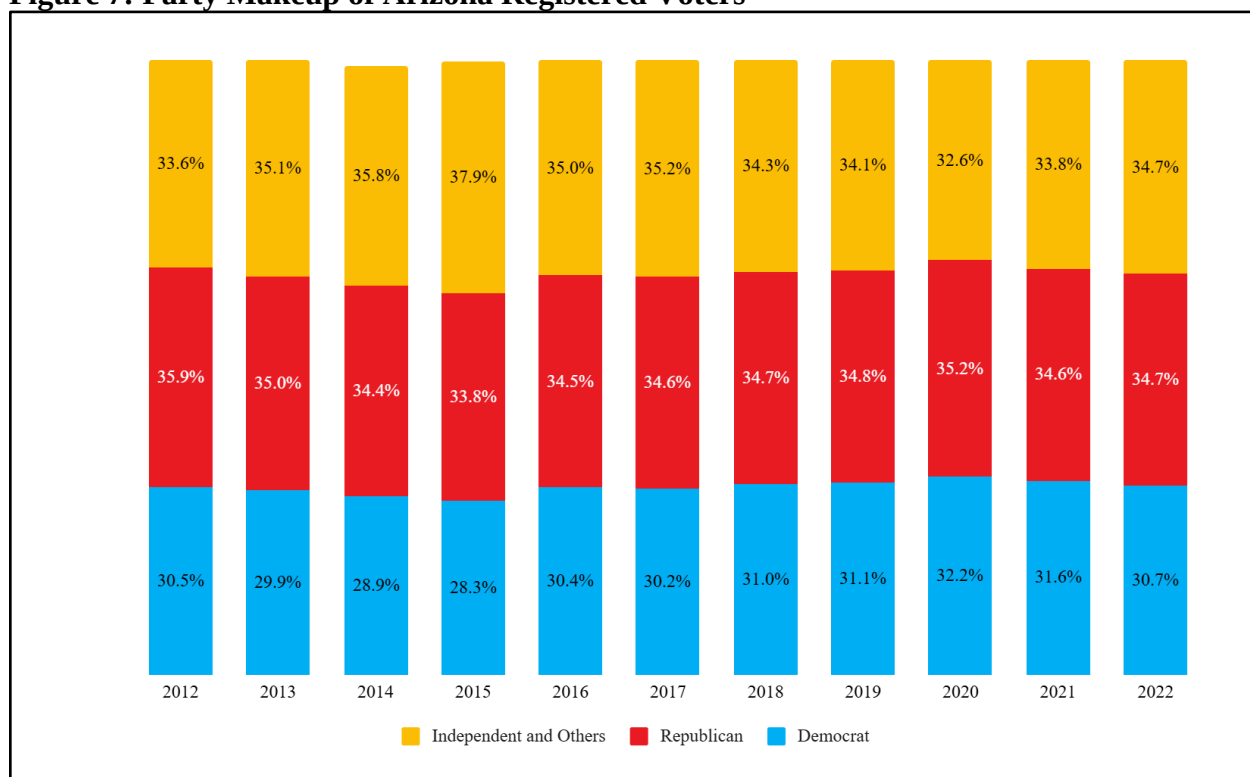


Figure 7. *Party makeup of Arizona registered voters.* Arizona Secretary of State n.d.

FY25 Budget

Budget as Introduced

Arizona's fiscal landscape has undergone significant changes from FY23 to FY25 and beyond. Arizona capped a strong budgetary performance in FY23. FY22 ended with a \$2.1 billion surplus that carried into FY23, with General Fund revenues initially anticipated at \$15.9 billion (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2022)—including the \$2.1 billion surplus—and later adjusted to \$17.9 billion (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2023). The trending surplus continued into FY24 when the ending balance of \$2.3 billion from FY23 was carried into FY24 (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2023).

As FY24 ticked by, it became clear that collected revenues deviated from forecasted levels. The enacted budget projected a total revenue of \$17.6 billion (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2023). Still, the baseline budget in January 2024 by the Arizona Joint Legislative Budget Committee (JLBC) revised the number downward of \$16.9 billion (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024). In FY25, General Fund revenues were at \$16.28 billion, a decline from the revised FY24 level of \$17.91 billion (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024). The long-term revenue forecast extends through FY26, with projections of \$16.46 billion, and FY27, with

projections of \$17.14 billion (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024). The four-year budget planning approach aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the state's fiscal trajectory.

On the expenditure side, the FY24 General Fund spending was initially at \$15.6 billion (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2023). However, this increased to \$17.8 billion (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024). Onetime expenditures account for the increase in expenditures as they were severely underestimated in the forecast for FY24. In FY23, the forecasted FY24 onetime expenditures were estimated at \$604 million (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2023). However, these expenditures reached \$2.9 billion, with a \$2.3 billion increase in spending compared to a forecasted \$604 million (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024b). The expected \$10 million balance resulted in a \$835 million shortfall due to the revenue shortfall of \$908 million and a spending reduction of \$63 million. In FY25, General Fund spending decreased to approximately \$16.18 billion, primarily driven by a \$66.9 million (0.9%) reduction in the Department of Education budget and a \$57.8 million (6%) decrease in university funding (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024a). However, the budget also included one-time investments, such as \$37 million, to increase the Group B formula weight for pupils eligible for federal free and reduced-price lunch programs.

The FY25 budget had to implement various measures to address this financial gap, including additional revenue sources, fund transfers, and targeted spending cuts (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024a). The budget included additional revenue sources expected to generate \$300 million in new income. The extra funding stems from expanded licensing fees and increased tariffs (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024a) and a strategic fund transfer of \$150 million from non-essential funds to cover essential expenditures (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024a). These transfers were strategically planned to optimize resource allocation and address critical financial needs within the budget framework. Spending reductions were also enforced, amounting to \$100 million in budget cuts across various departments and programs (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024).

Despite these efforts, the 2024 legislature faced a total shortfall of \$1.7 billion, combining the \$835 million shortfall from FY24 and a projected \$879 million shortfall for FY25 itself. This dire fiscal situation is expected to persist, with projected shortfalls of \$420.3 million in FY26 and \$187 million in FY27 (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024a). These forecasts paint a challenging picture of Arizona's financial future, starkly contrasting the surplus years of FY23 and early FY24 to the outcome of FY25 and projections beyond.

Key drivers include higher costs for education programs such as Empowerment Scholarship Accounts, inflationary adjustments, and the impending expiration of Proposition 123, which required the General Fund to backfill \$300 million in reduced land trust earnings. Arizona's budget outlook remains constrained, highlighting the need for the state to carefully manage spending and seek revenue solutions to address these persistent fiscal challenges (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024a).

Legislative Budget Battle

As Arizona's government grappled with the state's budgetary landscape for the upcoming fiscal year, a familiar dynamic emerged between the Democratic governor and the Republican-controlled legislature. Governor Katie Hobbs introduced a \$16.4 billion executive budget proposal in January 2024, outlining priorities such as tax reforms, transportation funding, and changes to the state's school voucher programs (Office of the Arizona Governor 2024; Billeaud 2024).

However, as FY25 approached, Arizona's fiscal landscape revealed stark contrasts between the priorities of Democratic Governor Hobbs and the Republican-led legislature. A key point of contention was Governor Hobbs' proposal to overhaul the state's school voucher program (Billeaud 2024). Republican legislative leaders firmly criticized this plan, questioning revenue and enrollment projections and opposing changes to the STO and ESA voucher programs (Sievers 2024a).

The budget process became protracted as lawmakers turned their attention to primary election campaigns, further complicating negotiations (Sievers 2024b; Stephenson and Ludden 2024). This continued up until the budget was signed, as potential fiscal consequences were heavily debated concerning the designation of important and nonimportant programs, exacerbated by the political differences between both the Governor and legislative leaders (Sievers 2024c). After continuous intensive discussion, the two sides agreed on the final FY25 budget, totaling \$16.18 billion in General Fund spending (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024a).

On the contentious school voucher issue, the compromise maintained the existing ESA and STO programs while providing \$130 million in additional funding (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024a). Transportation infrastructure received a \$2 million reduction (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024c), and the budget expanded tax credits for low-income housing development and increased childcare assistance (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024a). Overall, the \$16.18 billion FY25 budget represented a compromise that balanced the divergent agendas of the governor and legislature.

Arizona's fiscal situation remains constrained, with projected shortfalls persisting through FY27 (Joint Legislative Budget Committee 2024a). This will require the state to carefully manage spending, seek revenue solutions, and confront difficult budgetary tradeoffs in the coming years. The capacity of Arizona's political leaders to work collaboratively and develop sustainable fiscal policies will be crucial in navigating these challenges and ensuring the long-term prosperity of the state.

Conclusion

The FY25 budget was finalized at \$16.8 billion, maintaining the school voucher programs with an additional \$130 million in funding for the universal ESA program. The budget highlights a state grappling with the financial implications of rapid population growth, shifting demographics, and evolving political priorities. The earlier projected deficit of \$1.71 billion for FY25 stems from declining tax revenues and increased spending. With a projected budget

shortfall of \$420.3 million for FY26 and \$187 million for FY27, the budget is expected to continue to face such complications. In essence, the budget is constrained by specific initiatives, like the voucher policy and Proposition 123. Inflation has also led to an increase in necessary spending, limiting the budget even further.

With such developments, Arizona's future success will depend on leaders' ability to effectively manage the state's resources, adapt to shifting priorities, and navigate the evolving political landscape in the wake of their decision-making. Moreover, as one-time spending was undervalued for FY24, policymakers must improve communication and estimation abilities throughout the state. Current efforts to fix the revenue base range from adding additional revenue streams, initiating fund transfers, and making targeted spending cuts without defunding critical infrastructure. In the wake of their increasing financial responsibility, policymakers must be honest with the practicality of certain initiatives and fund agencies, institutions, and programs that serve the wide interests of Arizonans.

Appendix A: Demographic Data

Year	White Alone	Black or African American	American Indian and Alaska Native	Asian	Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islanders	Other	Two or More Races	Hispanic or Latino
2012	3,701,932	246,474	257,107	173,231	11,568	8,063	109,658	1,902,946
2013	3,716,047	252,752	258,904	178,627	11,818	7,539	118,068	1,935,948
2014	3,734,853	257,620	262,626	186,451	11,720	7,032	124,188	1,977,026
2015	3,752,853	264,119	265,099	194,757	11,422	7,077	131,890	2,014,711
2016	3,777,876	270,045	266,191	199,520	11,832	7,977	140,287	2,054,849
2017	3,786,418	276,146	266,680	207,330	12,009	8,596	149,244	2,103,523
2018	3,825,886	286,614	271,946	222,477	12,523	9,177	154,750	2,163,312
2019	3,857,007	297,107	276,396	226,597	12,878	10,622	161,029	2,208,663
2020	3,883,722	305,973	272,294	233,048	13,323	17,453	187,561	2,260,690
2021	3,781,665	299,877	256,947	228,292	12,623	18,441	223,929	2,257,429
2022	3,801,121	307,726	249,047	233,864	12,764	23,071	247,176	2,297,513

Table A1. *Arizona's demographic makeup by race and ethnicity.* U.S. Census Bureau 2012a, 2013a, 2014a, 2015a, 2016a, 2017a, 2018a, 2019a, 2020a, 2021a, 2022a.

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