

A PCCY Report on Montgomery County



Underwater:

What's Sinking Families in
Montgomery County

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PCCY public
citizens for
children + youth

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Executive Summary

The American Dream is eroding in Montgomery County. Incomes that used to provide a comfortable middle class life are barely even enough to cover the basics. More than one in four families raising children are likely to be underwater. Their financial outlook is bleak – a far cry from the prosperity that their parents enjoyed. Incomes have remained flat while basic costs like child care, health care and housing have eaten up more and more of that income over the past 20 years. And if things continue down this road, their children face a future of continued decline.

Middle Class Families are Underwater After Paying for the Basics

Hard-working families earning \$50,000, for instance, are likely to have just \$1,570 left per year after covering child care, health care, housing, utilities, transportation, food, and taxes. And that's with the help of crucial child care and health insurance benefits. And, in fact, just 4 in 10 eligible children even get those child care benefits. Even if these families have no child care needs, they will have just \$6,500 left over after paying for the other essentials. That's \$6,500 for things like clothes, sports teams, birthday presents, summer camps, class trips – just to name a few. More than one in seven families with children earn this much or less in Montgomery County.

Growing costs are largely to blame for families' financial distress. For instance, 69% of households making \$50,000 or less per year pay more than 30% of their income towards housing, up from 60% of those with an equivalent income in 1999.

Even families who are near the median income – an income that should solidify their middle class status – are drowning. Families making \$75,000 a year, for example, are likely to have \$1,430 – less than \$30 per week – after paying for the basics, since they do not receive subsidies for child care and health care. If these families are free from the burden of child care, they would have around \$13,300 left after the major basic costs, but this is still hardly enough to cover the additional everyday costs for the children and parents. On top of that, these families have little money, if any, to save for things like retirement or college for their children, not to mention any emergency costs that may spring up. More than one in four families raising children in Montgomery County make this much or less.

The Education System's Fiscal Distress Limits Children's Chances of Economic Mobility

The parents in these struggling families bank on the hope that their children can move up the economic ladder, becoming more prosperous as adults than they, the parents, were. The surest way for children to achieve that upward mobility is to get a good education. Unfortunately, many Montgomery County schools are in a similar boat as many families, struggling to maintain the resources to provide students with the skills they need to be upwardly mobile.

The mandated costs of pensions, special education and charter school payments are skyrocketing, growing by \$293 million in Montgomery County school districts since 2010. Meanwhile State funding for these districts has grown by just \$119 million. State mandated costs have grown more than State funding for every school district nearly every year since 2010. This imbalance forces districts to make up the difference through local property tax increases. Even with these tax increases, though, most districts are unable to get more money in the classroom. In fact, 15 of the 21 districts in the county have less to spend on instruction now than they did in 2010.

The funding challenges translate to academic struggle. More than 40% of students in the county fail the math PSSA, and one in four fail in reading. These figures are even worse in the districts with high shares of low income students, where 54% of students fail the math exam and 37% fail in reading.

Bold Policy Action Must Be Taken

The bleak situation facing many Montgomery County families will only change with large-scale action. History teaches us that bold policies can overcome massive problems facing society and lead to huge gains in the quality of life for all. As Nobel Prize-winning economist Paul Romer notes in discussing these types of policy changes, “[If we have a] sense of ‘we’ve got to do the right thing’... everything can turn out better for everybody. But if you just are complacent, say ‘it’ll work itself out,’ you are not going to be happy with the outcome.”¹ Montgomery County families cannot afford complacency. The following policies must be implemented, or the cycle of financial stress will never end. The children in these struggling families will become the next generation of struggling families. The American Dream will become the American Drain.



Families in Montgomery County making \$75,000 per year are likely to have just \$30 a week left after paying for the basics; 27% of families in the county make this much or less.



Recommendations

To boost families' incomes:

- + Create a workforce development strategy to help people move into higher paying jobs
- + Increase the State government's payments to agencies that employ low-wage, government-funded professionals, such as Direct Support Professionals and child care workers, so that wages are at least \$15 an hour and ideally \$18 an hour, to increase the ability of these professionals to stay above water while supporting a family

To reduce the child care and early education cost burden:

- + Increase funding for Child Care Works, Pre-K Counts and Head Start
- + Expand eligibility for Child Care Works
- + Implement full day kindergarten in all school districts

To reduce the health care cost burden:

- + Expand eligibility for free and subsidized Children's Health Insurance Program
- + Preserve the Affordable Care Act

To reduce the cost burden of other living expenses:

- + Create more affordable transportation through mobility planning at the County level
- + Create affordable housing strategies at the County level

To reduce the tax burden on financially struggling families:

- + Expand Pennsylvania's Tax Forgiveness program to incomes of at least \$75,000
- + Offset property taxes by increasing State funding for public schools

To improve the financial outlook of public schools:

- + Increase State K-12 basic education and special education funding
- + Restore the State's charter school reimbursement to school districts

Introduction

Parents are expected to do a lot for their children. Get them birthday gifts and school supplies, computers and braces, put them on sports teams and in summer camps – the list goes on. Then, of course, there are the basic needs – food, clothes, shelter, and health. And on top of all of that, parents are expected to give their children the social and learning experiences needed to develop into successful, fulfilled adults. All of these things come with hefty price tags – price tags that are putting many families underwater. In fact, birth rates have hit all-time lows in the US, with young people who would typically be starting families citing finances as the top reason they are foregoing having children.²

The declining birth rate underscores the breadth of families that are hard-hit by child-raising expenses. Discussions of financial struggle often focus on families in poverty, but even middle class families are feeling a financial squeeze. Public benefits are now essential for a large chunk of families just to stay afloat, and many families who make too much to receive public benefits are in a similar boat – one that could capsize at any financial downturn. Montgomery County has long prided itself as a great place to raise families, but too many families are facing costs that are rising above what they can handle.

Families in this difficult financial situation bank on the hope that their children can rise up the economic ladder and one day feel more monetary comfort than they, the parents, did. This American Dream centers on children getting a good education. Education is the key to landing a well-paying job that provides financial stability. Unfortunately, school districts in Montgomery County are experiencing a similar squeeze as many families. Rising education costs are eating up the funding the state provides, forcing districts to tap their communities for more revenue just to stay afloat. Meanwhile the majority of children in the county are in schools that are losing the resources they need to deliver the educational experiences that empower students to become upwardly mobile.



“It’s harder to afford raising a family today than when I was growing up in Montgomery County. Child care is so expensive, and it’s frustrating because I’m a preschool teacher, yet I struggle to afford child care for my son.”
- Mercedes, Montgomery County Mom

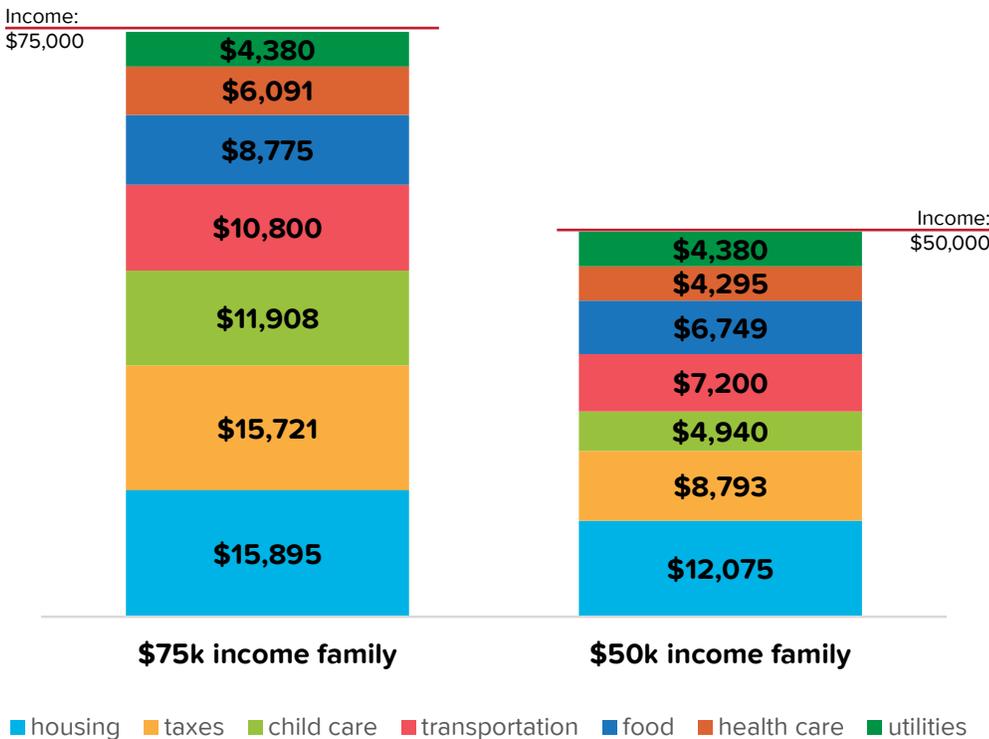


Costs of Raising Kids

Montgomery County is home to more than 93,000 families raising over 178,000 children.³ These families face significant costs related to raising their children. Of course, for the 6% of families with children in poverty, raising 7% of all children in the county, getting by financially is extremely difficult.⁴

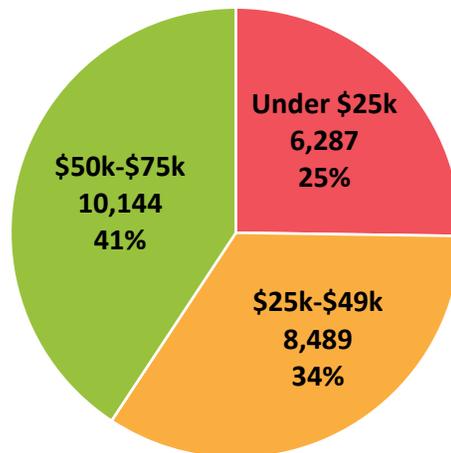
But struggling to get by is no longer an experience limited to the lowest income families. The data indicates more than one in four families in the county are left with just \$30 per week after paying for the basics alone of raising their children. To fully understand how traditional family-raising expenses are putting families underwater, this report examines the likely financial situation in two hypothetical middle class families with two children. One family makes \$50,000 a year, right at the middle class border and just below the cut-off for some important benefits.^{5,6} Sixteen percent of families in the county make this much or less.⁷ Even with the help of public benefits, they are underwater. The other family makes 50% more, \$75,000 a year. Twenty-seven percent of families in the county make this much or less. This \$75,000 family doesn't qualify for most benefits and finds itself in a similar financial situation, drowning in the costs of living and raising children. Specifically, the costs of child care, health insurance, housing, utilities, transportation, food, and taxes are eating up nearly all of the income these families make.

Chart 1: Middle Class Families in Montgomery County Have Just \$30 Per Week After Covering The Basics



These families can barely afford to cover all of their basic living and child raising expenses with their incomes alone. The \$75,000 family faces basic costs of \$73,570, and the \$50,000 family has about \$48,430 in basic costs, even with only one of their children in child care. And that's without even accounting for the smaller everyday purchases, things like clothes, toys, haircuts, birthday presents, and school supplies. Every one of those purchases becomes a big decision, a choice of whether to provide their children with something that children in America have come to expect, or forego it to afford a basic bill. Or, perhaps, they will forego a bill instead – a missed utility payment, for instance, or a skipped dental treatment.

Chart 2: 25,000 Families With Children in Montgomery County Make Less Than \$75,000 Per Year



Source: US Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 1 Year Estimates, 2017

Regardless, these families will have to get creative to cut costs. Maybe they can find a relative or friend who can watch their children, maybe they move into a house that's smaller than desired for the family. Maybe they tap into their own parents' finances to help make ends meet.

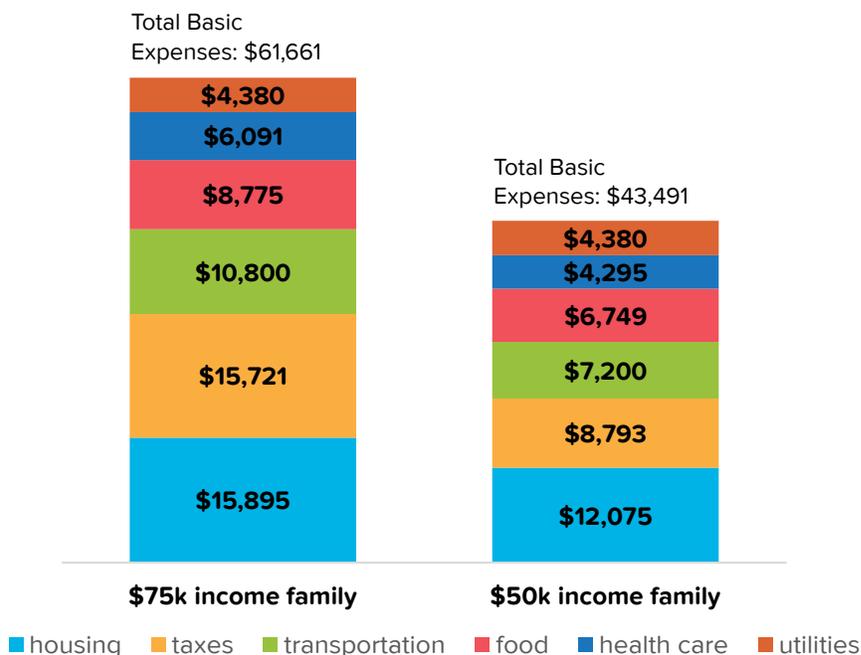
Another undesirable, yet likely necessary, option these families have is to take on debt. While county-level data is not available, 78% of people in the metropolitan region have credit card debt, with the median amount standing at \$2,335.⁸ A quarter of people in the region are close to maxing out their credit cards, with debt above 75% of their limit. Racking up debt only increases costs in the long term, as families will have to pay interest.

Then, of course, there is the other type of debt plaguing many families – student loan debt. Nearly three in ten adults in the region have student loan debt, with the median debt load being more than \$20,000.⁹ Most well-paying jobs require a college education, but taking on such a huge amount of debt to potentially land a good job is a risk and adds to the strain on many families' budgets.

On top of that, these families won't have any money left to build a savings. If an emergency cost comes up – a car breaks down, a furnace blows, a child breaks an arm – these families are out of luck. They also won't be able to save meaningfully for things like retirement or college for their children. Of course, these families could try to increase their income, but higher-paying jobs typically require some degree of education, which itself costs money and takes time.

Once the children get old enough to no longer require child care, that will free up a big chunk of the families' incomes. The \$50,000 family would have about \$6,500 left over, and the \$75,000 family would have about \$13,300. Again, though, much of that would be consumed by the everyday costs, which only grow as children get older – think computers, school trips, sports teams, summer camps, braces. On top of that, the families will have to pay off debt and begin building savings, for which they are already behind the curve.

Chart 3: Even Without Child Care, Families Have Too Little to Cover Costs Beyond the Basics



An In-Depth Look at the Costs

Families have some choices to make when it comes to balancing their budget. But more often than not, most of the basics of child-rearing are immutable. Parents have no choice to avoid the basics which include child care, health care, housing and utilities, transportation, food, and taxes. A closer examination of each of these elements illustrates how fiscally disciplined families need to be just to pay the bills for these basics.

Child Care

Child care costs in Montgomery County take a huge bite out of family income. Even for low-quality child care, the median annual rate for an infant is \$13,520, and for a preschooler it's \$10,920, with the cost of care for toddlers falling between the two.¹⁰ Combined, a family with a baby and a pre-school aged child will need to spend more than \$24,000 for substandard child care. High-quality child care, of course, is even more expensive. The median cost is \$13,728 for an infant and \$11,960 for preschool. Having children in high-quality care greatly benefits their social, emotional and cognitive development, but parents are forced to make the tough decision to forego this major boost to their child's development in order cover their other basic household expenses.

The absolute cheapest child care available in the county – quality aside – is \$6,500 a year for an infant and \$3,422 for a preschooler. At the upper end of the cost spectrum, it costs \$22,360 for an infant alone, and \$18,720 for a preschooler.

These costs are growing rapidly. The median cost of child care for an infant and a toddler was \$22,100 in 2010. By 2016 it had grown to \$27,000 – a 22% increase in just six years.¹¹

Once a child reaches kindergarten, families get some reprieve from these massive child care costs. However, in school districts that only provide half day kindergarten, the full financial burden is likely to remain.¹² Child care that lasts for 5 hours or longer is considered full-time, and thus families pay full price. Half day kindergarten typically lasts just 3 hours, meaning parents working a typical 8 hour day would have to pay for full-time child care when their child is in half day kindergarten. In Montgomery County, five school districts only provide half day kindergarten for their students, and another four have full day slots for just a small portion of their students.¹³

Even in districts that do provide full day kindergarten, many parents still must pay for afterschool care, and that can last into higher grades as well. The median cost of part time care for a young school-aged child is \$121 a week, which comes out to \$4,356 for the school year.¹⁴ Paying for full time care for the remainder of the year would bring the yearly total up to more than \$7,550. Even in the select few districts where the cheapest options exist, families must pay a minimum of \$3,420 a year for this combination of after school and summer care. And the cost goes up to nearly \$13,900 for the most expensive option.

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Chart 4: Child Care is a Family's Biggest Expense After Housing



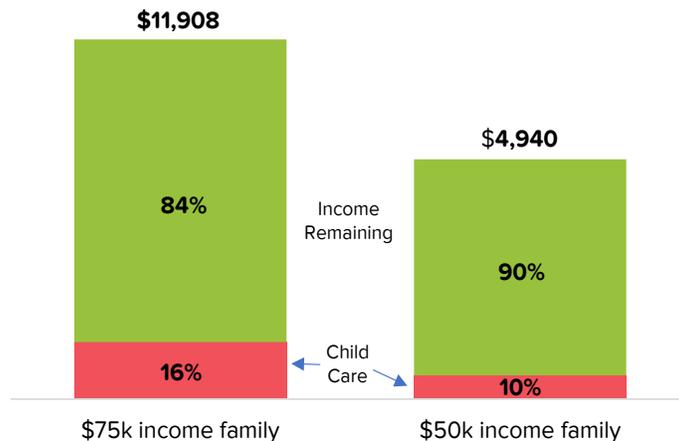
Source: Pennsylvania Office of Child Development and Early Learning. PA Market Rate Survey, 2016.

Child care costs would play out differently for the \$75,000 and \$50,000 income families. The family making \$75,000 a year, even with just one of their children in care, would face a massive child care bill – around \$11,900 for a young toddler – even if they opt for care that’s a bit cheaper than the median.¹⁵ That’s a whopping 16% of their income. And that’s without considering quality; high quality care would likely cost them over \$12,300 per year. If they had any other children with child care needs, they would essentially have to go into debt just to afford their care.

The \$50,000 family fortunately could get some relief through Pennsylvania’s Child Care Works (CCW) program. The program provides subsidies for families with incomes at or below 200% of the federal poverty level for child care.¹⁶ Through the program, the \$50,000 family can receive child care for \$95 per week.¹⁷ Even with this reduced cost, though, it will still run the family \$4,940 per year – a tenth of their income. And that’s if this family is lucky enough to receive the subsidy and not be placed on the waiting list.

In fact, CCW does not receive nearly enough funding to meet the demand. Just 38% of eligible children under age five in Montgomery County are enrolled,

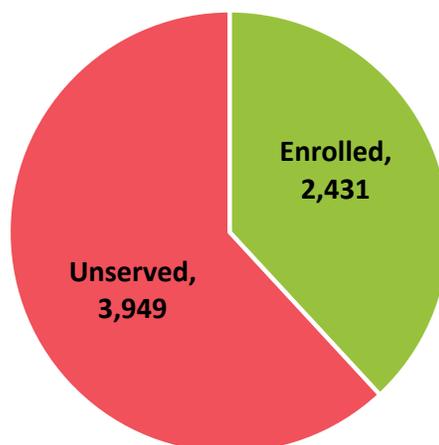
Chart 5: Child Care Consumes 10% to 15% of Families' Budgets



leaving 3,950 children and their families without subsidies despite having modest incomes.¹⁸ While some of these children may have a parent at home to watch them, many do not. In fact, 75% of families with children under age six in Montgomery County have all parents working.¹⁹ These families must either bite the bullet and pay full cost or find less reliable options such as leaving the children with a neighbor or relative. In the latter case, children are likely missing out on a stimulating child care environment that nurtures their development at this critical stage in their lives.

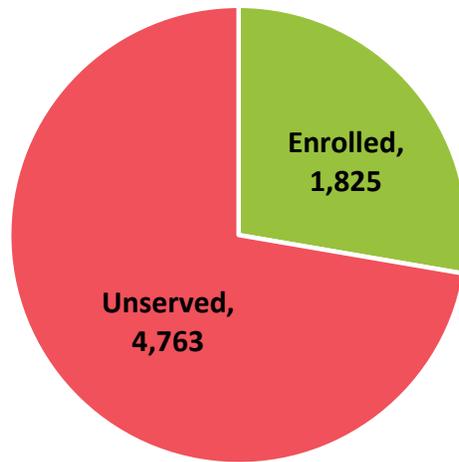
State and federal pre-k programs help defray families' child care costs while simultaneously providing them with high-quality learning experiences that prepare them for social and academic success. The federal Head Start program provides free pre-k for families in poverty.²⁰ Pennsylvania's Pre-K Counts program allows families with incomes at or below 300% of the federal poverty level to attend high-quality pre-k for free, so both of our hypothetical families would qualify.²¹ However, the funding available for these two pre-k programs allows just 28% of eligible children in Montgomery County to take advantage of them.²² While funding increases in recent years have boosted access – just 17% of eligible children had access to these programs in 2013 – more funding is needed to ensure that all eligible children can participate in these potentially life-changing early learning programs and that the burden on their families' incomes is reduced.

Chart 6: Only 4 in 10 Eligible Children Receive Subsidized Child Care



Source: Pennsylvania Partnerships for Children via The Annie E. Casey Foundation's KIDS COUNT Data Center, 2017.

Chart 7: Just 1 in 4 Eligible Children Have Access to Public Pre-K

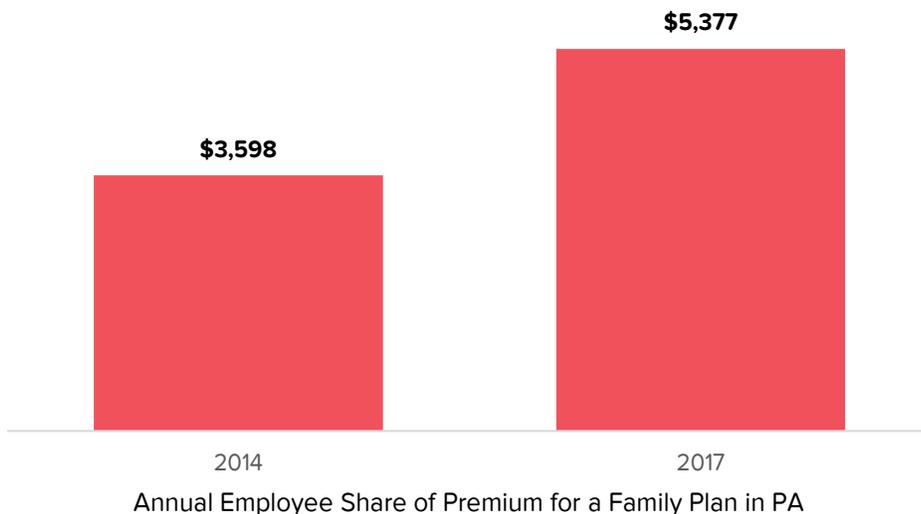


Source: Pennsylvania Partnerships for Children via The Annie E. Casey Foundation's KIDS COUNT Data Center, 2017.

Health Care

Another major expense facing families is health care. Health insurance premiums are consuming a growing share of families' budgets. Most families are covered through an employer, and the average annual premium that families pay in Pennsylvania for employer-sponsored health insurance is \$5,377.²³ Employers' share of premiums is growing as well, up by \$1,210 on average since 2013. This growth in premiums for employers reduces their ability to raise wages.

Chart 8: Employer Sponsored Health Care Premiums Have Grown by 50% Since 2014

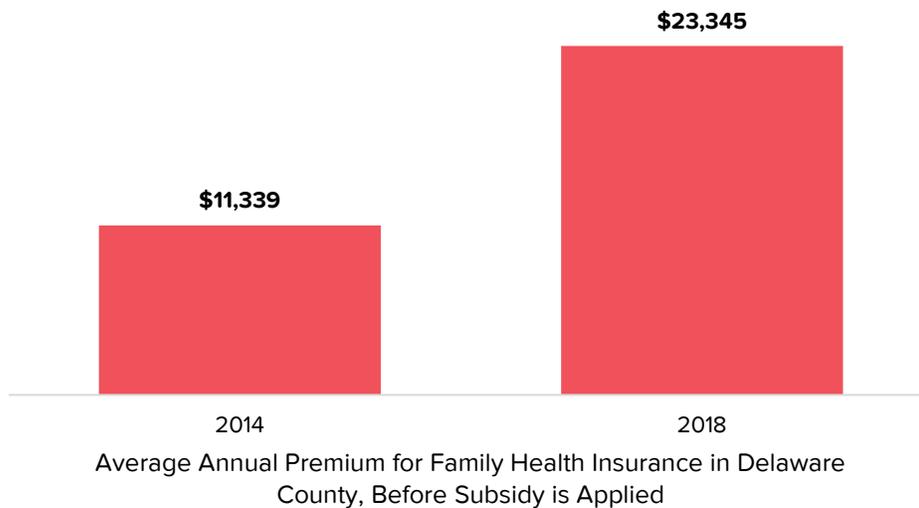


Source: Kaiser Family Foundation. Average Annual Family Premium per Enrolled Employee For Employer-Based Health Insurance, 2017.

Out-of-pocket costs push the bill even higher for families. These costs vary widely from family to family, and local data are not publicly available, but a recent national study found that families spend an average of \$714 on out-of-pocket medical costs per year.²⁴ Many families pay much more in out-of-pocket costs for things like braces or eyeglasses. And health conditions such as asthma, ADD, and weight and obesity issues also drive up families' out-of-pocket costs. In Montgomery County, there are about 7,050 children with ADD, 16,720 children with asthma, and 35,500 children who are overweight or obese.^{25,26} Then there are families with no health insurance for their children, for whom all costs are out-of-pocket. In Montgomery County, more than 3,400 children age 18 and below are uninsured.²⁷

For those buying health insurance on the marketplace, the situation is even worse. The average annual premium for a family with two children in Montgomery County has more than doubled since 2014, now standing at \$23,345.²⁸ Even after subsidies are applied, a family making \$75,000 a year would be paying \$15,250 towards their premium.²⁹ To save costs, such a family may opt for a cheaper plan. Still, even the lowest-cost Silver plan would run them \$9,775 a year after their subsidy is applied.³⁰ Fortunately, premiums will drop in southeastern Pennsylvania in 2019 by 2.3% on average.³¹ However, subsidies will drop as well because they are based on premium levels, so families may not realize any savings.

Chart 9: Marketplace Health Care Premiums Have More Than Doubled

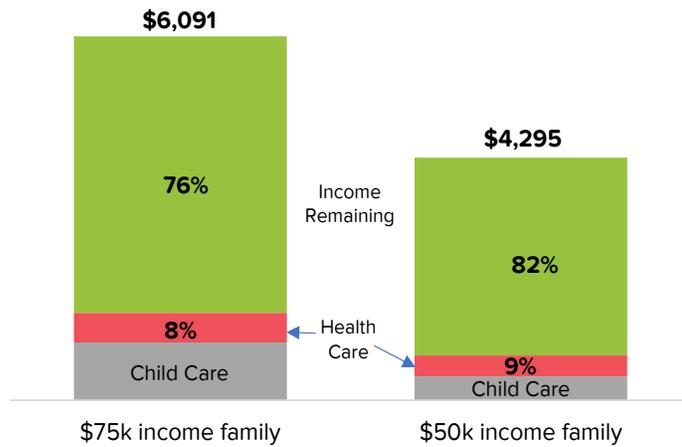


Source: HealthCare.gov. FFM QHP landscape files: Health and dental datasets for researchers and issuers, 2018.

As with child care and pre-k, health insurance programs exist at much lower costs for low and moderate income families. Medical Assistance (MA), Pennsylvania’s Medicaid program, provides free health insurance for children in families up to 133% of the poverty level, or about a \$33,400 annual income for a family of four, with that income limit going up to 157% of the poverty level for children under age six and 215% for infants under age one.³²

The Children’s Health Insurance Program (CHIP) picks up where MA leaves off, providing free health insurance to all children in families up to 200% of the poverty level.³³ That means that our \$50,000 family can get free health insurance for their children. The parents must still pay for their own health insurance though. The average premium for employer-sponsored coverage for an individual plus a spouse is \$3,581.³⁴

Chart 10: Health Care Consumes Nearly 10% of Families’ Budgets

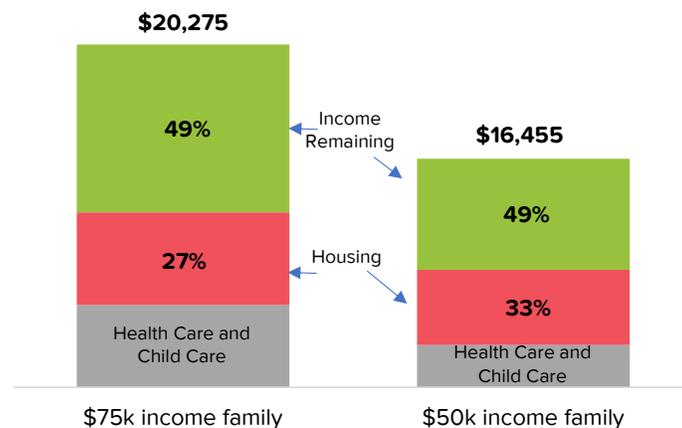


Other Costs Facing Families

In addition to child and health care, families must pay for basic living costs. The most expensive of these costs is housing. The median annual housing costs in Montgomery County are nearly \$17,500.³⁵ The family making \$75,000 likely pays a little less, around \$15,900, towards housing – more than 20% of their income.³⁶ The \$50,000 family would likely pay around \$12,075, nearly a quarter of their income, and for a presumably lower-quality home. These estimates may even be conservative, as the majority of home owners in the county at these income levels pay more than 30% of their incomes towards housing.³⁷

In fact, housing costs have been consuming a growing share of people’s income. Sixty-nine percent of households making \$50,000 or less per year in Montgomery County pay more than 30% of their income towards housing, up from 60% of

Chart 11: Housing & Utilities Take Up a Quarter to a Third of Families’ Budgets



those with an equivalent income in 1999.³⁸ As Philadelphia's housing market heats up, Montgomery County will likely feel a ripple effect as residents move out of the city and into the county, further increasing housing costs in the years ahead.

Along with housing come utility payments. Electricity, gas, water, trash collection, phone service – all of this adds up to a hefty sum. While the cost can vary significantly among households, the average household in the region spends \$4,380 a year on utilities.³⁹

After housing, transportation costs are the next biggest expense in a typical family's budget. In the region, people spend an average of 14% of their income on transportation.⁴⁰ For the \$75,000 family that's \$10,800, and for the \$50,000 family that's \$7,200.

Food, too, consumes a large share of families' budgets, around 12% on average for the region.⁴¹ For the \$75,000 family, that's \$8,775. Because food costs are less variable than other costs, the \$50,000 family can likely only bring their food costs down to \$6,750, eating up 13.5% of their income⁴² The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) provides subsidies for families to buy food, but the maximum income is 160% of the poverty level, or \$39,360 for a family of four.⁴³ The Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) also provides food subsidies for women who are pregnant, postpartum, or breastfeeding, infants, and children up to age five. Though the maximum income for WIC is slightly higher than that of SNAP, at 185% of the poverty level or \$46,435 a year for a family of four, it is still out of reach for the \$50,000 family.⁴⁴

And, of course, there are taxes. First up are federal taxes. Under the new tax law which took effect in 2018, the income tax bill for a married couple making \$75,000 would be \$5,739, and for the \$50,000 couple it would be \$2,739.⁴⁵

Chart 12: Transportation Costs Consume 14% of Families' Income

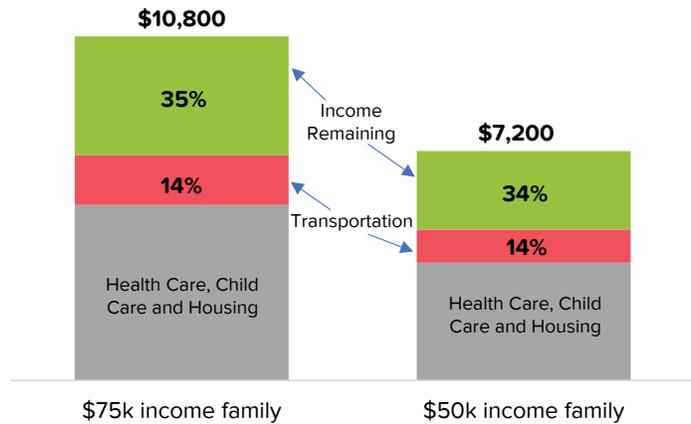
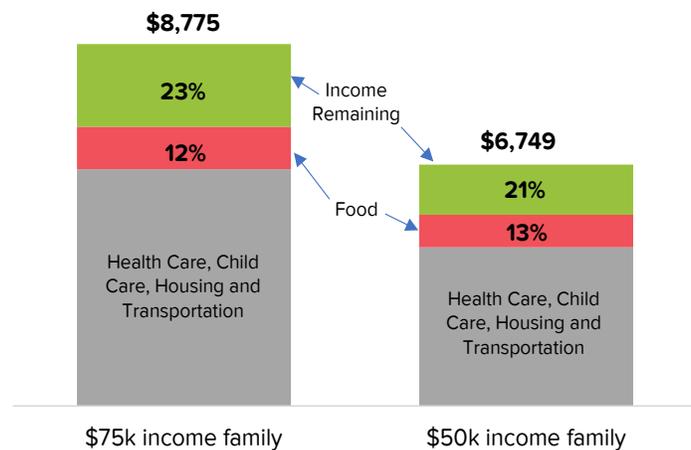


Chart 13: Food Costs Eat Up 12% to 13% of Families' Budgets



The Child Tax Credit (CTC), though, cuts these bills way down. For each child, families get a maximum tax credit of \$2,000, meaning these families can get \$4,000 in tax credits. That brings the \$75,000 family's income tax down to \$1,739. Since the \$50,000 family owes less than \$4,000 in taxes, they actually get money back through this tax credit, to the tune of \$1,261.

The large tax break these families receive from the CTC are the result of the 2018 tax overhaul, which also lowered income tax rates for most families. However, both the CTC expansion and the reduced income tax rates are set to expire in 2026.⁴⁶ The aspect of the tax overhaul that will remain permanent, the dramatic lowering of the corporate tax rate, primarily benefits the wealthiest individuals. And even the temporary CTC expansion benefits higher income people more than those with the lowest incomes. The CTC is only refundable up to \$1,400, meaning that lower income families who owe less in taxes than the credit is worth can only benefit by \$1,400 per child, whereas higher income families benefit by the full \$2,000.⁴⁷ Further, families are only eligible to get a tax refund of 15% of their income above \$2,500, so a family with two children cannot even get their full refund unless they make at least \$21,000. That means the absolute lowest income families benefit the least from the CTC expansion. Meanwhile, the CTC expansion raises the maximum income families can make while still being eligible for the credit from \$150,000 to \$400,000, meaning that families making these six figure incomes benefit the most from the expansion. All of these aspects of the tax overhaul exacerbate inequality.

Another feature of the tax overhaul is the reduced state and local tax (SALT) deduction. Previously, people could deduct all of their state and local taxes from their taxable income if they choose to itemize their deductions. The new tax law capped the deductible amount of SALT at \$10,000. (Families making up to \$75,000 in Montgomery County are likely to have their state and local taxes be around \$8,200.) At the same time, it expanded the standard deduction, which people can opt for rather than itemizing their deduction, to \$24,000 for a married couple, so the two families profiled here would not be harmed by the cap on SALT deductions – yet. As state and local taxes increase, though, the standard deduction only grows at the rate of inflation, so these families could eventually lose out through this provision.

Chart 14: Taxes Take a Fifth of Families' Income

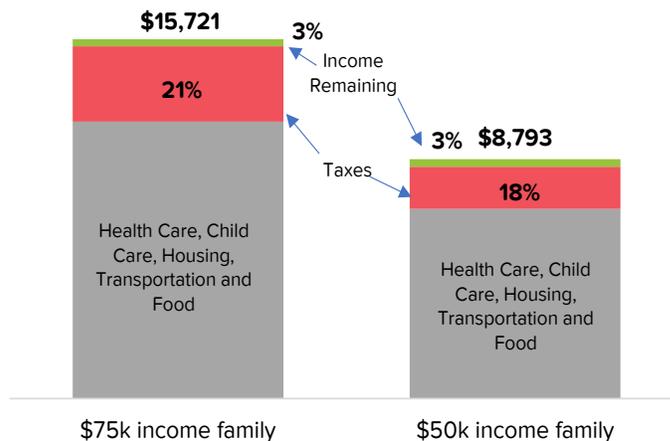


Table 1: Basic Costs of Living Consume Nearly All Families' Income

Cost of Living for \$75,000 Family		Cost of Living for \$50,000 Family	
Housing	\$15,895	Housing	\$12,075
Taxes	\$15,721	Taxes	\$8,793
Child Care	\$11,908	Transportation	\$7,200
Transportation	\$10,800	Food	\$6,749
Food	\$8,775	Child Care	\$4,940
Health Care	\$6,091	Utilities	\$4,380
Utilities	\$4,380	Health Care	\$4,295
Total	\$73,569	Total	\$48,431

The other federal taxes are for social security and Medicare, which come out to \$5,738 for the \$75,000 family and \$3,825 for the \$50,000 family.⁴⁸ Pennsylvania also levies a 3.07% income tax, about \$2,300 for the \$75,000 family and \$1,535 for the \$50,000 family.⁴⁹

Finally there are local property taxes. The majority of property taxes go towards funding the local school district, and the county and township or borough governments also levy property taxes. Lower wealth communities tend to have higher property tax rates, as their properties are lower in value but they have just as great a need for revenue to fund their schools due to the lack of robust State funding.⁵⁰ This overreliance on local property taxes to fund schools burdens lower income families more heavily, so the \$50,000 and \$75,000 families may actually face similar property tax bills. In Montgomery County, the average property tax bill on a typical home is about \$4,700 in school districts where the median income is around \$50,000, and it's around \$5,950 in districts where the median income is around \$75,000.⁵¹

Altogether, the \$75,000 family would be looking at a \$15,721 tax bill, and the \$50,000 family would pay \$8,793 in taxes.

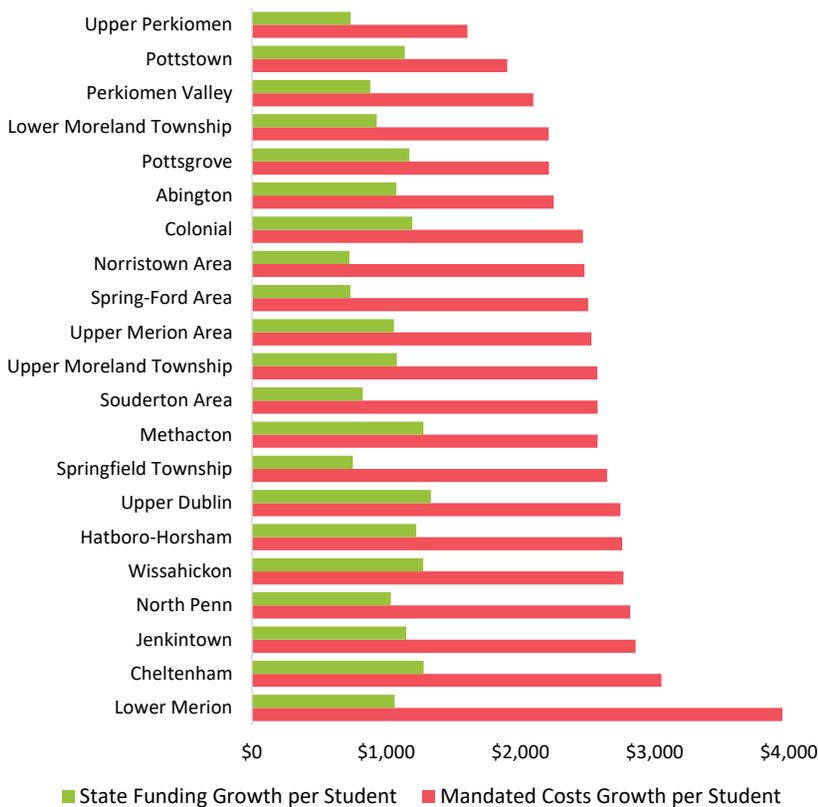
Both the \$75,000 family and the \$50,000 family have barely anything left over – just around \$30 per week – after paying for their necessities alone. They simply have no way to cover their other everyday costs and still stay above water under current conditions. These parents would love to give their children more, to provide them with the support they need for upward mobility so that they can be in a better situation when they are adults. But that dream becomes an afterthought when these parents are locked in a constant struggle just to provide their children with the basics.

Schools are the Best Option Parents Have for Their Child's Social Mobility

Parents in Montgomery County, like parents everywhere in America, want their children to be more prosperous and successful than they are or ever can expect to be. In fact, a parent's drive for their kid's success defines nearly every decision a parent makes, including where to live. Parents choose to live in Montgomery County in part because it offers a good quality of life and, to a much greater extent, because in many of the county's communities it offers great schools.

Parents' innate understanding of the central role of education to upward mobility is validated by research that shows that a good education provides major economic benefits to individuals. A recent study from James Heckman et al. puts it simply: "Schooling has strong causal effects on earnings."⁵² Another recent study demonstrates that the quality of public schools is a key factor in enabling upward mobility, with strong K-12 schools significantly boosting the incomes of students once they reach adulthood.⁵³

Chart 15: Rapid Growth in Mandated Costs Far Outpaces State Funding Growth Since 2010



Source: Pennsylvania Department of Education

Unfortunately, school districts in Montgomery County are in a similar boat as many families. State school funding policy has meant that after meeting the state mandated costs of teacher pensions, charter payments and special education costs, the districts where the majority of students are educated are losing the resources they need to provide the sort of quality education that makes upward mobility possible.

What follows is an overview of the financial stress of school districts in Montgomery County which must be addressed so that children who graduate from these schools and raise their families in Montgomery County are able to earn enough to raise their children without going into debt.

State and federal mandated costs facing schools, in particular pensions, special education and charter school payments, are growing rapidly in Montgomery County. Pension payments skyrocketed, from \$43 million in 2010 to \$305 million in 2017, a 610% increase.⁵⁴ Special education costs also shot up by \$86 million since 2010.⁵⁵ And charter school payments grew by \$11 million, a 66% increase, borne primarily by a subset of districts.⁵⁶

Although the State has increased education funding over the past four years, it hasn't kept pace with these rising mandated costs. From 2010 to 2016, the three mandated costs of special education, pensions and charter payments grew by \$293 million for Montgomery County districts, while State funding grew by just \$119 million.⁵⁷ Costs have grown more than State funding for every school district nearly every year. Despite the State's recent funding increases, it still funds just 35% of education costs, placing Pennsylvania 46th out of 50 nationwide for the share of education costs provided by the State.⁵⁸

In order to keep up with these growing costs, school districts have had to turn to the other major source of education funding – local property taxes.



“Any basic high school finance class teaches that you can’t keep adding costs beyond your ability to pay and survive. That’s exactly where many Montgomery County Districts are going, including my own. When will our legislature deal with the fact that we as a Commonwealth don’t believe that our zip code should dictate the quality of our children’s education? If we don’t change this soon, our children won’t just suffer, they will fail... and it will be our fault.”

**-Stephen Rodriguez,
Superintendent,
Pottstown School
District**

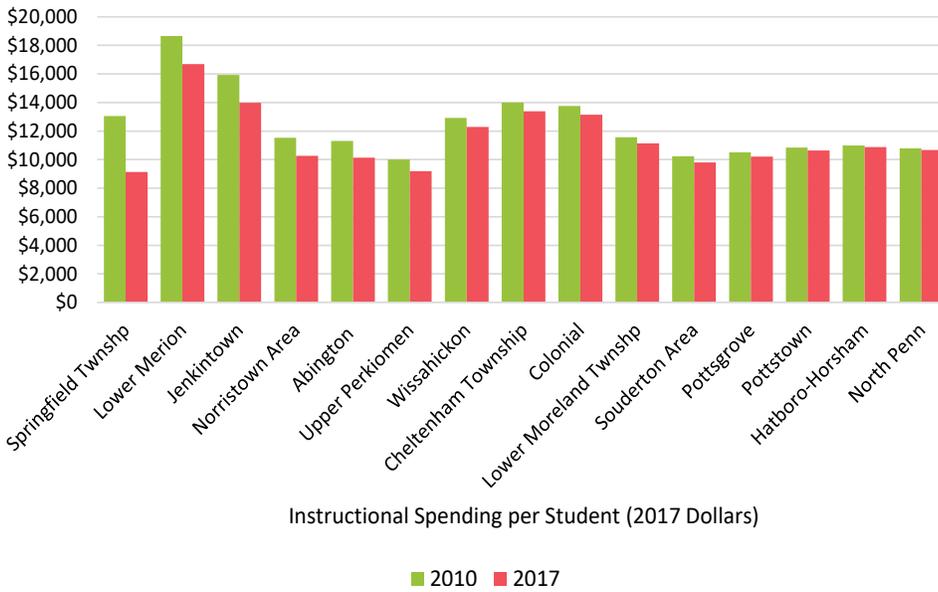


Over the past decade, every school district in Montgomery County has raised property taxes at least five times, with three-quarters of districts raising taxes all or all but one year.⁵⁹

School property tax rates in the county have gone up by an average of 20% since 2010. The average property tax bill stood at \$4,380 in 2017, more than \$1,100 higher than a decade ago, putting more financial pressure on already strained families.⁶⁰

Even with these property tax increases, districts are still struggling to get more money into the classroom. The majority of districts, 15 of 21, actually had less to spend on instruction in 2017 than in 2010 after adjusting for inflation.⁶¹

Chart 16: 70% of Districts Have Less Money in the Classroom



Source: Pennsylvania Department of Education

On top of that, the number of economically disadvantaged students is growing. Every Montgomery County school district but one has seen an increase in the share of economically disadvantaged students since 2013, by more than 40% on average.⁶² Lower income students are costlier to educate, especially when schools have high concentrations of them. The state legislature recognized this fact, weighting the school funding formula so that districts receive extra funding for students in poverty and even more funding when the share of students in poverty exceeds 30%.⁶³ Yet most school districts in Montgomery County saw their spending capacity shrink even as their low income population grew.

Meanwhile, an alarming share of students in the county – 41% – are failing the math PSSA, and one in four are failing the reading PSSA.⁶⁴ These figures are even worse in the districts with high shares of economically disadvantaged students. The majority of students – 54% – fail the math exam in districts where more than 40% of the students are economically disadvantaged, and more than a third, 37%, fail the reading exam. Without significant additional State investment in education, these children will not have an improved economic outlook, and their families will feel the pressure of rising property taxes all the while.

Conclusion

Many families in Montgomery County face a bleak situation. Their middle class incomes don't provide the financial security they once did. They're struggling just to provide their children with the basics – enough to get by, but not enough to get ahead. They can't rely on the education system to give their children the boost they need to become upwardly mobile, as the schools are going through a parallel struggle to keep up with costs. If things continue at the current rate, the children in these strained families will become a new generation of strained families.

Something has to give. Complacency is not an option. As Nobel Prize-winning economist Paul Romer makes clear, when society faces dire issues, bold action must be taken. In discussing how policy responses have allowed America to overcome problems in the recent past, he states, “[The country] turned out fine because we did things to make sure it turned out fine. And so there's no basis for complacency in the success record that we can see when we look back. There are new things we need to do in the labor market, in education...As long as we do those things everything really can turn out fine. But if we don't do them, we're going to be disappointed.”⁶⁵ The issues facing Montgomery County families are case in point. These families cannot afford complacency. Without a large-scale response, they will be forever trapped in a cycle of financial pressure, the “American Dream” replaced by the American Drain, a constant struggle to stay above water.

Recommendations

PCCY has identified a set of concrete steps that policymakers can take to alleviate the financial burden facing families in Bucks County while also ensuring their children have strong support in their development so that they can achieve financial stability in adulthood. While many actions can be taken, PCCY believes that policymakers can prioritize the following to great effect in making Bucks County a place where all families thrive.

Recommendations

To boost families' incomes:

- + Create a workforce development strategy to help people move into higher paying jobs
- + Increase the State government's payments to agencies that employ low-wage, government-funded professionals, such as Direct Support Professionals and child care workers, so that wages are at least \$15 an hour and ideally \$18 an hour, to increase the ability of these professionals to stay above water while supporting a family⁶⁶

To reduce the child care and early education cost burden:

- + Increase funding for Child Care Works, Pre-K Counts and Head Start
- + Expand eligibility for Child Care Works
- + Implement full day kindergarten in all school districts

To reduce the health care cost burden:

- + Expand eligibility for free and subsidized Children's Health Insurance Program
- + Preserve the Affordable Care Act

To reduce the cost burden of other living expenses:

- + Create more affordable transportation through mobility planning at the County level
- + Create affordable housing strategies at the County level

To reduce the tax burden on financially struggling families:

- + Expand Pennsylvania's Tax Forgiveness program to incomes of at least \$75,000
- + Offset property taxes by increasing State funding for public schools

To improve the financial outlook of public schools:

- + Increase State K-12 basic education and special education funding
- + Restore the State's charter school reimbursement to school districts

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Public Citizens for Children and Youth (PCCY) serves as the leading child advocacy organization working to improve the lives and life chances of children in the region.

Through thoughtful and informed advocacy, community education, targeted service projects and budget analysis, PCCY watches out and speaks out for children and families. PCCY undertakes specific and focused projects in areas affecting the healthy growth

and development of children, including child care, public education, child health, juvenile justice and child welfare.

Founded in 1980 as Philadelphia Citizens for Children and Youth, our name was changed in 2007 to better reflect our expanded work in the counties surrounding Philadelphia. PCCY remains a committed advocate and an independent watchdog for the well-being of all our children.

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