GAO

**June 2004** 

# HIGHLIGHTS OF A GAO FORUM

Workforce Challenges and Opportunities For the 21st Century: Changing Labor Force Dynamics and the Role of Government Policies







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# Introduction from the Comptroller General of the United States

The U.S. workforce of the 21st century is expected to face a very different set of opportunities and challenges than previous generations. Demographic and economic trends indicate that the size and composition of the labor force, as well as the characteristics of many jobs, are changing in the 21st century. To discuss these changing labor force dynamics and the role of government policies, GAO hosted the "Workforce Challenges and Opportunities for the 21st Century Forum" on April 22, 2004. The participants were a select group of national leaders and experts on the dynamics of the U.S. workforce. This group included government officials, business and union representatives, and other national experts on workforce issues. As agreed with forum participants, the purpose of the discussion was not to reach consensus but rather to engage in an open, nonattribution-based dialogue.

GAO began the 21st Century Workforce Forum by presenting some of the key demographic, economic, and fiscal trends. In the past 50 years, the size of the U.S. labor force has more than doubled. However, over the next  $50\,$ years, the labor force as a whole is projected to grow much more slowly at about one-third the previous rate. The labor force is also projected to become much more racially and ethnically diverse in the future. In addition to these demographic trends, a number of broad economic trends—global interdependence, technological change, and the growth of the knowledge-based economy—are changing U.S. labor markets; these changes include the kind of skills and knowledge needed within the workforce for the United States to compete effectively while maintaining a high standard of living. As the U.S. labor force changes, the role of the federal government must be examined. While the federal government sets immigration, tax, and labor policies and provides information on labor force dynamics, it also funds a variety of employment and training programs that increase the skills of workers and help match job seekers with employers. However, the federal government faces large and growing deficits that might constrain future spending on these programs and affect a wide range of workforce issues.

Participants generally agreed that the United States will soon face tight labor markets, in part because of changes in demographic trends and demands for higher skills. Some participants noted that the approaching retirement of the baby boom generation will contribute to tight labor markets and affect some industries more than others. They also discussed low labor force participation rates among certain groups, such as high school dropouts, low-income individuals, and some minority groups. Some participants explained that immigrants—both legal and undocumented—

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help the United States meet its labor demands. In addition to these demographic trends, participants agreed that the gap between the skills needed by employers and the skill level of U.S. workers poses a challenge for the U.S. labor market. Participants explained that several factors contribute to this skills gap, including the growth of the knowledge-based economy, decreased support for training programs, and insufficient emphasis on career education in schools.

While considering both the needs of the U.S. labor force and the realities of a tight fiscal environment, participants discussed several ways to address the possible tight labor market in the coming years. Some participants questioned the effectiveness of current public training programs. Many agreed that employers together with unions should take an active role in determining training needs. To increase the number of skilled workers, most participants agreed that youth and young adults, especially those who do not plan on attending college, need alternative education and training opportunities. In addition, some agreed that keeping older workers in the labor force longer by offering more flexible retirement options, such as phased retirement approaches, could lessen future labor shortages and help pay for costly benefits, such as health care. Participants also debated the need to change immigration policies and visa priorities to better meet future workforce needs.

Appendix I summarizes the collective discussion, as well as subsequent comments we received from participants on the draft summary of the forum discussion. This summary does not necessarily represent the views of any individual participant, including GAO. Appendix II lists the forum participants. Appendix III contains related GAO products on workforce issues. This report will be posted on our Web site at www.gao.gov. For additional information on workforce development issues, please contact Sigurd Nilsen at (202) 512-7215 or Nilsens@gao.gov. Key contributors to this report include Alicia Cackley, Elizabeth Morrison, Cheri Harrington, Elizabeth Caplick, and Janice Peterson.

I wish to thank all the forum participants for taking the time to share their knowledge, insights, and perspectives. We will use the knowledge gained from the forum's deliberations in our work for Congress and the country. I

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look forward to working with the forum's participants on important workforce issues in the future.

David M. Walker Comptroller General of the United States

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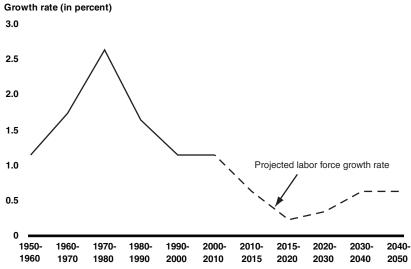
Highlights of Workforce Challenges and Opportunities for the 21st Century Forum: Changing Labor Force Dynamics and the Role of Government Policies GAO began the 21st Century Workforce Forum by presenting some of the key demographic, economic, and fiscal trends, including data on the size and composition of the labor force as well as the characteristics of many U.S. jobs.

#### Background

In the past 50 years, the size of the U.S. labor force has more than doubled, increasing from 62.2 million workers in 1950 to 140.8 million workers in 2000. However, over the next 50 years, the labor force as a whole is projected to grow much more slowly. Between 2040 and 2050, the labor force growth rate is projected to drop to 0.6 percent from its recent peak of 2.6 percent in the 1970s. (See fig. 1.) One reason for this drop is that while women's share of the labor force increased dramatically over the past 50 years—from 30 percent in 1950 to 47 percent in 2000—their share of the labor force is projected to remain at around 48 percent over the next 50 years. Without a major increase in productivity, low labor force growth will lead to slower growth in the economy and to slower growth of federal revenues.

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Figure 1: Labor Force Growth Rate from 1950 to 2000 and Projected Growth Rate, 2000 to 2050



Source: Monthly Labor Review, May 2002.

The U.S. labor force is also projected to become older and more racially and ethnically diverse in the future. As the baby boom generation ages, older workers are expected to compose a larger share of the labor force. The 55-and-older age group, which made up 13 percent of the labor force in 2000, is projected to increase to 20 percent by 2020. It is estimated that by 2050, this age group will make up 19 percent of the labor force. Further, immigration—from both legal and undocumented immigrants—contributes to the U.S. population. In 2002, approximately 1 million legal immigrants entered the United States. Moreover, it is estimated that about 500,000 undocumented immigrants are added to the U.S. population each year. Of the estimated 9.3 million undocumented immigrants who currently reside in the United States, 6 million are estimated to be in the labor force. As the number of U.S. immigrants increases, so does the diversity of the U.S. labor force. From 2000 to 2050, the share of white non-Hispanics in the labor force is expected to fall by about a quarter, while the share of Hispanics and Asians is expected to more than double within this same time frame.

In addition to these demographic trends, a number of broad economic trends are changing the nature of labor markets and employment in the United States. Increasing global interdependence and technological change are often identified as the driving forces behind many economic

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changes, and they have major implications for the U.S. workforce. As U.S. firms increasingly compete within the global marketplace, they seek to reduce costs, through either technological innovation or outsourcing of production, or increased use of temporary workers. Technological change, particularly the spread of computer and information technology, contributes to changing skill demand on the part of employers. While technological changes could create demand for higher-skilled workers, these changes—depending on the industry—could also decrease employer demand for highly skilled workers. The growth of the knowledge-based economy and innovations in management systems, such as the adoption of high-performance practices that emphasize problem solving and teamwork, have also contributed to the need for increased skill levels in many industries. All of these changes have the potential to increase the wage gap between high-and low-skill workers, with significant socioeconomic implications for U.S. society.

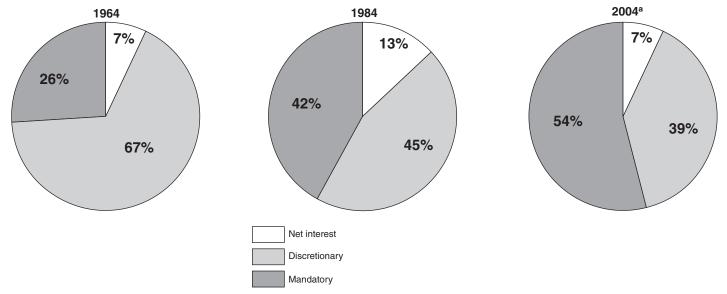
Global interdependence, technological change, and the knowledge-based economy have all helped change the relationship between workers and employers. Because workers are less likely to spend a major portion of their careers with a single employer, they are more likely to seek training that is marketable to a variety of employers instead of training that is employer specific. Similarly, employers might not invest in worker training if the training will make the employees more attractive to other companies. In addition, because global interdependence has increased pressure on companies to streamline operations, employers are more willing to lay off workers and move operations to lower-cost locations domestically and internationally. These changes have implications for both the types of skills that workers need and the incentives for individual workers or employers to acquire or provide training.

As the U.S. labor force changes, the role of the federal government must be examined. Currently, the federal government plays an important role in promoting the labor force through a variety of mechanisms, including workforce development programs, unemployment insurance, skills development, education, pension, and health care policies. In 2003, the federal government spent over \$148 billion on employment and training programs, education grants, loans, tax credits, and income support programs such as unemployment insurance and assistance to low-income families. At the same time, the federal government faces large and growing structural deficits that might constrain government spending on these programs in the future. Given that the U.S. population is aging, the proportion of the federal budget dedicated to mandatory programs—such

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as Medicare and Social Security—is likely to grow, and the amount available for discretionary programs—such as employment and training assistance—is likely to decrease. From 1964 to 2004, discretionary federal spending decreased from 67 percent of the federal budget to 39 percent, while mandatory spending more than doubled. (See fig. 2.) Lower economic growth resulting from low labor force growth, unless accompanied with a significant jump in productivity, will only accentuate the overall pressure on the federal budget.

Figure 2: Federal Spending for Mandatory and Discretionary Programs



Source: Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2005, Office of Management and Budget.

Participants considered questions related to the effect of these economic and demographic trends on U.S. workers and the appropriate role for government in responding to workplace challenges and opportunities. Specifically, they responded to the following questions: (1) Is the United States facing an impending shortage of labor as the baby boom generation retires over the next 20 years? (2) Do workers entering the workforce and those already working have the skills employers will need to be competitive globally? and (3) What changes in the structure of the nation's workforce development system are needed to meet the changing needs of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Current services estimate.

businesses and workers, and what is the appropriate role of the federal government in addressing workforce policy?

The United States May Face Tight Labor Markets in Part because of Changes in Demographic Trends and Demand for Higher Skills While participants debated the existence of future labor shortages and which industries and workers may be affected, they generally agreed that the United States may soon face tight labor markets in part because of projected demographic trends and the need for higher skills. Several factors affecting tight labor markets include the retirement of the baby boom generation from the workforce, an insufficient number of workers entering certain occupations, and the insufficient supply of skilled workers. Specifically, they noted:

- The baby boom generation could affect the U.S. labor market. Participants acknowledged that the aging of the baby boom generation and that generation's approaching retirement might lead to tight labor markets, particularly 20 years from now. Some stated that these workers could leave the labor market gradually, either by delaying retirement or by working part-time, thereby lessening the impact on the labor force. In contrast, others argued that older workers might, for various reasons, leave the workforce immediately when they reach retirement age. They noted that often, corporate pension policies encourage employees to retire early and do not allow part-time employment in their own companies for individuals receiving their pensions. Some participants reinforced the notion that the retirement of baby boomers would decrease the worker-to-retiree ratio and thus put additional financial pressures on Social Security and Medicare. In addition, some participants said that the retirement of baby boomers might affect some industries more than others. Specifically, in certain industries, many more workers will retire than will pursue jobs and be hired. For example, one participant noted that while many nuclear engineers are retiring, few new workers are entering this occupation. Similarly, it was noted that the average age of current workers in some manufacturing jobs is 50 or older.
- Labor force participation rates are low among certain populations. Participants also discussed low labor force participation rates among

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Participants noted the difficulty in predicting future labor shortages, given the complex relationships that exist between labor supply and changes in productivity and labor demand.

certain groups, such as high school dropouts, low-income individuals, and some minority groups. While participants agreed that these populations could serve as an additional source of labor in the future, they also noted that another source—women—is projected to have a much lower rate of labor force growth between 2000 and 2050.

• Immigrants help meet U.S. labor demands. Immigrants—both legal and undocumented—have a role to play in the current and future workforce. The H-1B program, which was developed to provide employers with temporary foreign workers who are highly skilled, has become a transitional program that enables many of these workers to become permanent legal residents in the United States. On the other hand, since the events of September 11, 2001, visas have been more difficult to obtain for immigrants entering the United States for higher education purposes. This may limit the availability of this source of skilled labor in certain industries where foreign workers have a strong presence.

In addition to noting these demographic trends, participants agreed that the gap between the skills needed by employers and the skill level of U.S. workers—both those entering the labor market and those already employed—poses a major challenge for the U.S. labor market. Participants discussed an array of factors contributing to the skills gap, including the need for workers to have more advanced skills than their predecessors, the need for workers to have specialized skills, the decreased availability of employer-based training programs and incumbent worker (i.e. employed worker) training funding, and the emphasis on college preparation at the expense of other career education options in schools. Specifically they said that:

• The United States is moving toward a knowledge-based economy that requires higher skills. A knowledge-based economy increasingly requires workers to have more advanced skills and higher levels of education than in the past. While creation of new technology—an area where the United States has traditionally been strong—can potentially mitigate tight labor markets, the United States needs workers with advanced skills in order to benefit from nascent technologies. Participants noted that industries that traditionally have not required their workers to obtain postsecondary education—such as some factory jobs—increasingly need employees that have a higher education level and more advanced skills than in the past. For example, one participant noted that in the past, a factory floor supervisor held a relatively unskilled position, but today, that same person would need a 2-year

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college degree and on-the-job training. Employers need not only workers with strong math skills and good technical skills; they also need employees who have mastered the soft skills, such as communication and team building. In addition, there are certain occupations, such as those in the nuclear engineering and health care fields, that require specialized skills and will continue to be in demand.

- Workers are not receiving sufficient training. Participants generally agreed that more training is needed, although it is unclear who is responsible for training—the employers, employees, or both. Previously, in many industries, employers provided long-term training. Today, however, employers are less likely to train their employees because in a tight labor market they face the risk of losing workers to other firms that do not train. Although society as a whole benefits from trained workers, individual firms that provide training may not see a return on their investment. Similarly, prospective workers are unlikely to invest in training without knowing which skills will provide them with jobs that pay well.
- Some countries have a greater supply of young, well-educated workers. The United States faces a significant demographic difference in terms of the age of U.S. workers and their technological skill compared with workers in countries such as India. According to some participants, some countries have large numbers of young, more recently trained workers entering their workforce. They noted that if workers in the United States cannot maintain the same skill level as new workers in these other countries, the United States will face a serious skills shortage that will affect the future rate of innovation and productivity. Several participants noted that maintaining incumbent worker skills might be difficult, as both employers and the federal government have reduced incumbent worker training support.
- Offshoring of jobs has increased and is likely to continue. Rapid advances in technology, increased trade, lower transportation costs, and communications innovations have greatly facilitated the offshoring of jobs, especially in the services sector. Given the high level of education and worker skill development in some countries, the jobs moving offshore are no longer low-wage, low-skilled jobs, but instead are those that attract high-skilled workers. In addition, the high cost of health care in the United States and the fact that it is factored into employer costs have contributed to employers' decisions to offshore certain functions.

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• Career education and apprenticeship training are not given enough emphasis. Other participants cautioned that parents and schools place too much importance on all young adults obtaining a college degree. Some youth may not pursue higher education and instead need training such as career education or apprenticeship training so that they can participate more fully in the labor force. Participants emphasized that there are many occupations—such as those in the building trades—that do not require a college education but can provide adequate wages to individuals with honed skills.

#### Participants Discussed Strategies for Addressing the Tight Labor Market

Participants suggested several potential solutions to address the tight labor market that take into consideration both the needs of the U.S. labor force and the realities of a tight fiscal environment. A few participants questioned the effectiveness of current public training programs, and many agreed that employers, with the help of unions, should take an active role in determining training needs. To increase the number of skilled workers, most forum participants emphasized the importance of providing youth and young adults—especially those who will not attend college—with alternative education and training opportunities. Some also agreed that keeping older workers engaged in the labor force through flexible retirement policies could lessen future labor shortages. Finally, participants debated the need to change immigrant worker policies to better meet future workforce needs. Participants' suggestions included the following:

• Increase the effectiveness of publicly funded training programs. Some participants questioned the effectiveness of public employment and training programs in helping job seekers enhance their job skills, identify job opportunities, and ultimately find employment. While the Department of Labor is responsible for overseeing many of these programs, such as those authorized under the Workforce Investment Act<sup>2</sup> and the H-1B Technical Skills Training Grant Program,<sup>3</sup> other agencies, such as the Departments of Health and Human Services,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Workforce Investment Act, which has been awaiting reauthorization since 2003, provides employment and training services to adults, dislocated workers, and youth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Financed by fees paid by employers who bring skilled foreign workers into the United States under H-1B nonimmigrant visas, the H-1B Technical Skills Training Grant Program helped to develop and operate high-skill training programs for unemployed and employed American workers. Legislation adopted in 2000 authorized this program through 2003.

Education, and Housing and Urban Development, also support employment and training programs. Some participants argued that many of these employment and training programs provide overlapping services and said too many resources are spent operating duplicative programs, which serve relatively few people. Alternatively, one participant noted that current training funds are small relative to the total U.S. budget and argued that U.S. training investment per person is too low to be successful. To strengthen the public training programs, some participants suggested the following proposals:

- expand Labor's High Growth Initiative so that it prepares workers for a variety of jobs, not just those in high-growth and top-paying industries;
- reauthorize the Workforce Investment Act to provide greater emphasis on incumbent worker training;
- consolidate public training programs to save resources and serve more individuals;
- present labor force statistics in a more useful way;
- evaluate newer models and programs that support disadvantaged workers; and
- restructure federal programs so that they are driven by employer needs.
- Encourage employers and unions to take the lead in determining training needs. Because employers are good at matching available jobs with skilled workers, some participants said that employers together with unions should take a leading role in determining training needs for workers. However, some participants said that employers are unlikely to actually provide training because they run the risk of losing trained employees to other employers—an outcome known as the free rider problem. Participants debated whether the federal government should encourage employers to provide training by offering them training tax credits. Specific points raised included the following:
  - The federal government should give employers training tax credits to create a steady supply of skilled workers, solve the free rider problem, and correct for the depreciation of skills.

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- Training tax credits were criticized by some participants because
  these credits reward companies that already have training programs
  in place, and the public views such tax credits as corporate welfare.
  An alternative would be to make these credits marginal, that is,
  credits would only be given for training above current spending
  levels and would target less-educated and nonmanagerial workers.
- Instead of going to companies, training tax credits should be given to individuals.
- Giving training tax credits to individuals would result in the same challenges as individual training accounts, which provide individuals with blocks of training dollars. Workers generally do not know what training is needed by employers, so leaving training decisions to workers would require additional education on what skills and training are considered necessary.
- Promote alternative education and training opportunities.

  Participants explained that many individuals lack the skills needed to get jobs with adequate wages. In some cases, these individuals are left out of the labor force. Some participants commented that the secondary educational system primarily focuses on preparing students for college and does not groom youth for alternative career paths. They felt that policy makers need to focus on policies and programs that promote the development of a wide range of skills needed for various jobs, including skilled jobs that do not require a 4-year degree. To increase the number of skilled workers, some participants recommended that business and unions have a central role in designing alternative education and training opportunities and made the following suggestions:
  - Career education needs to be emphasized in high school so that youth understand the linkages between classroom study and workforce skills.
  - Programs that help disadvantaged young people connect to the labor force, such as Job Corps and Career Academies, need more funding.
  - Vocational education needs to be incorporated into the high school curriculum for those who do not plan on attending college.
  - Apprenticeships need to be promoted as a respectable and alternative career path.

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- Education and training grants, such as Pell Grants, need more funding.
- *Keep older workers engaged in the labor force.* Some participants explained that older workers vary in the amount of hours they want to work before retiring. However, many pension policies do not offer older workers the flexibility to work part-time. To encourage the baby boom generation to retire gradually and to retain the skills of older workers, some participants suggested the following policy changes:
  - support pension policy and regulation changes that allow workers to work part-time and still receive a pension;
  - remove barriers to phased retirement that arise from confusion over tax, pension, and age discrimination laws; and
  - clarify the law on rehiring retirees.
- Consider changing immigrant worker policies. Some participants argued that the federal government needs to change its immigrant worker policies to address future workforce challenges, while others warned that changing immigrant policies would not significantly meet the demands of a tight labor market and might only be a short-term solution. One participant explained that immigrant workers, at some point, would also need additional training. However, most participants agreed that current immigration policies were developed decades ago and do not address current workforce needs. Participants offered the following suggestions to change immigrant worker policies:
  - U.S. policies should support more permanent immigrants and fewer illegal immigrants.
  - The federal government's visa programs should not have fixed yearly limits on the number of people who may enter the country. Instead, the number of allowable visas should be given in a range that adjusts to meet workforce demands.
  - The executive branch, not Congress, should be responsible for determining the number of temporary workers who can enter the United States. Another participant argued that Congress should be responsible because it represents the larger social interest.

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- U.S. immigration policy should not differentiate between permanent and temporary workers; instead, foreign workers should be considered transitional.
- Non-native U.S. college graduates should be given green cards immediately after graduation instead of being sent back to their home countries.
- The U.S. visa program for foreign students to attend college and graduate school in the United States should be revised. Recent declines in the admission of foreign graduate students, especially in math and science, have implications for future U.S. productivity and innovation.

In summary, there was general agreement among the participants, who represented workforce experts, policy makers, and the U.S. business community, that action needs to be taken to address the impact of the projected demographic and economic changes on the U.S. labor force. Aging workers, a more diversified labor force, and the need for enhanced skills are all factors that will affect the ability of the United States to compete in a global economy. To address these issues, participants emphasized the importance of employers taking the lead in identifying training needs. In addition, to prepare for projected workforce challenges, participants suggested that the federal government enhance public training programs, provide alternative education and training opportunities for youth, engage older workers in the labor force, and consider changing immigration policies to better meet future workforce needs.

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# 21st Century Workforce Challenges and Opportunities: List of Participants

Mason Bishop Deputy Assistant Secretary

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U.S. Department of Labor

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Anthony Carnevale Vice President for Public Leadership

**Educational Testing Service (ETS)** 

Phyllis Eisen Vice President, the Manufacturing Institute

Executive Director, Center for Workforce Success National Association of Manufacturers (NAM)

Linda Ewing Director, Research Department

International Union, United Automobile,

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Cynthia M. Fagnoni Managing Director

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Ellen Galinsky Co-founder and President

Families and Work Institute

Lee Goldberg Long-Term Care, Policy Manager

Service Employees International Union (SEIU),

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Public Policy Institute, Georgetown University

James Jarrett Vice President for Worldwide Government Affairs, Intel Corporation

Catherine Mann Senior Fellow

Institute for International Economics

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Appendix II

21st Century Workforce Challenges and Opportunities: List of Participants

Representative Donald Manzullo Chairman, House Small Business Committee

Demetrios Papademetriou President

Migration Policy Institute

Jeffrey S. Passel Principal Research Associate

The Urban Institute

Anna M. Rappaport Consultant

Mercer Human Resources Consulting

Harley Shaiken Professor and Director, Center for Latin American Studies

Graduate School of Education University of California, Berkeley

Robert Tobias Institute for the Study of Public Policy Implementation, American

University

David M. Walker Comptroller General of the United States

U.S. General Accounting Office

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### Related GAO Products

Workforce Investment Act: States and Local Areas Have Developed Strategies to Assess Performance, but Labor Could Do More. GAO-04-657. Washington, D.C.: June 1, 2004.

Workforce Investment Act: Labor Actions Can Help States Improve Quality of Performance Outcome Data and Delivery of Youth Services. GAO-04-308. Washington, D.C.: February 23, 2004.

Workforce Training: Almost Half of States Fund Employment Placement and Training through Employer Taxes, and Most Coordinate with Federally Funded Programs. GAO-04-282. Washington, D.C.: February 13, 2004.

The Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act: Revising the Act and Educational Materials Could Clarify Employer Responsibilities and Employee Rights. GAO-03-1003. Washington, D.C.: September 19, 2003.

H-1B Foreign Workers: Better Tracking Needed to Help Determine H-1B Program's Effects on U.S. Workforce. GAO-03-883. Washington, D.C.: September 10, 2003.

Food Stamp Employment and Training Program: Better Data Needed to Understand Who Is Served and What the Program Achieves. GAO-03-388. Washington, D.C.: March 12, 2003.

Workforce Training: Employed Worker Programs Focus on Business Needs, but Revised Performance Measures Could Improve Access for Some Workers. GAO-03-353. Washington, D.C.: February 14, 2003.

Older Workers: Policies of Other Nations to Increase Labor Force Participation. GAO-03-307. Washington, D.C.: February 13, 2003.

Older Workers: Employment Assistance Focuses on Subsidized Jobs and Job Search, but Revised Performance Measures Could Improve Access to Other Services. GAO-03-350. Washington, D.C.: January 24, 2003.

High-Skill Training: Grants from H-1B Visa Fees Meet Specific Workforce Needs, but at Varying Skill Levels. GAO-02-881. Washington, D.C.: September 20, 2002.

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#### **Related GAO Products**

Older Workers: Demographic Trends Pose Challenges for Employers and Workers. GAO-02-85. Washington, D.C.: November 16, 2001.

Registered Apprenticeships: Labor Could Do More to Expand to Other Occupations. GAO-01-940. Washington, D.C.: September 7, 2001.

Multiple Employment and Training Programs: Overlapping Programs Indicate Need for Closer Examination of Structure. GAO-01-71. Washington, D.C.: October 13, 2000.

*H-1B Foreign Workers: Better Controls Needed to Help Employers and Protect Workers.* GAO/HEHS-00-157. Washington, D.C.: September 7, 2000.

Contingent Workers: Incomes and Benefits Lag Behind Those of Rest of Workforce. GAO/HEHS-00-76. Washington, D.C.: June 30, 2000.

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