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The Nation Needs a Strong Workforce Development System

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Thank you for inviting me to testify. I am the Director of Workforce Development at the Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP). CLASP is a nonprofit organization engaged in research, analysis, technical assistance, and advocacy on a range of issues affecting low-income families. Since 1998, we have closely followed research and data relating to implementation of the Workforce Investment Act.

The United States economy is undergoing a major transformation that requires a "high-road" path to US global competitiveness, which is characterized by high skills, high productivity and greater opportunity for all workers. A key component of such a strategy is a strong federally funded workforce system. Congress has the opportunity to build such a system through the reauthorization of the Workforce Investment Act (WIA) and subsequent appropriations decisions. While education and training strategies are critical to helping workers succeed, they are a complement to and should not be a substitute for other labor market policies aimed at ensuring the safety and security of America's workers, and a competitive advantage for America's businesses.

CLASP recommends that the following changes be made in Titles I and II of WIA to better support employers and help low-income individuals and low-wage workers build the skills necessary to succeed and compete:

- WIA should focus on providing high-quality job training and education that results in employer-recognized credentials and lead to family-supporting wages and benefits.

- The act should place greater priority on helping low-income youth and adults, and individuals with barriers to employment enter and succeed in the labor market.

- A central part of WIA's mission should be helping low-wage workers stay employed and advance to better jobs.

- Congress should strengthen WIA's catalytic role in increasing regional productivity and competitiveness.

- Congress should require investment in research and improved data reporting.

- Congress should increase financial support for this severely underfunded system.

Why the U.S. needs a strong workforce development system

Today's global, technologically oriented economy is creating new challenges for employers and for workers and their families.

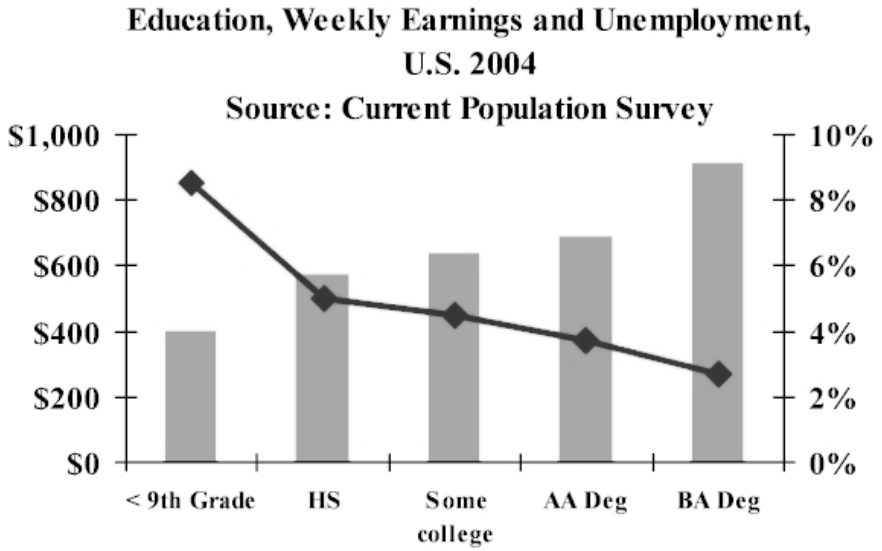
There is a widening skills gap between available workers and available jobs, a gap that threatens to put the brakes on those sectors of the economy that are most critical to economic growth. In many regions of the country, especially in the health care and manufacturing sectors,

employers say they can't find enough skilled workers to be able to compete in a global market. This is one reason that, as the *Wall Street Journal* reports, employers are now paying college-educated workers 75 percent more than those with only a high school diploma, compared to just 40 percent more back in the 1980s.

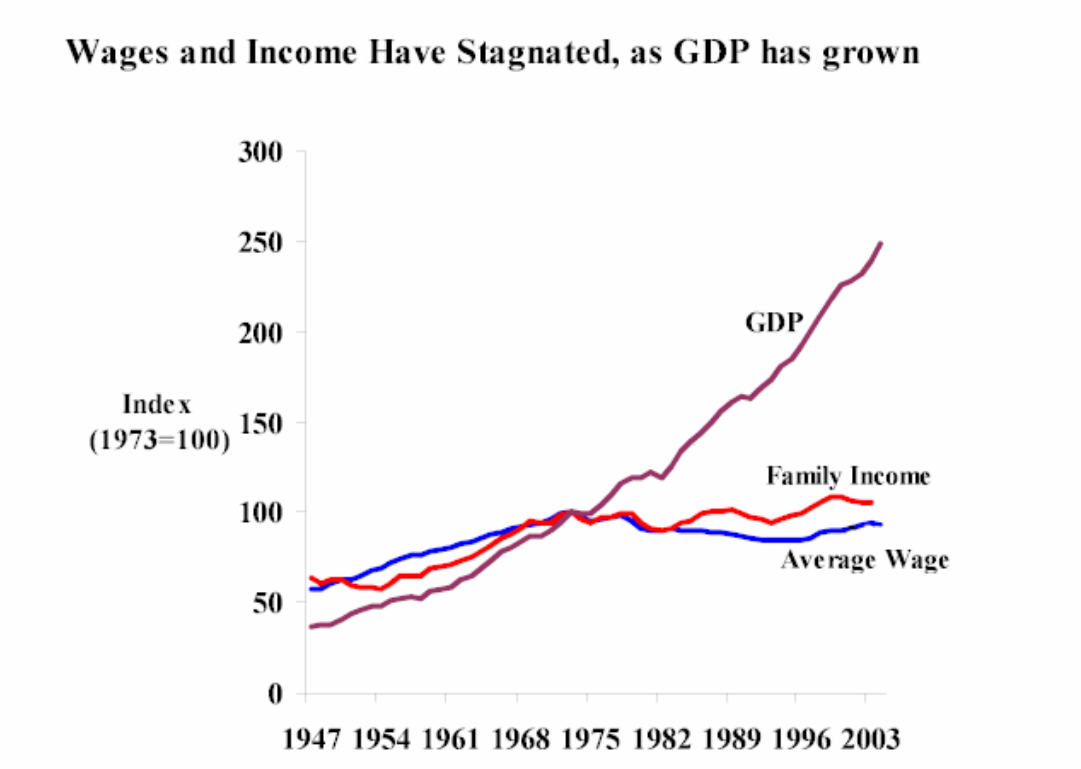
This gap between the skills many employers say they need and the skills workers have is likely to worsen in coming years. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, between 2004 and 2014, 24 of the 30 fastest-growing occupations are predicted to be filled by people with postsecondary education or training (either a vocational certificate or degree).

No Child Left Behind and other school reforms, even if effective, cannot fulfill employers' current and future workforce needs. According to the Aspen Institute, about two-thirds (65 percent) of our 2020 workforce is already beyond the reach of our elementary and secondary schools. In fact, the number of people (50 million) aged 18 to 44 with a high school diploma or less is equal to the number of classes that will be graduating high school over the next seventeen years.[1] If we want a skilled workforce in the future, we must invest in the skills of those already working right now.

Along with addressing the looming skills gap, job training and education are essential for individual advancement. As the following figure illustrates, education pays off in the labor market in terms of employment and earnings.



But educational attainment is no longer synonymous with advancement or always sufficient to achieve it. The historic link between rising productivity and rising wages has been broken. Wages and income have stagnated as GDP has grown. In 2005, one in four American workers earned poverty-level wages that did not allow them to achieve economic self-sufficiency.[2]



Workers are frequently stuck in these low-wage jobs, and most low-wage workers experience little or no earnings growth overtime. In fact, for young, low-income hourly workers who were tracked during the boom years of the 1990s, the median growth in wages was just 0.2 percent a year.[3]

WIA today: Too many goals, too little funding

The Workforce Investment System is struggling to meet the law's various requirements. In 1998, when WIA replaced the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), Congress aimed to bring together a fragmented group of workforce development programs to create a one-stop system in which employers and job seekers could easily access a wide array of employment and training services. WIA mandated universal access to a set of core services, with sequential eligibility for intensive and training services (many localities initially interpreted this provision to mean that training was a last resort for individuals who had not found work through core or intensive services). Federal workforce development funds were no longer targeted exclusively toward serving low-income adults (as they were under JTPA). WIA also emphasized more private sector involvement in the public workforce system and a dual focus on employer and jobseeker needs. The law mandated a strong policy role for business-led state and local Workforce Investment Boards (WIBs) and stronger connections between workforce and economic development.

These mandates were not accompanied by a significant increase in funding. In fact, U.S. Department of Labor expenditures on training and employment assistance have suffered cuts that translate into a drop in expenditures per worker from $63 in 1986 to $35 in 2006, without an adjustment for inflation.[4] The funding declines, increased mandates on the system to provide

universal services, and tiered service delivery model have all led the system to a focus on lower-intensity core services—at the expense of skill development and systemic labor market change, which should be at the center of the nation's workforce development system.

The number of adults exiting the program who received training declined 26 percent* between 1998 (the last full year of operation under JTPA) and 2004.[5] As the following table illustrates, there has also been a decline in the share of adults receiving training, who are low income or have barriers to employment.[6] In 1998, 96 percent of trainees were low income.[7] This fell to 82.4 percent in 2000, the first full year of WIA data was available, and has continued to decline each year, falling to 65.6 percent by 2004.[8] Several factors may be contributing to the declining share of low-income exiters or exiters with employment barriers: program performance measures; sequential service requirements; and the lack of any strong, explicitly defined targeting requirement in current law.[9] According to the Government Accountability Office (GAO), performance measures are driving local staff to be reluctant to provide WIA-funded services to job seekers who may be less likely to find employment or experience earnings increases when placed in a job.[10]

Adult Training Exiters with Barriers to Work						
	JTPA	**WIA**				
	1998	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**
Low Income	96.0%	82.4%	70.7%	69.3%	68.4%	65.5%
Public Assistance Recipients	30.7%	16.6%	13.3%	14.5%	13.7%	11.0%
Single Parents	43.7%	34.5%	28.3%	26.6%	24.6%	24.2%
Limited English-language Proficiency	6.5%	10.5%	5.8%	6.7%	5.3%	4.1%
No High School Diploma	22.3%	17.8%	16.5%	17.2%	15.0%	14.0%

The act also sought to address concerns about the weak performance of many training programs through the use of market mechanisms to ensure customer choice. Under WIA, training providers are required to meet performance-based eligibility criteria; and when providing access to training, local boards generally are required to provide eligible individuals with individual training accounts (ITAs) for use with eligible providers. Individuals are intended to select

* The Government Accountability Office (GAO) and the Department of Labor (DOL) Office of Inspector General have both raised serious concerns about the completeness and accuracy of the WIASRD data, upon which this figure is based. Despite our concerns about the WIASRD data, it is the only available data on which to make comparisons between JTPA and WIA, and as such we have decided to include it. A GAO review of training in PY03 estimated that 184,767 individuals were trained during that year. According to WIASRD data, there were 102,415 exiters who received training in 2003. Although the GAO estimate includes participants who had not exited the program (unlike WIASRD data which just captures exiters) and may include duplications since it is based on reports from local boards of the number of individuals enrolled in each category of training as opposed to the total number of people receiving training, it is still substantially higher than the number of exiters as reported in the WIASRD.

providers using performance and cost information generated through the new provider certification system. Implementation of these requirements has increased administrative complexity and diverted attention and resources from more effectively addressing critical skill development needs.[11]

The law's focus on training primarily through ITAs unnecessarily discourages the use of contract training, which in certain cases may be better suited to the needs of individuals with barriers to employment. A GAO report found that although the vast majority of local boards use ITAs, most have faced challenges in managing their use. Fifty-two percent of local boards responding to the GAO survey encountered challenges linking ITA systems to local economic and business strategies.[12] Nearly two-thirds of the local boards reported that the lack of performance data on providers was a challenge, since it hindered their ability to determine which providers served participants most effectively.[13] Furthermore, anecdotal information suggests that experience in implementing these provisions has shown that training providers are reluctant to comply with the requirement to provide data on performance because not enough WIA funding is flowing to training provider to warrant this change in data systems.

Recommendations for Strengthening the WIA System

We believe that with some redirection, the WIA system can become a more effective policy tool for building a stronger and fairer economy. To this end, we recommend that Congress refocus WIA's service delivery and policy coordination functions in the following ways:

WIA should focus on providing high-quality job training and education that result in employer-recognized credentials and lead to family-supporting wages and benefits.

In Title I, this means shifting the focus of local WIA services from placing unskilled workers in low wage jobs to providing training that qualifies low income people for jobs with family supporting wages and benefits. This will require an increase in the amount of available resources that are spent on training as well as the design of training programs which lead to employment with family supporting wages.

Expenditures. Although administrative data on the percentage of adult and dislocated worker funds being spent on training is lacking, a GAO study found that local workforce boards nationwide used an estimated 40 percent of available WIA funds to serve adults and dislocated workers during PY 2003 on training for WIA participants.[14] Anecdotal information suggests that local investment in training varies widely, with some localities spending less than 10 percent of WIA funds on training. We recommend setting a floor for how much of WIA funding must be devoted to training—such as 50 percent—with a reasonable phase-in period for reaching that floor. Florida implemented a policy through statute that requires that at least 50 percent of Title I funds be allocated to ITAs.[15] As a result, in 2005, 64 percent of Florida's expenditures went to ITAs.[16]

Training design. Research suggests that training can help people advance beyond low-paying jobs, but that the length and design of training provided matter to the results that are achieved. After an extensive review of strategies to help low-income workers advance, Poppe, Strawn and

Martinson conclude that "degrees, certificates and credentials recognized by employers are key and for many will determine how far they can progress in their career pathway."[17] A study of adult students who enrolled in Washington State Community and Technical Colleges found evidence that attending college for at least one year and earning a credential provides a substantial boost in earnings for adults with a high school diploma or less who enter higher education through a community college.[18]

Emerging research on sectoral training programs, whose content is tailored to industry requirements, shows that two years after training, participants earned higher incomes, worked more consistently and had higher quality jobs. However, differences in wages and wage gains achieved corresponded to the length and intensity of provided and the quality of jobs in the targeted sectors. [19]

Shorter term training has led to mixed results for welfare recipients and low-income individuals. As the researcher LaLonde, who reviewed experimental and quasi experimental evaluations of federal job training programs including CETA and JTPA, points out, "Given that existing public sector sponsored employment and training programs usually are less intensive and expensive than an additional year of schooling, it would be surprising if they generated larger earnings increases. Instead, we should expect that most JTPA programs, which usually cost several hundred to a few thousand dollars per participant, would generate annual earnings gains of perhaps several hundred dollars".[20]

The National JTPA Study that was conducted from 1986 to 1993 and augmented with follow-up data showed positive impacts on earnings for adults, although they were typically modest. Adult women experienced a per enrollee impact over the entire seven year follow-up of $3,206 (or 5 percent). The study found more positive impacts were concentrated among women in the OJT and Other category.[21] The most durable earnings impacts associated with JTPA and welfare-to-work programs emphasized a combination of training and work-based learning, including apprenticeship and customized training.[22]

In Title II, a focus on quality education means updating the Adult Education and Family Literacy Act to increase hours of instruction, increase student persistence in adult education, increase transitions from adult education to postsecondary education and training programs, and help low-income adults attain employer-recognized credentials that can help them earn family-supporting wages.

We also suggest that Congress encourage stronger connections between the workforce investment and adult education systems, in order to better meet the needs of limited English proficient job seekers and those with basic skills deficiencies. In particular, the act should encourage the development of programs that blend occupational training with basic skills and English language instruction, to accelerate learning and help students gain the skills and credentials required for higher paying jobs. Recent research on the Integrated Basic Education and Skills Training (I-BEST) program in Washington State underscores the potential of this approach. I-BEST students earned five times more college credits than traditional ESL students and were 15 times more likely to complete job training.[23]

Even those who initially have low basic skills can substantially increase their earnings if they do not stop with adult education but go on to postsecondary education and job training.[24] For example, welfare recipients who attended California community colleges and earned associate degrees found that by the second year out of school, their median annual earnings were four times higher (403 percent) than before they entered training. Earnings increases were highest for those in occupational programs.[25] Two independent evaluations of the San Antonio, Texas job training program Project Quest, which provides long-term training in hard-to-fill occupations for those who otherwise would not have the opportunity, found wage gains of between $5,000 and $7,500 a year for program participants.[26]

A study of adult students who enrolled in Washington State Community and Technical Colleges with a high school diploma or less found that after five years there was a significant earnings advantage for students who took at least one year's worth of college-credit courses and earned a credential.[27] Compared with students who started in ESL and earned fewer than ten college credits, students who started in ESL and completed one year of college-credit courses and earned a credential earned $7,000 more a year. Those who started in ABE or GED had an $8,500 earnings advantage.[28]

WIA should place greater priority on helping low-income youth and adults and individuals with barriers to employment enter and succeed in the labor market.

In many high-poverty communities, the broad economic trends I discussed earlier contribute to high levels of labor force detachment, and incarceration, low levels of educational attainment, and chronic unemployment in substantial segments of the working-age population.

A reauthorized WIA should strengthen priority of service requirements, mandate the adjustment of performance standards to encourage the provision of services to populations with barriers to employment, and require the system to connect individuals with barriers to employment to necessary support services such as mental health and substance abuse services. Transitional jobs programs are a useful model for helping populations with barriers to employment enter and succeed in the labor market by providing supportive services in combination with time-limited subsidized employment.[29]

The act should make clear that training can be provided through contract training, as well as through ITAs. The current requirement that training be provided through ITAs (with certain exceptions for contract training, including on-the-job and customized training) unnecessarily discourages the use of contract training, which can be a vehicle for developing specialized training programs for individuals with barriers to employment.

In addition, youth funding should be directed at building an effective transition support system for out-of-school and extremely vulnerable youth, such as those who are homeless and transitioning from the foster care or the justice system. In particular, Congress should reauthorize Youth Opportunity Grants directed at communities of high poverty or low graduation rates, to allow these communities to build the capacity to address the dropout prevention and recovery problem at scale. The WIA youth title already requires infusion of youth development activities,

provision of case management, and follow-up to ensure labor market success. With the ability to use funds flexibly in partnership with other systems, the youth title could serve as an effective tool for leveraging other resources to create a more comprehensive approach to connecting the most challenged youth to the education, training, and support needed for successful labor market transition.

A central part of WIA's mission should be helping low-wage workers stay employed and advance to better jobs.

The prevalence of low-wage work means that our nation's job training system must not only focus on making job placements but also make retention and advancement a central part of its mission. This will require the system to work on both the supply and demand sides of the labor market. On the supply side, the workforce system should focus on connecting workers and job seekers to good jobs, helping incumbent workers build skills to advance to better jobs, and facilitating the receipt of work supports for low-wage workers that promote attachment to the labor market. On the demand side, the workforce system should work with employers to improve job quality and to develop workplace practices that support retention and advancement.

The workforce system should collaborate with employers to provide skill upgrading opportunities for low-wage workers.[30] Using public dollars to upgrade the skills of low-wage workers is a necessary complement to private sector investment in training, which tends to be focused on higher-skilled, higher-wage workers. Researchers studying employer-provided training found that "workers with some college were twice as likely as workers with a high school degree or less to receive employer sponsored training in 1995, and this gap grew somewhat by 2001 as the percentage of workers with high school education or less who received training declined."[31]

Research also suggests that helping low-income adults obtain higher-quality jobs than they would find on their own can lead to better job retention and larger long-term wage growth.[32] Thus it is critical that the nation's workforce investment system identify high-wage and high-quality jobs and connect job seekers and low-wage incumbent workers to these jobs. The workforce system should be encouraged to support employers who provide good jobs, and to work with others to improve job quality and to develop workplace practices that support retention and advancement. Several WIBs have designed creative ways of targeting good employers. For example, WIBs can require that businesses who benefit from WIA training investments provide employment opportunities that meet certain state or locally defined job quality standards. Such standards might include certain wage levels, availability of benefits (such as healthcare, paid leave, or retirement plans), reliable hours, workplace training, opportunities for advancement, and release time for training.

The system should also work with participants after job placement to promote retention—by providing ongoing career counseling, helping connect low-wage workers to work supports, and helping workers address barriers that may affect their ability to keep a job. Frequent turnover results in lower earnings, due to more frequent periods of unemployment, and in a lack of work

experience and job tenure, which are associated with increased earnings over time.[33] Some workforce agencies have already recognized the importance of providing retention services to workers and employers. For example, the SF Works program provides one year of retention services (which include online skills upgrading, mentoring, support, brown bag seminars, and professional development planning) to individuals who are placed in jobs.[34]

Congress should strengthen WIA's catalytic role in the labor market.

Current coordination efforts around one-stops have eased access to a variety of community services, but they have not gone far enough to address the greater labor market challenges I just discussed. WIA discretionary funding should be used to provide incentives for state and local WIBs to be more proactive in carrying out their strategic policy coordination role, to foster better integration of services across funding streams, and to support economic development and effect changes in educational and employment policies and practices.

WIA can foster changes in the education system that can expand learning opportunities for many more students than can be directly trained through limited WIA funds. The system can help broker articulation agreements to facilitate transitions from secondary education and adult education and job training programs to postsecondary education; promote greater flexibility in scheduling and program design, so that working adults can more easily participate in educational programs; and promote sectoral strategies and other public-private partnerships to aid in the economic transformation and to connect low-income populations to the engines of regional economic growth.

The system should work with employers, preferably on a sectoral basis, to improve workplace practices, including creating internal career ladders, offering competitive wages and benefits, providing OJT and informal apprenticeships, linking training to advancement, cross-training employees, implementing a mentoring program, creating employee stock option plans, developing supervisory training, offering elder care and/or child care, providing assistance with transportation, offering an Employee Assistance Plan (EAP), providing flextime, and providing flexiplace.[35] These types of workplace practices help workers and benefit businesses by increasing retention, decreased absenteeism, and increasing productivity.

Congress should require investment in research and improved data reporting.

Congress and the WIA system are hampered by a lack of sufficient information to support system improvement. Congress should require consistent national reporting on expenditures on core, intensive, and training services. Congress should require the development and implementation of a strong research agenda to support the goals of the reauthorized system and the release of completed research studies by the U.S. Department of Labor.

Congress should also consider requiring the creation of a national task force aimed at furthering system integration and aligning goals, performance measures, and accountability structures across federally funded workforce programs. Greater alignment among programs will make it easier to blend resources and provide relevant and holistic responses to the needs of employers,

individuals and families in today's highly competitive economy. The 110th Congress has a unique opportunity to make progress in this regard, since in addition to WIA, it is considering changes to the Higher Education Act, No Child Left Behind, the Trade Adjustment Assistance Reform Act, unemployment insurance reform, and other related legislation.

Conclusion

The workforce system is critical to helping jobseekers and workers succeed in today's global economy and to ensure America's competitiveness. We believe that the adoption of these recommendations will go a long way toward the creation of a more effective workforce development system. However, the system cannot be expected to meet the critical workforce challenges facing this country without additional funding. We urge you to invest in making sure the system can meet these unprecedented challenges.

Thank you for providing me the opportunity to testify.

[1] Based on calculations by Julie Strawn using Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education projections of high school graduates, available at: http://www.wiche.edu/policy/Knocking/1988-2018/ and March 2007 Current Population Survey (CPS) figures for the number of prime age adults (18-44) with a high school diploma or less.

[2] Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and Sylvia Allegretto, *The State of Working America 2006-2007,* Economic Policy Institute, 2007.

[3] Newman, Katherine S. *Chutes and Ladders: Navigating the Low-Wage Labor Market*. Russell Sage Foundation Books, 2006.

[4] Joan Fitzgerald and Andrew Sum, "What Can Worker Training Do?" in *Ending Poverty in America: A Special Report for the Council on Foundations Annual Conference,* Demos and The American Prospect, 2007.

[5] Government Accountability Office, *Substantial Funds Are Used for Training, but Little is Known Nationally about Training Outcomes,* 2005 and Abbey Frank and Elisa Minoff, *Declining Share of Adults Receiving Training under WIA are Low-Income or Disadvantaged,* Center for Law and Social Policy, 2005, http://www.clasp.org/publications/decline_in_wia_training.pdf.

[6] Abbey Frank and Elisa Minoff, *Declining Share of Adults Receiving Training under WIA are Low-Income or Disadvantaged,* Center for Law and Social Policy, 2005, http://www.clasp.org/publications/decline_in_wia_training.pdf.

[7] Data on JTPA participants are drawn from the SPIR database. This data can be found in the Social Policy Research Associates WIASRD Databook, PY 2002.

[8] The definitions of "terminees" and "exiters" are comparable under the two programs. Frank and Minoff, *Declining Share of Adults*; Social Policy Research Associates, *2004 WIASRD Data Book,* February 2, 2006.

[9] Abbey Frank and Elisa Minoff, *Declining Share of Adults Receiving Training under WIA are Low-Income or Disadvantaged,* Center for Law and Social Policy, 2005, http://www.clasp.org/publications/decline_in_wia_training.pdf.

[10] Government Accountability Office. (GAO-03-884T), *Workforce Investment Act: Exemplary One-Stops Devised Strategies to Strengthen Services, but Challenges Remain for Reauthorization,* June 18, 2003.

[11] In 2005, 203 requests for waiver of major reporting requirements or funding requirements were submitted by State WIA Directors to ETA.

[12] Government Accountability Office, *Substantial Funds Are Used for Training, but Little is Known Nationally about Training Outcomes,* 2005.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] The GAO study defines available funds as the combined amount of program year 2003 funds and funds carried over from program year 2002. Government Accountability Office, *Substantial Funds Are Used for Training, but Little is Known Nationally about Training Outcomes,* 2005.

[15] The 2000 Florida Statues Chapter 445 Workforce Innovation 445.003 (3)(a)(1).

[16] *Workforce Investment Act (WIA) Annual Report for 2005-2006 Program Year,* Workforce Florida, Inc., 2006.

[17] Nan Poppe, Julie Strawn, and Karin Martinson, "Whose Job is It? Creating Opportunities for Advancement," in *Workforce Intermediaries in the 21st Century,* ed. Robert P. Giloth, 2003.

[18] Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges. Building Pathways to Success for Low-Skill Adult Students: Lessons for Community College Policy and Practice from a Longitudinal Student Tracking Study. April 2005. Research Report No. 06-02.

[19] Lily Zandniapour and Maureen Conway, *Gaining Ground: The Labor Market Progress of Participants of Sectoral Employment Development Programs,* The Aspen Institute, and *Sectoral Strategies for Low-Income Workers: Lessons from the Field*, forthcoming from the Aspen Institute.

[20] Chris King, "The Effectiveness of Publicly Financed Training in the United States," in *Job Training Policy in the United States*, ed. Christopher J. O'Leary, Robert A. Straits and Stephen A. Wadner, Upjohn Institute, 2004. p. 67.

[21] Chris King, "The Effectiveness of Publicly Financed Training in the United States," in *Job Training Policy in the United States*, ed. Christopher J. O'Leary, Robert A. Straits and Stephen A. Wadner, Upjohn Institute, 2004.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges, *I-BEST: A Program Integrating Adult Basic Education and Workforce Training,* December 2005, http://www.sbctc.ctc.edu/docs/data/research_reports/resh_05-2_i-best.pdf. The state has now refined the I-BEST model and taken it statewide.

[24] G. Hamilton, *Moving People from Welfare to Work: Lessons from the National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies*, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2002, http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/newws/synthesis02/; Johannes Bos, Susan Scrivener, Jason Snipes, and Gayle Hamilton, *Improving Basic Skills: The Effects of Adult Education in Welfare-to-Work Programs,* U.S. Department of Health

and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families and Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, and U.S. Department of Education, 2001.

[25] Anita Mathur with Judy Reichle, Julie Strawn, and Chuck Wiseley, *From Jobs to Careers: How California Community College Credentials Pay Off for Welfare Participants*, Center for Law and Social Policy, May 2004.

[26] Paul Osterman, "Employment and Training Policies: New Directions for Low-Skilled Adults," in *Reshaping the American Workforce in a Changing Economy*, ed. Harry Holzer and Demetra Smith Nightingale, Urban Institute, 2007.

[27] The study followed two cohorts of students educational attainment and earnings for five years. One cohort consisted of students age 25 or older with a high school education or less and one cohort was comprised of 18-24 year olds who lacked a high school diploma or GED. There were 34,956 students between the two cohorts.

[28] Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges. Building Pathways to Success for Low-Skill Adult Students: Lessons for Community College Policy and Practice from a Longitudinal Student Tracking Study. April 2005. Research Report No. 06-02.

[29] Allegra Baider and Abbey Frank, *Transitional Jobs: Helping TANF Recipients with Barriers to Employment Succeed in the Labor Market,* Center for Law and Social Policy, May 2006, http://www.clasp.org/publications/transitional_jobs_06.pdf.

[30] Duke et al., *Wising Up*.

[31] Kelly Mikelson and Demetra Smith Nightingale, *Estimating Public and Private Expenditures on Occupational Training in the United States,* prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor, December 2004.

[32] Nan Poppe, Julie Strawn, and Karin Martinson, "Whose Job is It? Creating Opportunities for Advancement," in *Workforce Intermediaries in the 21st Century,* ed. Robert P. Giloth, 2003.

[33] Harry Holzer and Karin Martinson, *Can We Improve Job Retention and Advancement among Low-Income Working Parents?* Urban Institute, 2005.

[34] Center for Workforce Preparation, *Completing the Workforce Puzzle: How Chambers Can Help Businesses Find, Keep and Advance Employees*, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 2002.

[35] Jobs for the Future, *Hiring, Retaining, and Advancing Front-Line Workers: A Guide to Successful Human Resource Practices*, 2003.