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The House Committee on Commerce and Economic Development and the Senate Committee on Economic Development, Housing and General Affairs

Prepared by:

Kenneth Jones, Economic Research Analyst kenneth.jones@vermont.gov 802-828-3119

Report of the Employee Relocation Tax Credit Study Committee

Act 51 of the 2015 Vermont Legislature established the Employee Relocation Tax Credit Study Committee with the charge to:

- "... study potential incentive programs, tax credits, or other mechanisms to encourage employee relocation, including the following issues:
 - (1) eligibility criteria for employees, employers, and employment positions;
 - (2) amount and conditions for incentives or credits;
 - (3) distribution of incentives or credits by region, employer, and by State-level or regional-level grantors; and
 - (4) data, and a mechanism for collecting data, to measure the effectiveness of any proposed program."



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To address the requirements of Act 51, the Committee reviewed Vermont employment data and the incentive programs in place in other parts of the country. The Employee Relocation Tax Credit Study Committee met four times in 2015. After studying the current status of the Vermont workforce and reviewing research regarding the statistics and factors related to employee migration, the Committee identified the following incentive criteria as the basis for incentive programs that could be considered:

- Continuing review of trends, and discussions with employers will identify business sectors on which to focus
- A similar analysis will identify the occupations that are most difficult to fill and require higher level skills
- Workers with specific skills will be the focus of incentives which may result in incentives towards those occupations in the \$50k-\$200k salary range.
- A geographic focus for the incentives may be appropriate.

However, a review of available incentive programs did not result in an obvious delivery mechanism for a Vermont incentive program (including the appropriate dollar amount for incentive investment). As the result of those findings, the Committee agreed to the following recommendations:

- 1. Complete a statewide Workforce Needs Assessment
- Support the marketing and branding effort currently being developed at ACCD to promote Vermont as a great place to live and work.
- 3. As part of the marketing efforts and as a means to support existing private sector incentives, the state should build a portal for access to data and services that will help potential out-of-state workers consider their options in Vermont.
- Consider an incentive that supports employer efforts for recruiting new workers, such as subsidizing the cost of housing, the cost of transit, child care, tuition reimbursement and other creative enticements.



INTRODUCTION

Act 51 of the 2015 Vermont Legislature established the Employee Relocation Tax Credit Study Committee. Appendix A includes the text of the legislation authorizing this working group's activity.

The membership of this work group includes:

- Chairperson, Cathy Tempesta, Director of Human Resources, GW Plastics, Inc. (appointed by the Speaker of the House)
- Representative Fred Baser (appointed by the Speaker of the House)
- Senator Kevin Mullin (appointed by the Senate Committee on Committees)
- Robin Scheu, Executive Director of the Addison County Economic Development Corporation (appointed by the Governor)
- Kent Eldridge, Director of Human Resources, Mylan Technologies (appointed by the Senate Committee on Committees)
- Patricia Moulton, Secretary, Agency of Commerce and Community Development (as identified in Act 51)

The Work Group received staff assistance from the Agency of Commerce and Community Development and Department of Labor:

- Lucy Leriche, Deputy Secretary of ACCD
- Joan Goldstein, Commissioner of Economic Development at ACCD
- Ken Jones, Economic Research Analyst at ACCD
- Mathew Barewicz, Economic & Labor Market Information Chief at Department of Labor

The Work Group met five times in 2015 – four times in face-to-face meetings:

- September 10
- October 14
- November 3
- December 2

And one teleconference on December 17 to review the draft of this report.



ANALYSIS

The Vermont work force can be characterized by its age and level of education as well as by the different occupations that Vermont workers hold and the business sectors in which those workers are employed. Appendix B includes tables for the occupations and employment by sector.

A summary of this data shows that Vermont has a pattern of sector employment similar to other parts of the country. Large sectors of employment include health care, professional services, hospitality services and government. Manufacturing is of particular interest because of its role in productivity, capital importation and the gradual decline in employment over the past several years, again similar to the national experience.

A review of occupations data from the Department of Labor highlights administrative services, blue collar labor, hospitality and health care as high employment industries. These statistics may not entirely align with employer interest in more technical fields where the unmet demand is high. The "Job Totals and Wage levels" chart in Appendix B shows that the joining of data and interest exists in three fields where wages are high and demand is solid:

- Manufacturing,
- Health care, and
- Professional Services.

A workforce needs assessment sponsored by the Green Mountain Economic Development Corporation (GMEDC) focused on the same three fields. (Utility jobs are highlighted in the "Jobs Totals and Wage Levels" graph as they represent a very high wage sector but one with limited job opportunities.)

In 2011, the Workforce Investment Board of Windham County completed an online survey of local employers. The results from that survey reflect similar conclusions to those reached by the GMEDC.

When considering the age and education profile of Vermont workers, the state has witnessed a consistent migration pattern over the past 50 years. Key elements of this migration are that college-age students move into Vermont



while college-graduating students move out, and then young adults ages 35-50 move into Vermont. (Graph included in Appendix B.)

These population flows are not new for Vermont. They are also understandable when considering factors that drive migration:

- Vermont has a high concentration of higher education opportunities. In the 19th century, educational visionaries established colleges in Vermont and many of those continue to enroll out-of-state students today including Bennington College, Middlebury College, Norwich University, St. Michael's College, UVM, and other high quality institutions.
- 2. Young college graduates leave rural areas for greater opportunities in large urban centers. While Burlington is a regional growth center, areas outside of Chittenden County do not have similar opportunities. Boston, New York and other cities dwarf any Vermont economic activities.
- 3. Many young adults starting families seek communities with good schools, low crime and a neighborhood scale conducive for raising children. Vermont's settlement pattern meets these interests and attracts young families into the state.

As a result of the aging of the Baby Boom, the number of Vermonters in the traditional work force age 18-64 has begun to decline and will continue to decline for the foreseeable future. This is not unique to Vermont, although the northern New England states – Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont - have a more dramatic reduction in these traditional aged workers than is witnessed in other parts of the country.

The issue in this observation is that Vermont is not alone in facing the challenge of an un-met need for workers, particularly in sectors that are currently struggling to fill positions. The largest of these sectors is health care. Hospitals and other health care service providers have put increased effort in recruitment for the past several years and can serve as an example to consider for successful recruitment efforts.



TRANSLATING WORKFORCE NEEDS TO INCENTIVE PROGRAMS

There are significant differences in both the needs and the factors important for recruiting in different parts of the state. Chittenden County has the greatest number of opportunities, but has limited housing opportunities. Other parts of the state are more rural and offer fewer social and cultural opportunities.

Workforce needs assessments and discussions with employers do not put an emphasis on any particular age group for recruitment, but rather focus on specific skill sets.

An issue in considering a publicly supported incentive program is the recognition that there are thousands of workers that move to Vermont each year without such a program. Using data from the IRS and Census bureau, ACCD has found that, in spite of a net out migration of our population, between 12,000 and 18,000 adults move into Vermont each year. Designing an incentive program that will not provide public dollars to those who would already move to Vermont is a potential problem without an obvious solution.

POLICY OPTIONS

Based on the language in Act 51, one option the working group considered was a cash incentive for employees. In order to design and implement such a policy, the program must determine eligibility criteria. These criteria, that are important for any incentive program would include:

- Occupation
- Business sector
- Geographic part of the state
- Availability for Vermont residents only or also for those moving into the state

A variation on an incentive program to locate new workers to Vermont would be a program designed to retain workers. The basis of this program would be that any employee retained requires one less recruitment effort.



Beyond the criteria for designing a program, the form of the incentive was discussed by work group members. Examples of employee incentives include:

- Student loan assistance
- Housing subsidies
- Moving expense assistance
- Direct cash payments
- Reduced personal income tax liability

There are a limited number of examples of employee incentives. One example reviewed by the working group is the Rural Opportunity Zone (ROZ) program in Kansas.

The Rural Opportunity Zones program provides incentives to college graduates that move to Kansas counties with declining populations. The program gives these new residents income tax waivers for up to five years. It also reduces payment of student loan debt--up to \$15,000.

Since the program started in 2011, 628 people have applied for reimbursement from the program. Of those, 322 have been approved and 151 applications were still pending as reported in an update in 2013. Of the group, 228 people are from out of state, with the department receiving applications from 38 states.

In a later report, the Department of Revenue estimated that 330 people would receive income tax waivers in 2014, costing the state about \$800,000 in revenue. In fiscal year 2015, ROZ provided \$1.2 million in student loan repayment.

The program's success is also its biggest challenge. Some county officials say they can't earmark enough money for their share of the incentives. ROZ counties match half of the \$3,000 in annual student loans payments for each applicant.



A large percentage of ROZ applicants work in education or healthcare — 29 percent in education, 23 percent in healthcare — both sectors that receive public dollars. By contrast, traditionally private sectors account for a smaller percentage. About 4 percent of applicants work in finance, 7 percent in agriculture, 3 percent in accounting and 3 percent are engineers, for example.

The Working Group determined that there are several problems with an employee-based incentive program. The largest hurdle is that the incentive would need to be managed for each employee and therefore someone would need to track the criteria for each incentive recipient. The Working Group agreed that an employee-based incentive required administrative costs that would dilute the value of the program cost.

The general alternative to an employee-based incentive is an employer-based incentive.

The employer-based incentive requires a similar decision regarding the criteria for providing incentive payments. In addition, there may be additional criteria for the business itself including business size, historical growth or risk of business movement and the business sector.

The Working Group reviewed a specific employer incentive program from North Dakota.

North Dakota has established a program titled the "Workforce Recruitment Credit"—An individual, estate, trust, partnership, corporation, or LLC is allowed an income tax credit for employing extraordinary recruitment methods to recruit and hire employees for hard-to-fill positions in North Dakota. Annual salary has to be at least 125% of average state wage and the employer must have used all of the following recruitment methods:

- contracted with a professional recruiter for a fee;
- advertised in a professional trade journal, magazine or other publication;
- provided employment information on a website for a fee;



 paid a signing bonus, moving expenses, or atypical fringe benefits.

The value of the credit is 5% of the first 12 months of salary for the newly hired recruit.

In general, there are few examples of public dollar supported incentive programs at the state level and even less reporting that provides results about success.

A theme that ran across both the employee and employer-based incentives was a consideration of the dollar value of the incentive that would actually influence a potential worker to locate in Vermont rather than in another state. There is no economic study to determine the level of incentive that provides an adequate difference in income for any individual or for any occupation. In general, lower dollar amounts would have a lower chance of influencing decisions while higher amounts require a greater budget for program implementation.

As one example, a program with a \$1 million budget would allow for 100 incentives valued at \$10,000. Again, it is not clear that a one-time \$10,000 incentive is sufficient for shifting the career decision of a worker. One way to improve the effectiveness of a publicly supported incentive program would be to partner with the employer to enhance the value of the incentive payment. A 1:1 match would double either the number of incentives to provide or the value of the incentive for a fixed number of employees.

An alternative to the cash value incentive is to provide services to the potential employee. Possible services include spouse relocation assistance and continuing education. We were unable to find examples where public sector incentives provided these services. Due to a lack of experiences to learn from, the Working Group does not support the funding of efforts to provide services (second spouse job assistance, day care, etc.) to potential employees beyond those programs that already exist (existing training opportunities).



As a result of these findings, which indicate a very complex environment for recruiting employees, the Working Group does not propose a specific incentive program at this time. The cost to implement an effective incentive program that meets the needs of employers is likely to be inconsistent with current Vermont state government budget constraints.

INPUT FROM RESEARCHERS AND EMPLOYERS

Work carried out by the *Vermont Roots Migration Project* in 2014 provide insight into the factors that contribute to people's choices about moving to or moving out of Vermont.

The data represents the most current information on Vermont's migration patterns; specifically why, and how many, people choose to stay, leave, or return to Vermont. The key findings include:

- Over half of the respondents were people who permanently left the state (51.5%), nearly one-third were people who have remained in the state (30.5%) and the remainder (18%) were people who lived outside of the state for at least one year and returned to Vermont to live.
- Those who left the state identified a range of factors for leaving, with no single factor achieving higher than 38%. Pull factors outside of the state included jobs, ability to earn higher wages elsewhere, and more culturally diverse communities. They were most likely to move to another place in the Northeastern region of the US.
- There was a statistically significant relationship between education level and residence choice. Those who left Vermont to live elsewhere were more likely to hold advanced degrees (masters level and higher). Those who remained in Vermont were more likely to have a few years of college or lower levels of education.

The positives identified in the study that are specific to Vermont include:

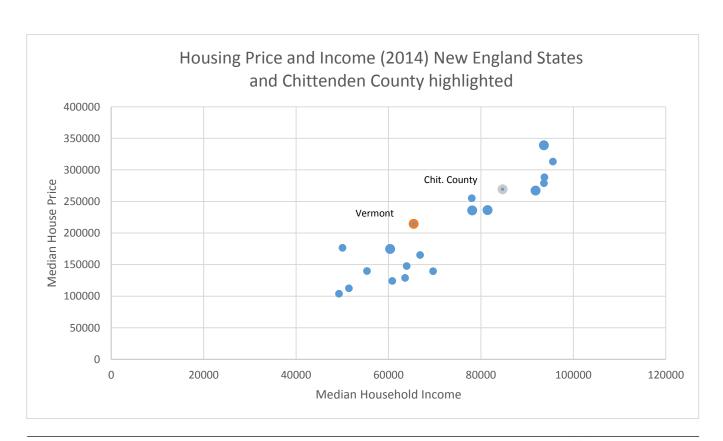
- Small communities and their benefits
- A clean environment



- Recreational opportunities
- A political climate that supports progressive policies
- A healthy environment both physically and through health care
- Strong public education
- A relatively high proportion of educated adults
- Personal experience living in Vermont

The negatives that are specific to Vermont include:

- Small communities have limited cultural and social opportunities
- Limited ethnic and political diversity
- Challenging winter weather
- Poor business climate
- Limited housing options
- Other cost of living concerns





During the November 3 meeting, representatives from several employers provided their perspectives on the opportunities and challenges for recruiting new employees.

- Recent college graduates provide a significant opportunity for recruiting due to their relative large numbers and the fact that Vermont college graduates are familiar with the region's positives and negatives.
- Employee referral is often a successful strategy that can be enhanced with cash payments to those providing the referral.
- Use new technology to attract employees. A Vermont company
 that represents the most recent technology is attractive because
 potential employees recognize both the opportunity to learn
 cutting edge skills, but also because any company that can afford
 and embrace new technology is a more vital business.
- Reach out to the colleges to get connected to bridge the academic to business gap
- Not all education is equivalent. Theoretical exposure does not provide the necessary experience for graduates to immediately transition to employment. Research Universities such as UVM have more emphasis on the theoretical and recruitment from UVM is harder than from others with a more practical curriculum.
- Technology is important in recruitment. Services such as Linked In are providing a valuable connection to potential workers. In some cases, these services are displacing the investment in traditional location services.
- Networking works. While "poaching" employees from a local company does not provide a total benefit to the worker ecosystem, the network often finds the optimal fit between a worker and a position. A fine line, but a valuable recognition.
- Retention is as important as recruitment. And, as with recruitment, there is no magic bullet. Some individuals and their families are ready for the move to Vermont and they will stay even when the initial job ends, while others that are not ready for



- Vermont's climate and cultural challenges will often return to their original geography.
- A lack of appropriate housing alternatives for middle income households is a stumbling block for recruitment.
- Remote, off-site working arrangements provide access to a large worker population that may not want to move to Vermont.
- A lack of job opportunities for the "trailing spouse" or to serve as back up for someone moving for a specific job.

FINDINGS OF THE WORKING GROUP

The factors that underlay decisions for young Vermonters to leave the state include:

- Young people have a natural interest in experiencing geographies and cultures different from their Vermont experiences. This interest is consistent across young people from anywhere in the country and is not a target for incentive programs to influence.
- While recent college graduates are an intriguing set of potential
 job candidates, younger professionals tend to be a "flight risk" as
 they are early in their career process and more able to move
 frequently for professional and social reasons.
- The relationship between salary levels and cost of living is a primary driver for those choosing locations to live. Vermont is perceived as a state where the costs are high compared to the wages that are available. A 2013 ranking of cost of living adjusted wages reported by Forbes magazine shows Vermont ranking 43rd of the states in the country while Maine, Connecticut, and New Hampshire ranked 40th, 37th and 36th respectively. It is interesting to note that two states that are source of significant Vermont inmigration, New York and New Jersey, rank worse (47th and 45th) than Vermont.
- Greater job opportunities exist outside of Vermont than in Vermont. Vermont represents about 0.2% of the United States economy. Therefore, for every one position in Vermont, there are 500 positions in other parts of the country. Furthermore, urban areas have a concentration of opportunities so that the search for jobs in cities is often more fruitful than in Vermont, and the confidence that a back-up job is available if the initial job does not work out is more solid. These issues are also hard to address through an incentive program.
- More urban areas in the northeast such as Boston and New York have higher wages than equivalent jobs in Vermont. Table Y in Appendix B provides the data to support this observation. The differences in wages are a basis to consider the dollar value of incentives that levels the playing field.



- Some parts of the country have greater housing opportunities than are available in Vermont. While the very high wage areas of metropolitan areas have housing costs that are higher than in Vermont, many other parts of the country such as the Rust Belt of the mid west have more affordable housing options. However, the general situation for housing is closely related to the opportunities for higher wages. (See figure on page 9.) Those parts of the country with higher wages and more job growth also have limited renting opportunities and higher home purchase prices than areas with lower wages and slow growth. An incentive program linked to housing affordability is a possibility but difficult to structure with little guidance available from other states' experience.
- Urban areas include more social and cultural opportunities than
 the rural and small city environments in Vermont. More music,
 more theater, more restaurants, and more opportunities to meet
 people are a natural consequence of areas with greater
 population densities. While Vermont can strive to facilitate all of
 its young citizens' opportunities to take advantage of what does
 exist, it is difficult, may not be possible, or generally desirable for
 Vermont to inoculate our rural environment with a large city
 culture.
- One positive is universal and not available for policy development:
 Vermont is the home to friends and family

Building on the factors influencing young professionals' choices in locating in Vermont, The Working Group arrived at a series of concepts important in considering incentive programs:

• The Working Group notes that it may be hard to reverse a trend in the migration of entry level professionals. For many decades, young people have left Vermont for entry level, professional positions. A significant part of this migration is the "rebound" effect from a significant in-migration of college age students. Vermont has the highest proportion of out-of-state college students of any state in the country. When students graduate college, there is a natural tendency to return to their homes. In



- addition, a significant number of native Vermont graduates, both those attending Vermont colleges and attending other colleges, decide to start careers in more urban areas of the country.
- Rather than try to counter a natural tendency of college students to seek initial job opportunities in urban areas, the Working Group focused more on young professionals that have established an initial career and wish to re-locate to establish families. The same demographic pattern that shows college graduate age adults leaving Vermont show that slightly older adults aged 35-50 have net migration into the state. Capitalizing on the benefits that are recognized by those moving to the state may be a better focus for state resources.
- The benefits of Vermont that lead to decisions to move here are a
 part of the larger discussion about marketing the strengths of
 Vermont. Though we clearly have many strengths, there are some
 misconceptions about Vermont that contribute to a negative
 message that may deter young adults from considering Vermont
 as a place to move.
- There is a general focus on the need for workers that have the STEM skills (Science, Technology, Engineering and Math). There is a dilemma in Vermont and elsewhere regarding a clear need for workers with these skills and yet a difficulty in convincing young Vermonters that their academic choices should include an emphasis in these skills. Furthermore, the need for STEM-skilled workers suggests a possible focus for recruitment efforts.
- The Working Group recognizes that any incentive program should consider the circumstance that some incentive payments may go to individuals (or businesses recruiting individuals) in cases where the individual would have chosen Vermont absent the incentive. As a result, some portion of the public money that is dedicated to an incentive program will not result in additional successful recruitment.
- One category of benefits that fits well with the needs of young adults is related to college loan debt and first home purchases.
 The increasing level of college loan debt is a hindrance to many potential first home buyers and an incentive package that



- addresses one or both parts of the debt and home ownership finance requirements is attractive. Vermont's First Home Buyer's down payment assistance is the type of incentive that helps to address the difficulty for young Vermonters to purchase their homes and locate in the state.
- While the primary focus of the Working Group was on incentive programs, it may be that marketing and outreach activities have longer term benefits. Each incentive is a "one-off" requiring a dollar investment and has the risk of failure through employees deciding to move out of the region. Marketing lays a stronger foundation that has the potential to reach a large population resulting in more sustainable results over time.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Working Group supports efforts that strengthen Vermont marketing opportunities. Some of these marketing messages are similar to those that the state is pursuing for overall business recruitment. A combination of marketing efforts, and the findings regarding the age demographic that is most available for employee in-migration finds overlap in those college students that attended Vermont colleges. For both Vermont-born and out-of-state college attendees, re-forming the connections with their college experience and the attributes of Vermont may provide a useful marketing angle that has a higher success rate than attempting to appeal to those that have a more limited experience in Vermont. Furthermore, the long term success of recruitment is more assured when those who move to the state are aware of the challenges of winter weather and a more rural lifestyle.

The keys for a marketing strategy that address the decisions of young adults moving to Vermont are both the message and the target. The message should have a strong component that reflects the positive attributes of the state – "Vermont is a great place to live and work."

Any marketing intended to appeal to young adults should be coordinated with the on-going work in the state to attract both tourists and business relocation. Furthermore, a recognition of the age group that is most likely to move to Vermont (ages 35-50) with a professional career track and those with a previous Vermont experience (tourists and Vermont college graduates) will have the likeliest chance for success.

The Committee discussed current efforts in place such as Great Jobs in Vermont and Vermont Job Link and suggested these tools be rebuilt to better target likely in-migrants such as recent Vermont college graduates. The Committee also recognizes that 21st century communications have shifted from more traditional print and broadcast to digital and social media tools such as Linked In. In addition, the State should take advantage of existing pro-Vermont stories such as those produced for the PBS innovation series and WCAX.

One additional product that will help in recruitment is an information portal to provide information to prospective Vermont employees. This portal will



complement marketing messages by including information important to those moving to Vermont from other states. A single site can provide information on housing opportunities, local health care, recreation, and statistics for comparison such as property tax rates, public school assessments and cost of living data. ACCD will take initial steps to identify the types of information that can be included.

The Committee agreed that additional resources to promote these outreach and marketing activities is imperative.

An additional factor that is clearly important for relocation decisions is available housing opportunities. The Chittenden County area is the most attractive for relocation and not coincidentally, has the tightest housing market. Outside of Chittenden County, the difficulty is to match the housing characteristics to the demand that will assist in locating young professionals. Housing options that are located near centers of commerce and a mix of rental properties and affordable first homes are the most difficult to find in today's market. Efforts to expand housing should include these lower cost market homes in addition to the overall effort for affordable housing for lower income Vermont households.

While the Work Group does not have a specific recommendation on an incentive program, they agree that certain steps will help in moving towards such activities. These steps are largely captured in the completion of regional and state-wide workforce needs assessments. Combining statistical data about projected job opportunities in skilled occupations with the results from interviews with businesses about their needs for future workers will result in summary conclusions with respect to the sectors and skills on which to focus and the types of incentives that will be most valuable in adding to the Vermont workforce.



APPENDIX A: ACT 51, SECTION G.5

Sec. G.5. EMPLOYEE RELOCATION TAX CREDIT; STUDY COMMITTEE; REPORT

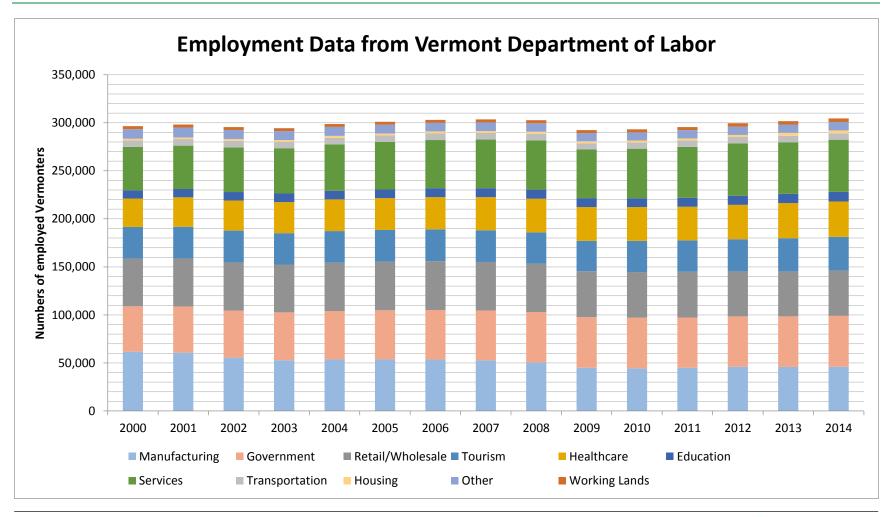
- (a) Creation. There is created an Employee Relocation Study Committee to research and develop one or more incentive programs to encourage employees who are qualified for high-demand, unfilled positions within Vermont businesses to relocate to Vermont.
- (b) Membership. The Committee shall be composed of the following members:
 - (1) one current member of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House;
 - one current member of the Senate appointed by the Committee on Committees;
 - (3) one member who represents the interests of the regional development corporations, appointed by the Governor;
 - (4) one member who represents the interests of private business, appointed by the Speaker of the House;
 - (5) one member who represents the interests of private business, appointed by the Committee on Committees; and
 - (6) the Secretary of Commerce and Community Development.
- (c) Powers and duties. The Committee shall study potential incentive programs, tax credits, or other mechanisms to encourage employee relocation, including the following issues:
 - eligibility criteria for employees, employers, and employment positions;
 - (2) amount and conditions for incentives or credits;
 - (3) distribution of incentives or credits by region, employer, and by State-level or regional-level grantors; and
 - (4) data, and a mechanism for collecting data, to measure the effectiveness of any proposed program.
- (d) Assistance. The Committee shall have the administrative, technical, and legal assistance of the Agency of Commerce and Community Development.



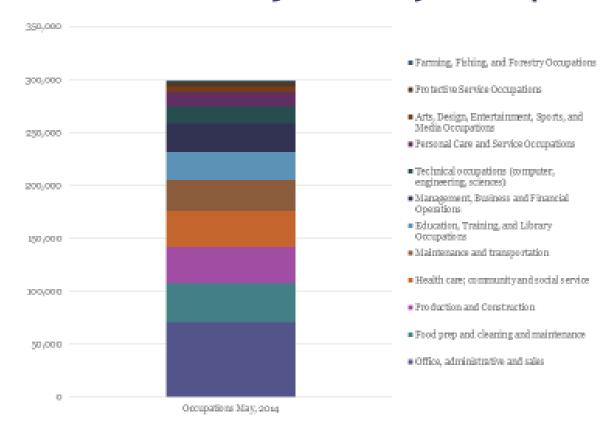
- (e) Report. On or before January 15, 2016, the Committee shall submit a report to the House Committee on Commerce and Economic Development and the Senate Committee on Economic Development, Housing and General Affairs with its findings and any recommendations for legislative action.
- (f) Meetings.
 - (1) The Agency of Commerce and Community Development shall call the first meeting of the Committee, to occur on or before September 1, 2015.
 - (2) The Committee shall select a chair from among its members at the first meeting.
 - (3) A majority of the membership shall constitute a quorum.
 - (4) The Committee shall cease to exist on January 16, 2016.
- (g) Reimbursement.
 - (1) For attendance at meetings during adjournment of the General Assembly, legislative members of the Committee shall be entitled to per diem compensation and reimbursement of expenses pursuant to 2 V.S.A. § 406 for no more than four meetings.
 - (2) Other members of the Committee who are not employees of the State of Vermont and who are not otherwise compensated or reimbursed for their attendance shall be entitled to per diem compensation and reimbursement of expenses pursuant to 32 V.S.A. § 1010 for no more than four meetings.



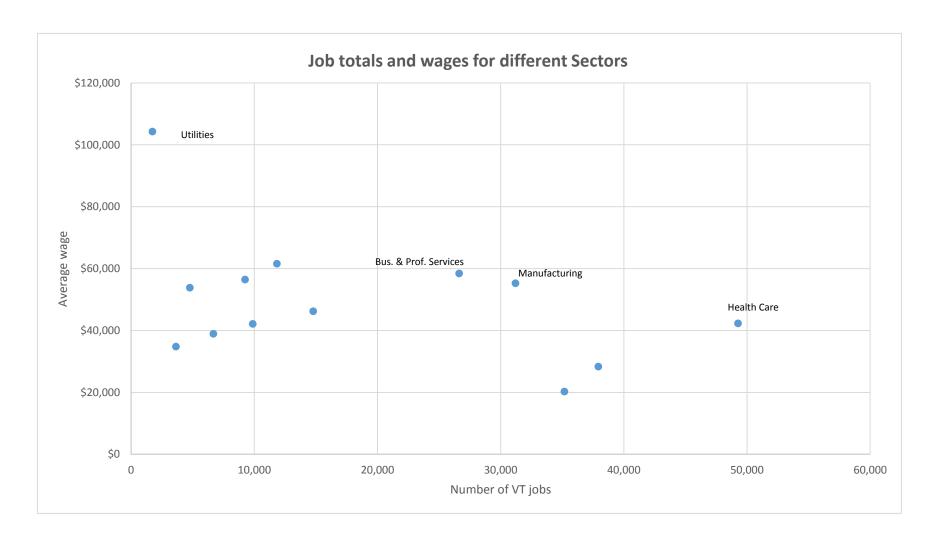
APPENDIX B: DATA RELATED TO VERMONT EMPLOYMENT



Where are the jobs - by occupation

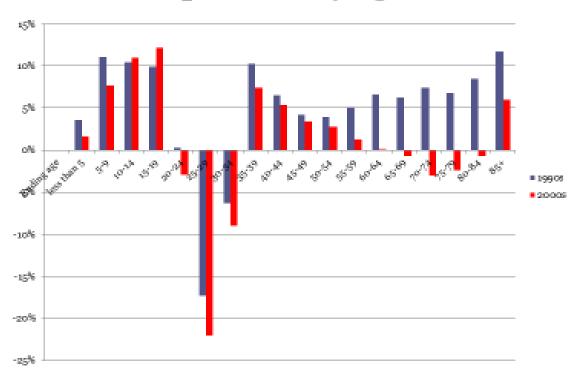






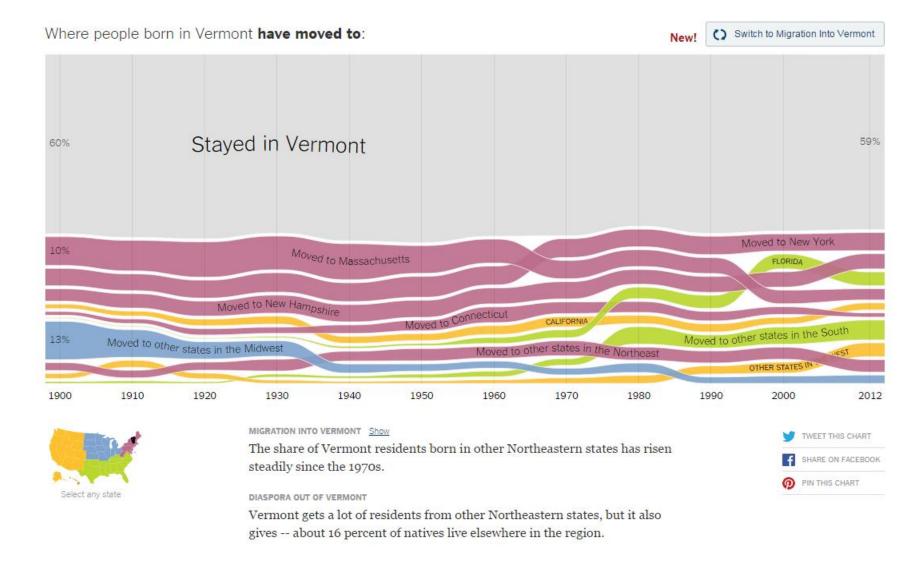


Recent Vermont migration patterns by age

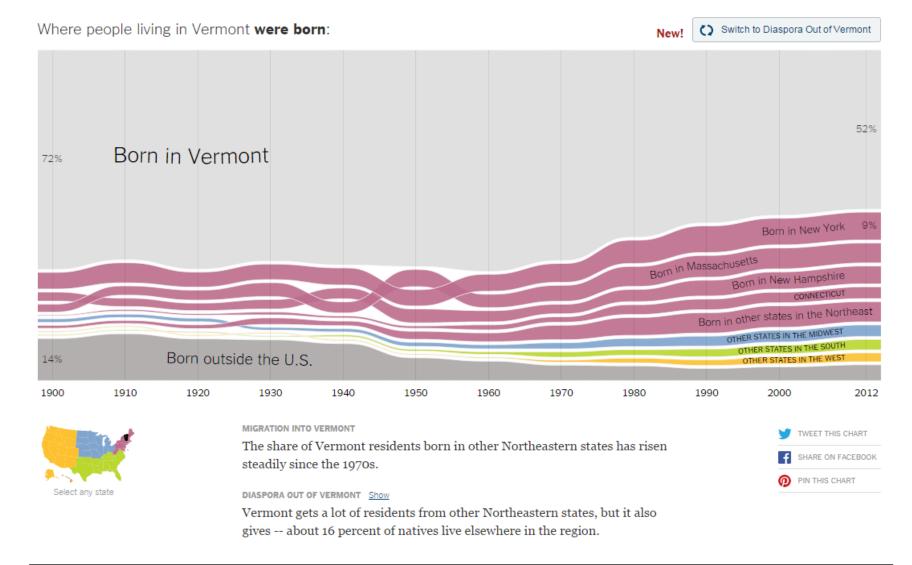


Source: Vermont Population Projections

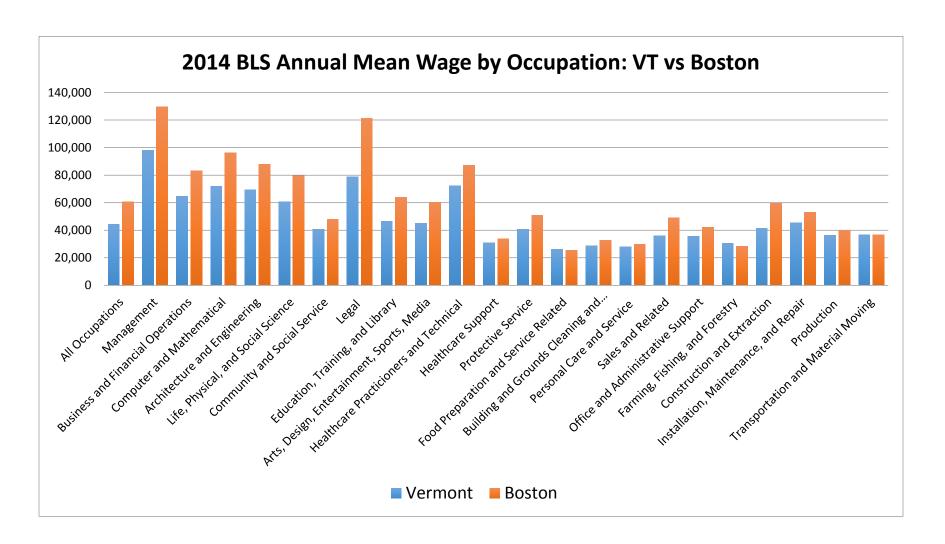






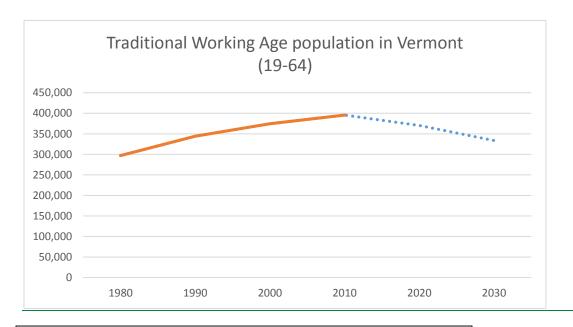








APPENDIX C: VERMONT POPULATION PROJECTIONS



Source: US Census Bureau 1980-2010 Jones and Schwarz, Vermont Population Projections, 2010-2030. (Low scenario)

