



DEFLATE THE BLOATED FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) is a federal program, administered by the Department of Agriculture (USDA) and through U.S. states and territories, that provides means-tested financial assistance to eligible households for food purchases.

Part of the so-called “Great Society” federal welfare programs established beginning in the mid-1960s, SNAP has experienced mission creep, with the program currently administering federal food assistance benefits to about 42 million individuals in the U.S. SNAP spending totals about \$120 billion, up about double the level in 2019.

SNAP beneficiaries must have income and assets that fall below specified limits, and households in SNAP must adhere to certain requirements to keep benefits, including work requirements for non-exempted adults. States have exercised increasing control over SNAP participation, with most adopting broad-based categorical eligibility (BBCE) policies that bypass means-testing requirements, and over half waiving work requirements, in addition to a growing number considering ways to expand government food assistance to undocumented immigrants.

Congress must pass reforms that limit spending, encourage labor participation, eliminate waste in the SNAP program, and restore proper accountability safeguards for SNAP beneficiaries and retail providers.

BACKGROUND

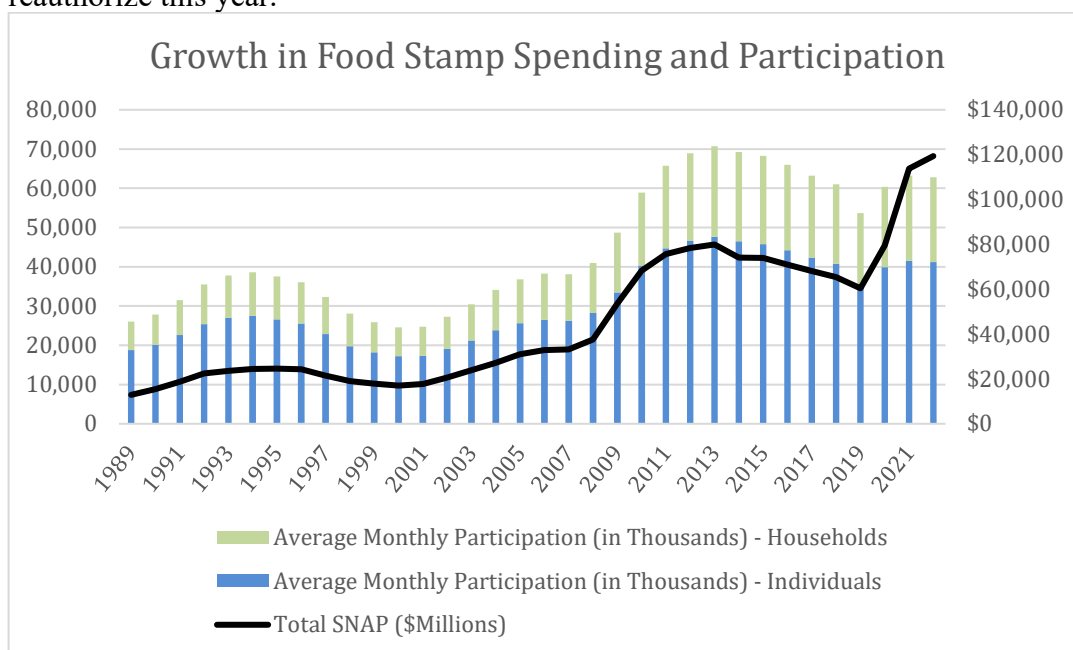
- **Long-term rise in SNAP participation and spending.**
 - SNAP, often referred to as “food stamps”, is one of the largest federal welfare programs—second only to Medicaid in total expenditures¹—and is the largest nutrition assistance program administered by the USDA, providing food-purchase assistance to low- and no-income households in the U.S.²
 - There has been significant mission creep in SNAP, growing from a state-level pilot program to national program setting so-called “healthy” nutrition standards, and from a system where beneficiaries have

Quick Take

- SNAP is the one of the largest federal welfare programs, with about 42 million individuals participating, at an annual cost of almost \$120 billion.
- 44 states bypass federal means-testing requirements, and over half of states waive work requirements, which has resulted in about three-fourths of the 4 million able-bodied adults waived from work requirements.
- 11 percent of prime-age men are out of the labor force, with about two-thirds of non-working prime-age men receiving government assistance and 38% getting SNAP benefits.
- The USDA reported a rise in improper payment errors, with the overpayment rate increasing, from 6.18 percent in 2019 to 9.84 percent overpayment rate. In the same period, SNAP spending doubled, increasing nearly \$60 billion.
- SNAP faces an elevated risk of fraud and improper payment, and non-government independent analysis estimates that SNAP fraud and improper payment error could total over \$20 billion by the year end.

skin-in-the-game by purchasing stamps to an automatic funding allocation made directly to a debit card.

- The current SNAP program³ started as a temporary program in the late 1930s and, after a second pilot program that expired in 1962, was later made permanent in the *Food Stamp Act of 1964*.^{4,5} The permanent program exchanged the “stamps” for “coupons” and until 1977 required that participants still purchase the coupons; the elimination of the food coupon purchase requirement led to an immediate increase in program participation.^{6,7}
 - In the 1970s, Congress placed national requirements on the program for eligibility, such as work participation requirements, assistance subsidy allocations determined at a cost needed to meet certain diet and nutrition, required states to expand the program to all counties,⁸ and made the program operational at a national level.⁹
 - Congress also began authorizing funding for the food stamp program through omnibus legislation, beginning with 1973 farm bill.¹⁰ Congress has since used the farm bill to re-authorize funding for the federal food stamp program.
 - For the past couple decades, SNAP benefits have largely been administered through an electronic benefits transfer (EBT) system, where benefit amounts are made available directly to a debit card that can be used for eligible food purchases and eligible establishments. The EBT system was tested in pilot programs from the late 1980s until Congress mandated state adoption of the system by October 1, 2002.¹¹
- Program participation has doubled since 2002, when Congress passed the *Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002* that restored eligibility for qualified residents and immigrants, and adjusted the standard deduction used in determining the assistance allotment to vary by household size and indexed to annual inflation.¹²
- According to the USDA, between fiscal year (FY) 1989 and FY 2023, the average number of individuals participating in the program has increased from about 18.8 million (7.2 million households) to about 42 million (22 million households).^{13,14} The average monthly benefit amount has increased over this period from about \$52 to upwards of \$250.^{15,16}
 - The number of SNAP recipients as a share of the overall U.S. population has increased from about 5% in the late 1960s to about 12% today.¹⁷ The number of recipients increased substantially between FY 2008 and FY 2013 when upwards of 15% of the U.S. population participated in SNAP at one point or another.
 - Broadly, about 1 in 4 households in the U.S. currently receive some form of federal nutrition assistance through USDA programs, costing upwards of \$230 billion a year and accounting for about three-fourths of the total mandatory appropriations in the Farm Bill, which Congress will reauthorize this year.¹⁸



- Overall, persons receiving SNAP benefits spend more per month on food than non-SNAP households yet have less nutritious diets than those households not in the program.^{19,20} The USDA has shown that

about a quarter of SNAP spending is used to purchase “junk food” and, more generally, “nutritious” foods comprise a smaller share of food purchases by SNAP recipients than other households.²¹

- **Encouraging more government dependence and non-work for able-bodied adult households.**

- There are two ways eligible households can qualify for and receive SNAP benefits.
 - Households can qualify for SNAP benefits by meeting financial eligibility thresholds, having income and assets under specified federal limits²²; or
 - Households residing in states that have adopted BBCE policies can receive SNAP benefits by showing eligibility or receipt of non-cash Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program or state Maintenance of Effort (MOE) funded benefits.²³
- States have the ability to implement BBCE policies for SNAP participation. As of January 2023, 44 states and territories have adopted BBCE for participation,²⁴ which has expanded the scope of the program and allows households that are not economically insecure to receive these benefits.
 - This eligibility loophole used by most states allows millions of individuals to participate in SNAP, even though they have countable assets and incomes above federal limits.²⁵ Only five states that have adopted the BBCE eligibility loophole for SNAP participation also apply an asset test.²⁶
 - The broad application of this eligibility loophole crowds out benefits for those in greater need of food assistance and also perversely allows millionaires and lottery winners to qualify for SNAP benefits.²⁷
- Many SNAP recipients receive benefits conditional on meeting a work requirement.²⁸ Persons considered “able-bodied adults without dependents” (ABAWD), whether receiving SNAP benefits as individuals or as part of a qualifying household, must meet time limits to maintain food assistance benefits. ABAWDs must maintain 80 hours of work each month—that can be met through work search activities and work-related training—in order to receive SNAP benefits.
 - ABAWDs can only receive SNAP benefits up to 3 months within a 3-year period if the work requirement is not met or they are otherwise exempt.
- States can waive the ABAWD time limit for SNAP benefits when an area of the state experiences unemployment above 10 percent. However, states have circumvented the time and work limit conditions for program participation through uses of geographic waivers—federal law allows states an authorized route to relax work requirements through waiver requests that combine counties, cities, and other jurisdictions into single “areas”.²⁹
 - For FY 2023 fourth quarter, a total of 16 states and territories were approved for statewide ABAWD time limit waivers, 16 states were approved for partial ABAWD time limit waivers, and 21 state and territories had no waiver for time limits.³⁰
 - Of the 800 counties where work requirements are waived, only 20 of those counties have unemployment rates above the 10% threshold.³¹ As of May 2023, only 1 state that had work requirement waivers in place, Nevada (5.4%), had an unemployment rate above 5 percent.³² Most states implementing some form of work requirement waivers have unemployment rates of 4 percent or lower.³³
 - Independent analysis by the Foundation for Government Accountability estimates that the combined uses of these waivers have resulted in states gerrymandering areas together to bypass work requirements altogether for nearly three-fourths of the 4 million ABAWDs, with 23.3 percent of ABAWDs in SNAP working part-time, and only 2.9 percent working full-time.³⁴

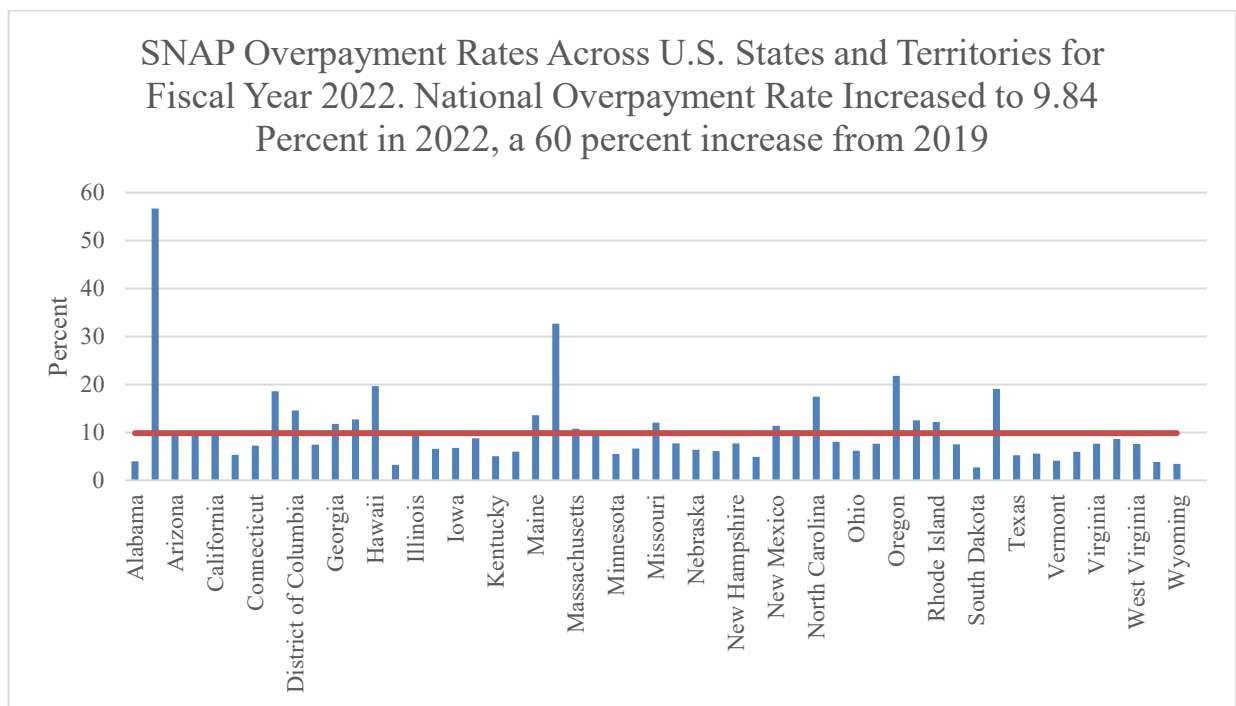
- **Long-run increase in number of non-working men with greater use of government assistance.**

- Since 1949, the male labor participation rate in the U.S. has fallen from 87.4% to the current rate of 68.1%.³⁵ For prime-age men ages 25 to 54, labor force participation has dropped more than 8 percentage points since 1960, with about 11 percent today not in the labor force.³⁶ [For more information, see RPC Guide *Falling Labor Participation Undermines Prosperity*³⁷]
 - According to data released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, about 1.7 million men between ages 25 and 54 were unemployed as of June 2023, up from just over 1.6 million from June 2022. Nearly 800,000 men between the ages of 25 and 34 were unemployed in June 2023 (up from 691,000 in June 2022), 482,000 unemployed men between 35 and 44 years (down from 549,000

in June 2022), and 433,000 unemployed men between 45 and 54 (up from 390,000 from June 2022).³⁸

- Only about one in 10 inactive men (not working nor looking for work) have indicated in household surveys a willingness to gain employment or even accept a job.³⁹
- Men with fewer years of education are unemployed at higher rates.
 - Unemployment is 8.3% for men with less than a high school diploma, 6.2% with only a high school diploma, and 5.5% with some college but no degree.⁴⁰
 - The unemployment rate for men with a bachelor's degree is nearly 5 percent points lower than the rate for men without a high school diploma and those with advanced degrees have even lower rates of unemployment.⁴¹
- Unemployed men spend more time on leisure and sports compared to employed men.
 - According to a recent 2022 American Time Use Survey, unemployed adult men without children under the age of 18 spend about 8.5 hours a day on leisure and sports (compared to 4.8 hours for similar employed men), with over 5.3 hours of that time watching television (more than double the amount of time of similar employed men).⁴²
 - Unemployed men with the youngest child under 6 years of age spend about 6 hours on leisure and sports (about half of those hours spent watching television) compared to only 3.7 hours (1.8 watching television) for employed men with similar aged kids.⁴³
- Unemployed men are more likely to have been incarcerated at a younger age,⁴⁴ and incarceration rates for prime-age men are significantly higher than the rate for all prime-age adults ages 25 to 54,⁴⁵ with one estimate showing about 7% of prime-age men have been incarcerated at some point in their lives.⁴⁶
- There many factors for the long-run decline in male labor participation in America, with a primary factor being the allowability for participation in government assistance programs, including SNAP and the Social Security Disability program.^{47,48}
 - Almost 30% of prime-age men out of the labor force indicate illness, disability, and addiction as reasons for not working.^{49,50,51,52}
 - About two-thirds of non-working prime-age men receive government assistance,⁵³ and 38 percent of inactive prime-age men (8% of employed) receive SNAP benefits.
 - Overall, prime-age men that do not work have lower lifetime earnings and higher rates of participation in government assistance programs, including SNAP.^{54,55}
- **States expanding government food assistance to growing number of non-citizens.**
 - Federal requirements allow for non-citizens to qualify for SNAP benefits, but generally must meet a “waiting period” before eligibility consideration. The federal SNAP waiting period can be met by a “Lawful Permanent Resident” (LPR) having earned at least 40 quarters of work or, with several additional conditions, a non-citizen that has been in qualified status for at least 5 years. There are also numerous exemptions that allow SNAP eligibility consideration for certain non-citizens that do not meet the waiting period requirements.^{56,57}
 - Last year, the Biden administration reversed a Trump-era rule rule that made SNAP benefits part of the welfare programs that would place an immigrant as a “public charge” and likely to rely on government assistance.^{58,59} The Biden rule removed the forms of government assistance, including SNAP and Medicaid benefits, that legal immigrants can receive without becoming a public charge.⁶⁰ Being a “public charge” has long been a condition for denying legal immigration status.
 - There is also a growing number of states that have expanded ways for noncitizens to receive food purchasing subsidies through state-level food assistance programs, inclusive to receiving SNAP benefits.
 - California recently began allowing undocumented immigrants over the age of 55 to receive government food assistance, including SNAP.^{61,62}
 - Additional states, including Connecticut, Minnesota, Washington, Maine, Illinois, and New York have broader eligibility considerations for food stamp assistance to immigrants ineligible for the federal SNAP program, including possible exceptions for undocumented immigrants.^{63,64} Oregon also recently considered state-level legislation this year that, if enacted, would have qualified 62,000 undocumented immigrants.⁶⁵

- One independent analysis estimates that upwards of 6.6 million immigrants were in households where all household persons were eligible for SNAP participation based on immigration status.⁶⁶
 - About 1.2 million immigrants were in households where all persons were ineligible for SNAP on immigration status, and upwards of 5.2 million immigrants were part of mixed eligibility households, where one person was eligible for SNAP and another was ineligible based on immigration status.⁶⁷
- **Increasing risks of fraud and improper payments undermine taxpayers and recipients.**
 - The USDA reported an overall national payment error rate of 11.54 percent for fiscal year 2022, with an overpayment error rate of 9.84 percent.⁶⁸ For FY 2022, 23 states and territories had payment error rates exceeding 10 percent, with 5 states above 20 percent: Alaska (56.97 percent), Delaware (22.43 percent), Hawaii (21.78 percent), Maryland (35.56 percent), and Oregon (22.99 percent).
 - The elevated payment error rates in SNAP coincide with higher spending levels in the program. The national payment error rate increased 60 percent above the error rate before the Covid pandemic for fiscal year 2019,⁶⁹ while spending doubled in the same period, increasing from about \$60 billion between fiscal years 2019 and 2022.⁷⁰



- SNAP also remains at higher risk of fraud and improper payments, which likely goes underreported. One independent analysis estimates that fraud could increase this year to about \$20 billion,⁷¹ about \$1 billion in the Tri-State area of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut alone.⁷²
 - The USDA Food Nutrition Service (FNS) has reported in recent years that upwards of \$1 billion dollars in SNAP benefits is “trafficked” annually through retailers, and the Government Accountability Office (GAO) estimates that the actual cost of this fraud could total up to five times that amount.⁷³
 - Increased fraud is also occurring through EBT data hacks and card skimming, where cases of fraud range from organized criminals in one state stealing SNAP benefits directly from cards in another state, to a fraudulent bad actor stealing SNAP benefits by posing as an approved retailer.⁷⁴
- Overall, the billions, if not tens of billions, in federal taxpayer funds lost annually in SNAP funds have occurred through selling benefits to retailers, selling benefits to individuals, reselling food, card skimming, phishing and other EBT data hacks, falsifying eligibility, multiple applications with used stolen identities, retailer-application fraud, state-agency fraud, and government-worker theft.⁷⁵
- **Biden’s Thrifty Food Plan circumvented Congress and increased spending.**
 - In October 2021, the Biden administration issued a change to the Thrifty Food Plan (TFP) in 2021, the

benchmark USDA uses as the minimum cost for a “healthy diet”.⁷⁶ This policy increased SNAP benefits by about 23%, exceeding the expiration of the 15% increase in SNAP benefits that had been in place with funding authorized through temporary increases in the American Rescue Plan.⁷⁷

- Until the Biden administration’s 2021 policy re-evaluation of the TFP, the USDA had implemented TFP changes through inflation adjustments; the 2021 TFP change was the first departure and increase in the cost of the TFP, other than inflation, since 1975.⁷⁸
- The Biden administration’s change to the TFP is problematic for many reasons. The administrative reform that increased spending in SNAP bypassed Congressional approval,⁷⁹ it avoided the Administrative Procedures Act (APA) review that requires public notice and comment before becoming a final rule, and violated the Congressional Review Act⁸⁰ by failing to submit the policy update to Congress before its implementation. After the TFP policy change, at Congressional request, the Government Accountability Office confirmed that the Biden administration failed to adhere to the CRA and APA.^{81,82,83,84}
- The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) has estimated that the implementation of the Biden administration’s changes to the TFP, combined with higher food prices, will increase SNAP spending between \$250 and \$300 billion in 10 years.^{85,86}

POLICY SOLUTIONS

- Ideally, Congress will pass reforms in the 2023 Farm Bill when re-authorizing the SNAP and cut back spending, encourage work, eliminate waste, and restore accountability in the SNAP program. The House should pass legislation similar to the Senate *SNAP Reform and Upward Mobility Act of 2023*⁸⁷ that includes reforms that would reverse the substantial growth in the SNAP program, increase state cost sharing, expand and strengthen work requirements for able-bodied adults and parents with children over 6 years of age, eliminate broad-based categorical eligibility, and tighten compliance for SNAP beneficiaries during fraud investigations.
- Congress should increase state cost sharing in the administration of SNAP, ideally limiting spending and moving SNAP into a block grant to states. There has been substantial growth in the program, generally detached from changes in economic conditions, and capping federal funding in block grant to states would bring greater fairness for those states that elect not to indiscriminately expand benefits to more people, including undocumented non-citizens, and reduce work requirements in condition for receiving welfare benefits.⁸⁸ The Congressional Budget Office has estimated converting SNAP to a discretionary block grant to states would save hundreds of billions over a ten-year budget window.⁸⁹
- Congress should close the BBCE loophole that allows millions into SNAP that do not need federal welfare benefits and crowd out assistance for American households in greater need of assistance for food purchases. The House *No Welfare for the Wealthy Act of 2023* would close this loophole used by most states, and would require households meet income and asset tests set under federal statute to receive SNAP benefits.⁹⁰
- Congress should expand work requirements for work-capable adults, both ABAWD and parents, and enhance self-sufficiency requirements in SNAP. This can be accomplished, in part, by passing reforms included in the *America Works Act of 2023*⁹¹ and the Senate *SNAP Reform and Upward Mobility Act of 2023*⁹² that would encourage limited duration periods of participation during actual instances of income disruption and ensure reforms of state waiver allowances that have provided many states with the ability to waive work requirements that conflict with actual economic and employment data. The most commonsense reform to encourage work participation during periods of receiving benefits and encouraging quick paths to self-sufficiency would be for Congress to repeal all waivers for work requirements.⁹³
- Congress should pass reforms that repeal the 2021 Thrifty Food Plan that would bring benefits back to levels prior to the Biden administration’s American Rescue Plan. This reform alone could result in a savings totaling upwards of \$250 billion over 10 years.⁹⁴

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¹ Angela Rachidi. How SNAP Expenditures Now Exceed \$100 Billion Annually. American Enterprise Institute. January 17, 2023. <https://www.aei.org/opportunity-social-mobility/how-snap-expenditures-now-exceed-100-billion-annually/>

² For fiscal year 2022, SNAP represented nearly three-fourths of total food assistance spending and constituted about half of the USDA’s budget. What is SNAP? An Overview of the Largest Federal Anti-Hunger Program. Peter G. Peterson Foundation. May 23, 2023. <https://www.pgpf.org/blog/2023/05/what-is-snap>

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- ³ Congress amended the food stamp program to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) in 2008. Pub. L. 88-525. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-10331/pdf/COMPS-10331.pdf>
- ⁴ The USDA also administered a Food Stamp program between 1939 and 1942 to help subsidize their food purchases equal to a normal expenditure level. This first federal food stamp program operated for about 4 years and was used by about 20 million persons in nearly half the counties of the U.S. In 1959, Congress authorized a pilot food stamp program that was first provided to a household in West Virginia in 1961, and subsequently expanded to over 40 counties in 22 states, with 380,000 beneficiaries. A Short History of SNAP. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service. <https://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/short-history-snap#:~:text=Among%20the%20official%20purposes%20of,enact%20the%20regulations%20into%20law.>
- ⁵ Pub. L. 88-525. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-10331/pdf/COMPS-10331.pdf>
- ⁶ The reference to food stamps directly refers to the fact in the initial pilot programs, food stamp participants would receive differing colored stamps with a set denomination to a dollar value. <https://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/short-history-snap#:~:text=Among%20the%20official%20purposes%20of,enact%20the%20regulations%20into%20law.>
- ⁷ Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program: Examining the Evidence to Define Benefit Adequacy. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK206907/>
- ⁸ The program became fully implemented in Puerto Rico in 1974 after the passage of Pub. L. 93-86. <https://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/short-history-snap#:~:text=Among%20the%20official%20purposes%20of,enact%20the%20regulations%20into%20law.>
- ⁹ <https://www.congress.gov/93/statute/STATUTE-87/STATUTE-87-Pg221.pdf>
- ¹⁰ Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP): A Primer on Eligibility and Benefits. Congressional Research Service. October 4, 2022. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R42505>
- ¹¹ Pub. L. 104-193 – Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. <https://www.congress.gov/104/plaws/publ193/PLAW-104publ193.pdf>
- ¹² Pub. L. 107-171 – Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PLAW-107publ171/html/PLAW-107publ171.htm>
- ¹³ <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R42505>
- ¹⁴ USDA-FNS. July 14, 2023. <https://www.fns.usda.gov/data/April-2023-keydata-report>
- ¹⁵ The SNAP benefit person amount reached \$259.52 in November 2022 and \$236 for the 7 months of FY 2023 (October 2022-April 2023), according to the National Data Bank for the USDA Nutrition Assistance Programs. USDA-FNS. May 12, 2023. <https://www.fns.usda.gov/data/February-2023-keydata-report>
- ¹⁶ USDA data shows that the long-term growth in inflation-adjusted SNAP spending not differed much from growth in nominal spending. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK206907/>
- ¹⁷ <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK206907/>
- ¹⁸ Adam Goldstein. U.S. Senate panel spar over elevated food assistance spending in upcoming farm bill. Ohio Capital Journal. February 20, 2023. <https://ohiocapitaljournal.com/2023/02/20/u-s-senate-panel-spars-over-elevated-food-assistance-spending-in-upcoming-farm-bill/>
- ¹⁹ Angela Rachidi and Thomas O'Rourke. Are States Cutting Food Stamps? American Enterprise Institute. February 28, 2023. <https://www.aei.org/opportunity-social-mobility/are-states-cutting-food-stamps/>
- ²⁰ Chris Edwards. SNAP: A Nutrition Failure. Cato Institute. April 11, 2023. <https://www.cato.org/blog/snap-nutrition-failure-0>
- ²¹ *Id.*
- ²² 7 U.S.C.Ch. 51 §2014(a)—(g). <https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?path=/prelim@title7/chapter51&edition=prelim>
- ²³ Broad-Based Categorical Eligibility (BBCE). USDA-Food and Nutrition Service. <https://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/broad-based-categorical-eligibility>
- ²⁴ *Id.*
- ²⁵ Ending the Broad-Based Categorical Eligibility Loophole. Foundation for Government Accountability. March 6, 2020. <https://thefga.org/one-pagers/bbce-loophole/>
- ²⁶ Idaho, Indiana, and Texas (excluded value of 1 vehicle up to \$15,000) use an asset limit of \$5,000 for their respective BBCE eligibility; Michigan uses a \$15,000 asset limit, and \$25,000 on liquid financial assets for Nebraska. All remaining states that have adopted BBCE eligibility have eliminated the asset test for SNAP participation. <https://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/broad-based-categorical-eligibility>
- ²⁷ <https://thefga.org/one-pagers/bbce-loophole/>
- ²⁸ Overall, about 80% of households receiving SNAP benefits include a child, a senior, or a disabled person, and the remaining SNAP households consist of adults who are work-capable, and should be working, looking for work, or in training that will lead to work. <https://www.cato.org/blog/work-requirements-snap>
- ²⁹ Jonathan Bain and Jonathan Ingram. Waivers Gone Wild: Congress Must Crack Down on Food Stamp Loopholes. Foundation for Government Accountability. May 24, 2023. <https://thefga.org/research/waivers-gone-wild-food-stamp-loopholes/>
- ³⁰ ABAWD Waivers. U.S. Department of Agriculture. <https://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/ABAWD/waivers>
- ³¹ The Editorial Board. Fixing the Food-Stamp Work Requirement Loopholes. The Wall Street Journal. May 24, 2023. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/debt-ceiling-negotiations-food-stamps-work-requirements-welfare-foundation-for-government-accountability-b04159f0>
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- ³⁶ <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LRAC25MAUSM156S>

³⁷ Falling Labor Participation Undermines Prosperity. House Republican Policy Committee. May 22, 2023.

<https://republicanpolicy.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/republicanpolicy.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/official-unemployment-rate-misleading-final-for-comms-lay-outspaces-fixed.pdf>

³⁸ The Employment Situation—June 2023. Bureau of Labor Statistics at the U.S. Department of Labor. July 7, 2023.

<https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/empst.pdf>

³⁹ Inactive, Disconnected, and Ailing: A Portrait of Prime-Age Men Out of the Labor Force. Joint Economic Committee – Republicans. September 18, 2018. <https://www.jec.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/republicans/2018/9/inactive-disconnected-and-ailing-a-portrait-of-prime-age-men-out-of-the-labor-force>

⁴⁰ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Education Pays. September 8, 2022. <https://www.bls.gov/emp/chart-unemployment-earnings-education.htm>

⁴¹ There are many white-collar jobs that are becoming unnecessary as companies recompose their labor force. Many current white-collar jobs may be permanently displaced from the employment of artificial intelligence technology, forcing those displaced American workers displaced into other sectors, including transitions to blue collar jobs. Jeffrey A. Tucker. The Disappearing White-Collar Job. Epoch Times. May 19, 2023. https://www.theepochtimes.com/shred-the-white-collar-and-put-on-the-blue_5271823.html. See also, Chip Cutter and Harriet Torry. The Disappearing White-Collar Job. The Wall Street Journal. May 15, 2023. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-disappearing-white-collar-job-af0bd925>

⁴² Tables 8A, 8B, 8C. American Time Use Survey. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2022. <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/atus.pdf>

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ Donna S. Rothstein. Male prime-age nonworkers: evidence from the NLSY97. Monthly Labor Review. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. December 2020. <https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2020/article/male-prime-age-nonworkers-evidence-from-the-nlsy97.htm>

⁴⁵ Federal Bureau of Prisons. https://www.bop.gov/about/statistics/statistics_inmate_age.jsp

⁴⁶ The Long-Term Decline in Prime-Age Male Labor Force Participation. White House Council of Economic Advisors Report. June 2016. https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/page/files/20160620_cea_primeage_male_lfp.pdf

⁴⁷ Angela Rachidi. America Needs Prime-Age Men to Be Working. American Enterprise Institute. November 14, 2022.

<https://www.aei.org/op-eds/america-needs-prime-age-men-to-be-working/>

⁴⁸ Additional factors impacting the long-run decline in male labor force participation include an aging baby-boomer generation, demand shifts across industries, declining male educational attainment, delayed family formation, increasing substance abuse, and increased time spent on video gaming. Laura Dawson Ullrich. Male Labor Force Participation: Patterns and Trends. 2021.

https://www.richmondfed.org/publications/research/econ_focus/2021/q1/district_digest#:~:text=The%20general%20consensus%20of%20research%20is%20that%20multiple,substance%20abuse%2C%20and%20heavy%20use%20of%20video%20games.

⁴⁹ Manufacturing employment has fallen 30% in the past 4 decades, alongside increasing uses of automation and imported labor competition, including illegal immigration, for non-college educated males. Since 1980, the percentage of men with a bachelor's degree or higher has risen from 21% to 35%, which has happened concurrent to an even greater rise in female higher education attainment for women. Men have also delayed forming families with the median age of first marriage for men in 1970 at 23.2 years and 30.5 years of age by 2020. *Id.*

⁵⁰ According to results from a 20-year longitudinal study in the U.S. 63.1 percent of men that reported to not working in the prior year had used marijuana by the age of 19. <https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2020/article/male-prime-age-nonworkers-evidence-from-the-nlsy97.htm>

⁵¹ Fentanyl-related substances have resulted in hundreds of thousands of drug overdose deaths in the U.S. Drug Overdose Death Rates.

National Institute on Drug Abuse. <https://nida.nih.gov/research-topics/trends-statistics/overdose-death-rates>

⁵² In a recent Federal Reserve study, researchers estimate that increased substance abuse, including fentanyl use, accounted for 9 percent to 26 percent of the decline in labor force participation between February 2020 and June 2021. Jeremy Greenwood, Nezih Guner, and Karen Kopecky. Did Substance Abuse during the Pandemic Reduce Labor Force Participation? Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta – Report No. 5. May 2022. <https://www.atlantafed.org/-/media/documents/research/publications/policy-hub/2022/05/09/05--did-substance-abuse-during-pandemic-reduce-labor-force-participation.pdf>

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⁵³ <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/empst.pdf>

⁵⁴ Additional research cited in a 2018 report by the Joint Economic Committee (Republicans) estimates that upwards of 63 percent of prime-age inactive men that were household heads receive means-tested benefits; 57 percent of prime-age inactive men received disability benefits, while 66 percent of prime-age inactive men lived in a household where someone was receiving disability benefits.

<https://www.jec.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/republicans/2018/9/inactive-disconnected-and-ailing-a-portrait-of-prime-age-men-out-of-the-labor-force>

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⁵⁵ Not working puts greater strain on public benefits programs, through lower tax revenue and higher spending. The growth in federal benefits programs, particularly those in Obamacare health insurance subsidies and unemployment, create enormous “cliff” effects for those households receiving such benefits. Recent studies of these benefits programs estimate that households would have to earn upwards of \$80,000 to match the level of benefits lost by moving from unemployment and receiving overall assistance through no work and working full time. Casey Mulligan. Payroll Tax Revenues Down \$400 to \$900 Billion Due to Lower Wages and Less Growth. Committee to Unleash Prosperity. March 2023. https://committeetounleashprosperity.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/CTUP_PayrollTaxRevenue.pdf

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