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Back to Work How Should We Rebuild Our Economy?

he coronavirus pandemic of 2020 swiftly brought the US economy to a near standstill—more than 36 million people had lost their jobs by the summer. *The Wall Street Journal* estimated that one-quarter of all business activity shut down in a matter of weeks.

This was a staggering event for the \$20 trillion American economy, which employs more than 160 million people in normal times, is the world's largest net exporter of food, and recently became a net exporter of energy as well. The state of California alone has an economy larger than India's.

And, as hard as the shutdown was on the nation, it was excruciating for cities and small towns. Cannon Beach, Oregon, a tourist magnet on the Pacific Ocean, shut itself down voluntarily in March, immediately putting hundreds of people out of work. Cancellation of the South by Southwest festival in Austin, Texas, cost the region's economy more than \$350 million.

But, just as an earthquake reveals flaws in a building, the pandemic and the resulting shutdown revealed hidden truths in our economy—how tenuously many small businesses cling to survival; how many of the people doing essential, low-paying jobs are black, Latino, or other minorities—and mostly women; and how much we rely on other nations for vital products and services.

Now the US stands at a crossroads similar to that of the Great Depression, when Congress created programs such as Social Security and unemployment insurance. As the pandemic first began to ebb in many places, businesses gradually reopened and many people went back to work; at some point, we will gain the upper hand over this virus. In the meantime, we have an opportunity to choose what direction our economy should take after this interruption.

Among the issues we should consider are the best way to get back to full employment, what kind of support should go to businesses large and small, what the most vulnerable and essential workers need, and what changes we should make in the way we live and work.

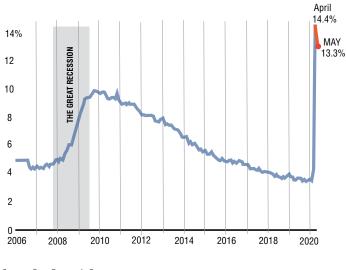
We also should think about how biases toward race and gender have unfairly channeled wealth to white American men and away from women and people of color in ways that have limited opportunities for entire generations.

This issue advisory considers how we should rebuild the US economy when we emerge from the pandemic and the recession. What will our priorities be? What lessons should we learn from this experience? What can communities do to build a prosperous future?

How should we rebuild our economy after the pandemic?

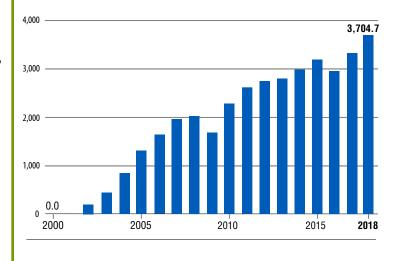
This advisory presents three options for moving forward, each coming from a different perspective and each reflecting a different set of ideas about what should be done. Most people will find something to agree with in all three approaches, but each also has trade-offs, risks, or drawbacks that need to be taken into account and worked through. The options presented here are not ready-made solutions, but rather a starting point for weighing alternatives and reaching a sound judgment.

Unemployment Rose Higher in Three Months of COVID-19 Than It Did in Two Years of the Great Recession.



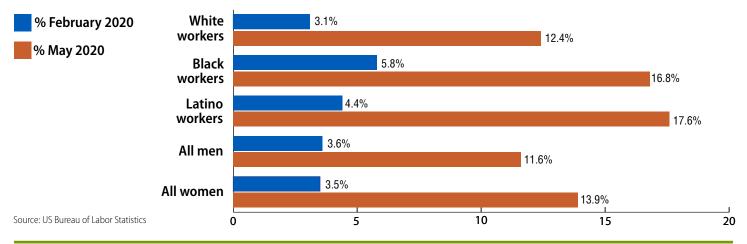
Source: Pew Research Center

US Jobs Displaced by the Trade Deficit with China since 2001 (in thousands of jobs)

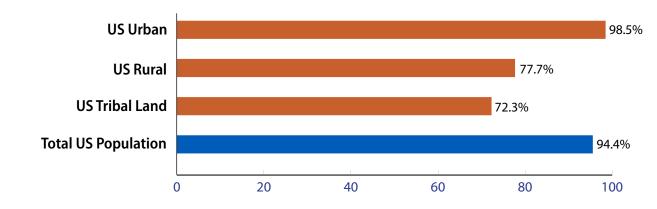


Source: Economic Policy Institute analysis of International Trade Commission and Bureau of Labor Statistics data

Unemployment Soared Unequally during the Early Months of the COVID-19 Pandemic.



Percentage of US Population with Access to Broadband in 2018



Source: Federal Communications Commission

Option One: Jumpstart the Economy

The sudden, drastic halt in 2020 went beyond a conventional downturn in its speed and

severity, and our response needs to match that. We need to focus on restoring and creating jobs; strengthening employers, especially small businesses; and supporting workers, especially minority workers who lost jobs at a much higher rate than white workers. We should kick-start the economy to keep money flowing where it's needed. Business owners can expand their operations if we give them the tools and the financial support. Working families can survive if we help support them until they get their jobs back or find new ones.

A Primary Drawback

These strategies have been tried many times. They are more likely to benefit stockholders and CEOs and end up creating low-wage, temporary, or part-time jobs.

What we could do	Drawbacks
Put people to work fixing and building roads	 Federal and state governments are already in debt. Now is not the time for this kind of spending.
Make sure unemployment covers everyone, including part-time workers and the self-employed, and that it provides a decent cushion so people have enough time to find their next jobs.	People who don't really want to work will take advantage and delay going back to work.
Increase state and local funding for small business Ioans to minority-owned businesses.	Even when money is available, banks always make it harder for minority business owners to get loans.
Make high-quality childcare programs available to all families regardless of income so they can get back to work.	 This is a new government obligation that spends taxpayer dollars on childcare for affluent families who could afford it themselves.
What else? What could we do, especially on a community level?	What's the trade-off if we do that?

Before the government stimulus kicked in, only 29 percent of those unemployed were actually receiving unemployment benefits due to widely varying eligibility requirements among states.

—Pew Research Center

Option Two: Move to a Sustainable Economy

The pandemic showed us a different way of life. Even while driving less, flying less, using less electricity, and generating less pollution, many of us were still productive. Thanks to the

internet, we could get work done without meeting face to face. Those are good habits to continue, but we can do better. Too many underserved communities lack high-speed internet, and we aren't putting enough emphasis on scientific skills and technology, which are vital to our economy and to our health. This option says we should seize on those lessons and start revamping our economy to work smarter and cleaner for everyone.

A Primary Drawback

Cutting back on commuting and business travel permanently will severely damage many businesses that employ tens of thousands of Americans.

What we could do	Drawbacks
Encourage employers to invest and reorganize so <a>more people can work from home.	This will hurt the small businesses and restaurants that depend on workers to be there and could kill off many downtowns.
Expand high-speed internet service nationwide, especially to rural counties and minority neighborhoods.	 We would get a very small return on a very expensive investment by local governments that are already in debt or struggling.
School districts should place more emphasis on math, science, and technology—the keys to the future.	 This would be at the expense of equally important subjects and would create narrowly educated individuals.
Cities should restrict suburban development and increase neighborhood density so that more people can walk or bike to work.	This would be a massive disruption in people's lives and potentially displace minorities and minimum- wage workers when rents go up.
What else? What could we do, especially on a community level?	What's the trade-off if we do that?

Levels of nitrogen dioxide and other pollutants dropped in the northeastern US by at least one-third during the pandemic and lockdowns.

—NASA

Option Three: Put Domestic and Local Needs First

All of us need to place the interests of our nation and our people first in the way we do business, run our towns and cities, and deal with other countries. Too many other nations, especially

China, have used free trade to take advantage of our companies, and it has seriously damaged manufacturing and lowered wages. We should employ tariffs to protect US companies, push executives to keep more manufacturing here, and reduce immigration when it takes jobs away from our citizens. Each of us also needs to ask how we could put more of our money into American companies.

A Primary Drawback

Many American jobs and companies depend on robust international trade and exports abroad. This will hurt us in the long run through trade wars, loss of allies, and loss of the vibrancy and the distinct American character that comes from immigration.

What we could do	Drawbacks
Increase tariffs on foreign products that compete <a>	 Raising tariffs would cause other countries to retaliate, damaging our ability to export our own products.
Reduce immigration and the number of visas granted to specialty workers.	This could hurt us by depriving us of necessary workers in agriculture and service work and change the very character of the country.
Use tax breaks and subsidies to bring more manufacturing back to the US.	 This could be a government giveaway to corporations. Moreover, products made here will cost consumers more.
Cities and towns should buy and hire locally and require their suppliers to do so, too.	 Cities and towns should use local tax dollars wisely. That means getting the best price and quality even if it comes from out of state.
What else? What could we do, especially on a community level?	What's the trade-off if we do that?

The US trade deficit with China cost Americans 3.7 million jobs between 2001 and 2018.

-Economic Policy Institute

About This Issue Advisory

THE HEALTH OF THE US ECONOMY MATTERS to every American. This advisory is designed to help people deliberate together about how we should approach the issue. The three options presented here reflect different ways of understanding what is at stake and shed light on the critical tensions in what we hold most valuable.

The challenge of rebuilding the economy compels us to consider a number of difficult questions. Should we prioritize direct aid to small businesses, or does that risk throwing away money on risky enterprises? Should we continue to travel less for the sake of the environment and our long-term health, or is that likely to cripple too many businesses? Should we seek to protect American companies in global markets, or will it have the self-defeating effect of hurting trade?

Ground Rules

- Focus on the options and actions we can take nationally and in our communities.
- Consider all options fairly.
- Listening is just as important as speaking.
- No one or two individuals should dominate.
- Maintain an open and respectful atmosphere.
- Everyone is encouraged to participate.

Holding a Deliberative Forum

1. Introduction

Review ground rules. Introduce the issue.

2. Connect to Issue

Ask people to describe how the issue affects them, their families, or friends.

3. Consider Each Option

Consider each option one at a time. Allow equal time for each.

- What is attractive?
- What about the drawbacks?

4. Review and Reflect

Review the conversation as a group.

- What areas of common ground were apparent?
- What tensions and trade-offs were most difficult?
- Who else do we need to hear from?

Founded in 1927, the Kettering Foundation of Dayton, Ohio (with an office in Washington, DC), is a nonprofit, nonpartisan research institute that studies the public's role in democracy. It provides issue guides and other research for the National Issues Forums. For information about the Kettering Foundation, please visit **www.kettering.org** or contact the foundation at 200 Commons Road, Dayton, Ohio 45459.



This issue advisory was prepared for the National Issues Forums Institute (NIFI) in collaboration with the Kettering Foundation. National Issues Forums issue guides are used by civic and educational organizations interested in addressing public issues. These organizations use the books in locally initiated forums convened each year in hundreds of communities. Recent topics have included health care, opioids, the national debt, and mass shootings. For more information on the National Issues Forums, visit the website: www.nifi.org.

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Q U E S T I O N N A I R E Back to Work How Should We Rebuild Our Economy?

You may also fill out this questionnaire online: www.nifi.org/ questionnaires.

NOW THAT YOU'VE HAD a chance to participate in a forum on this issue, we'd like to know what you're thinking. Anonymous responses will be included in summary reports on the forums and in research to help us better understand how people are thinking about current issues.

1. Here are some priorities for rebuilding our economy.

		One of my top three priorities	Helpful but not a top priority	Not a priority at all	l oppose this	l am unsure about this
A.	Encourage employers to reorganize job requirements so more people can work from home.					
B.	Make sure all families, regardless of income, have access to good childcare facilities so parents can get back to work.					
C.	Increase tariffs on foreign imports to spur the sale of American-made products.					
D.	Expand high-speed internet service, which would enable more people to work from home.					
E.	Increase local and state funding for small businesses, with particular attention to minority businesses.					
F.	Provide tax breaks for companies to bring their factories back to the United States, which will provide more jobs for US workers.					
G.	Ensure that unemployment insurance covers workers for enough time to find new jobs.					
H.	Place more emphasis on science and technology in the nation's schools to better prepare students for the jobs of the future.					
Ι.	Reduce immigration to make more jobs available to US-born workers.					
J.	Provide funds for a major rebuilding program that would put people to work repairing roads, bridges, and other parts of the nation's crumbling infrastructure.					
К.	Increase neighborhood density to enable more people to walk or ride bikes to work.					
L.	Encourage cities and towns to buy and hire locally.					

For the following questions, let us know which is more important to you. If you're not sure, please let us know.

2. Having the government fund business loans, tax breaks, and infrastructure projects so our economy can create jobs quickly; we need to get back to where we were.

VERSUS:

Having the government invest in green energy, universal WIFI, and other policies that will create a different kind of economy, one that's more sustainable with less commuting

Not sure

Forum questionnaires are designed to help individual participants and forum groups clarify their priorities. The results should not be interpreted as a scientific public opinion study.

Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

3.	 Using tariffs to discourage imports of competing foreign products and taxing US businesses that move jobs off shore VERSUS: 							
	Promoting free trade to spur the American economy to modernize and compete effectively in the international marketplace							
	OR:							
	Not sure							
4.	Building an economy for the future by investing significantly in high-speed internet to underserved communities and in raining workers in scientific and technology skills							
	VERSUS:							
	Building an economy that makes protecting American jobs and wages its top priority							
	OR: Not sure							
5.	5. Which of the following statements comes closer to your view? If you're not sure, please let us know.							
	To rebuild our economy and create well-paying jobs, we need to create new businesses and help existing ones get back on their feet. That means business-friendly lending, investment, and tax policies.							
	VERSUS:							
	To strengthen our economy, we need to invest in providing workers with the wages and benefits they need to thrive as well as in providing enough unemployment insurance to help them get on their feet.							
	OR: Not sure							
6.	Thinking about your forum overall, how much disagreement was there among the group?							
	A lot of disagreement Some disagreement Hardly any disagreement at all							
7.	Did you talk about aspects of the issue you hadn't considered before?							
	If so, please explain							
Q	Were there ideas or proposals that you tended to favor coming into the forum that you now have second thoughts about?							
0.	Yes No							
	If so, please explain							
9.	What could citizens, working together, do in their own communities to address this problem?							
10	Not including this forum, how many National Issues Forums have you attended?							
10.	$\bigcirc 0$ $\bigcirc 1-3$ $\bigcirc 4-6$ $\bigcirc 7 \text{ or more}$ $\bigcirc \text{Not sure}$							
	Are you male or female? Image: Male Image: Female Image: Other (please specify)							
12.	How old are you?							
	□ 17 or younger □ 18-30 □ 31-45 □ 46-64 □ 65 or older							
13.	Are you: 🗌 African American 🖾 Asian American 🛄 Hispanic or Latino 🛄 Native American							
	White/Caucasian Other (please specify)							
	In what type of community do you live? 🗋 City/Urban 🖾 Suburban 🖾 Rural							
	What is your ZIP code? What state do you live in?							
16.	What issue would you like to see covered in a future forum?							

Please give this form to the moderator, email to forumreports@nifi.org, or mail to: National Issues Forums Institute, 100 Commons Road, Dayton, Ohio 45459. You may also fill out this questionnaire on line at www.nifi.org/questionnaires.