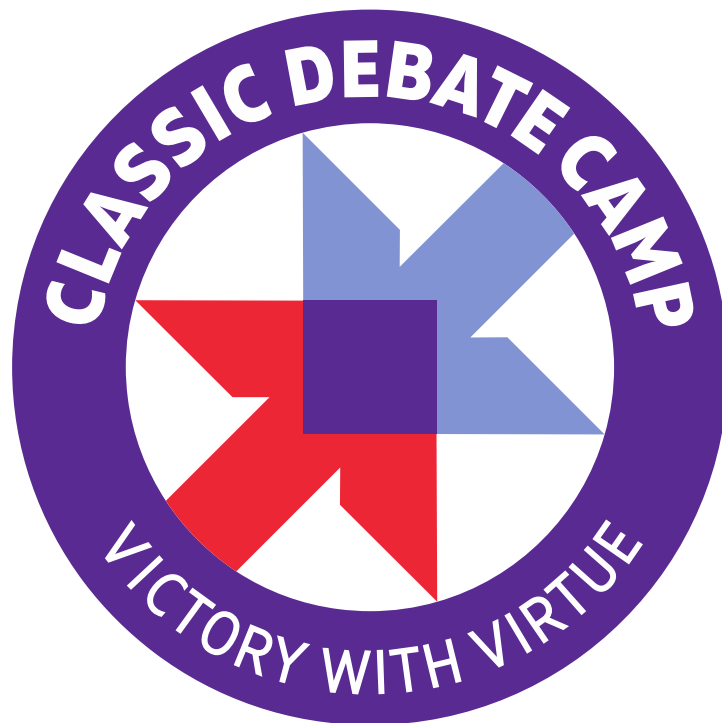


**CLASSIC DEBATE CAMP
NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 2020
LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE BRIEF**



**Resolved: The United States ought to
provide a federal jobs guarantee.**

**Compiled by Rachael Harris
classicdebatecamp.com**

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A NOTE FROM RACHAEL

Hello, Everyone! I hope you're all doing well and are staying safe and healthy. My primary goal in this brief is to provide some useful evidence to get the gears turning as you begin your own research on the topic. I believe that the multitude of possible perspectives and strategies can put you on a path to find some new ideas that you are interested in learning more about. I also believe that this topic carries with it a heavy weight of background research, so the first half of this brief may seem a bit longer than usual, but it contains information that will probably be helpful to most of you.

I would be completely remiss without saying hello to all of my Classic Debate Camp friends! I miss you all so much! I cannot wait to see what you accomplish this season, and I wish you the very best at all of your tournaments.

Also, a special thank you to all of my fellow CDC instructors who helped me with this project, namely Maya Arora, Madelynn Einhorn, Hannah Kim, Zach Paganini, and of course, Mr. Paik! I appreciate you all very much.

Good luck, everyone! I believe in you all. Above all, remember that debate is a game – not combat, and be sure to have fun.

Please do not hesitate to reach out if you have any questions about this brief or the research contained in it. Here's my email for you: harrisrach19@gmail.com

-Rachael Harris

Information on how I research:

1. I have included every link and citation for every source that I have cut a card or taken information from. If you plan on using any part of this brief, it is my strong recommendation that you download the full article or PDF, especially if you plan on using it in your case.
 - a. I do hold myself to a high standard when it comes to researching, and you should as well. However, "from the Classic Debate Camp brief" is not the most intelligent or compelling citation. You should **always** be citing the original author to give them credit for their work. This also lets everyone else know where the evidence is from. Citing my brief is very vague and I'm sure that we can all agree that I'm not famous (yet).

- b. I always attempt to use sources that are accessible to all (i.e., without paywalls). However, if you find that the URL has been moved or that the link does not work anymore, please do not hesitate to reach out and I will find a way to put you in touch with the source that I am referencing.
- 2. I cut in whole paragraphs, even multiple if I find it all to be relevant. As an extension of the first point, I do believe that if you plan on using these cards in round or in your cases, having the context for them does help for the breadth of your knowledge base and on the occasion that your opponent asks to see the evidence.
- 3. How I cut cards
 - a. **Tag**
 - b. Author last name, Year
 - c. Author full name. Author qualifications. Full date. “Title of article/work.” Publication info (i.e., citation)
 - d. Link
- 4. Do I power tag? Absolutely not. Please read the card to understand how my claim is warranted. Maybe even attempt to figure out how I came to that conclusion or write your own tag (which I strongly recommend).

TOPIC ESSAYS

So You Hate This Topic

By Zach Paganini¹ (paganizj@miamioh.edu)

I'll be completely honest with you. When I first looked at this resolution, I was ready to write it off immediately. I've always been a fan of the more abstract topics with clearer links to values and general concepts rather than topics that seem written for utilitarianism and implementation arguments. However, as I did more research, I realized that this topic has some interesting angles and arguments. I want to be clear: I absolutely think there are abstract arguments that can be made on this topic. But that is not going to be the focus of this analysis. For the next page or so, I'll take you through my perspective and how I thought through this topic. If you're like me and tend to dislike topics like these, I'd ask for your patience and to keep an open-mind with both this analysis as well as this whole topic.

Let's start on what a federal jobs guarantee is, just so we're on the same page. I'll keep this short since I'm sure there will be better definitions provided throughout the brief. A federal jobs guarantee is a program where the government acts as a last resort to employ people who can't find a job. If you find yourself out of luck on the job market, the government will find you a job and pay for you to work. This doesn't have to be direct employment to the government either; there have been cases of the government paying someone to work for a nonprofit.² The goal is to lower the unemployment rate to as low as it can possibly be, ideally zero. However, it's worth noting that it's impossible to get every working-age American to be employed, since many Americans don't want a job. This program is made for those who want to be employed but can't get a job.

It's a good idea to break down the effects of this proposal into different groups. For me, the three main groups that are affected by a federal jobs guarantee are the government, the workers, and businesses/employers. Let's start with the government. The first question I (and I'm sure many others) had about this topic was "How would the government pay for this?" I'm sure this is going to be an argument that many neg cases use. It's a strong argument but there's literature to suggest that the cost isn't impossible for the government to cover.³ I suspect that this argument will fall in and out of favor as debaters put more research into the topic, so keep an eye on how the argument changes depending on what evidence is used.

If the government can pay for a federal jobs guarantee, the benefits to workers are hard to overstate due to the pandemic. While a federal jobs guarantee would be a nice benefit to unemployment normally, the pandemic proved that jobs aren't as secure as we'd like to think they are, with the unemployment rate reaching highs of 14.7% during

¹ Zach Paganini has been an instructor for CDC for two years, and before that, he attended CDC as a debater for two years. In high school, he spent two years in International Extemporaneous Speaking before doing LD for the rest of his high school speech and debate career. Currently, Zach is a sophomore at Miami University of Ohio where he is studying economics and political science as a double major.

² Annie Lowrey, "A Promise So Big, Democrats Aren't Sure How to Keep It" The Atlantic, May 11, 2018.

³ Randall L. Wray et al. "Public Service Employment: A Path to Full Employment" Levy Economics Institute of Bard College (April 2018): 31-32.

the height of quarantine.⁴ While the unemployment rate has gone down and is currently at 7.9%, the American people understand now more than ever that they can't be certain that their job is safe.⁵ That's not even considering the fact that many businesses that closed down temporarily for quarantine eventually had to go out of business entirely. All of this is to say that a guaranteed job from the government could provide a lifeline to our economy to keep us above water while we recover from our situation.

Unfortunately, it isn't all sunshine and rainbows when it comes to the employers. A federal jobs guarantee acts as a direct competitor to private employers. For this explanation I'll be using Senator Cory Booker's legislation titled the "Federal Jobs Guarantee Development Act," which proposes a \$15/hour minimum wage.⁶ If this bill was implemented across the nation, then employers would be forced to raise their wages to be at \$15/hour or else the employees getting paid less would just leave for a federal job. After all, why work for \$8.50/hour as a lifeguard for a waterpark that smells like cow manure if you could be getting \$15/hour from the government? However, the employers won't just eat that cost- they'll raise the prices of their products and shift the cost onto the consumers that buy their products.

Even if employers pay \$15/hour for jobs that they would normally pay less, there's another problem for the employers. Labor productivity is essential for employers. In other words, employers want to get the most out of the employees they have. The way employers keep people productive is through wage incentives. Over the summers, I got up and went to work as a lifeguard because I knew I was unlikely to find any place that would hire me given my age and lack of expertise. If I had the option to work for the government for just as much money or even more, I would have no incentive to do my job well. If the government is going to guarantee my wage regardless of how good I work, why should I work hard? The Soviet Union ran into these exact problems with their guaranteed labor⁷. Low labor productivity is extremely bad news for the economy. Low labor productivity means a low GDP. A low GDP can cause a vicious cycle of consumers spending less which causes businesses to lay people off to save costs, which leads to even less consumer spending, and so on.

Granted, this is only a surface level dive into the different aspects of a federal jobs guarantee. There are many more specifics and nuances to look into that could change how this topic is debated. As a final note, I want to circle back to my earlier

⁴ Angela Glover Blackwell and Darrick Hamilton. "Opinion | Will We Face Depression-Era Job Losses? Let's Not Find Out" New York Times, May 9, 2020.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/09/opinion/federal-jobs-guarantee-coronavirus.html>

⁵ "The Employment Situation – September 2020" *U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics* (September 2020).

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

⁶ "New Booker Bill Seeks to Establish Model for Federal Jobs Guarantee Program in High-Unemployment Communities." US Senate, April 20, 2018.

<https://www.booker.senate.gov/news/press/new-booker-bill-seeks-to-establish-model-for-federal-jobs-guarantee-program-in-high-unemployment-communities>

⁷ Irving H Siegel. "Labor Productivity in the Soviet Union." *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 48, no. 261 (1953): 65-78

https://www-jstor-org.proxy.lib.miamioh.edu/stable/2280879?seq=14#metadata_info_tab_contents

recommendation that people think outside the box on this topic. I think that there are opportunities to weave different philosophical arguments into some of the points I've mentioned. Having this topic during these times opens the door to a lot of different ideas that are both important and valid. Trust me, the judge will appreciate seeing an out of the box idea coming from your box in the Zoom meeting!

Definitions, Historical Analysis, and Different Ways to Approach the Resolution.

By Hannah Kim⁸ (hyk6@case.edu)

This topic is a wonderful opportunity to learn some economics, particularly in the era of Covid-19. In this analysis, I'll be giving a brief historical run-down before getting into what I think are the seven most relevant interpretations of the resolution. With all of the current political discourse surrounding history as a discipline, I encourage you to do further historical research of your own and seek to use your own analyses in your cases. Some of my information is linked to a source, but some is from my previous knowledge, so you may do with that information what you wish.

Because this topic dives deep into the economic impact on the United States working class, I think it is absolutely necessary for competitors not only to know enough about U.S. economic history, but also to be well-versed in the history of western capitalism in order to think critically about both the philosophical and logistical role of the unemployed. Capitalism erupted as a system approximately in 17th century England. (Before then, there were many laborers who sold their goods individually. This may seem like "free market capitalism," but remember a key difference between *commerce* and *capitalism* is that capitalism includes a system of classes.) Capitalists (the land owners of that era) then began to kick individual laborers off their land in order to utilize it for their own singular profits, and they hired the desperately poor for cheap labor (or used legally enslaved laborers). Why is this information important? The unemployed have always been--since the very beginning and for good or for bad--instrumental to capitalism. Thus, when debating this topic, keep in mind that you are not simply discussing one economic policy change, but an entire systemic shift.

Let's fast forward. When I saw the resolution, the first thing that popped into my mind was FDR's New Deal, which took place as the U.S. climbed out of the Great Depression. His three R plan--relief, recovery, and reform--provided federal jobs for millions of people, and thus temporary economic relief. This is important because time frame is going to be a large part of the discussion of this topic, whether one focuses on the current Covid-stricken era of 2020 or one focuses on the possible long-term implementation of a federal job guarantee. While the New Deal is thought to have kept capitalism from a total collapse, some economists also argue that the New Deal harmed the lower class in the end by hurting the ability of private sector corporations to provide jobs at competitive wages and increasing taxes on working class families. My recommendation to affirmative debaters on this topic is to study the variables that might have caused controversy around the New Deal and exclude them from your scope of the

⁸ Hannah Kim began instructing at CDC in 2020, and before that, she attended CDC as a debater for three years. In high school, she qualified to the Ohio state tournament three times and NSDA nationals once! Currently, she is a student at Case Western Reserve University where she studies cognitive studies with a minor in childhood studies.

round. For example, figure out where the government should raise money for the job guarantee.

As any debate surrounding the misery of the unemployed should mention, race is a key aspect of economics. Race--historically--has actually been nothing more than a social construct (which is why the term has been flexible, once used to describe the Irish people, for example.) The reason why I am writing about this is because I think it would be worth your while to explore arguments that have to do with the history of unemployment or poverty among different races.

Here are some interpretations I think would be possible:

1. AFF argues that the U.S. should provide jobs to all unemployed people because it would maximize general societal welfare. I assume this will be the stock case--you will have flexibility to determine the answers to critical framing questions such as: how will the government define an unemployed person? What happens when people are fired from their federal job? What kinds of jobs will there be?
2. NEG argues that it would not be possible to affirm. Using this interpretation, debaters may determine the political means of passing a bill that guarantees federal jobs and the cost of affirming.
3. AFF argues that affirming won't be possible unless we dismantle capitalism, and therefore we should do that and then affirm, or affirm and then dismantle.
4. NEG argues that affirming won't be possible unless we dismantle capitalism, and therefore we should *not* affirm.
5. NEG argues that the job guarantees should not be federal but in the "private" sector (or what would be left of it after the government mandates that they include extra jobs with a fraction of their profits.)
6. NEG argues that the government should not provide a federal job guarantee because of (stock) negative effects on the U.S. economy.
7. NEG argues that the government should stay out and let people be unemployed in the name of capitalism

Federal Jobs Guarantee: Approaches and Framework Suggestions

By Rachael Harris⁹ (harrisrach19@gmail.com)

If you read the last brief, you know that framework is something that I quite enjoy exploring. I have included similar explanations of the concepts that were written in the last topic to provide a bit more context of what I am talking about, though this time in this essay I will only explore frameworks, not arguments (which will be explored by Maya in the next essay and later in the brief).

Introduction

The debate rounds on this resolution are going to break down in a few key ways, and how it goes will truly depend on how you (and your opponent) are evaluating this topic. In Lincoln-Douglas debate, we often get asked to evaluate policy-based, value-based, or fact-based resolutions. I personally believe that this topic lies at the center of all three. While the topic is not asking for a specific policy (i.e., the Federal Jobs Guarantee Development Act of 2019) to be implemented, evaluating the topic from a policy-oriented perspective opens the door to discussing feasibility and solvency impacts. I suggest being wary of this approach, however, as the door could be opened far enough that your opponent asks for a plan text (that you may or may not have). On the other hand, through the lens of a value-based perspective, the affirmative side-steps feasibility and solvency while gaining access to “the ideal democracy” or “the ideal economy.” The affirmative also escapes any real-world examples presented by the negative, but the negative’s potential arguments based on cost and potential detriments to the economy become a lot stronger and more compelling.

Personally, I feel that debates are a lot stronger when they have a narrative, or at least a cohesive advocacy. What I mean by this is that you should do your best to stay consistent in your case and rebuttals. This is a strategy that aims to win the round by selling the judge a coherent story rather than just winning on the flow. Simply put, you can make different arguments in round, but they should all be coming from the same perspective and should not contradict each other. You should have two goals when aiming for this style of debate: you should try to present a consistent advocacy that is sound and logical, and you should ensure that your advocacy contains the best possible explanation for everything in the round. By the end of the round, the judge should be able to easily sum up why they should vote for you in a sentence or two. Therefore, in terms of types of “evaluations” of the round, I am referencing the narrative that you might present. You do not need to make it explicit that this is what your narrative is, but you

⁹ In 2019, Rachael placed seventh in LD at the Pennsylvania state tournament after placing in the top five at every local tournament that season. She also qualified for the NCFL national tournament in LD and the NSDA national tournament in World Schools Debate. Rachael has been coaching LD privately and remotely for about a year. Currently, she is the assistant debate coach at Olentangy High School near Columbus, Ohio. She joined the CDC LD staff in 2020.

should keep it at the forefront of your mind as you research, write your cases, and come up with responses in prep time.

So what do I mean by a value-based evaluation and a policy-based evaluation? In my eyes, the value-based evaluation comes from a more theoretical perspective and aims at the values (wow, big shocker there) that would be important to the resolution and its potential implementation. I believe that this is more what Lincoln-Douglas (maybe in its more traditional style) is about. It asks questions such as the following: Where is the moral obligation? Whom is the moral obligation to or from? What is the most ideal ethical scenario in the resolution? And many more. I find this style more open to a creative framework and more focused on a general principle. On the contrary, I think that the policy-based evaluation prioritizes solvency, feasibility, implementation, and “real world” impacts. These are also great issues to consider, especially because they are more concrete and tangible. This approach, however, can be more difficult because it generally does not have as much emotional appeal as values and sometimes the numbers are hard to find. I think the two form a simulation of an ongoing clash in society and in policymaking.

With that, let’s get into discussing some potential¹⁰ frameworks.¹¹

Value-Based Frameworks

I. Affirmative

- a. **Utilitarianism¹² + Governmental Legitimacy.¹³** The first thing that immediately came to my mind was a self-written and creative framework

¹⁰ **Disclaimer:** these are things to consider and things to develop into your own frameworks. The following will not stand as frameworks on their own (but they might make for some good internal links after a bit of rewording). Also, this list is not exhaustive. There are many more frameworks out there. I just went with very typical frameworks that I felt would be commonly used.

¹¹ This is proceeding with the assumption that you have a general idea of each of these frameworks. However, in the footnotes, I have included extra resources to explain them!

¹² References for util:

Kahn Academy (Part 1): <https://www.khanacademy.org/partner-content/wi-phi/wiphi-value-theory/wiphi-ethics/v/utilitarianism-part-1>

Kahn Academy (Part 2): <https://www.khanacademy.org/partner-content/wi-phi/wiphi-value-theory/wiphi-ethics/v/utilitarianism-part-2>

Kahn Academy (Part 3): <https://www.khanacademy.org/partner-content/wi-phi/wiphi-value-theory/wiphi-ethics/v/utilitarianism-part-3>

Crash Course Philosophy: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-a739VjqdSI>

SEP: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/utilitarianism-history/>

Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/utilitarianism-philosophy>

Ethics Unwrapped: <https://ethicsunwrapped.utexas.edu/glossary/utilitarianism>

¹³ References for GL:

SEP: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/legitimacy/>

Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/legitimacy>

Princeton: <https://pesd.princeton.edu/?q=node/255>

Loyola University: https://www.luc.edu/media/lucedu/dccirp/pdfs/articlesforresourc/Article_-_Aragon_Trelles,_Jorge_2.pdf

Expository Video (Definition): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TCs_hyI15R8

that was loosely based on these two concepts. While it is based on two stock frameworks, I think the end result may be pretty unique. With that said, my idea was that a federal jobs guarantee would strengthen the economy, as more people would be working than otherwise before, which would circulate more money and generate more consumerism. I would then find the link that a better economy or lower unemployment makes societies a better place in general. And lastly, I would go for a link that a happier society or a society working together more congruently (as I assume would happen as a result of a federal jobs guarantee) leads to a better and more stable government.

- b. **Mitigating Structural Oppression.**¹⁴ I think there is a lot of evidence of the oppression that many minority groups face today. Specifically, I believe that cycles of poverty evidence here would very fitting. With this, a link that a federal jobs guarantee breaks the cycle of poverty and reduces the cause of oppression (which, in most cases, is the inequitable allotment of resources), is crucial.
- c. **Rawlsian Ethics (Veil of Ignorance)**¹⁵. This framework at its root is benefiting the least advantaged. I would argue that this could relate to mitigating structural oppression; however, that framework is rights-based and outcome-oriented. (That is, all people have a right not to be oppressed, and people have an obligation to eliminate or minimize that oppression.) On the other hand, I would argue that Rawls's Veil of Ignorance sidesteps burdens that come an oppression framework. The Veil of Ignorance just focuses on the fact that there are groups which are undeniably disadvantaged, and when placed under the hypothetical veil, we would make decisions that would benefit the least advantaged, as we would not know our own place in society. Therefore, I believe that you could argue that there are many disadvantaged groups when it comes to people who

Crash Course Sociology: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TCs_hyI15R8

¹⁴ References for SV:

Lecture Video (Part 1): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8rKAGpIE4x4> (Start at 3:02)

Lecture Video (Part 2): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I6tW0iGw1Lg>

A short article (PDF): [http://www.opensourceleadership.com/documents/DO Definitions.pdf](http://www.opensourceleadership.com/documents/DO%20Definitions.pdf)

A longer article (web page): <https://thingofthings.wordpress.com/2015/03/15/structural-oppression-is-a-valid-concept/>

(More good definitions):

https://slutwalk.fandom.com/wiki/Concepts_of_Structural_Oppression:_A_General_Overview

<https://www.context.org/iclib/ic04/gilman1/>

References for Communitarianism:

Article: <https://icps.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs1736/f/downloads/Communitarianism.Etzioni.pdf>

SEP: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/communitarianism/>

<https://www.politicalsciencenotes.com/democracy/democracy-definition-and-explanation/831/>

¹⁵ References for Vol:

Expository Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pJCuDqnlZSY>

Second Expository Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GVuKhbi0JO4>

Thought Experiment: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P3gWGtf_w_s

Ethics Unwrapped: <https://ethicsunwrapped.utexas.edu/glossary/veil-of-ignorance>

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/original-position/>

are unemployed: there are those who are oppressed (as outlined above), there are those who are homeless and do not have access to a car to drive to an interview or a printer to print out their resume, and many other groups. The Veil of Ignorance considers all of these groups. I think these arguments could be similar to what you might run under mitigating structural oppression, though it does sidestep the requirement of needing to actually mitigate oppression.

- d. **Rawlsian Ethics (Law of the Peoples).**¹⁶ I think this framework could be something similar to the idea of a loose social contract framework + cosmopolitanism. In Rawls's Law of the Peoples, he proposes eight principles, the last of which being "Peoples have a duty to assist other peoples living under unfavorable conditions that prevent their having a just or decent political and social regime." I feel that there could be an argument that the government has an obligation to help people who live under unfavorable conditions and cannot get out of it due to their circumstances. Under the resolution, a federal jobs guarantee is the only way to help mitigate this issue.

II. Negative

- a. **Kantian Ethics (Categorical Imperative).**¹⁷ Zach mentions in his essay that there are three groups that benefit from a federal jobs guarantee. One of the groups that he highlights is the government, who benefits by giving to people jobs that otherwise might not be taken. This leads me to conclude that the government is using people as means to an end in this instance, which violates Kant's imperative not to treat fellow human beings as merely means to one's own end.
- b. **Consequentialism.**¹⁸ This philosophy is pretty broad in terms of frameworks and what it can access. I think the simplest way of exploring

¹⁶ References for LoP:

Purdue Lecture Video Part 1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UNS5Im0WZX8>

Purdue Lecture Video Part 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CuyBPGKBxOE>

Pacific University: <https://commons.pacificu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1031&context=eip>

Boston College Law School:

<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d7c6/7853d41b62e45af96f6011da3d9df877a12e.pdf>

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/rawls/> - LawPeoLibForPol

¹⁷ References for Categorical Imperative:

Expository Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pJCuDqnlZSY>

Second Expository Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GVuKhbi0JO4>

Thought Experiment: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P3gWGtf_w_s

Ethics Unwrapped: <https://ethicsunwrapped.utexas.edu/glossary/veil-of-ignorance>

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/original-position/>

¹⁸ References for Consequentialism:

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/consequentialism/>

Ethics Unwrapped: <https://ethicsunwrapped.utexas.edu/glossary/consequentialism>

Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/consequentialism>

this framework (in regard to arguments you could run) is exploring what could possibly go wrong after implementing this policy (i.e., economic collapse, recession, etc.).

Policy-Based Frameworks

I. Affirmative

- a. **Utilitarianism.** I feel that this is intuitive with any policy-based framework. From my understanding, implementing a federal jobs guarantee would benefit the greatest number of people. I also believe that you could get more specific and run maximizing societal welfare here. With this, you could run the argument that because we are benefiting the greatest amount of people, society as a whole is better off.

II. Negative

- a. **Pragmatism.**¹⁹ I feel that this is also pretty intuitive with any policy-based framework. This approach assesses the success of an action as well as if the action is feasible to implement. I feel that the strongest argument with this framework is how much a federal jobs guarantee would cost contrasted with how little people will actually benefit from it. Another strong argument would be that the bills have not passed previously.

In general, I think that both types of evaluation have their place, and I think it would be interesting to watch a value-based case go up against a policy-based case. I would like to recommend not vehemently sticking with one and completely avoiding the other throughout the two-month cycle. Instead, explore and experiment with both, or write multiple cases for each side! (Just remember not to run both evaluations in the same round!) Personally, I would go for the value-based arguments because I like the narrative they can present and I like to leave solvency debates to Policy and Public Forum, but that's just my opinion. Feel free to reach out to me with any questions!

¹⁹ References for pragmatism:

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pragmatism/>

Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/pragmatism-philosophy>

Philosophy Basics: https://www.philosophybasics.com/branch_pragmatism.html

The Cynical Historian: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fqPAnFfPJuk>

Carneades: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u0EOF56roHI>

Federal Jobs Guarantee: Implementation and Core Arguments

By Maya Arora²⁰ (mayamarora@gmail.com)

Introduction:

I believe that the debaters who will do well on this topic will be those who have a strong understanding of the various implementations of a federal jobs guarantee, their strengths, and their weaknesses. While it will be important to talk about the core arguments of poverty reduction and economic growth, those impacts can be easily lost or outweighed through flaws with implementation. A federal jobs guarantee has been proposed in a variety of ways with different pay, benefits, scope, and more. The nuances of these small details are critical to accessing impacts on both sides and will likely make or break many rounds. A strong affirmative will be comfortable explaining and defending stronger versions of a FJG and a strong negative will be able to point out problems with weaker versions of a FJG.

Sample Implementation Ideas:

The Center for American Progress lays out a federal jobs guarantee proposal that they characterize as a “domestic Marshall Plan” in which they aim to create 4.4 million new jobs that pay at least a living wage (\$15 an hour). They estimate that this would cost the federal government \$36,000 per job which comes out to about \$158 billion dollars annually.

The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities outlines an extremely detailed plan for a federal jobs guarantee. Their proposal would pay workers a minimum wage of \$11.83 per hour and the mean annual wage for all employees would be \$32,500. The program would be administered by the Department of Labor. Workers would be able to join the program on a part-time or full-time basis for any duration of time. They estimate that the total cost of this program would be \$543 billion annually but they also predict that the government would be able to reduce spending on Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), and the Children’s Health Insurance Program (CHIP). The government will also likely see an increase in tax revenue due to increased productivity and consumer spending.

I would recommend conducting your own research beyond what I have written here to find what you believe to be the best implementation details. It may be helpful to evaluate different plans that have been laid out by legislators already such as Bernie Sanders, Corey Booker, and Kirsten Gillibrand.

²⁰ Maya Arora was a two-time national champion in LD at the NCFL Grand National Tournament (2017 and 2019). She has also qualified for the NSDA national tournament three times and has accumulated five career bids to the Tournament of Champions. Maya joined the CDC LD staff in 2020. Currently, she is studying public policy at Duke University.

Affirmative arguments:

The most intuitive and persuasive aff argument is that a federal jobs guarantee will reduce poverty. There is lots of research in this area and I would recommend that debaters spend a significant amount of time reading studies for this argument. Although this argument is strong, it is predictable, so debaters should be prepared to know their studies and evidence very well. For example, according to a report on the effects of Public Service Employment by the Levy Institute:

We find that the program would have a significant effect on poverty rates, and that PSE [Public Service Employment] would disproportionately benefit women and minorities. At \$15 per hour, one full-time worker could lift a family of up to five out of poverty; with one full-time and one part-time worker, a family of eight could rise out of poverty.

We find that with one full-time worker per family in the program, 9.5 million children would be lifted out of poverty.²¹

A strong poverty reduction argument in an affirmative case can be a gateway to many other arguments and impacts such as:

1. A federal jobs guarantee functions as a safeguard against economic crises such as another financial crash or pandemic. There is no need for people to fall into poverty because of these unpredictable events.
2. A federal jobs guarantee will reduce homelessness.
3. A federal jobs guarantee will increase health insurance coverage. As a result, fewer people will get sick and die because they cannot afford necessary medicine or treatment.

A strong affirmative must thoroughly explore implementation options and probably present some sort of advocacy (even though you don't have to go as far as to present an actual plan, especially in the context of a traditional LD round). At the bare minimum, you should find a reasonable cost estimate backed up by evidence. Once you find a cost estimate that you like, you should consider ways to meet that cost. Here are some ideas:

1. Repealing the Trump tax cuts would generate \$1.5 trillion
2. Take money from military budget (an oldy but a goodie)

²¹ http://www.levyinstitute.org/pubs/rpr_4_18.pdf

3. The government won't need to spend as much money on unemployment insurance and other welfare programs

Negative arguments

1. There are many potential implementation issues that would plague a federal jobs guarantee. For example, what types of jobs would be guaranteed? How will the government be able to determine which jobs are needed and how many? If the government is able to identify some fields where there is demand for jobs, how can they guarantee that the number of workers who sign up for the FJG program will not outnumber that demand? In order to guarantee jobs to all 10.7 million unemployed workers, the US government would have to figure out a way to increase the current federal workforce by 5 times. Furthermore, how much skill will these jobs require? Will the government pay workers to be trained as well? The list of implementation concerns is practically endless. The negative can use a strategy of simply poking enough holes to cast extreme doubt on the practicality of the affirmative advocacy.
2. A federal jobs guarantee would be too expensive. The Progressive Policy Institute writes that, "According to the leading proposal for a national guaranteed jobs program, it would cost roughly \$543 billion a year to create 10.7 million new federal jobs covering every worker unemployed or underemployed in January 2018."²² Negative debaters can impact a cost argument in a variety of ways including discussing the harms of increasing the national debt such as slowed economic growth over time or by talking about opportunity cost and the several other ways that this money could be better spent.
3. A federal jobs guarantee would harm the wider economy by crowding out private sector jobs because the government would be competing with existing employers. In the face of this competition, small businesses are the unlikely to survive while big corporations will be fine. Loss of small businesses would lead to reduced entrepreneurship and other harms to the economy.

All three of these arguments are outlined and supported with empirical evidence in the article by the Progressive Policy Institute.

This topic will definitely lead to heavy util-based debates with deep and thorough discussion about implementation and advocacy details. While debaters should also feel free to explore more philosophical and theoretical arguments, implementation concerns should not be ignored. Have fun researching the wide range of literature and empirical studies that exist on this topic and feel free to reach out to me if you have any questions!

²² https://www.progressivepolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/PPI_GuaranteeJobs_2018.pdf

What's Happening to the Economy during COVID and How Does It Apply to Your Debate Round?

By Madelynn Einhorn²³ (madelynn.einhorn413@topper.wku.edu)

COVID has thrown the economy into turmoil, and as economists disagree with each other about the state of the economy and where it is headed, you are likely hearing a lot of unfamiliar economic jargon that is difficult to understand. Obviously, this topic is an economic topic so a lot of students will rely on arguments that are related to the COVID recession. I am writing this topic analysis because I want to inform debaters about the COVID recession and I want to provide some insight into how they can most effectively use current economic arguments to support their position.

COVID has hurt the economy in several ways, which I will explain. First, COVID hurt supply chains²⁴. When China was hit hard by the coronavirus early in 2020, many factories and businesses had to shut down. These factories made important technological devices, including iPhones, undermining aspects of globalization. Similarly, spikes in demand for the supply of certain goods overwhelmed producers and people had to go without, especially in regard to medical supplies such as masks, gloves, and certain medications. Supply shocks have undermined the productivity of producers because they did not have the pieces necessary to create their goods, or effectively carry out a service. Additionally, as borders have closed trade of goods and the movement of people have declined, undermining the benefits of free trade.

The second way that COVID hurt the economy was lockdowns. When countries are locked down, then businesses operate at limited capacity and there is not nearly as much consumer spending in the economy. Some of these businesses, especially large businesses, may be able to recover from their loss in profit, but many businesses, particularly small businesses have gone out of business because they no longer have enough customers to stay in business. This is compounded by unemployment rates. Most businesses had to lay off some of their staff, or if the business closed, all of their staff. The U.S. is currently experiencing a 7.9% unemployment rate, which is much higher than the just under 4% unemployment rate the U.S. has had for the past few years.²⁵

The third way that COVID hurt the economy is through increased government debt. This is a slightly less direct route because there is not always an immediate negative impact from increased government spending. However, the U.S. government passed a massive stimulus agreement, already spending over four trillion dollars on COVID relief,

²³ Madelynn Einhorn debated in Public Forum and Policy debate for four years in high school. During that time, she qualified to both the NSDA National Tournament and the Ohio state tournament three times. Currently, she attends Western Kentucky University where she competes in college LD. During her most recent year of competition, she championed three of the six tournaments she attended and won three speaker awards. She studies economics and political science. She was a member of the CDC PF staff in 2018 and 2020.

²⁴ <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/economy/news/2020/03/06/481394/economic-impact-coronavirus-united-states-possible-economic-policy-responses/>

²⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/oct/02/us-unemployment-numbers-elections-economy-jobs>

causing a 102% U.S. debt to GDP ratio.²⁶ People and countries purchase bonds, essentially buying parts of U.S. debt which the U.S. is supposed to pay back with interest. If the debt to GDP ratio is extremely high, then the people who buy bonds might expect higher interest since that purchase is viewed as risk, causing the debtor to spend more money in the long run.²⁷ Fortunately, U.S. bonds are still viewed as incredibly stable so there is a low risk that interest rates will increase a lot on bonds. But, debt is still problematic because the government might have to cut future government spending or increase taxes to pay off the debt. Similarly, if debt becomes unsustainable, then eventually the U.S. will probably have to raise interest rates on bonds and the U.S. will have less tools to respond to future economic downturn.

So now you know a little bit more about the causes and effects of the COVID recession and now it's time to apply this to the topic. There is plenty of information available online if you have more questions about the economic impact of COVID. But, I wanted to give you a clear starting point because without that analysis it can be difficult to digest.

Let's start with the Affirmative side and analyze how COVID arguments apply to the topic. The Affirmative is guaranteeing all Americans a federal job and that immediately seems like a natural fit given how high unemployment rates are right now. Additionally, the federal government is playing a much larger role in innovation, especially medical innovation, given the pandemic and many Americans could begin working in this field. The government has spent billions on COVID related medications and potential vaccines which could be distributed by additional federal workers. The government role in innovation is increasing now and you could utilize your affirmative to capitalize on it. Additionally, you could make arguments about how the federal government might divert more workers to education which could help improve equity for American students and ensure that rampant income inequality declines will help facilitate the growth of students who will empower the American economy. You can argue that the COVID recession is the perfect time to transition to a federal job guarantee because it is a time in American economic history when the economy uniquely needs stimulus and must help the millions who are unemployed.

Now, let's move onto the Negative side and analyze the arguments in relation to COVID. COVID has particularly hurt people living in developing countries so COVID is likely to accelerate a lot of immigration when the recession is winding down in the developed world but still affecting developing countries. However, when additional immigrants enter the U.S. are not classified as Americans then they do not have access to the same job guarantee. This creates a dual labor market, according to a prominent economic theory on poverty, which explains that Americans will work in lucrative, high-paying jobs while immigrants will be relegated to more low-skilled, poorly-paying work. In the long-run, immigration to the U.S. will likely be disincentivized, particularly more high skilled immigrants because more Americans will begin working for the private sector and there will be less demand for private businesses to be created. Thus,

²⁶ <https://www.cnn.com/2020/10/08/economy/deficit-debt-pandemic-cbo/index.html>

²⁷ <https://www.thebalance.com/the-u-s-debt-and-how-it-got-so-big-3305778>

immigrants will start fewer firms which are uniquely beneficial for job creation, innovation, and stability in recessions.²⁸ The evidence on the necessity of immigrants is extremely persuasive, and I encourage you to dig into it. Additionally, this may not be the most efficient use of the economy. The U.S. has little room to mess up the recovery as it faces such a devastating recession, and a federal jobs program could misalign talent and remove the incentives for productive work.

I hope that you all learned a little bit about what is actually going on in the economy. It's fairly complex, and I did not have nearly enough space to go into detail. But, I wanted to give you a starting point to understand the several key arguments about how COVID hurt the economy-- by incapacitating supply chains, undermining businesses and employment, and increasing government debt. Hopefully that can give you some insight on an economic topic, which is extremely salient given the current global economic conditions. I hope I could provoke some interesting Affirmative and Negative ideas about how to integrate the reality of COVID into your arguments on this topic.

²⁸ <https://thehill.com/opinion/immigration/509365-skilled-immigration-is-just-what-we-need-to-recover-our-economy>

KEY

I cut the cards how I would consider reading them in round. I do suggest that you re-cut them yourself, especially because it forces you to read more of the card and to know the context.

1. Cards

- a. **Bold, underlined, and yellow highlighted** – parts of the card that I would definitely read (i.e., supporting evidence to the claim or tagline)
- b. Underlined – parts of the card that I would read if there is enough time and to provide additional context
- c. **Text bold, underlined, green highlighted, and boxed in** – the bare minimum I'd read in order to convey the argument quickly
- d. [Rachael here:] = a note from me to you or my commentary on a card.

2. Blocks

- a. **A2** – answer to (i.e., a block); this blocks an argument
- b. **F2** – a frontline to (i.e., a block to a block); this blocks an A2 a claim
- c. **B2** – a backline to (i.e., a block to a block to a block); this is an A2 a frontline
- d. **I2** – an indictment (i.e., a reason to question the credibility of the source)

“Team A’s Argument → Team B’s Block → Team A’s Frontline → Team B’s Backline”
– Candor Debate

3. Block Tagging (adapted from Candor Debate)

- a. **[NL]** – No Link (i.e., your opponent’s argument does not occur); the link from one claim to another does not exist. An example of this type of response would be “X does not lead to a recession”
- b. **[LT]** – Link Turn (i.e., changing the way an argument relates to a case; changing the source of an impact). An example of this type of response would be your opponent saying that “not solving for the U.S. federal debt increases the chance of a recession.” A link turn would be “not solving for the U.S. federal debt *decreases* the chance of a recession, as we prioritize stimulating economic growth...”
- c. **[IT]** – Impact Turn (i.e., changing the merit of an impact). It is important to note that an impact turn concedes the impact at hand. An example of this type of response would be your opponent saying that “increasing the U.S. federal debt increases the chance of a recession, which is harmful for the economy.” An impact turn would be “increasing the U.S. federal debt does increase the chance of a recession, but this is not harmful for the economy.”
 - i. **I find it important to note that you should not double turn.**
What I mean by this statement is that you should not read a link turn and an impact turn on the same part of an argument. With the examples provided above, a double turn would look like: “not

solving for the U.S. federal debt *decreases* the chance of a recession, but even if you don't buy that argument, realize that increasing U.S. federal debt does increase the chance of a recession but it is not harmful for the economy." Essentially, these two responses are contradictory and take away from the point that you are trying to prove.

- ii. You can, however, read two turns, but they *must* be on two different parts of the argument (and you must clarify that while reading them in your rebuttal).

4. Abbreviations

- a. Any time that I reference Federal Jobs Guarantee in a heading, I will abbreviate it to "Federal JG" but I will use the full phrase in the tagline.

DEFINITIONS

I believe that definitions are very important to framing the debate. Oftentimes, the definition of a key word or phrase could change the way that evidence is evaluated. Depending on the judge, I recommend being conscious of how you define key words. For example, with a less experienced judge, I would define most of the terms intuitively (i.e., definitions that the common person might know or agree to). However, with a more experienced judge, I know that I could probably be a bit more specific (note: not abusive) with my definitions.

Looking back, I eventually realized that judges were not particularly fond of definition debates. As a result, I would define the one term that I knew other debaters would use to skew or narrow the round. I usually used an intuitive definition for this term or phrase, as it was usually easier to convince the judge of.

As a judge, I will say that any longer than a minute spent on the definition debate is a bit too long. As mentioned previously, the definitions can frame the debate. For example, the March-April topic of 2018 (Resolved: The United States ought to implement a Universal Basic Income). Defining and characterizing a UBI in case was preferable to spending most of my 1AR explaining it.

In regard to this resolution, I believe that “provide” and “federal jobs guarantee” are two important definitions that would frame the debate and I do believe that they work in tandem with each other. From my understanding, there may be a common consensus of what a federal jobs guarantee is, but *you* taking the time in your case to outline what your conception of it is gets the debate started sooner, rather than spending the second half of the round debating your implementation. Implementation should not be the focus of the whole round, in my opinion, though it can be an important facet.

Similarly, it is going to depend if you define “federal jobs guarantee” as one term and align it with the definition proposed in the 2018 or 2019 bills or if you define it as a “federal” “jobs guarantee”. This second way is a bit looser and allows you to control a bit more of what your JG will look like.

One thing that I do want to be clear with is that I strongly recommend that your evidence follows the same definitions that you provide. For example, your evidence showing support of a federal jobs guarantee or examples of places that have had Federal JGs should be consistent with the definition that you provide in your case.

Ought

The use of the word “ought” in the resolution suggests a moral obligation.

Merriam Webster

Webster, N. (1949). Ought. In Webster's New Handy Dictionary: A Merriam-Webster: Based upon Webster's New International Dictionary. New York: American Book.

<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ought>

“**Moral obligation** or duty”

“Used to say or suggest what **should** be done”

The use of the word “ought” in the resolution suggests what could be done.

Oxford Dictionary

Fowler, H. W. (1949). Ought. In The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English Oxford Dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon.

<https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/ought>

“Used to indicate that something is **probable**”

[Rachael here:] I really only suggest using this definition with a pragmatism (or feasibility) framework.

Provide

To provide is to supply or make available.

Merriam Webster

Webster, N. (1949). Provide. In Webster's New Handy Dictionary: A Merriam-Webster: Based upon Webster's New International Dictionary. New York: American Book.

<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/provide>

To supply or make available”

To make something available to”

“To have as a condition”

“To make preparation to meet a need”

“To take precautionary measures”

[Rachael here:] I don't think that any of these definitions really explain a lot. I believe that one of these definitions, in tandem with your own analyzation or logical warrants, would really bring everything together. I think you could read any of these definitions as they are at the beginning of your case but then add the analyzation in your framework or contentions. (For example, why does it matter that you chose to “supply” an FJG versus “making it available”? You don't need to answer this question explicitly or explain why you chose one over the other, but you definitely should take the time to explain your thinking, as I believe it makes your link chain more solid.)

Provide is to present or yield.

Oxford Dictionary

Fowler, H. W. (1949). Provide. In The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English Oxford Dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon.

<https://www.lexico.com/definition/provide>

“Equip or supply someone with (something useful or necessary)”

Supply money to ensure the maintenance of (someone)”

“(Of law) enable or allow”

Present or yield (something useful)”

Provide [in regard to a law]

Cambridge Dictionary

Landau, S. I. (2000). Provide. In Cambridge Dictionary of American English. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press.

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/provide>

“(Of a law or decision) to say that something must happen if particular conditions exit”

Provide [legally]

MacMillan Dictionary

Turner, J. (2017). Provide. In MacMillan Dictionary. Place of publication not identified: Routledge.

<https://www.macmillandictionary.com/us/dictionary/american/provide>

“To contain statements or plans that set conditions for dealing with a particular issue.”

[Rachael here:] I believe that these definitions are better than some of the others, but I still think that they require a bit of an explanation or some kind of explicit link to the resolution or your advocacy in general.

Federal

Federal refers to the central government

Merriam Webster

Webster, N. (1949). Federal. In Webster's New Handy Dictionary: A Merriam-Webster: Based upon Webster's New International Dictionary. New York: American Book.

<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/federal>

“Of or relating to the central government of a federation as distinguished from the governments of the constituent units”

[Rachael Here:] most definitions of federal are similar to this one.

Cambridge Dictionary

Landau, S. I. (2000). Federal. In Cambridge Dictionary of American English. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/federal>

“Having or relating to a system of government, especially in the US, where all the states in the country have some control over their own activities, but where central government has the main responsibility for making important decisions and laws”

Jobs Guarantee

[JG] is a program promising to make a job available to anyone who meets certain qualifications and is willing to work.

Wray 2009

L. Randal Wray, Ph.D. L. Randal Wray is a Professor of Economics at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, Research Director with the Center for Full Employment and Price Stability, and Senior Research Scholar at the Levy Economics Institute. His research expertise is in: financial instability, macroeconomics, and full employment policy. 8-23-2009. "Job Guarantee." New Economic Perspectives.

<http://neweconomicperspectives.org/2009/08/job-guarantee.html>

"A job guarantee program is one in which government promises to make a job available to any qualifying individual who is ready and willing to work.

Qualifications required of participants could include age range (i.e. teens), gender, family status (i.e. heads of households), family income (i.e. below poverty line), educational attainment (i.e. high school dropouts), residency (i.e. rural), and so on. **The most general program would provide a universal job guarantee, sometimes also called an employer of last resort (ELR) program in which government promises to provide a job to anyone legally entitled to work."**

[Rachael here:] any secondary source that I saw trying to define a JG would usually define it this way or model their definition after this one. This seems that it could maybe be the universal understanding of what a JG might be.

[JG] is a federally funded public option for jobs.

Tcherneva 2018

Pavlina R. Tcherneva. American economist, associate professor, director of Economics program at Bard College, research associate at the Levy Economics Institute, and expert at the Institute for New Economic Thinking. April 2018. "The Job Guarantee: Design, Jobs, and Implementation." Levy Economics Institute of Bard College.

http://www.levyinstitute.org/pubs/wp_902.pdf

"The job guarantee (JG) is a public option for jobs. It is a permanent, federally funded, and locally administered program that supplies voluntary employment opportunities on demand for all who are ready and willing to work at a living wage. While it is first and foremost a jobs program, it has the potential to be transformative by advancing the public purpose and improving working conditions, people's everyday lives, and the economy as a whole."

[Rachael here:] I will be completely transparent and admit that it was a bit difficult for me to find a good and clear definition of jobs guarantee from a reputable source. I do recommend that you do some good researching of your own to find some good ones.

Also, there are a few different proposals of what exactly a JG is or would look like, and I strongly recommend that you look into that and that you also ensure that your evidence follows the proposal that you define in your case to maintain consistency.

Federal Jobs Guarantee (US Bill-Specific)

[JG] Program as defined by the Federal Jobs Guarantee Development Act of 2018

Rep. Watson Coleman, Bonnie. House – Education and the Workforce; Ways and Means Committee. Introduced 07-23-2018.

<https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/6467/text>

“JOB GUARANTEE PROGRAM.—The term “job guarantee program” means a program that meets the requirements of subsection (c).

(c) Job Guarantee Programs.—A job guarantee program meets the requirements of this subsection if the jobs provided under such program—

(1) are available to all individuals who—

(A) are 18 years of age or older; and

(B) reside in the area served under the program;

except that participants in the program may be disciplined, released, or suspended from further participation in jobs under this program if they are found to be negligent, or generally disruptive to the workplace involved under procedures established by the Secretary that provide for an opportunity for a review of such determinations;

(2) are, with respect to individual participants, included as part of an established bargaining unit and covered by any applicable collective bargaining agreement in effect if similarly situated employees part of such unit and represented by an exclusive bargaining representative;

(3) are available for the duration of the pilot program;

(4) provide a wage of not less than the greater of—

(A) the hourly wage provided for under the provisions of S. 1242 (115th Congress, as introduced);

(B) the prevailing wage in the area involved for a similar job as required by chapter 67 of title 41, United States Code, and other related laws; or

(C) the applicable wage under an applicable collective bargaining agreement as provided for under paragraph (2);

(5) provide for coverage of the worker under a health insurance program that is comparable to that offered to Federal employees under the Federal Employee Health Benefits Program; and

(6) provide, at a minimum—

(A) paid family leave consistent with the provisions of S. 337 (115th Congress, as introduced) and applicable State law; and

(B) paid sick leave consistent with the provision of S. 636 (115th Congress, as introduced) and applicable State law.”

[Rachael Here 1:] There is a 2019²⁹ version of this bill as well. From what I’ve found, it seems as though there isn’t a difference between the definitions of the jobs guarantee program in the bills. It also seems as though nothing has happened to this bill since September 10, 2019 when it was introduced.

[Rachael here 2:] This definition, if cut the right way, might be a solid choice, as it is already outlined and defined in the way of a Bill, which is how I might expect this resolution to be implemented. However, it has not been passed by the committee yet, it still requires a bit further action to be implemented (which is why you’re debating it). (According to Skopos Labs³⁰, this bill has a 4% chance of being enacted). However, I do think if the framers of the resolution wanted you to debate this bill specifically, I’m sure they would have specified that. Since they didn’t, you are free to use other definitions and I encourage you to do that.

²⁹ <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/2457>

³⁰ <https://www.skoposlabs.com>

GENERAL EVIDENCE

Countries That Have a [JG]

And What to Make of Them

France

French National Workshops began in February of 1848 and lasted through June of the same year.

Ohio Chastain 2005

“Provisional Government of the Second French Republic.” 2005. Encyclopedia of 1848 Revolutions. Ohio.edu

<https://www.ohio.edu/chastain/dh/frprogov.htm>

The political changes were revolutionary enough, but almost immediately the movement of 1848 in Paris took on a strong "social" and even socialistic coloration. Scarcely was the republic in existence than many working-class demonstrators began to demand "the democratic and social republic," which though vague meant they wanted significant social and economic change. Some even wanted to supplant the national tricolor with the red flag, but settled for a red rosette on the flagstaff after a flamboyant speech by Lamartine. As early as February 25, however, when a group of armed workers interrupted a session of the provisional government to demand "the organization of labor" and "the right to work," the provisional government implicitly endorsed these principles in a decree hastily drawn up by Louis Blanc. Soon afterward, **the government created "National Workshops" for the unemployed and convened a new "Commission du gouvernement pour les travailleurs" under the leadership of Louis Blanc and Albert to examine proposals for social and economic reform.** A week later, in response to another demonstration, the provisional government abolished a detested labor practice called marchandage and decreed a maximum working day, to be ten hours in Paris and eleven in the provinces.

Rosenfeld 2004

Rosenfeld, Sophia. Sophia Rosenfield, American Historian specializing in European intellectual and cultural history with an emphasis on the Enlightenment, the trans-Atlantic Age of Revolutions, and the legacy of the eighteenth century for modern democracy. January 15, 2004. “A Revolution In Language: The Problem Of Signs In Late Eighteenth-Century France”. Stanford University Press.

<https://cdn.shopify.com/s/files/1/0469/8066/1400/files/a-revolution-in-language-the-problem-of-signs-in-late-eighteenth-century-france-624.pdf>

Economic downturns and bad harvests during the s contributed to growing discontent. In February, the French government banned the holding of the Campagne des banquets, fundraising dinners by activists where critics of the regime would meet as public demonstrations and strikes were forbidden.

As a result, protests and riots broke out in the streets of Paris. An angry mob converged on the royal palace, after which the king abdicated and fled to England. The Second

Republic was then proclaimed. The revolution in France had brought together classes of wildly different interests: the bourgeoisie desired electoral reforms a democratic republic, socialist leaders like Louis Blanc , Pierre Joseph Proudhon and the radical Auguste Blanqui asked for a "right to work" and the creation of national workshops a social welfare republic and for France to liberate the oppressed peoples of Europe Poles and Italians, while moderates like the aristocrat Alphonse de Lamartine sought a middle ground.

Tensions between groups escalated, and in June, a working class insurrection in Paris cost the lives of workers and eliminated once and for all the dream of a social welfare constitution. As the imperial armies were then busy fighting the Ottoman Empire, they could not do anything about this for a number of years.

Soviet Union

During the Great Break, the Soviet Union guaranteed a job for nearly everyone.

Library of Congress 2016

“Collectivization and Industrialization.” August 31, 2016. Library of Congress.

<https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/coll.html>

In November 1927, Joseph Stalin launched his “revolution from above” by setting two extraordinary goals for Soviet domestic policy: rapid industrialization and collectivization of agriculture. His aims were to erase all traces of the capitalism that had entered under the New Economic Policy and to transform the Soviet Union as quickly as possible, without regard to cost, into an industrialized and completely socialist state.

Stalin's First Five-Year Plan, adopted by the party in 1928, called for rapid industrialization of the economy, with an emphasis on heavy industry. It set goals that were unrealistic—a 250 percent increase in overall industrial development and a 330 percent expansion in heavy industry alone. All industry and services were nationalized, managers were given predetermined output quotas by central planners, and trade unions were converted into mechanisms for increasing worker productivity. Many new industrial centers were developed, particularly in the Ural Mountains, and thousands of new plants were built throughout the country. But because Stalin insisted on unrealistic production targets, serious problems soon arose. With the greatest share of investment put into heavy industry, widespread shortages of consumer goods occurred.

A job guarantee was added to the 1936 Constitution.

1936 Constitution of the USSR

December 1936. “1936 Constitution of the USSR.” Chapter X. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens.

<https://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/36cons04.html>

ARTICLE 118. **Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance With its quantity and quality.**

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment.

It was also given further prominence in the 1977 revision.

Soviet Union 1997 Constitution

Supreme Soviet of the USSR. October 7, 1977. "Constitution (Fundamental Law) of The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

<https://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/77cons02.html>

Article 47. **Citizens of the USSR**, in accordance with the aims of building communism, **are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic work.** This freedom is ensured by broadening scientific research, encouraging invention and innovation, and developing literature and the arts. **The state provides the necessary material conditions for this and support for voluntary societies and unions of workers in the arts, organises introduction of inventions and innovations in production and other spheres of activity.**

The rights of authors, inventors and innovators are protected by the state.

In 2010, Russia came out with a policy to guarantee jobs to students who earned four-year degrees.

Nemtsova 2010

Nemtsova, Anna. Anna Nemtsova, journalist for Chronicle of Higher Education. July 1, 2010. "Russia Offers Job Guarantee with New 4-Year Degree." The Chronicle of Higher Education.

https://www.chronicle.com/article/russia-offers-job-guarantee-with-new-4-year-degree/?bc_nonce=kcu8rqab4b8xxts93nood&cid=reg_wall_signup

Russia has started an experimental new degree system that will offer scholarships and employment incentives to get more university students to study engineering and other subject areas that the nation's leaders say are needed to help spur its economic growth and fill holes in the labor market.

Starting in September, **students can enroll in the applied bachelor's program to earn bachelor's degrees while getting on-the-job experience. Participants will receive government financial aid and guarantees from universities that they will find employment upon graduation, and will spend half of their time working in factories, offices, and other workplaces.**

But while the program has been hailed as a way to improve Russia's economy, some say it is a historical throwback. Participation in the program by students and universities is

voluntary, but critics argue the experiment could lead to a revival of the Soviet practice of state-mandated work assignments for university graduates.

People's Republic of China

The “Iron Rice Bowl” contained a job guarantee for Chinese citizens from 1949 to 1997.

BBC News

“Iron rice bowl.” No Date. BBC News.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/in_depth/china_politics/key_people_events/html/4.stm

The “iron rice bowl” is a Chinese idiom which referred to the now abolished system of guaranteed lifetime employment.

After the Communists came to power, all workers and farmers were put under state control.

Their work units controlled every aspect of daily life, including the allocation of housing, food and clothing. They also decided who could marry and when, and who was allowed to have children.

In return, work units would look after their workers for life.

But China's transition from a centrally planned economy to a market economy has smashed the old guarantees.

Millions of workers have been laid off as state-run firms have been restructured or shut down.

This has sparked angry protests from their workers, who complain they have been left without the welfare benefits they were once promised.

Contemporary Chinese Culture 2020

“Iron rice bowl”. 2020. Contemporary Chinese Culture.

https://contemporary_chinese_culture.academic.ru/368/iron_rice_bowl

During the heyday of China's socialist system, jobs in state-owned enterprises (SOEs) were highly secure and so were the goods and services that came with them. While wages were low, employment in SOEs was for life and the work unit (danwei) provided housing, medical care, education and certain foods to workers and their families essentially for free. **The term “iron rice bowl” (tiefanwan) is a shorthand reference to the indestructible nature of those jobs and, more generally, to socialism's promise to look after the livelihood of its workers.** During the Communist period public sector workers came to view the “iron rice bowl” as an entitlement.

The system of lifetime employment in SOEs continues today but there is no longer a consensus within the government that it is sustainable.

Because most SOEs do not turn a profit but instead cost the Chinese government money, in 1997 the Communist Party committed itself to the elimination of all but the most indispensable of these enterprises.

Australia

1945 White Paper on Full Employment.

Coombs 1994

Coombs, HC. HC Coombs, Australian economist and first Governor of the Reserve Bank of Australia. "From Curtin to Keating." 1994. North Australia Research Unit.

<https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/47102/3/FromCurtintoKeating2.pdf>

Full employment is a fundamental aim of the Commonwealth Government. The Government believes that the people of Australia will demand and are entitled to expect full employment, and that for this purpose it will be able to count on the cooperation of servicemen's associations, trade unions, employers' associations and other groups. Because the Referendum was not carried, the cooperation of State Governments and local authorities will be particularly necessary.

[Rachael here:] It is important to note that the White Paper on Full Employment does not actually contain a job guarantee within it, though it does show Australia's commitment to full employment.

1959 Reserve Bank Act Charges the Reserve Bank of Australia with Ensuring Full Employment

Reserve Bank Act 1959

April 14, 2015. Act No. 36, 2015. Federal Register of Legislation.

<https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2015C00201>

It is the duty of the Reserve Bank Board, within the limits of its powers, **to ensure** that the monetary and banking policy of the Bank is directed to the greatest advantage of the people of Australia and that the powers of the Bank under this Act and any other Act, other than the Payment Systems (Regulation) Act 1998, the Payment Systems and Netting Act 1998 and Part 7.3 of the Corporations Act 2001, are exercised in such a manner as, in the opinion of the Reserve Bank Board, will best contribute to:

- (a) the stability of the currency of Australia;
- (b) **the maintenance of full employment in Australia;** and
- (c) the economic prosperity and welfare of the people of Australia.

Australian “mutual obligation”.

Parliament of Australia 2004

“Mutual Obligation/Work for the Dole.” June 15, 2004. Parliament of Australia

https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/archive/dole

In the context of welfare assistance in Australia, **Mutual Obligation is based on a concept that welfare assistance provided to the unemployed of working age should involve some return responsibilities for the recipient.** To date, in Australia this has meant unemployed job seekers on newstart and youth allowance should:

- actively seek work
- constantly strive to improve their competitiveness in the labour market
- give something back to the community that supports them

Mutual Obligation has not yet been extended to other unemployed of working age receiving welfare assistance, eg. sole parents, people with disabilities. However, mutual obligation for these and other groups is being debated in the context of the Welfare Review. See also the e-brief on the Welfare Review.

Community Development Program

National Indigenous Australians Agency 2019

“The Community Development Program (CDP).” 2019. National Indigenous Australians Agency.

<https://www.niaa.gov.au/indigenous-affairs/employment/cdp>

The Community Development Program (CDP) is our remote employment and community development service. CDP supports job seekers in remote Australia to build skills, address barriers and contribute to their communities through a range of flexible activities.

It is designed around the unique social and labour market conditions in remote Australia and is part of the Australian Government’s agenda for increasing employment and breaking the cycle of welfare dependency.

CDP participants with activity requirements are expected to complete up to 20 hours per week of work-like activities that benefit their community. CDP offers a broad range of flexible activities to increase participants’ skills and contribute to their community.

Since its introduction, CDP has supported participants into thousands of jobs.

United Kingdom

UK New Deal Policy

BBC Politics 1997

“Blair’s New Deal for ‘Workless Classes.’” 1997. BBC Politics 97

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/news/06/0602/welfare.shtml>

Tony Blair has offered what he called a "new bargain" with Britain to "give hope" to the country's poorest people.

In a fundamental reshaping of the welfare system he said he was proposing a ‘something for something’ deal providing jobs or training for 250,000 out-of-work youngsters. He made clear that any young people who did not take up a place on one of the four schemes on offer would face the loss of benefits. ‘There will be and should be no fifth option of an inactive life on benefit,’ he said.

“It is economically and morally unsustainable - economically because it loads up costs on to the taxpayer, and morally because we should always judge the state of any country by the condition of the weak as well as the strong,” he said.

Evaluating the New Deal

De Giorgi 2008

De Giorgi, Giacomo. Giacomo De Giorgi, Professor of Economics at the GSEM-University of Geneva, previously a Senior Economist at the New York Federal Reserve, and previously Assistant Professor of Economics at Stanford University. 2008. “Long Term Effects of a Mandatory Multistage Program: The New Deal for Young People in the UK.” University College London.

Analysing the parameter estimates it does not appear that the program effect is dying out, in fact it seems to be rather stable (Table 5) **even after more than three years it has been launched.** On average over the 15 cohorts it is possible to estimate a very precise parameter of about 6-7%. The time profile of the estimates does not seem to suggest relevant general equilibrium effects with possible differential impacts on the two groups (at least in local terms). This point is also confirmed by looking at the (re)employment probability for the two groups separately, they do not vary much and certainly not to be consistent with large general equilibrium effects

Argentina

Argentine Head of Households Program

The Republic of Argentina Archives 2019

“Description of the Republic of Argentina.” February 26, 2019. The Republic of Argentina

<https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/914021/000119312519051894/d711440dex99d.htm>

In January 2002, the Government implemented the Plan Jefes y Jefas de Hogar (Heads of Households Program). Under the Heads of Households Program, unemployed heads of households with one or more children under the age of 18 or with disabled dependents of any age receive Ps. 150 per month (an amount that has periodically been adjusted for inflation) in exchange for at least four hours of either community service or participation in other public works projects. Persons receiving benefits under the Heads of Households program are considered employed in the Government’s employment statistics, including in the tables presented in this section ‘Employment and Labor.’ During the height of the economic crisis in the first three months of 2002, there were approximately 1.4 million beneficiaries in this program. As unemployment decreased and new programs were created to address other employment related matters such as adequate job training, the number of beneficiaries declined.

The Government has taken measures to address growing poverty and unemployment in Argentina, although the impact of these measures on poverty has not yet been accurately measured given the lack of official data between 2013 and 2015. In 2017, expenditures allocated to measures designed to alleviate poverty represented, in the aggregate, 8.2% of current expenses and 1.7% of nominal GDP, and include several increases in social security payments to workers under the Plan Jefes y Jefas de Hogar (Heads of Households Program), the extension of Programa de Empleo Comunitario (Community Employment Program), several programs promoting practical education and employment training and providing working tools to unemployed beneficiaries of different social programs, a pregnancy allowance, measures to provide access to health insurance benefits and the pension system for self-employed individuals, and the extension of the Programa de Crédito Argentino para la Vivienda Única Familiar (Credit Program for Family Living), among other measures.

Evaluating the Head of Households Program

Mitchell 2004

Mitchell, Bill. Bill Mitchell, professor economics at the University of Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia and one of the founding developers of Modern Monetary Theory. “Job Guarantee Success in Argentina.” December 29, 2004. Modern Monetary Theory.

<http://bilbo.economicoutlook.net/blog/?p=40619>

In the New York times article (December 26, 2004), from Larry Rohter³¹ – Argentina’s Economic Rally Defies Forecasts – it is reported that the Argentinian economy has made a surprising comeback. Rohter writes ‘When the Argentine economy collapsed in December 2001, doomsday predictions abounded. Unless it adopted orthodox economic policies and quickly cut a deal with its foreign creditors, hyperinflation would surely follow, the peso would become worthless, investment and foreign reserves would vanish and any prospect of growth would be strangled. But **three years after Argentina declared a record debt default of more than \$100 billion,** the largest in history, the apocalypse has not arrived. Instead, **the economy has grown by 8 percent for two consecutive years,** **exports have zoomed, the currency is stable, investors are gradually returning and unemployment has eased from record highs – all without a debt settlement or the standard measures required by the International Monetary Fund for its approval.**’

Rohter continues: “Argentina’s recovery has been undeniable, and it has been achieved at least in part by ignoring and even defying economic and political orthodoxy.”

Rather than moving to immediately satisfy bondholders, private banks and the I.M.F., as other developing countries have done in less severe crises, the Peronist-led government chose to stimulate internal consumption first and told creditors to get in line with everyone else.”

There has also been a strong bounceback in employment with more than two million jobs created since early 2002.

Evidence of the Argentinian government’s challenge to economic orthodoxy is seen in its bold decision, against all the advice from the world economic institutions, to **implement[ing] a Job Guarantee program** **which it calls Jefes de Hogar (Heads of Household) program.**

The decision was prompted by civil riots which demanded that the government underwrite the security of households.

³¹ <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/12/26/world/americas/argentinas-economic-rally-defies-forecasts.html>

The Heads of Household program is designed to provide a social safety net for poor households with children and has used the work of CFEPS and CofFEE to help provide the conceptual foundations of the program.

The program provides a wage of 150 pesos per month to a head of household for a minimum of 4 hours of work daily in a variety of community services and small construction or maintenance activities.

Alternatively, participants can elect training which might include completion of basic education. To be eligible, the household must contain children under age 18, persons with handicaps, or a pregnant woman.

India

India's National Rural Guarantee Act

Brietkreuz et al 2017

Rhonda Breitzkreuz, Carley-Jane Stanton, Nurmaiya Brady, John Pattison-Williams, et. al. Rhonda Brietkruez, Associate Professor Department of Human Ecology University of Alberta. Carley-Jane Stanton, Department of Resource Economics and Environmental Sociology, University of Alberta. Nurmaiya Brady, Earth and Space Atmospheric Sciences. John Pattison-Williams, Natural Resources Institute University of Greenwich; E.D. King, M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai, India. Chudhury Mishra, M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai, India. Brent Swallow, Department of Resource Economics and Environmental Sociology, University of Alberta. March 4, 2017. Development Policy Review

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/dpr.12220>

The MGNREGA programme was implemented following a number of government employment programmes developed in response to the persistent poverty and inequality plaguing rural India. **MGNREGA is the largest rural employment scheme in the world. It is described by the Government of India as a rights - based, demand - driven, self - selecting, bottom - up scheme** (Mukundan, 2009). In addition to providing rural households with supplementary employment, MGNREGA also seeks to encourage and facilitate the empowerment of women through financial inclusion and independence, strengthen civic participation, as well as improve the rural landscape (Planning Commission, 2011).

The Indian employment scheme was introduced in 2005, and was renamed MGNREGA in 2009, after the scheme had been rolled out across all Indian states. Under the scheme, adult members of rural households are guaranteed 100 days of employment each year at the statutory minimum wage rate of the state or greater, provided they are willing to do unskilled manual labour. Included in this employment scheme is the guarantee that if the government is unable to provide a job to a qualified applicant within 15 days of an application being submitted, the applicant will receive unemployment insurance. **The stated goals of this policy are: 1) social protection; 2) the creation of durable assets (such as water security, soil conservation, higher land productivity) through the manual labour conducted by the workers; 3) employment of disadvantaged workers such as women, SC and ST; and 4) inclusive growth in rural India through the policy's impact on livelihood security and democratic empowerment.**

Evaluating India's National Rural Guarantee Act

World Bank 2010

“An Evaluation of India's National Rural Guarantee Act”. 2010. World Bank.

<https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/sief-trust-fund/brief/an-evaluation-of-indias-national-rural-employment-guarantee-act>

Evaluation:

Researchers analyzed household-level data from India's National Sample Survey in 2009-2010 to determine the program's effects nationally. They also used the data to better understand the program's effectiveness in reaching India's rural poor, and more specifically, backward castes, tribes and women. In Bihar, researchers used a randomized control trial of an awareness intervention—a fictional movie about ways to seek work under the program—to understand its effects on people's understanding of the works program and participation numbers.

Results:

Researchers found that there were large numbers of people across all of India's states who sought work—but were unsuccessful in locating it through the program. This was even more pronounced in India's poorest states, where the program was needed most. In Bihar, researchers found that the program fell far short of its goals: Workers are not getting the work they wanted, they are not getting the full wages they were due, and many participants reported having to give up other wage-paying jobs in order to participate in the program. The study also found that there was very low public awareness of what needed to be done to obtain work. The movie was effective in raising awareness, but it had little effect on people's actions and those who saw it were no more likely to seek employment. As researchers noted, the results highlighted the challenges that local government faced in delivering the program effectively — specifically implementation complications, weak financial management and inadequate monitoring.

Impact:

The results provided the Government of Bihar with a better understanding of challenges it faces in delivering social protection systems. Policy makers used the findings to design the Bihar Social Protection Project, a World Bank-supported project that strengthens the Department of Social Welfare and the Rural Development Department so that they can better deliver social protection programs and services to their poorest and most vulnerable citizens.

South Africa

South African Expanded Public Works Programme

Republic of South Africa 2018

“Welcome to EPWP.” 2018. Public Works & Infrastructure.

The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) has its origins in Growth and Development Summit (GDS) of 2003. At the Summit, four themes were adopted, one of which was ‘More jobs, better jobs, decent work for all’. **The GDS agreed that public works programmes ‘can provide poverty and income relief through temporary work for the unemployed to carry out socially useful activities’.**

This Programme is a key government initiative, which contributes to Government Policy Priorities in terms of decent work & sustainable livelihoods, education, health; rural development; food security & land reform and the fight against crime & corruption. EPWP subscribes to outcome 4 which states ‘Decent employment through inclusive economic growth.’ The EPWP has been established and mandated by Cabinet to create work opportunities according to the set targets and across all its four sectors, namely: – Infrastructure, Non-State, Environment & Culture, and Social sectors. One of the prescripts of the EPWP is to use labour-intensive methods which allow the drawing of a significant number of participants into the Programme to do the work.

Heradien, Joy Elde. Elde Joy Heradien, Master’s in economics. “An Evaluation of the Theory Behind the South African Expanded Works Programme.” March 2013. Stellenbosch University.

<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/37411233.pdf>

The EPWP is a policy programme. It was the operationalization of a range of policy goals. **There were some policy goals that the EPWP was not able to meet.** These goals **include[ing]e improving economic growth in the country, addressing gender inequality in the work place and providing participants with the opportunity to maintain a sustainable living.**

Evaluating the EPWP

S. Phillips et al 2009.

S.Phillips, K.Harrison, M.Mondlane, W.Van Steenderen, R.Gordon, M.Oosthuizen, G.Weir-Smith, M.Altma. October 20, 2009. “Evaluation of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) in the Northwest.” Human Sciences Research Council

<http://www.hsrb.ac.za/en/research-outputs/view/4975>

There are three reasons why the infrastructure sector has not yet performed to its potential in the North West:

- i. **There has been a gap between policy and implementation.** This may have been due in part to a lack of clarity regarding the key objective of employment creation, which the national department has addressed in the second phase.
- j. **There is a lack of capacity,** both in government and amongst professional service providers, **to design, specify and manage projects so that they will be as labor-intensive as technically and economically feasible.**
- k. **There has been insufficient commitment amongst some officials,** which must be addressed by the top management of the Department of Public works, Roads, and Transport and of municipalities in the province. Experience elsewhere in the country, such as KwaZulu Natal and Limpopo indicates that top management must provide vision, leadership and drive for large-scale infrastructure sector programmes to be put in place successfully.

It will be necessary for the Department to address all three of these factors if it is to meet the infrastructure sector targets over the next five years. Detailed recommendations for actions to be taken by the Department are provided below. The Department has already started to implement some of these recommendations.

The results described in this report indicate that the EPWP objective of reorienting public expenditure on infrastructure capital projects to be more labour-intensive has proven to be very difficult to achieve in the context of persistent strong prejudices against labour-intensive construction methods amongst many political, administrative and construction industry leaders. As with all prejudices, prejudices against labour-intensive construction methods have often been self-reinforcing – sometimes as a result of token and badly-managed labour-intensive projects.

European Union

Youth Guarantee

European Commission 2020

“The Youth Guarantee.” 2020. European Commission

<https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1079&langId=en>

The Youth Guarantee is a commitment by all Member States to ensure that all young people under the age of 25 years receive a good quality offer of

- **employment**
- **continued education**
- **apprenticeship**
- **traineeship**

within a period of four months of becoming unemployed or leaving formal education.

All EU countries have committed to the implementation of the Youth Guarantee in a Council Recommendation of April 2013.

As part of the Youth Employment Support the Commission’s proposal for a Council Recommendation on a Bridge to Jobs reinforces the Youth Guarantee and among other aspects steps up the outreach to vulnerable young people across the EU. It also extends the age range up to 29.

5 years from when the Youth Guarantee took off, young people’s labour market performance has improved significantly:

- **There are 2.3 million fewer young unemployed in the EU and 1.8 million fewer young people not in employment, education or training (NEETs).**
- **Youth unemployment has decreased from a peak of 24% in 2013 to 14% in 2019.**
- **The share of 15- to 24-year-olds not in employment, education or training (NEETs) has fallen from 13.2% in 2012 to 10.3% in 2018.**

The improving economic situation in Europe has benefitted young people. Progress so far also suggests that the Youth Guarantee has made a difference. It has created opportunities for young people and acted as a powerful driver for structural reforms and innovation.

The Commission will continue to support the full roll-out of national Youth Guarantee schemes. The EU’s commitment to the Youth Guarantee has been reiterated in the European Pillar of Social Rights.

US-Specific Background

Background on the 2018 and 2019 Bills

[Rachael here:] This is mostly going to be a message from me to you instead of a compilation of evidence. Personally, I feel that this would be more beneficial than an evidence dump (though I will include some evidence in this).³²

The bills are a bit different, though their definitions of a job guarantee program are the same (which I believe is the most important piece of information to gain from it).

First, on the bill(s) in 2018.

Senate

On April 25, 2018 Senator Cory Booker (Democrat) of New Jersey introduced the Federal Jobs Guarantee Development Act of 2018. The list of cosponsors includes: Senator Kirsten Gillibrand, Senator Jeff Merkley, Senator Kamala Harris, and Senator Elizabeth Warren.) The most recent action was taken on the same day.³³ It was referred to the Committee on Finance. Not much has happened on it since then.

If passed, the Federal Jobs Guarantee Development Act would be phased in gradually, beginning with a pilot program

Booker 2019

“Sen. Booker, Reps. Watson Coleman and Omar Introduce Bicameral Bill to Create Federal Jobs Guarantee Program.” September 12, 2019. Cory Booker

<https://www.booker.senate.gov/news/press/sen-booker-reps-watson-coleman-and-omar-introduce-bicameral-bill-to-create-federal-jobs-guarantee-program>

The Federal Jobs Guarantee Development Act would:

- Select up to 15 communities across the country facing high unemployment based on local need and assets, ensuring that work would advance critical local and national priorities like child and elder care, infrastructure, and community revitalization.
- Guarantee that every interested adult with residence in a pilot community may participate in the program to obtain a guaranteed job.
 1. Jobs will include a prevailing wage, paid family and sick leave, and comprehensive health coverage like that enjoyed by Members of Congress.

³² Definitions of a jobs guarantee from the bills can be found in the “Definitions” section.

³³ <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/2746/all-info>

- Require that each pilot community creates a “Community Job Bank” website, which will feature high-impact jobs sourced primarily by local communities, as well as Federal agencies, based on their needs and priorities.
 - Expand the Work Opportunity Tax Credit to incentivize private employers to recruit and hire participants out of the pilot program.
 - Authorize a rigorous evaluation of the program’s implementation and impact across a number of metrics, including unemployment rates, private sector wages, safety net spending, and incarceration rates.
 1. Workers participating in the program will maintain their job for the full three years of the pilot program.
4. [Rachael here:] there is a section in this article that goes over Senator Booker’s background working in the Senate to fight for economic justice that I highly recommend that you read.

House of Representatives

On July 23, 2018, Representative Bonnie Coleman Watson (Democrat) of New Jersey proposed the Federal Jobs Guarantee Development Act of 2018. It includes 36 cosponsors. The most recent action was taken on the same day.³⁴ It was referred to the Committee on Education and the Workforce and the Committee on Ways and Means. Not much has happened on it since then.

Now onto the bill(s) in 2019:

The bills were reintroduced in 2019.³⁵ They have not passed committee since then. Skopos Labs gives it a 2% chance of being enacted.³⁶

I think that reading these bills would be a good way to get background on this topic, as that would be the way that this policy would be implemented post-fiat.

³⁴ <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/house-bill/6467/all-actions?overview=closed#tabs>

³⁵ <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/116/s2457>

³⁶ <https://www.skoposlabs.com>

Resources for understanding how a bill gets turned into a Law:

<https://www.usa.gov/how-laws-are-made>

<https://www.genome.gov/about-genomics/policy-issues/How-Bill-Becomes-Law>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=66f4-NKEYz4>

<https://votesmart.org/education/how-a-bill-becomes-law#.X4b9Ai3MzRY>

AFFIRMATIVE

A Federal JG Would Cause the Private Sector to Raise Wages and Benefits for Workers

A JG Will Function as a De Facto Floor in Employment, Causing the Private Sector to Raise Wages.

Paul, Darity, and Hamilton 18

Paul, Mark; Darity, William Jr.; Hamilton, Darrick. Mark Paul, Postdoctoral Associate at Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity at Duke University; William Darity Jr., Samuel DuBois Cook Professor of Public Policy, African and African-American Studies and Economics and the Director of the Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equality at Duke University; Darrick Hamilton, Professor of Economics and Urban Policy at the Milano School of International Affairs, Management and Urban Policy and Department of Economics at the New School for Social Research, and Director of the Doctoral Program in Public and Urban Policy at The New School. March 9, 2018. "The Federal Job Guarantee – A Policy to Achieve Permanent Full Employment." Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

https://www.cbpp.org/research/full-employment/the-federal-job-guarantee-a-policy-to-achieve-permanent-full-employment#_ftn9

The U.S. government has intervened in the labor market to support full employment and non-poverty wage policies. Government programs and policies including the Federal Reserve's dual mandate, the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), minimum wage laws, living wage ordinances, Medicare and Medicaid, and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) have gone some distance toward protecting the economic well-being of millions of Americans. Though the current anti-poverty and social insurance regime slashed poverty rates nearly in half in 2016 (when compared to poverty rates in the absence of these programs), it largely bypassed those without employment; and the shift to a work-based safety net, inaugurated by the 1996 welfare reforms under the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act signed into law by President Clinton, further exacerbated a safety net riddled with holes for those without work.

Although the programs listed above may have been effective in reducing unemployment, poverty, hunger, and other social ills, they fall short of providing a social insurance system that offers a genuine path to full employment and the elimination of poverty. We recommend a slate of bold legislation to achieve and maintain full employment and end working poverty in the U.S. economy.

We recommend:

The inclusion of fringe benefits. **To provide a true non-poverty wage and meet the fundamental rights of American citizens, the policy will include health insurance for all full-time workers in the program.** The health insurance program should be comparable to that offered to all civil servants and elected federal officials. In addition,

the NIEC would offer benefits such as retirement plans, paid family and sick leave, and one week of paid vacation per three months worked. These **benefits, in conjunction with non-poverty wages, will set a reasonable floor in the labor market—which, through competitive forces, will result in private-sector workers having the dignity of fringe benefits as well.**

Benefits of the program reach beyond those directly employed under the NIEC. **If a job guarantee were to be implemented, it also would function as a de facto employment floor in the labor market. Private employers would have to offer wages and benefits that are at least competitive with the NIEC in order to attract workers.** The universal nature of the program would ensure jobs for all—including those with some forms of disability who may not be employed through the private sector. The universal design is critical to ending working poverty and involuntary unemployment; this is in contrast to other forms of intervention in the labor market, such as minimum wage laws, which do not ensure access to employment in the first place. Nevertheless, complementary changes to the existing social insurance system would be necessary to eliminate poverty entirely, as some individuals may be unable to work for various reasons.³⁷

A Federal Job Guarantee Could Build an Inclusive Economy by competing with the private sector and increasing benefits.

Smith 17

Smith, Yves. Yves Smith, opinion writer for Naked Capitalism. December 29, 2017. “What Sounds Better to You—Guaranteed Basic Income or Federal Job Guarantee?” Naked Capitalism

<https://www.nakedcapitalism.com/2017/12/sounds-better-guaranteed-basic-income-federal-job-guarantee.html>

Conventional wisdom holds that people dislike work. Introductory economics classes will explain the disutility of labor, which is a direct trade-off with leisure. Granted, employment isn’t always fun, and many forms of employment are dangerous and exploitative. But the UBI misses the way in which employment structurally empowers workers at the point of production and has by its own merits positive dimensions.

This touches on a heated debate on the Left. But for now, there is no doubt that people want jobs, but they want good jobs that provide flexibility and opportunity. They want to contribute, to have a purpose, to participate in the economy and, most importantly, in society. Nevertheless, the private sector continues to leave millions without work, even during supposed ‘strong’ economic times.

The workplace is social, a place where we spend a great deal of our time interacting with others. In addition to the stress associated with limited resources, the loneliness that plagues many unemployed workers can exacerbate mental health problems.

³⁷ One potentially complementary proposal would be a negative income tax, which could provide a basic income for those unable to work.

Employment— especially employment that provides added social benefits like communal coffee breaks— adds to workers’ well-being and productivity. **A federal job guarantee can provide workers with socially beneficial employment— providing the dignity of a job to all that seek it.**

The FJG would also act as a de facto wage floor— private employers will have to offer wages and benefits at least as enticing as the federal government to attract workers.

There has been extensive public support for recent increases in the minimum wage, such as the Fight for \$15 campaign, demonstrating that most Americans believe workers deserve a living wage. Fighting for a higher minimum wage is an important step to ensure that workers are compensated a living wage rather than a poverty wage, yet let us not forget that the effective minimum wage in this country without a UBI or a job guarantee is \$0. This must change.

Finally, some argue that a ‘skills mismatch’ explains why some workers remain unemployed. While we reject that narrative, **a well-designed FJG will include a training element to build workers’ skills and a jobs ladder to create upward mobility in the workplace.**

All of these elements will build an inclusive economy that provides good jobs for all.

The UBI, in contrast, could subsidize bad jobs— allowing low minimum wages and lack of benefits to persist.

The Impact Is Combatting Social Inequalities

Darity, and Hamilton 18

Darity, William Jr.; Hamilton, Darrick. Mark Paul, Postdoctoral Associate at Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity at Duke University; Darrick Hamilton, Professor of Economics and Urban Policy at the Milano School of International Affairs, Management and Urban Policy and Department of Economics at the New School for Social Research, and Director of the Doctoral Program in Public and Urban Policy at The New School. 2018. “The Federal Job Guarantee – A Policy to Achieve Permanent Full Employment.” Intereconomics.

<https://www.intereconomics.eu/pdf-download/year/2018/number/3/article/the-federal-job-guarantee.html>

The private sector has never adequately dealt with persistent and deep earning inequalities, worker vulnerabilities, and barriers to social mobility. In fact, it can be argued that the private sector’s employment practices are a major source of all of these social problems. Even in times of economic expansion, there are never enough private sector job openings to match the number of job seekers.

Fifteen percent of all employed Americans hold public sector jobs, either at the federal, state or municipal levels. In the absence of those jobs, the United States would be in a

perpetual unemployment crisis. Far too often, those who work in the private sector lack a quality job. For instance, 44% of the homeless have a job, unfortunately however, their wages are inadequate to afford shelter. Forty percent of workers in America are employed in insecure, “contingent” jobs, and almost half (44%) of workers earn less than \$15 an hour. Over the last 45 years, virtually all of the economic gains from increasing productivity have gone to the elite, while real wages have remained roughly flat for the vast majority of workers.

To remedy this, we have been long-time **advocate**s of the permanent establishment of **[for] a federal job guarantee** to eliminate working poverty and involuntary unemployment. Our plan constitutes a genuine public option for employment that enables existing workers, particularly those confined to the low end of the labor market, to bargain and obtain higher wages, greater benefits and better working conditions. The job guarantee would offer a permanent, viable alternative to low pay, low benefits and poor working conditions for all Americans. It would produce a structural transformation of the American labor market and the American economy.

Carpenter and Hamilton 20

Carpenter, Daniel and Hamilton, Darrick. Daniel Carpenter of Harvard University and Darrick Hamilton of The Ohio State University. April 30, 2020. “A Federal Job Guarantee: Anti-Poverty and Infrastructure Policy for a Better Future.” Scholars.

<https://scholars.org/contribution/federal-job-guarantee>

To combat the current health and economic crisis, and build national infrastructure in the public health, environmental and transportation domains, American government should directly hire millions of citizens in the coming two years, offering a federal job guarantee (FJG) that strengthens government at all levels, especially local and state. Doing so would transcend the limits of current stimulus programs. Those programs confer money but not stable, dignified work. This direct government employment (DGE) would rebuild sectors of our country that have withered – our public health clinics and agencies, our transportation network, our physical plant for education and services in both urban and rural settings. DGE would also supply workers for the vital transition to a new, energy-efficient, reduced-carbon infrastructure. Unlike other relief programs, **a federal job guarantee can eliminate involuntary unemployment, directly build the capacity of government to reduce the likelihood of future crises and respond effectively to those crises that do arise. A FJG can complement other relief programs including social insurance and income support, but there is no substitute for its poverty-combatting, inequality-reducing, worker-empowering, nation-stabilizing, and infrastructure-building potential.**

Scale matters. To meet the needs of the nation, a FJG would provide millions of new jobs, ranging from public health positions (at least 250,000 jobs), enhanced postal services, including postal banking (at least 100,000 jobs), construction, rehabilitation, retrofitting and staffing of schools, clinics, parks, senior centers and civic centers (at least 1 million jobs), new infrastructure, energy transition and conservation work, including solar installation (many millions of jobs), as well as investments in unemployment and social insurance and job training (hundreds of thousands of jobs). And a FJG would rejuvenate America's civil service at a moment of mass impending retirements, injecting greater diversity and youth into a system that sorely needs it.

Government Employment Has Distinct Advantages

And combined with at least livable wages and salaries, a federal job guarantee would increase worker bargaining power in the private sector and reduce uncertainty over income streams. Unlike “gig economy” work, where take-home pay is often limited, and work provided by contractors, where pay may be very low for some and potentially egregiously high for others, government jobs are characterized by limited high-end pay and provide meaningful working-class to middle-class incomes. **Direct government employment thus holds the potential for limiting income volatility and inequality, and the very real possibility that counter-recessionary policy will only exacerbate it.** And finally, **the spending that goes into direct government employment is spread diffusely among workers, limiting the gains from lobbying for contracts and grants, and thus blunting some of that political activity.**

A Federal JG Will Decrease Unemployment

Economists suggest a Federal JG Will Decrease High Unemployment Rates Caused by COVID-19 Layoffs.

Roberts 20

Roberts, David. David Roberts, journalist and writer for Vox. May 4, 2020. “30 Million Americans are Unemployed. Here’s How to Employ Them.” Vox.

<https://www.vox.com/science-and-health/2020/5/4/21243725/coronavirus-unemployment-cares-act-federal-job-guarantee-green-new-deal-pavlina-tcherneva>

In the last six weeks, **there** were a staggering **[have been] 30 million unemployment claims in the US** — unprecedented at least since the Great Depression, possibly in the country’s history.

The flood quickly overwhelmed America’s already rickety unemployment system. The underfunded patchwork of different offices, laws, **and** procedures across states has meant wide disparities in who receives benefits and how much. Overall, **less than a third of the unemployed received their benefits in March.** Surveys indicate these failures are ongoing.

For many of America’s unemployed, already so close to the financial edge, failure to receive benefits will mean food insecurity, skipping medications, or losing a home, with accelerating social costs in depression, domestic abuse, drug abuse, suicides, and sickness. **In the US, unemployment is allowed to metastasize into something much worse.**

That is one reason some **economists** and activists on the left — including the authors of the Green New Deal resolution — **have advocated for a federal job guarantee. It would be better, they argue, if all those unemployed people could be slotted into public service jobs. They could maintain their incomes, their homes, and their health.**

A Federal JG Would Decrease Unemployment, Prevent Future Recessions, and Boost GDP.

Lowrey 18

Lowrey, Annie. Annie Lowrey, Staff writer at *The Atlantic*. May 11, 2018. “A Promise So Big, Democrats Aren’t Sure How to Keep It.” *The Atlantic*.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/05/the-democratic-party-wants-to-end-unemployment/560153/>

The implications are mind-bending. **Unemployment and its miserable sequelae would be consigned to the past. So too would recessions, with the government creating a job for every worker squeezed out of the private sector during a downturn. So too**

would much of the country's poverty, including its abhorrent deep poverty. “The two great failures of our economy are the failure to provide full employment and the arbitrary and inequitable distribution of income,” said Stephanie Kelton of Stony Brook University, the former chief economist for Sanders’s budget committee and a co-author of one of the new guaranteed-jobs proposals. **“No capitalist economy has solved this problem of buffering employment over the business cycle. That’s what this is designed to do.”** She estimated that **a guarantee would not only provide millions of public-sector jobs, but would spur the creation of 4 million private-sector jobs, all while boosting GDP growth.**

The Impact is Less Pathologies.

Tcherneva 20

Tcherneva, Pavlina. Pavlina Tcherneva (interview with David Roberts), American economist, of Bulgarian descent, working as an associate professor and director of Economics program at Bard College as well as a research associate at the Levy Economics Institute and expert at the Institute for New Economic Thinking. May 4, 2020. “30 Million Americans are Unemployed. Here’s How to Employ Them.” Vox. <https://www.vox.com/science-and-health/2020/5/4/21243725/coronavirus-unemployment-cares-act-federal-job-guarantee-green-new-deal-pavlina-tcherneva>

David Roberts

“I’m sure you’ve heard this a million times, but what about the moral hazard argument? If you have this package of public benefits that can enable people not to work, who is ever going to use the job guarantee? Or if you’re guaranteeing the job, why will people work hard at them rather than just coast and draw a check?”

Pavlina Tcherneva

“A lot of people say this is like old communism, you’re going to create an underclass of lazy people. **What you want to compare, though, is what mass unemployment does to people. It’s mass unemployment that creates all sorts of pathologies.**

There’s just this vilification of folks who are on the lower rung of the employment ladder. And it’s becoming very clear that that is wrong. Until yesterday, economists were talking about sanitation workers as the unproductive workers, but it turns out, we can’t live without them.

Think about the people who experience the most abuse and exploitation, who are holding on to private-sector jobs because they don’t have an option. People working in unsafe conditions because they don’t have an option. The job guarantee would put pressure on those firms to match [federal] standards.”

The Impact is Less Unemployment Stigmatization.

Dye 11

Dye, Lee. Lee Dye, opinion article writer. April 05, 2011. "Unemployment: UCLA Study Shows Stigma of Joblessness is Immediate." ABC NEWS.

<https://abcnews.go.com/Technology/unemployment-stigma-begins-quickly-makes-job-search-harder/story?id=13302693>

It's not new that potential employers tend to shy away from hiring someone who has been unemployed for a long time. The longer a person is out of work, the less likely it is that he or she will ever find another job, according to many studies. That's partly **because of "skill decay,"** especially in high-tech fields where the game can change on a daily basis, but it's also because of nagging doubts over the abilities, competence and confidence of a person who is unable to find work for months or even years.

What's new, however, **is the finding that a worker's stock begins to decline immediately.** It's not a huge drop, at least initially, but it's significant, **according to the UCLA studies.**

The first two studies drew from UCLA databases, and most of the participants were students, who presumably have little or no experience in hiring people. But the third was from a national database maintained by Amazon and widely used by researchers. It is believed to be representative of the nation as a whole.

Participants in all three studies were given resumes from job seekers which told much about their lives, such as education, work record, experiences, and other factors. Some of the participants were told the applicant was still employed. The rest were told that he or she had been unemployed for just a few days. The only difference was whether the person was still employed.

The participants were asked to rate the applicant on competence, including whether the person seemed confident, capable, efficient, intelligent, and skillful. They were also asked if the person is friendly, good natured, sincere, trustworthy, warm and well intentioned.

"We were surprised to find that, all things being equal, unemployed applicants were viewed as less competent, warm and hireable than employed individuals," Ho said. "We were also surprised to see how little the terms of departure mattered. Job candidates who said they voluntarily left a position faced the same stigma as job candidates who said they had been laid off or terminated."

Through statistical analysis, **the researchers determined that about five percent of the participants' judgment on whether the applicant would be a good hire was based on whether he or she was currently employed.**

[Rachael here:] The idea here is that because we are decreasing unemployment and because those who are unemployed have stigmas around them, we are able to combat that by ensuring that those who are unemployed would get a job through the federal job guarantee. Then they would be able to go on and get better jobs because they will be less stigmatized and this decreases the general stigma against the unemployed and poor as a whole.

Less Stigmatization Has a Profound Effect on Unemployed Individuals.

Krug, Drasch, and Jungbauer-Gans 2019.

Krug, Gerhard; Drasch, Katrin; Jungbauer-Gans. Gerhard Krug studied Sociology at the University of Bamberg, received his doctoral degree from the University of Bamberg, and works as a research associate at the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) in Nuremberg. Katrin Drasch studied Social Sciences at the Friedrich Alexander University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, completed an M.Sc. in Sociology and Social Research (SaSR) at the University of Utrecht (Netherlands), and received her Doctorate from the Friedrich-Alexander University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. She has been working at The Institute for Employment Research (IAB). Monika Jungbauer-Gans is a scientific director after having studied sociology at the Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich. She earned a Ph.D. in 1992. July 03, 2019. “The Social Stigma of Unemployment: Consequences of Stigma Consciousness on Job Search Attitudes, Behaviour, and Success.” *J Labour Market Res* 53, 11 (2019). <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/s12651-019-0261-4>

Studies show that the unemployed face serious disadvantages in the labour market and that the social stigma of unemployment is one explanation. In this paper, we focus on the unemployed’s expectations of being stigmatized (stigma consciousness) and the consequences of such negative expectations on job search attitudes and behaviour. **Using data from the panel study “Labour Market and Social Security” (PASS), we find that the unemployed with high stigma consciousness suffer from reduced well-being and health. Regarding job search, the stigmatized unemployed are more likely to expect that their chances of re-employment are low, but in contrast, they are more likely to place a high value on becoming re-employed. Instead of becoming discouraged and passive, we find that stigmatized unemployed individuals increase their job search effort compared to other unemployed individuals.** However, despite their higher job search effort, the stigma-conscious unemployed do not have better re-employment chances.

Decreasing Long-Term Unemployment is the Key to Maximizing Societal Welfare.

Nichols, Mitchell, and Linder 13

Nichols, Austin; Mitchell, Josh; Linder, Stephan. Austin Nichols. Josh Mitchell. Stephan Linder. July 2013. “Consequences of Long-Term Unemployment.” Urban Institute.

<https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/23921/412887-Consequences-of-Long-Term-Unemployment.PDF>

Declining Income and Consumption [page 3]

Longer unemployment has its most direct impact on family resources through lost earnings, which add up quickly with each additional week of unemployment. In the Great Recession, family incomes fell 40 percent or more for most long-term unemployed workers (Johnson and Feng 2013). In 2011, long-term unemployed workers were almost twice as likely to be poor as those unemployed less than six months, and almost four times as likely to be poor as those never unemployed (Nichols 2012); three of every four single parents who were unemployed more than 26 weeks were poor in 2011.

Browning and Crossley (2001) find that families with an unemployed worker have consumption 16 percent lower after six months of unemployment, but 24 percent lower if the sole worker in the family became unemployed, relative to those who do not lose employment. Consumption drops less than income following unemployment in part because of borrowing or spending down savings, which is far from costless. Borie-Holtz, Van Horn, and Zukin (2010) show that the long-term unemployed borrowed money from friends, spent down savings, and missed mortgage or rent payments. About half of unemployed workers reported a poor financial situation in 2010, and about a tenth had filed for bankruptcy (Godofsky, Van Horn, and Zukin 2010).

Consumption drops can have longer-term costs in addition to lowering well-being during unemployment if family members defer needed expenditures. **Among long-term unemployed or underemployed workers in late 2011, 63 percent skipped dental visits, 56 percent put off needed health care, and 40 percent reported not filling a prescription, with each proportion roughly twice that for full-time workers.**³⁸

Impacts on Future Labor Market Attachment [page 8]

Unemployed workers become more likely to leave the labor force and retire, enroll in disability programs, or simply become “discouraged workers” as unemployment continues. The exit to disability is most worrisome because it tends to be permanent. Once someone identifies as being disabled, the individual is very unlikely to return to work; in fact, retired people are far more likely to reenter the labor market than the disabled. Rupp and Stapleton (1995) find that higher unemployment tends to increase the number of applicants to the Social Security Disability Insurance (DI) program, and eventually the number of successful applicants. Lindner and Nichols (2012) find that expansions of unemployment insurance staved off some applications for DI benefits.

Impacts on Physical and Mental Health [page 9]

There is a long history of research showing that becoming unemployed has large negative effects on mental health, but that mental health does not deteriorate substantially with longer duration of unemployment. Whooley and colleagues (2002) found that depression

³⁸ Marilyn Geewax, “The Impacts of Long-Term Unemployment,” part of an NPR special series, Still No Job: Over a Year without Enough Work, December 12, 2011.
<http://www.npr.org/2011/12/09/143438731/the-impacts-of-long-term-unemployment>.

strongly predicts future job and income losses, suggesting reverse causation is an important threat to such comparisons. Clark and Oswald (1994) found duration of unemployment is actually positively correlated with well-being, conditional on being unemployed. Winkelmann and Winkelmann (1998) found no evidence of satisfaction changing over the course of a spell of unemployment.¹¹ On the other hand, Classen and Dunn (2012) estimated that higher rates of long-term unemployment increase suicide rates, although this may in part reflect general economic conditions. Browning and Heinesen (2012) used micro- level data from Denmark and found that job loss increases alcohol-related disease, mental illness, and suicide and suicide attempts, but these effects could be due to job loss itself, and unrelated to unemployment duration.

Effects on Children and Families

There are a large variety of negative effects of job loss observed in the families of workers, although the causal mechanism is not always well known. Kalil and De Leire (2002) found that the negative effects of job loss for children were limited to those associated with the loss of a father's job. Similarly, Lindo (2011) documented a negative impact of paternal job loss on infant birth weight. **Rege, Telle, and Votruba (2011)** also **showed that paternal job loss lowers children's school performance, and the negative effect of paternal job loss is not mediated by income, a shift in maternal time toward employment, marital dissolution, or residential relocation.** Stevens and Schaller (2011) showed that layoffs affect children's grade retention, and Wightman (2012) documented a reduction in the probability that children finish high school after paternal job loss. Oreopoulos, Page, and Stevens (2008) traced the impact of job loss on children's later earnings as adults. Katz (2010) pointed out that financial aid based on prior year income does not address the immediate needs of students whose parents are laid off, perhaps leading to losses of educational opportunity in the second generation. Loss of continuous health insurance coverage could also play a role in worse child outcomes, as Johnson and Schoeni (2011) show that health insurance can play a large role in intergenerational transmission of disadvantage.

Job losses and long-term unemployment can affect children's outcomes through increased family stress and reduced incomes. McLoyd and colleagues (1994) documented how financial stress from job loss affects the emotional well-being of mothers, producing increased cognitive distress and depressive symptoms in adolescent children and more negative assessments of maternal interaction. **Children whose parents suffer longer unemployment and larger lifetime income losses can be expected to suffer greater detriment to their emotional well-being, and this may result in worse education and labor market outcomes in the children's generation.**

Impact on Communities [page 11]

High rates of long-term unemployment can devastate local communities, as reduced lifetime income prospects induce a variety of behavioral changes, and alter social networks. **Wilson (1987) building on Kain (1968), argued that a lack of available jobs**

close to where the disadvantaged unemployed workers live, or “spatial mismatch,” contributes to long durations of joblessness, in part because social networks become largely populated by other jobless workers. Persistent joblessness for men is then linked to breakdowns in traditional family arrangements, increased use of public assistance, and high crime. As long-term unemployment becomes more concentrated, the neighborhood becomes a source of persistent poverty.

Conclusions

The extensive evidence on far-reaching negative consequences of job loss is clear: Loss of a job can lead to losses of income in the short run, permanently lower wages, and result in worse mental and physical health and higher mortality rates. Further, parental job loss hampers children’s educational progress and lowers their future earnings. The link between longer duration of unemployment and worse consequences is more tenuous. Lower wages and lifetime incomes are associated with longer periods of unemployment, but the reason for the decreasing earnings prospects is not clear. In domains where we might expect to see strong evidence, such as mental health outcomes, the evidence is murky at best. When there are patterns of declining well-being as unemployment extends longer, the extent to which declining well-being is due to increasing loss of lifetime income alone or to time out of work is not clear.

[Rachael here:] this is a *lengthy* card. I don’t recommend reading the whole thing at once. I think it would be best done cut up into the specific impacts, though I think all of them are worth taking a look at.

A Federal JG Program Has Worked for Other Countries

Argentina's Head of Households Program

Mitchell 2004

Mitchell, Bill. Bill Mitchell, professor economics at the University of Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia and one of the founding developers of Modern Monetary Theory. "Job Guarantee Success in Argentina." December 29, 2004. Modern Monetary Theory.

<http://bilbo.economicoutlook.net/blog/?p=40619>

In the New York times article (December 26, 2004), from Larry Rohter³⁹ – Argentina's Economic Rally Defies Forecasts – it is reported that the Argentinian economy has made a surprising comeback. Rohter writes "When the Argentine economy collapsed in December 2001, doomsday predictions abounded. Unless it adopted orthodox economic policies and quickly cut a deal with its foreign creditors, hyperinflation would surely follow, the peso would become worthless, investment and foreign reserves would vanish and any prospect of growth would be strangled. But **three years after Argentina declared a record debt default of more than \$100 billion,** the largest in history, the apocalypse has not arrived. Instead, **the economy has grown by 8 percent for two consecutive years,** exports have zoomed, the currency is stable, investors are gradually returning and unemployment has eased from record highs – all without a debt settlement or the standard measures required by the International Monetary Fund for its approval."

Rohter continues: "Argentina's recovery has been undeniable, and it has been achieved at least in part by ignoring and even defying economic and political orthodoxy.

Rather than moving to immediately satisfy bondholders, private banks and the I.M.F., as other developing countries have done in less severe crises, the Peronist-led government chose to stimulate internal consumption first and told creditors to get in line with everyone else."

There has also been a strong bounceback in employment with more than two million jobs created since early 2002.

Evidence of the Argentinian government's challenge to economic orthodoxy is seen in its bold decision, against all the advice from the world economic institutions, to implement[ing] a Job Guarantee program which it calls Jefes de Hogar (Heads of Household) program.

The decision was prompted by civil riots which demanded that the government underwrite the security of households.

³⁹ <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/12/26/world/americas/argentinas-economic-rally-defies-forecasts.html>

The Heads of Household program is designed to provide a social safety net for poor households with children and has used the work of CFEPS and CofFEE to help provide the conceptual foundations of the program.

The European Union's Youth Guarantee.

European Commission 2020

"The Youth Guarantee." 2020. European Commission

<https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1079&langId=en>

As part of the Youth Employment Support the Commission's proposal for a Council Recommendation on a Bridge to Jobs reinforces the Youth Guarantee and among other aspects steps up the outreach to vulnerable young people across the EU. It also extends the age range up to 29.

5 years from when the Youth Guarantee took off, young people's labour market performance has improved significantly:

- **There are 2.3 million fewer young unemployed in the EU and 1.8 million fewer young people not in employment, education or training (NEETs).**
- **Youth unemployment has decreased from a peak of 24% in 2013 to 14% in 2019.**
- **The share of 15- to 24-year-olds not in employment, education or training (NEETs) has fallen from 13.2% in 2012 to 10.3% in 2018.**

The improving economic situation in Europe has benefitted young people. Progress so far also suggests that the Youth Guarantee has made a difference. It has created opportunities for young people and acted as a powerful driver for structural reforms and innovation.

Recession Recovery

The U.S. is Seeing Its Worst Recession. And It's All Due to COVID-19.

World Bank 2020

World Bank Press Release. June 8, 2020. "COVID-19 to Plunge Global Economy into Worst Recession Since World War II".

<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2020/06/08/covid-19-to-plunge-global-economy-into-worst-recession-since-world-war-ii>

"The COVID-19 recession is singular in many respects and is likely to be the deepest one in advanced economies since the Second World War and the first output contraction in emerging and developing economies in at least the past six decades," said World Bank Prospects Group Director Ayhan Kose. "The current episode has already seen by far the fastest and steepest downgrades in global growth forecasts on record. **If the past is any guide, there may be further growth downgrades in store, implying that policymakers may need to be ready to employ additional measures to support activity.**"

Soucheray 20

Soucheray, Stephanie. Stephanie Soucheray, News Reporter for CIDRAP News. May 08, 2020. "U.S. Job Losses Due to COVID-19 Highest Since Great Depression." Center for Infectious Disease Research and Policy.

<https://www.cidrap.umn.edu/news-perspective/2020/05/us-job-losses-due-covid-19-highest-great-depression>

The US jobs report for April brings sobering, if not unexpected news: The country **has lost 20.6 million jobs since mid-March, resulting in an unemployment rate of 14.7%**, a level not seen since the Great Depression in the 1930s.

The number of jobs lost more than doubles the number seen in the 2007-2009 Great Recession, when 8.7 million Americans lost jobs.

Before the pandemic, the United States marked a 50-year unemployment low in February, with just 3.5% of Americans unemployed.

According to USA Today, **of the** 20.6 million **jobs lost, 18 million are expected to be temporary when the pandemic recedes.**

In Order to Improve, We Must Prioritize People.

Cheng, et al. 20

Cheng, Wan-Lae; Davis, Cameron; Law, Johnathan; Dua, Andre; Kerlin, Mike; Vakharia, Neil; Wang, Chin Ying; Zegeye, Ammanuel. Wan-Lae Cheng is a partner in McKinsey's Washington, DC, office. Cameron Davis is a consultant in the New York office, where Jonathan Law is a senior partner. Andre Dua is a senior partner in the Miami office. Mike Kerlin is a partner in the Philadelphia office. Neil Vakharia is a consultant in the Cleveland office. Chun Ying Wang is a consultant in the Chicago office. Ammanuel Zegeye is an associate partner in the San Francisco office. June 18, 2020. "Lessons From the Past on How to Revive the U.S. Economy After COVID-19." McKinsey & Company.

<https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/public-and-social-sector/our-insights/lessons-from-the-past-on-how-to-revive-the-us-economy-after-covid-19#>

Recovery depends on protecting public health. It also depends on bolstering human capital, which can be done by helping individuals to retain employment or acquire the skills they need to find new jobs. For example, state workforce agencies during the Great Recession increased enrollment in government training programs by 56 percent in 2009 and then again in 2010. These programs not only offered new training on short notice, but they also established partnerships with educational institutions. The federal government later passed the Layoff Prevention Act of 2012 amid persistently high unemployment. The act provided funding and made new provisions so as to broaden opportunities for employers to offer work-sharing programs, that made it possible to continue to offer some work to employees, although with reduced hours and reduced pay. This approach to preserving jobs was grounded in research that showed that being able to stay employed is good for physical and mental health, and that unemployment—especially long-term unemployment—is associated with increases in mortality.

Americans are Going to Work Through the COVID-19 Pandemic Regardless.

Kholl 2020

Kholl, Alan. Alan Kholl, founder and president of TotalWellness and leadership position holder at Forbes. July 29, 2020. "Study: How Americans Feel About Returning to Work During COVID-19." Forbes.

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/alankohl/2020/07/29/study-how-americans-feel-about-returning-to-work-during-covid-19/#39c796835301>

JDP recently surveyed 2,000 Americans about their feelings on returning to work during the Covid-19 pandemic. Between June 12 – June 16, 2020, JDP polled 2,038 Americans who typically work in an office of some sort, but have been working remote because of the pandemic. Respondents were 49% female, 51% male and ranged in age from 22 to 66 years old.

Here's what the JDP 2020 Back to Work Survey found:

86% favor a staggered 4-day work week to limit the amount of people in the office.

69% of respondents said they trust their coworkers to respect their personal boundaries in regards to Covid-19.

63% said they have issues being tested by their employer for the virus or for antibodies.

62% of Americans think people who return to the office earlier will be favored by management.

108 Million Americans Cannot Work from Home. This Means They Either Have to Risk Getting COVID-19 or Seek New Employment.

Ellison 20

Ellison, Jake. Jake Ellison, public information office at the University of Washington News. July 03, 2020. "108 Million Americans Can't Do Their Jobs From Home."

<https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/07/american-jobs-covid-19-employment/>

A recent report has shown that **only 25% of Americans are capable of working from home.**

That leaves 108 million Americans deciding the importance of working versus the chance of catching coronavirus.

Even **when the American economy begins to open, 18.9% of workers in occupations such as retail or food services, may not have a job to go back to.**

Job Loss from COVID-19 Has Hit Low-Income Families the Hardest.

Parker, Horowitz, and Brown 20

Parker, Kim; Horowitz, Menasce Julianna; Brown, Anna. Kim Parker, director of social trends at Pew Research Center. Juliana Menasce Horowitz, associate director of research at the Pew Research Center. Anna Brown, research associate focusing on social and demographic trends research at the Pew Research Center." April 21, 2019. "About Half of Lower-Income Americans Report Household Job or Wage Loss Due to COVID-19." Pew Research Center.

<https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2020/04/21/about-half-of-lower-income-americans-report-household-job-or-wage-loss-due-to-covid-19/>

As the economic toll from the coronavirus outbreak continues to mount, a new Pew Research Center survey finds the impact is falling more heavily on lower-income adults – a group that was feeling significant financial pressure well before the

current crisis. Overall, 43% of U.S. adults now say that they or someone in their household has lost a job or taken a cut in pay due to the outbreak, up from 33% in the latter half of March. Among lower-income adults, an even higher share (52%) say they or someone in their household has experienced this type of job upheaval.

In addition to being among the hardest hit by the economic fallout from COVID-19, **lower-income adults are less prepared to withstand a financial shock than those with higher incomes.** Only about one-in-four (23%) say they have rainy day funds set aside that would cover their expenses for three months in case of an emergency such as job loss, sickness or an economic downturn, compared with 48% of middle-income and 75% of upper-income adults.¹ And while 53% of lower-income adults say they will have trouble paying some of their bills this month, about a quarter of middle-income adults and 11% of those in the upper income tier say the same.

Job losses continue to be felt more acutely by some groups than others. **Roughly six-in-ten Hispanic adults (61%) say they or someone in their household has lost a job or taken a cut in pay due to the coronavirus outbreak. This compares with roughly half or fewer of black and white adults.** And adults without a bachelor's degree remain more likely to report job or wage loss in their household compared with college graduates.

Given these financial constraints, more than half of adults who expect to receive a direct payment from the federal government as part of its coronavirus aid package say they will use a majority of the money to pay bills or for something essential for themselves or their family. About one-in-five (21%) say they will save a majority of the money, and 14% say they will use it to pay off debt. The remaining 10% say they'll use it for something else.⁴⁰ Again, there are differences by key demographic groups, with black and Hispanic adults, those without a college degree and those in the lower-income tier more likely to say they will use the money to pay bills or cover essential needs.

The Best Way to Help Improve the Economy is a Federal JG.

Carpenter and Hamilton 20

Carpenter, Daniel and Hamilton, Darrick. Daniel Carpenter of Harvard University and Darrick Hamilton of The Ohio State University. April 30, 2020. "A Federal Job Guarantee: Anti-Poverty and Infrastructure Policy for a Better Future." Scholars.

<https://scholars.org/contribution/federal-job-guarantee>

To combat the current health and economic crisis, and build national infrastructure in the public health, environmental and transportation domains, American

⁴⁰ "Something else" includes 4% who said they will use the majority of the money to pay for something nonessential they or their family need and 7% who volunteer that they will donate it to charity, use it to help friends or family members, use it to pay their taxes, or use it for a combination of needs. These subtotals do not add up to 10% due to rounding.

government should directly hire millions of citizens in the coming two years, offering a federal job guarantee (FJG) that strengthens government at all levels, especially local and state. Doing so would transcend the limits of current stimulus programs. Those programs confer money but not stable, dignified work. This direct government employment (DGE) would rebuild sectors of our country that have withered – our public health clinics and agencies, our transportation network, our physical plant for education and services in both urban and rural settings. DGE would also supply workers for the vital transition to a new, energy-efficient, reduced-carbon infrastructure. Unlike other relief programs, a federal job guarantee can eliminate involuntary unemployment, directly build the capacity of government to reduce the likelihood of future crises and respond effectively to those crises that do arise. A FJG can complement other relief programs including social insurance and income support, but there is no substitute for its poverty-combating, inequality-reducing, worker-empowering, nation-stabilizing, and infrastructure-building potential.

Scale matters. **To meet the needs of the nation, a FJG would provide millions of new jobs, ranging from public health positions (at least 250,000 jobs), enhanced postal services, including postal banking (at least 100,000 jobs), construction, rehabilitation, retrofitting and staffing of schools, clinics, parks, senior centers and civic centers (at least 1 million jobs), new infrastructure, energy transition and conservation work, including solar installation (many millions of jobs), as well as investments in unemployment and social insurance and job training (hundreds of thousands of jobs).** And a FJG would rejuvenate America’s civil service at a moment of mass impending retirements, injecting greater diversity and youth into a system that sorely needs it.

Scholars Support the Idea of a Federal JG to Help Recover from COVID-19’s Economic Downfalls.

Blackwell and Hamilton 20

Blackwell, Angela Glover; Hamilton, Darrick. Angela Glover, host of the podcast Racial Imagination. Dr. Hamilton is executive director of the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race Ethnicity at The Ohio State University. May 09, 2020. “Will We Face Depression-Era Job Losses? Let’s Not Find Out.” The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/09/opinion/federal-jobs-guarantee-coronavirus.html>

On Friday, **the Labor Department announced that over 20.5 million Americans lost their jobs in April, bringing the unemployment rate to 14.7 percent.** This level of devastation has not been reached since the Great Depression. With more than one in four companies shuttered to minimize the pandemic’s death toll and at least 30 million workers seeking unemployment benefits, we are in the throes of an unprecedented jobs crisis.

Just like the health crisis, economic fallout is hitting black and brown communities particularly hard. Far more black, Latinx, and Native American households are financially impacted or severely harmed by the coronavirus than white households. People of color make up an outsized share of the essential workers — grocery store clerks, bus drivers, janitors and home care workers — who risk exposure to the virus while earning low wages with few benefits.

While Congress has taken some important steps to provide relief, more must be done to keep people safe, prevent job losses and maintain incomes. We face a recession with the potential for Depression-era job losses, and we know from experience that black and brown workers bear the greatest risk of long-term economic setbacks. To ensure an inclusive recovery and a more resilient future, **Congress needs to enact a federal job guarantee: a public option for a job with living wages and full benefits on projects that meet long-neglected community needs.**

This idea is not new. The Humphrey-Hawkins Act — introduced in the 1970s by Senator Hubert Humphrey, a Democrat from Minnesota, and Representative Augustus Hawkins, a Democrat from California — proposed employment guarantees. The original bill allowed citizens to sue the government if they couldn't find a job. A version of federal job protections has been percolating for years. In 2018, three Democratic senators — Kirsten Gillibrand of New York, Cory Booker of New Jersey and Bernie Sanders of Vermont — approved of the idea. **Hundreds of scholars, leaders and organizations working for racial, economic and environmental justice have signed on to a Jobs for All pledge calling for a federal guarantee.**

Brancaccio and Wrenn 20

Brancaccio, David; Wrenn, Manriquez Candace. David Brancaccio. Candace Manriquez Wrenn. June 16, 2020. "The Effects of Unemployment Spread Like a Virus." Marketplace.

<https://www.marketplace.org/2020/06/16/covid-19-economy-job-guarantee-government-hiring/>

Over 44 million jobless claims have been filed in the last 12 weeks, and some of those jobs are gone forever. The call for big ideas in job creation, like President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, are growing louder. **One such idea, the job guarantee, was once seen as fringe but is gaining acceptance. The concept is simple: For everyone who wants a job, a job will be provided by the government.**

Pavlina Tcherneva, an associate professor of economics at Bard College and author of the forthcoming book 'The Case for a Job Guarantee,' says **a job guarantee could be the key to the recovery of the post-COVID-19 economy.**

A Federal JG Can Be Drawn Up Quickly and Provide Many Benefits.

Ross 20

Ross, Tracey. Tracey Ross, Director, completed her master's in public affairs with a focus on urban policy and planning at Princeton University, and received a bachelor's degree in political science and anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley. August 19, 2020. "Recovery Starts With a Job Guarantee." PolicyLink. <https://www.policylink.org/covid19-and-race/federal-job-guarantee>

This past week, hospitality workers across the country set up temporary food banks for fellow unemployed workers outside the offices of elected leaders who have refused to consider another coronavirus relief package, including Senators Kelly Loeffler (R-GA), John Cornyn (R-TX), and Martha McSally (R-AZ). The protests were an opportunity for workers not only to demand more of their senators, but also to provide a critical service for those in need. The actions demonstrated how unemployed workers are willing and able to step into roles that support their communities.

Fortunately, **there's a way to ensure workers across the country can be hired to address pressing community needs while earning a living wage and full benefits: a federal job guarantee.**

'In recessions, social needs become more acute. We need extra helping hands for the food kitchens or the homeless shelters. **It is the nature of the job guarantee that whenever there are more needs, there are more people to do them,**' explained economist Pavlina Tcherneva, author of *The Case for a Job Guarantee*.

A job guarantee is a public option for quality jobs that also enables communities to address immediate and long-neglected community needs such as infrastructure projects, environmental restoration, and even elder care. While the idea is not new, the current crisis has brought into sharp focus the need for — and the benefits of — such a program.

As the pandemic began to surge in April, Yale professors Gregg Gonsalves and Amy Kapczynski called for a massive jobs program to minimize the health and economic impacts of Covid-19. **"We know from the work of those who study the impact of job guarantees — including programs that have been running for many years in other countries — that such programs can be scaled up quickly, and provide essential counter-cyclical stability, as well as discipline the private labor market,"** they explained. In their proposal, Gonsalves and Kapczynski described a world in which workers who lost jobs during the lockdown could be quickly trained and deployed to help the United States make it through the crisis, stabilizing households and communities.

"How much better would we have been in addressing [the pandemic] if we had the infrastructure in place? We would already be putting people on the front lines to be dispatchers, to take calls, to do wellness checkups for the elderly. Now we have to start from scratch," explained Tcherneva.

Instead, the pandemic rages on, nearly 18 million people remain unemployed, and the Senate refuses to consider the HEROES Act, which the House passed over three months ago. We cannot afford to rely on time-bound legislative fixes that can be held up by politics every time there is an unexpected crisis. Nor can we afford to go back to life before the pandemic, when having a Black unemployment rate twice that of the White unemployment rate was considered normal.

Federal JG Is Better Than UBI

Stimulus Checks are Nothing Like a UBI. However, They Both Hurt the Economy More Than They Help It.

Burman 2020.

Burman, Leonard E. Leonard E. Burman. March 25, 2020. “Is the Stimulus Rebate A Universal Basic Income?” Tax Policy Center.

<https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/taxvox/stimulus-rebate-universal-basic-income>

Yang argues that the “the main idea [of the stimulus rebate] is very, very much identical to universal basic income...” But **the rebate is different from a UBI for several reasons. The rebate is a one-off, not an ongoing monthly, payment. It is not universal. It also is unfunded, while Yang would have offset the cost of his permanent UBI with a value-added tax.** The current payments Congress is about to approve are only the latest installment in a long history of ad hoc economic relief for recessions.

Treasury sent people checks in the last two recession—up to \$300 in 2001 and \$600 in 2008. In each case, the program was a one-time rebate targeted to those most in need (and most likely to spend the cash). Stimulus rebates could thus be called targeted temporary emergency income (TTEI). TTEI and UBI payments are both in cash, but that’s pretty much where the resemblance ends.

UBI Causes Inflation

Rajwanshi 20

Rajwanshi, Yash. Yash Rajwanshi, private equity summer analyst. February 25, 2020. “Unboxing Universal Basic Income.” Berkeley Economy Review.

<https://econreview.berkeley.edu/unboxing-universal-basic-income/>

The final argument to consider is the inflationary effects of this policy. A fundamental concept here is the separation between production and income. Economists argue that income is earned by people because they are essentially selling their labor on the labor market as a contribution to the production of goods and services for the economy. Increases in income that aren’t directly related to correlating increases in production tend to result in higher prices so the two sides of the equation can balance. For this reason, many argue that income and economical production can’t be separated without dispatching macroeconomic effects for the whole country. **In this case, the particular concern is that UBI will increase the inflation rate, which would lead to workers’ wages being valued even lower than in a pre-UBI world. Interestingly, if the participation in the workforce actually decreases, this inflation would be compounded and be even more detrimental for the country.**

Archetto 18

Archetto, Greg. Greg Archetto, opinion contributor. July 16, 2018. "Implementation of a 'Universal Basic Income' Program Would be a Disaster." The Hill.

<https://thehill.com/opinion/finance/397192-implementation-of-a-universal-basic-income-program-would-be-a-disaster>

In order to fully appreciate how UBI would work, you need to look at what it's implementation would do to an entire economy, not just a fraction of it.

If everyone suddenly had an extra \$10K a year, and everyone knew that everyone had an extra \$10K a year, prices would go up and inflation would rise, thus negating the perceived gains of such a program.

Think of it this way. If you walk into a store right now, the price of any product is based on the maximum amount of money it can command in exchange for it in relation to the number of customers needed to pay that price and keep it moving off the shelves at a predictable pace. In other words, supply and demand. However, this is based on the fact that the shop owner has no way of knowing the wealth level of every customer that walks into his store.

Now, if Scrooge McDuck waddled in, the shop owner could assume his wealth, deduce that he could afford to pay more, and try to raise the prices on the fly. However, that would be tough because prices are usually clearly marked. But generally, that price is set using the knowledge that any single customer that walks in at any given time has a wealth baseline of \$0 and an upper bound of, say, \$112 billion.

But, if you add in the knowledge that everybody that walks into your store, because of UBI, now has a wealth baseline of X+\$10K, don't you think that shop owner would charge more for his products? He knows you can afford a higher price now.

These **price rises would then have reverberations throughout the economy. As prices went up, wages would need to follow, which would make prices go even higher in an upward inflationary spiral.** This is essentially Milton Friedman's 'helicopter money' analogy.

Novello 18

Novello, Amanda. Amanda Novello, Senior Policy Associate. December 17, 2018. "Universal Basic Income Versus Jobs Guarantee—Which Serves Workers Better?". The Century Foundation.

<https://tcf.org/content/commentary/universal-basic-income-versus-jobs-guarantee-serves-workers-better/?session=1>

So while the upside is apparently clear—instant alleviation, or at least significant amelioration, of the conditions of poverty—it’s not a jobs creation program, and some say it’s hardly a wage program if it allows employers to shirk their responsibility to pay decent wages. **Critics of the program also fear that UBI is dependent upon yearly budgetary decisions, and that it could end up leading to less generous benefits packages than those provided by current welfare programs, and thereby end up increasing poverty.** In part this concern is based on the idea that much of a universal basic income would go the middle class, rather than being targeted to low-wage workers and the poor. Furthermore, **on a macro level, some economists warn that a UBI would raise prices without increasing production, which could lead to inflation.**

UBI Disincentivizes People from Working. Federal JG Promotes Employment and Gives Workers Benefits.

Gaskell 2018

Gaskell, Adi. Adi Gaskell, Career Contributor. March 05, 2018. “Does a Universal Basic Income Discourage Work?”. Forbes.

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/adigaskell/2018/03/05/does-a-universal-basic-income-discourage-work/#132f130f541b>

The Alaska Permanent Fund Dividend program has been in place for the past 25 years, with money distributed from the oil reserve royalties earned in the state. The unconditional cash payments amounts to \$2,000 per Alaskan resident.

“It is reasonable to expect an unconditional cash transfer, such as a universal income, to decrease employment.” the authors say. “A key concern with **a universal basic income** is that it **could discourage people from working**, but our research shows that the possible reductions in employment seem to be offset by increases in spending that in turn increase the demand for more workers.”

Continetti 19

Continetti, Matthew. Matthew Continetti, resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. July 25, 2019. “A UBI Would Undermine Work.” National Review. <https://www.nationalreview.com/magazine/2019/08/12/a-ubi-would-undermine-work/>

Why would we want to disincentivize work when slightly more than 10 million disabled workers and their dependents receive benefits and the adult-male labor-force-participation rate has been stuck at around 69 percent for five years? Why would we gamble on an expensive social program that could have harmful effects on the size and nature of the work force when America is already suffering from the weakening of family, community, faith, and vocation?

Americans Support a Federal JG

52% of Americans Support a Federal JG.

Novello 18

Novello, Amanda. Amanda Novello, Senior Policy Associate. December 17, 2018. “Universal Basic Income Versus Jobs Guarantee—Which Serves Workers Better?”. The Century Foundation.

<https://tcf.org/content/commentary/universal-basic-income-versus-jobs-guarantee-serves-workers-better/?session=1>

Overall, **52 percent of Americans support a federal job guarantee**, even more so if jobs are green. Perhaps accordingly, many 2020 frontrunners have endorsed a jobs guarantee, including Democratic senators Bernie Sanders and Cory Booker. As Senator Kirsten Gillibrand told The Nation, referring to the jobs guarantee idea, “Corporate interests have controlled the agenda in Washington for decades so we can’t tinker at the margins and expect to rebuild the middle class and stamp out inequality. We need to get back to an economy that rewards workers, not just shareholder value and CEO pay.” Thirty- five more congresspeople have endorsed the formation of Green New Deal legislation, which transitively shows their support for a jobs guarantee-style plan.

The Majority of American Voters Would Support a Federal Jobs Program.

The Hill 19

The Hill. The Hill, American news website, based in Washington, D.C., owned by Capitol Hill Publishing. October 30, 2019. “Majority of Voters Support a Federal Jobs Guarantee Program.”

<https://thehill.com/hilltv/468236-majority-of-voters-support-a-federal-jobs-guarantee-program>

More than 70 percent of voters in a national poll released Wednesday **said they would support a federal jobs program.**

Forty-two percent of respondents said they would ‘somewhat support’ such a program while 36 percent said they would “strongly support” it, according to a Harris/HillTV poll. Five percent ‘somewhat’ opposed such an initiative, while 6 percent strongly opposed it. Another 11 percent were unsure.

Majorities also supported such a program when the results were separated by gender. Thirty-four percent of women and 38 percent of men strongly supported the idea, while 45 percent of women and 40 percent of men supported it. Five percent of both men and women strongly opposed it, while 3 percent of men and 8 percent of women strongly supported it.

The strongest support for the idea came from those who identified as strongly liberal, 62 percent of whom said they strongly support it. Forty-seven percent of those who said they leaned liberal strongly supported a national jobs program, as did 39 percent of moderates, 15 percent of those who leaned conservative and 25 percent of those who were strongly conservative.

The poll was conducted among 1,000 registered U.S. voters online from Oct. 28 to 29 with results based on a nationally representative sample of 484 people. It has a 3.1-point margin of error.

NEGATIVE

Cost

A Federal JG Could Cost Up to \$543 Billion.

Paul, Darity, and Hamilton 18

Paul, Mark; Darity, William Jr.; Hamilton, Darrick. Mark Paul, Postdoctoral Associate at Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity at Duke University; William Darity Jr., Samuel DuBois Cook Professor of Public Policy, African and African-American Studies and Economics and the Director of the Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equality at Duke University; Darrick Hamilton, Professor of Economics and Urban Policy at the Milano School of International Affairs, Management and Urban Policy and Department of Economics at the New School for Social Research, and Director of the Doctoral Program in Public and Urban Policy at The New School. March 9, 2018. “The Federal Job Guarantee – A Policy to Achieve Permanent Full Employment.” Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

https://www.cbpp.org/research/full-employment/the-federal-job-guarantee-a-policy-to-achieve-permanent-full-employment#_ftn9

Table 1 provides estimates for program uptake and gross cost under the NIEC given the most recent labor market statistics. **Using January 2018 data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, we estimate a total annual program cost of \$543 billion, or just under 3 percent of GDP.** While headline economic numbers commonly cite the official unemployment measure, we generate the estimate using a broader notion of unemployment and underemployment, known as U-6. We assume U-6 would be brought down to 1.5 percent—what we believe to be a reasonable estimate for frictional unemployment in the U.S. economy—by the uptake of employment through the NIEC and the elimination of involuntary unemployment. This would result in the employment of 10.7 million workers, or 9.7 million full-time equivalent positions.

Cost Projection Breakdown.

Rainey 18

Rainey, Michael. Michael Raney, seasoned managing editor with a deep knowledge of global economics and finance. December 06, 2018. “How Much Would a Federal jobs Guarantee Cost?”. Fiscal Times.

<https://www.thefiscaltimes.com/2018/12/06/How-Much-Would-Federal-Jobs-Guarantee-Cost>

The Hamilton Project at the Brookings Institution just released a new analysis of several leading proposals for a federal jobs guarantee, including those from the Center for American Progress and the Levy Institute. The Brookings analysis delves into some of the many sticky issues surrounding the idea, such as its effect on the overall job market,

its potential size and, crucially, its likely cost. Here are some of the data and conclusions from the report:

* The potential size of the program is enormous. There are currently about 50 million working-age people who are unemployed or out of the workforce altogether, and roughly another 50 million who are employed but making less than \$15 an hour (see the table below).

* **Not all potential participants would actually sign up, and much depends on the wages offered, with proposals ranging from \$10 an hour to \$15 an hour, with variable benefits.**

* The roughly 6 million workers who are currently unemployed would likely participate at high levels, along with several million low-wage workers who would switch jobs. Some people currently out of the workforce would take jobs as well.

* Some employed workers who could switch to the federal program would stay in their current jobs, though at higher wages sparked by the competition from the jobs guarantee.

* In one projection, the U-6 unemployment rate, which includes the unemployed, marginally attached workers and some part-timers, would fall sharply to 1.5 percent, down from its current 9.7 percent – with nearly 10 million people gaining full-time work.

* Wages for the bottom 80 percent of workers would rise by as much as 5 percent, and poverty rates would fall.

* Participation would likely vary significantly by geography.

* The kind of work that could be done by participants includes teachers and teaching assistants, personal care providers, construction and maintenance workers, security and police forces, and office support.

* **The costs would likely be in the billions of dollars, with two of the more aggressive proposals coming in at more than \$500 billion per year** (see the table below).

The bottom line: A full-scale federal jobs guarantee would likely attract millions of participants and cost hundreds of billions annually, while dramatically reducing unemployment and underemployment for American workers. There is considerable uncertainty, however, about how such a program would operate in the real world and how it would affect the overall U.S. job market.

Federal JG Bills Have Failed in the Past in the U.S.

The 2018 and 2019 Bills Are Both Dead.

GovTrack 18

GovTrack. “H.R. 6467 (115th): Federal Jobs Guarantee Development Act of 2018.”

<https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/115/hr6467>

Status:

Died in a previous Congress

Congress operates in two-year cycles that follow elections. Each cycle is called a ‘Congress.’ This bill was introduced in the 115th Congress, which was from Jan 3, 2017 to Jan 3, 2019. Bills are not carried forward from Congress to Congress.

This bill was introduced on July 23, 2018, in a previous session of Congress, but it did not receive a vote.

GovTrack 19

GovTrack. “S. 2457: Federal Jobs Guarantee Development Act of 2019.”

<https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/116/s2457>

Status:

Introduced on Sep 10, 2019

This bill is in the first stage of the legislative process. It was introduced into Congress on September 10, 2019. It will typically be considered by committee next before it is possibly sent on to the House or Senate as a whole.

Prognosis:

3% chance of being enacted according to Skopos Labs

[Rachael here:] I definitely would not consider either of these to be actual warrants, but I could not find anything written that both of these bills were unlikely to pass. If you want to go for this argument, I suggest adding some analysis (and further research) in between the cards and extrapolating what is written within them.

FJG Doesn't Create New Jobs

A Federal JG Would Crowd Out Existing Jobs and Replace Them with Jobs that Would Have Been Created Anyways.

Pethokoukis 20

Pethokoukis, James. James Pethokoukis, columnist and economic policy analyst serving as the Dewitt Wallace Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. September 13, 2020. "A Federal Jobs Guarantee Will Not Solve America's Economic Woes." The National Interest.

<https://nationalinterest.org/blog/reboot/federal-jobs-guarantee-will-not-solve-americas-economic-woes-168754>

A federal jobs guarantee is an underwhelming idea. And perhaps if Dave were remade as an HBO mini-series or something, the many, many downsides would become evident. **To think it is a good idea means thinking that** (a) Washington could anytime soon successfully direct a workforce that would be multiples (maybe many multiples) larger than the number of K-12 teachers (but less educated) to do meaningful, socially productive work that they are not currently trained to do; (b) even if that managerial Manhattan Project took decades to accomplish, it could be sustained amid "stories about how these are disorganized make-work programs" and the "stigma" that follows; (c) running such a program might not be made even more maddeningly complicated by the possible inability to actually fire anyone; (d) **these permanent government gigs would not "crowd out" existing jobs that actually matched the skills of the workers; (e) [and] we could ever figure out if these new government-supplied jobs were replacing existing jobs or jobs that would have been created anyway;** (f) private employers in high poverty areas would not see an employee drain to these probably better-paying jobs; (g) these voluntary jobs would not become mandatory; and (h) the cost would not be crazy tremendous.

[Rachael here:] Just to explain this card a bit because it can be confusing. The article is stating that the only way one could think that a FJG is a good option would mean to accept that a whole list of different effects, (a)-(h), are true. However, the author clearly believes that each of these premises are false. Effect (d) is a double negative that's cited for this card.

A Federal JG Wouldn't Be Good Long-Term

Simply Having a Job is Not Enough to Escape Poverty. The Cycle Continues.

Paul, Darity, and Hamilton 18

Paul, Mark; Darity, William Jr.; Hamilton, Darrick. Mark Paul, Postdoctoral Associate at Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity at Duke University; William Darity Jr., Samuel DuBois Cook Professor of Public Policy, African and African-American Studies and Economics and the Director of the Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equality at Duke University; Darrick Hamilton, Professor of Economics and Urban Policy at the Milano School of International Affairs, Management and Urban Policy and Department of Economics at the New School for Social Research, and Director of the Doctoral Program in Public and Urban Policy at The New School. March 9, 2018. "The Federal Job Guarantee – A Policy to Achieve Permanent Full Employment." Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

https://www.cbpp.org/research/full-employment/the-federal-job-guarantee-a-policy-to-achieve-permanent-full-employment#_ftn9

While achieving full employment is an important aspect of generating equitable growth in the economy, policymakers should also be concerned with developing policies that guard against poverty-level wages. Although unemployment is a major predictor of poverty in the United States, **data indicate[s] that simply having a job is an insufficient condition for the escape of poverty.** **A study by the Economic Policy Institute found that despite being employed, 28 percent of U.S. workers took home poverty-level wages in 2011, leading to grave economic conditions for these workers and their families.**⁴¹

The Only Way to Combat Poverty is to Increase Minimum Wage to a Living Wage.

Zeballos-Roig 19

Zeballos-Roig, Joseph. Joseph Zeballos-Roig, economics reporter at Business Insider, covering taxes, unemployment, and federal spending. July 08, 2019. "A Government Report Found That If the US Raised the Minimum Wage to \$15 an Hour It Would Eliminate 1.3 Million Jobs – But Also Lift 1.3 Million Americans Out of Poverty." Business Insider.

<https://www.businessinsider.com/raising-federal-minimum-wage-cbo-jobs-poverty-2019-7>

⁴¹ The State of Working America," Economic Policy Institute, <http://www.stateofworkingamerica.org/fact-sheets/poverty/>.

Raising the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour by 2025 would shed 1.3 million jobs from the economy but also reduce the number of Americans living in poverty by the same amount, according to a report the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office released on Monday.

The report states that a \$15 minimum wage hike would ‘boost workers’ earnings through higher wages, though some of those higher wages would be offset by higher rates of joblessness.’ Around half of all laid-off workers would be teenagers.

It says that instituting a \$15 an hour wage would reduce business income while raising prices through higher labor costs that would be passed on to consumers — though wealthier people would feel more of the price increases.

A Job Itself Isn’t a Way to Escape Poverty.

Paul, Darity, and Hamilton 18

Paul, Mark; Darity, William Jr.; Hamilton, Darrick. Mark Paul, Postdoctoral Associate at Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity at Duke University; William Darity Jr., Samuel DuBois Cook Professor of Public Policy, African and African-American Studies and Economics and the Director of the Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equality at Duke University; Darrick Hamilton, Professor of Economics and Urban Policy at the Milano School of International Affairs, Management and Urban Policy and Department of Economics at the New School for Social Research, and Director of the Doctoral Program in Public and Urban Policy at The New School. March 9, 2018. “A Path to Ending Poverty by Way of Ending Unemployment: A Federal Job Guarantee.” JSTOR.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7758/rsf.2018.4.3.03#metadata_info_tab_contents

Moreover, unemployment is one of the strongest predictors of poverty, households whose usual breadwinners are out of work being three times more likely to be poor than working households (Achiron 2009⁴²). But working households are not immune from the plague of poverty; a job in and of itself is not a sufficient condition to escape poverty. Given that at least 25 percent of workers earn wages below the poverty line (Mishel et al. 2012), and 44 percent of homeless individuals report having taken on paid employment in the past month (Burt et al. 1999), nonpoverty wages need to be an essential component of reducing poverty.

⁴² Robert Pollin and his co-authors at the Political Economy Research Institute estimate that a transition to a green energy economy would amount to an estimated \$200 billion annually. This largely could be undertaken by workers in the FJG program (2014).

Full Employment Isn't Good for the Economy.

Evans 19

“Effects of Full Employment - Evans Distribution Systems.” Evans Distribution Systems, April 2, 2019. <https://www.evansdist.com/effects-of-full-employment/>.

<https://www.evansdist.com/effects-of-full-employment/>

When the economy is at full employment that increases the competition between companies to find employees. This means skilled workers can demand higher wages with more benefits and businesses are more likely to grant them. This can be very good for individuals but bad for the economy over time. If **wages increase on an international scale, [and] the costs of goods and services would increase as well to match the salaries of employees. This can cause inflation and diminish the value of currency** if left unchecked.

Low Unemployment Increases Inflation.

Depersio 20

Depersio, Greg. Greg Depersio has been a freelance writer and editor for more than three years. August 22, 2020. “What Happens When Inflation and Unemployment are Positively Correlated?”. Investopedia.

<https://www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/040715/what-happens-when-inflation-and-unemployment-are-positively-correlated.asp>

A positive correlation between inflation and unemployment creates a unique set of challenges for fiscal policymakers. **Policies that are effective at boosting economic output and bringing down unemployment tend to exacerbate inflation, while policies that rein in inflation frequently constrain the economy and worsen unemployment.**

Mankiw 19

Mankiw, Gregory N. N. Gregory Mankiw, American macroeconomist who is currently the Robert M. Beren Professor of Economics at Harvard University. August 09, 2019. “Yes, There is a Trade-Off Between Inflation and Unemployment.” NY Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/09/business/trade-inflation-unemployment-phillips.html>

What led to this meeting of the minds is a concept called the ‘Phillips curve.’ The economist George Akerlof, a Nobel laureate and the husband of the former Federal

Reserve chair Janet Yellen, once called the Phillips curve ‘probably the single most important macroeconomic relationship.’ So it is worth recalling what the Phillips curve is, why it plays a central role in mainstream economics and why it has so many critics.

The story begins in 1958, when the economist A. W. Phillips published an article reporting an inverse relationship between unemployment and inflation in Britain. He reasoned that **when unemployment is high, workers are easy to find, so employers hardly raise wages, if they do so at all.**

But when unemployment is low, employers have trouble attracting workers, so they raise wages faster. Inflation in wages soon turns into inflation in the prices of goods and services.

A couple of years later, Paul Samuelson and Robert Solow — who also both went on to win the Nobel in economics — found a similar correlation between unemployment and inflation in the United States. They dubbed the relationship the ‘Phillips curve.’

But economists also noticed that monetary conditions affect economic activity. Gold discoveries often lead to booming economies, and central banks easing monetary policy usually stimulate production and employment, at least for a while.

The Phillips curve helps explain how inflation and economic activity are related. At every moment, central bankers face a trade-off. They can stimulate production and employment at the cost of higher inflation. Or they can fight inflation at the cost of slower economic growth.

UBI Is More Feasible

A UBI is Better for All Involved.

Fri 20

Fri, Tom. Tom Fri, writer on the Incomer. March 24, 2020. "Why Universal Basic Income is Better Than A Jobs Guarantee." The Incomer.

<https://www.theincomer.com/2020/03/24/why-universal-basic-income-is-better-than-a-jobs-guarantee/>

A Universal Basic Income would instead of giving the 100% of the tax revenue to the government, give a percentage of it directly to the citizens, while a job guarantee would only give better imaginary underemployment stats, a technique often used by socialist and authoritarian countries, Universal Basic Income seems to be the best wealth redistribution option for a democracy.

Automation – Robot Takeover

Automation Is Inevitable. A Federal JG Is Not Going to Help.

Samuels 20

Samuels, Alana. Alana Samuels, American journalist working as a staff writer for the Atlantic in San Francisco. August 6, 2020. “Millions of Americans Have Lost Jobs in the Pandemic—And Robots and AI Are Replacing Them Faster Than Ever.” TIME.

<https://time.com/5876604/machines-jobs-coronavirus/>

One study estimates that about **400,000 jobs** were **lost to automation in U.S. factories from 1990 to 2007**. But **the drive to replace humans with machinery is accelerating** as companies struggle to avoid workplace infections of COVID-19 and to keep operating costs low. The U.S. shed around 40 million jobs **at the peak of the pandemic**, and while some have come back, some will never return. One group of economists estimates that **42% of the jobs lost are gone forever**. This replacement of humans with machines may pick up more speed in coming months as companies move from survival mode to figuring out how to operate while the pandemic drags on. **Robots could replace as many as 2 million more workers in manufacturing alone by 2025**, according to a recent paper by economists at MIT and Boston University. “This **pandemic** has **created a very strong incentive to automate the work of human beings**,” says Daniel Susskind, a fellow in economics at Balliol College, University of Oxford, and the author of *A World Without Work: Technology, Automation and How We Should Respond*. “Machines don’t fall ill, they don’t need to isolate to protect peers, they don’t need to take time off work.” As with so much of the pandemic, this new wave of automation will be harder on people of color like Collins, who is Black, and on low-wage workers. **Many Black and Latino Americans** are cashiers, food-service employees and customer-service representatives, which **are** among the 15 jobs most **threatened by automation**, according to McKinsey. Even before the pandemic, the global consulting company estimated that **automation could displace 132,000 Black workers in the U.S. by 2030**.

A2 AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

A2 UBI Causes Inflation

[IT]: Low Unemployment Causes Inflation. It's Just a Game of How Much Inflation Will Increase.

Depersio 20

Depersio, Greg. Greg Depersio has been a freelance writer and editor for more than three years. August 22, 2020. "What Happens When Inflation and Unemployment are Positively Correlated?". Investopedia.

<https://www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/040715/what-happens-when-inflation-and-unemployment-are-positively-correlated.asp>

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Mankiw, Gregory N. N. Gregory Mankiw, American macroeconomist who is currently the Robert M. Beren Professor of Economics at Harvard University. August 09, 2019. "Yes, There is a Trade-Off Between Inflation and Unemployment." NY Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/09/business/trade-inflation-unemployment-phillips.html>

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A2 NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

A2 Cost

[LT]: A Federal JG Costs Less Than Unemployment.

Tcherneva 20

Tcherneva, Pavlina R. Pavlina R. Tcherneva is Associate Professor of Economics at Bard College, a research scholar at the Levy Economics Institute, and the author of *The Case for a Job Guarantee* (Polity, 2020), from which this essay is adapted. July 22, 2020. “A Job Guarantee Costs Far Less Than Unemployment.” *Foreign Affairs*.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-07-22/job-guarantee-costs-far-less-unemployment>

As the United States faces a long, uphill recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic, it would do well to consider a measure that could put its people to work, at a living wage, for the benefit of all. But **a job guarantee is not a crisis measure: it must be a permanent policy, because unemployment devastates communities even when economies are relatively strong.** The guarantee would recognize a legally enforceable right to a decent job for anyone of working age, regardless of labor-market status, race, gender, color, or creed. Not only would it offer employment on demand for useful public-service projects, but it would establish much-needed standards for wages and working conditions in all jobs and even help stave off the threat of climate change.

Our research at the Levy Economics Institute demonstrates that a large job guarantee program, employing 15 million people at \$15 an hour with benefits, would permanently boost economic growth by \$550 billion (more than 2.5 percent of GDP) and private-sector employment by three to four million jobs, without causing inflation. It would furnish considerable relief to state budgets and reduce overall welfare expenditures on other programs. The price tag? **Only 1.3 percent of GDP—not a high price to pay for full employment, price stability, and economic security.** The fallout from COVID-19 may require the program to be bigger than earlier anticipated, but one thing is certain: one way or another, the government and society will be paying unemployment. The question is how: whether by providing decent job opportunities or by sustaining an economy in which masses of people remain unemployed.