

Will COVID-19 Destroy Work and Community?

A Theological and
Economic Investigation

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The COVID-19 pandemic and the attendant government responses have led to more division, largely along ideological lines, which puts a strain on community relations and even on work. This article begins with a theological examination of human anthropology, a proper understanding of God’s created order, and man’s unique role in cultivating greater human flourishing, which is our purpose. The COVID-19 pandemic, an unprecedented global crisis, strained our relationships and has dramatically altered the way we work in the market. Far more pernicious, it has also harmed what Tocqueville described as “the art of association.” The way we work has and will continue to change, but the aftermath of ideological cultural divisions will not just damage the community—if permanent, it will damage the way we relate to each other in all realms of life with human flourishing as the collateral damage. This article explores both.

The necessity of finding a sphere of usefulness, an appropriate job, ourselves is the hardest discipline that a free society imposed on us.

~ F. A. Hayek¹

Also, seek the peace and prosperity of the city to which I have carried you into exile. Pray to the Lord for it, because if it prospers, you too will prosper.

~ Jeremiah 29:7²

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has presented ordinary citizens across the globe with impossible choices. There is still much debate about whether the appropriate legal, regulatory, and market responses are being taken. This has led to the pitting of neighbor against neighbor, largely divided on ideological grounds. Even from the beginning of time, God knew we would be divided and that crises would create fault lines. There exists a large body of scholarship on the theological importance of work in Frame, Welchel, and Veith; vocation as an extension of purpose in Luther; and the theology of human flourishing in the context of modern life in Pennington, Strawn, and Novak.³ This article will contribute to a theological understanding of modern work and community relationships in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Human Anthropology

Theology can be described as all of Scripture applied to all of life.⁴ The Bible gives us everything we need to know about our personhood and, in that, our purpose which is to glorify God. He perfectly created our world. Fully embodying and living into our purpose is how we fulfill God's desires.⁵ We are created to serve and to live in harmony and community with others. An exegetical approach to scripture illuminates who we are and how to live in the modern world, and it can give us answers about purpose and work, both of which are inextricably tied to *shalom* ("peace"). Theologian Cornelius Plantinga describes *shalom* in the following way:

The webbing together of God, humans, and all creation in justice, fulfillment, and delight is what the Hebrew prophets call *shalom*. In the Bible, *shalom* means *universal flourishing, wholeness, and delight*—a rich state of affairs in which natural needs are satisfied and natural gifts fruitfully employed.... *Shalom*, in other words, is the way things ought to be."⁶

Our purpose is both to contribute to and to benefit from *shalom*. Any crisis can shake the foundations of our lives and our purpose. The COVID-19 pandemic rattled our faith in government, in each other, and for some, in God. Yet a crisis is never a time to abandon our principles, rather it is a time to delve deeply into theology for answers that will help us.

Genesis 1 reveals not just a seven-day story of the created order but provides a guide to our humanity and gives us a glimpse of God. When the world works as God designed it, there is order, cooperation, harmony, satisfaction, abundance,

and community. Genesis 1 describes the beginning of God's created order, and we cannot know how to proceed in life either individually or socially outside of this. We came from the darkness; there was nothing before us but Him. God commanded light, and so it was (Gen. 1:3); he commanded the waters to separate, and they did and there was sky (Gen. 1:6–7); he commanded dry ground to appear and there was land (Gen. 1:9–10). Vegetation, daylight, moonlight, ground animals, and birds all come into being through God's commands (Gen. 1:13–21). After each day God reflects on His work and declares it "good." Even the creatures of the sea and the birds are told to be fruitful and increase in number (Gen. 1:22). Being productive is woven into the fabric of God's creatures.

Human beings are particularly suited for creating something more from something less through the application of our ingenuity; economists often refer to this as human capital. A beaver can build a dam, but a human being can build a hurricane-resistant skyscraper. We apply our rational capacities to God's creation.⁷ We cannot create *ex nihilo*—only God has the power to do that. In our vocations, we are empowered to do God's work and fulfill our purpose of both caring for his creation and advancing human flourishing.⁸ More than just paid work, vocation has a long theological tradition stemming from Martin Luther, who called it "the mask of God."⁹ Vocation is how we embody God's purposes.

Genesis 1:26–28 reads,

Then God said, "Let us make mankind in our image, in our likeness, so that they may rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky, over the livestock and all the wild animals, and over all the creatures that move along the ground." So God created mankind in his image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. God blessed them and said to them, "Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky and over every living creature that moves on the ground."

The phrase "made in our image" is repeated three times. We are created after the *imago Dei*; we bear the image of God. Verse 26 follows, "made in our image, in our likeness" with the word "so." We can rule over God's creation as stewards because we bear the *imago Dei*.¹⁰ It gives us reason, will, choice, and purpose, and in it God gives us productive potential.

We have always had the raw materials and the human capital we needed to create the modern smartphone, laptop, microprocessor, and blockchain technology. Yet we require institutions that provide incentives for the productive application of our human capital in the service of others. Human capital was referred to by

Adam Smith as “the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society.”¹¹ Fostering the development of this type of capital allows us to save, invest, and develop new ideas. This is how we accumulate wealth, and we do so in egalitarian ways when we foster the development of human skill and talent that requires an infrastructure of productive institutions and entrepreneurship.¹²

The Nature of Work

The above requires that the ethos and institutions of our society champion work, creativity, discovery, and experimentation. This helps explain why economic growth was stagnant for so much of human history. We were given everything we materially needed to have all the advancements we have today for the development of God’s creation, yet economic growth remained non-existent for most of human history; we did not have the proper institutional setting. In Genesis 2:15 we are given the directive to work and be productive, a message reiterated through the Old and New Testaments and the teachings of Jesus’s parables.¹³

Genesis 2:15 commands that we work the garden and care for it; separate but overlapping commands. Care for the garden means that we protect and preserve it. We are also to work it—the Hebrew word for work is *abad* which is translated as “to serve.” This requires reason and risk. God looks upon his creation in Gen 1:31 and declares it “very good,” which means it is established to work harmoniously fulfilling His ends. We serve (*abad*) God’s creation and each other through our vocations. The constant application of our human creativity to material resources allows us to steward our human capital, making us more productive. The curse of the fall means that our work will be error-laden, resented, and in some cases fruitless (Gen 3:14). Our sin brought about the dread of work because sin damages our relationships. Our primary relationships are broken: with each other, with nature, with ourselves, and with God.¹⁴ Yet the command to work is not modified by God because of our sin. We must press on, and in doing so we can restore shalom, albeit imperfectly.

Toward Shalom

The market is one arena by which we can serve one another and in so doing both restore shalom and increase overall well-being. We often attribute service to volunteer work. Yet this is far from the only way we serve. The market offers us a place whereby we can serve not just our known communities and neighbors but by which we can extend the community of cooperation. The market does this through the price system and profits and losses, buttressed by private property.

Through these mechanisms the market creates positive-sum games. The profit motive encourages buyers and sellers to agree without ever meeting. The market process of bringing together people into the community or making friends from enemies is known as *catallaxy*.¹⁵

In seeking profits for our labor, we must discover the most pressing needs and attempt to solve them. This occurs through entrepreneurship, and it is one way markets can restore shalom. Shalom is the working of God's created order as it is supposed to work¹⁶—the marketplace offers an avenue. Human flourishing is the universal quest of mankind and includes material well-being.¹⁷ It has theological and philosophical roots dating back to Aristotle's focus on *eudaimonia* as the central concept of ancient philosophy, further elaborated upon by Thomas Aquinas and more recently Michael Novak. Novak helps us understand the connections between reason, faith, and the market economy.¹⁸

Nobel laureate Robert Solow revealed the power of human capital. The concept was addressed by Adam Smith but was not used until 1897 by Irving Fisher and was not incorporated into the language and thinking of economists until the 1950s.¹⁹ Solow's groundbreaking work revealed that increases in land and physical capital could explain some economic growth but not much. He discovered that residual growth explained nearly 88 percent of economic growth.²⁰ The residual is the quantity of growth that cannot be explained by the expansion of capital or labor but rather comes from innovation, technology, and ideas.²¹ Additionally, Nobel laureate Paul Romer demonstrated that the rate of technological change is determined by the economic system.²² These new ideas require sound institutions that support "meta ideas," that is, those that support the transmission of other ideas.²³ These are significant discoveries in both economic theory and empirical analysis, yet for one familiar with the mandates for work, productivity, and human flourishing revealed throughout Scripture, this should verify what we already know to be true. We are created to create: When we do so in community through peaceful exchange and cooperation, we increase abundance through service and problem-solving.

Economist Peter Boettke deems economic growth a moral imperative.²⁴ Economic development and growth, spiritual renewal, and thriving communities are all essential for human flourishing. These are symbiotic and cannot thrive independently. Economic development requires an ethos of hard work and interdependency²⁵ with a government committed to economic freedom, political liberalism, and thriving communities.

The Art of Association

American news from the first half of 2020 contains discernible, near-ubiquitous tones: anger, polarization, and finger-pointing. Alexis de Tocqueville found something quite different when the French government sent him to study the United States prison system in 1831–1832. It is not that Americans agreed upon everything, rather he observed a culture of service where Americans came together in times of need and crisis to help one another through what he called intermediary institutions. In his timeless book, *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville described his surprise at the robustness and strength of what we refer to as American civil society, built upon ordinary Americans living out their faith, including a commitment to the common good and serving their neighbors. Tocqueville observes,

Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions, constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part but associations of a thousand other kinds,—religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive. The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found seminaries, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes; they found in this manner hospitals, prisons, and schools. If it be proposed to inculcate some truth, or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society. Wherever, at the head of some new undertaking, you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association.²⁶

Tocqueville understood the importance of these institutions in terms of how they allowed community members to live out their obligations of subsidiarity while they provided insulation against a growing state. Subsidiarity is not without conflicting definitions,²⁷ but in the modern Catholic papal social encyclical tradition, which begins with *Rerum Novarum* by Leo XIII, it is first articulated in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* by Pius XI.²⁸ Subsidiarity requires that individuals or the most decentralized authority possible be empowered to address community concerns. It helps us understand how organizations relate to each other. Our local knowledge and limited capabilities pose constraints for how we help one another. The gleanings of the fields in ancient, agrarian Israel required both personal responsibility and work, which was a local responsibility.²⁹

Economist F. A. Hayek introduced economists to the idea of decentralized knowledge, which he referred to as “local” and “man on the spot.”³⁰ Thus, we are best poised to help those closest to us because we are better able to obtain the information we need. Hayek demonstrated that the price system is, relative to the

alternatives, the most productive mechanism to deal with dispersed knowledge because prices themselves are decentralized. As such, prices are nimble and change based on changing market conditions, and in doing so they help us ration effectively, allowing buyers and sellers to coordinate. The market cannot solve all our problems, civil society has an important role to play.

Subsidiarity is what Tocqueville witnessed in real-time. Americans worked with each other, often spontaneously and with great goodwill, and the culture of help and cooperation was predicated both on religious freedom and the ethos of loving one's neighbor.³¹ Subsidiarity does not imply that we never seek distant assistance, but rather that we work to solve problems locally first. This historically occurred outside of the vast modern state and federal government system we experience today. Moreover, living in a community is part of our nature emanating from *imago Dei*—in reflection of the communion of the Holy Trinity, and we are made both to live amongst and to serve one another.

These institutions were effective, and as such people sought out community solutions before government solutions. This can insulate societies from government growth and overreach. The gospel demonstrates how this works. In Matthew 22:36-40, Jesus tells us to love our neighbor as ourselves, the second greatest commandment. Market activity and civil society provide us avenues for greater human flourishing and allow us to love our neighbors. How do we reconcile that unchanging commandment in a worldwide pandemic? COVID-19 has changed many things in the United States and beyond, the most worrying of which is the assumptions we make about one another that affect how we treat one another.

The Effects of COVID-19 on Work and Community

Sustainable economic growth occurs only where societies embrace the ethos of work and the spirit of unrelenting human creativity. Yet we find ourselves in a moment of insecurity about the future of the US economy, the course of the pandemic, and the ongoing government response. The “Great Resignation” sits within this moment and is generating buzz around the question: Are droves of workers calling it quits, and should we be worried?³²

The pandemic has radically altered employment in many ways. Lockdowns forced many to work from home and made in-person work challenging with social distancing requirements that reduced production capacities and in retail and restaurants, reduced physical shopping and dining out. Businesses had to adapt in the early days of the pandemic to extended lockdowns and now labor shortages resulting from both resignations in the labor market and the rapid

transmissibility of the various strains of COVID-19, which though widespread are proving less deadly.³³

In March 2020, the world came to a screeching halt as COVID-19 rapidly spread. Schools from pre-K to colleges shut down and transitioned to distance learning. Restaurants became curbside and to-go only. Many small, retail establishments shuttered their doors or frantically transitioned to online sales. In the spring of 2020, the US economy faced its biggest contraction ever with a 32.9 percent drop in GDP in one quarter, though largely rebounding by the end of 2020.³⁴

In April 2020, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that unemployment surged to 14.7 percent—the highest and largest month-to-month increase in the history of data collection. The US government responded with four special appropriations laws that to date total \$3.9 trillion.³⁵ There have been three rounds of stimulus checks for eligible Americans totaling \$850 billion in direct payments to taxpayers.³⁶ Additionally, the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (CARES) Act stipulated an additional \$600 per week of additional unemployment compensation.³⁷

These financial benefits enacted during the pandemic cannot and will not last forever because they cannot forever be financed, but they can create disincentives to work and can alter career plans. This will impact labor markets, particularly in lower-skilled industries like retail and food if the subsidy provided encourages people to trade off more leisure for labor or to stay home more often. If workers expect to get stimulus and unemployment subsidies as well as other income interventions such as student loan deferral, this alters the calculus of whether one chooses to substitute more leisure for labor. The early stages of the pandemic have the greatest effect on workers who were not able to telework and who lost work or were fired from their positions. These workers tend to be lower-skilled laborers who may have fewer options and as such, they bear a large cost of not being able to work. In the latter part of 2022, we saw a turnaround in the labor market with record numbers of workers in lower-wage work quitting, what has been deemed “The Great Resignation.”

In the early stages of the pandemic, millions of jobs were eliminated with 27 percent of workers whose professions were not suitable for telework reporting job loss from May 2020, which declined to 8 percent in each month of the last quarter of 2020.³⁸ For those who are not in the low-skilled labor demographic, things have been chugging along smoothly inasmuch as the quick transition to remote work meant workers in higher income brackets have faced far less disruption, and some have taken on additional jobs due to time saved commuting.³⁹ The pandemic demonstrated to bosses and employees that remote work was possible and even productive. The early 2022 Bureau of Labor and Statistics (BLS) jobs

report shows that nonfarm payroll was up by 210,000 workers and their unemployment fell by 0.4 percent to 4.2.⁴⁰ The report also shows that the number of permanent job losers (people whose jobs ended involuntarily and began looking for work) declined by 205,000 yet remains higher than in February 2020. The labor force participation rate increased to 61.8 percent in November 2021—1.5 percent below February 2020.

These numbers help us understand the broader picture. The pandemic along with the government response shifted the way we do things as well as the incentives employees face, but for now it is an employee's market. Workers have options and some can voluntarily decide to call it quits. The Great Resignation got its name due to trends we have seen in March and April 2022: the greatest number of "quits"⁴¹ recorded. They, however, are not being forced out of jobs. Rather, they are switching jobs because they have a variety of opportunities and employers must rise to the occasion. This is why you see Walmart employees starting at seventeen dollars per hour with paid college tuition and Amazon warehouse jobs offering up to \$3,000 sign-on bonuses.⁴²

Many of the employees who have permanently quit are seniors aged sixty-five and older who left the labor market in 2020 at a higher rate than ever recorded.⁴³ Seniors are retiring early, fueling the concern about the Great Resignation, but perhaps we should not be overly worried about this. If you have the savings to retire early, then you can.

A lesson we can learn from the pandemic is that the nature of work has changed, and we can expect some of that to be permanent. Remote work and telework flexibility are here to stay and will be incentives that employers used to retain the best and brightest. This allows people to move across the country and out of cities. The labor market will recover so long as destructive measures that discourage work are not adopted. Market economies, even those with intervention, rebound because they operate on profit and loss. Employees do not want to lose talent. Quite the opposite: They want to hire and retain the most productive people. The more lasting and perhaps pernicious residuals of the COVID-19 pandemic and government responses to it will occur within the sphere of culture.

American politics took a divisive and populist turn well before the pandemic, but the pandemic has exacerbated this division. The question remains: How much cultural damage has occurred, and can it be repaired? Market economies require respect for human dignity, human freedom, individual autonomy, human agency, risk-taking, entrepreneurship, private property rights supported by the rule of law, and limited government. Markets accomplish wealth creation and accumulation through advances in human productivity and a culture of discovery and learning. Crises are the most important times to remain steadfast to these principles—adap-

tive and creative solutions depend on it. But if divisive politics permeates daily affairs, polarizing neighbors and fomenting a culture of contempt, we yield the civil society so trumpeted by Tocqueville to incivility and even violence.

The art of association is part of American culture. Americans committed to living out their beliefs amongst each other (not that they were any more civil, more righteous, or less sinful)—this meant that they were called to work with different people who held different beliefs yet shared a unifying commitment to the common good, to loving one's neighbor.

One must only spend a small amount of time on social media to see that American culture is losing civility and that COVID-19 has fostered more division. This extends to other advanced economies, too, where surveys report more political division because of the pandemic, with six-in-ten people reporting that national divisions have intensified due to the pandemic. The greatest source of the division comes from individual responses to social restrictions faced during the pandemic, including stay-at-home orders and mask mandates. Pew suggests that across the seventeen countries surveyed, those who identify on the right of the political spectrum are more likely than those on the left to support fewer restrictions to contain the virus.⁴⁴ Rather than seeing our neighbors as human beings with reasonable disagreements over how to respond to an unprecedented global pandemic, people litmus-test their neighbors based on things like mask-wearing and quarantining, creating division and discord.

Moreover, COVID-19 presents society with externality problems or spillover costs. Typically, externality problems occur in the face of poorly-defined and difficult-to-manage property rights. Thus, the debates over lockdowns and masks become intensely personal and a way to vet whether our neighbors are “virtuous,” and if not, we show them contempt. This was in some cases encouraged by lawmakers. New York City's mayor set up a “photo hotline” encouraging neighbors to tattle on each other for violating social distancing requirements.⁴⁵ Some priests resorted to offering drive through communion.⁴⁶

Our most sacred spaces were violated. Yet the experts did not know much about the proper response, but they did use it to capitalize on power. The virus is new; information continues to be gathered and studies commenced; but there is much we did not know and, as such, determining the proper policy response remains elusive. Moreover, the policy elites change their positions often, the CDC has relaxed mask, quarantine, and social distancing requirements and many of those requirements are embroiled in ideological predilections.⁴⁷ When social fractures occur along ideological lines, we may become more reluctant to help our neighbors. If we apply litmus tests on our neighbors based on how

they respond to COVID-19, rather understanding that reasonable people can disagree, civil society begins to wither. It is not robust against all infringements.

Additionally, public choice theory teaches that tyranny waits for a crisis because it allows the powerful opportunities to seize power without as much social resistance as might otherwise occur. In order to maintain power, political elites on both the right and the left always desire to convince people that if citizens willingly cede power to them, they will do the right thing. Human history demonstrates the abysmal track record here. Market economies create a moral order not because people will always do the right thing, but rather, because decentralized and self-interested people will use prices, property rights, and profits and losses to allocate scarce resources to those who need them the most. This allows for a moral order, but that order must be sustained in the institutions of law, culture, and government. Civil society and culture are the glue that holds that moral order together.⁴⁸ If we destroy them, we destroy peaceful non-market, non-state association, in turn eroding peaceful market and state institutions.

Conclusion

If human action occurs within an overlapping set of institutions—market, non-market, and the state—we can see that each sphere is independent yet interrelated. Civil society, voluntary associations and ties that bind us in community, is an essential part of life. Work in both the market and nonmarket spheres is essential for thriving communities and economic development. We lose these interdependent yet robust institutions when we treat our neighbor who disagrees with us as villainous. If we lose our culture of help, creativity, and entrepreneurship, the fruit of work will also be destroyed, and we will not be able to uphold the culture and market that allows us to thrive. Much of the unintended consequences of our reactions to COVID-19, both in policy and in our interpersonal dealings with one another, remain unknown. We can know that if we destroy the culture of service and work, if we begin to vet everyone first on their ideology, treating it as an all-or-nothing seal of approval or disdain, we will lose the very things we need the most, to thrive not just today but when the next crisis, whatever it may be, comes.

Notes

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3. See, e.g., John Frame, *The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God: A Theology of Lordship* (Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 1987): 81–85; Hugh Whelchel, *How Then Should We Work? Rediscovering the Biblical Doctrine of Work* (McLean: The Institute for Faith, Work, and Economics, 2012); Gene Edward Veith, *God at Work: Your Christian Vocation in All of Life* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2002); Johnathan Pennington, “Human Flourishing and the Bible,” in Art Lindsley and Anne Bradley, eds., *Counting the Cost: Christian Perspectives on Capitalism* (Abilene: Abilene Christian University Press, 2017); idem, *The Sermon on the Mount and Human Flourishing: A Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017); Brent A. Strawn, *The Bible and the Pursuit of Happiness: What the Old and New Testaments Teach Us about the Good Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
4. See Frame, *The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God*, 81–85.
5. See Theology of Work Project, Inc, “Calling in the Theology of Work,” *Journal of Markets & Morality* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 171–87.
6. Cornelius Plantinga, *Not the Way It’s Supposed to Be: A Breviary of Sin* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 10.
7. See Paul Sands, “The Imago Dei as Vocation,” *Evangelical Quarterly* 82, no. 1 (January 2010): 28–41.
8. See Gene Edward Veith, “Vocation: The Theology of the Christian Life,” *Journal of Markets & Morality* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 119–31.
9. Martin Luther, “Exposition of Psalm 147,” quoted in Gustaf Wingren, *Luther on Vocation* (Evansville: Ballast Press, 1994), 138. See also Daniel Soars, “Creation in Aquinas: *Ex Nihilo* or *Ex Deo*?” *New Blackfriars* 102, no. 1102 (November 2021): 950–66, <https://doi.org/10.1111/nbfr.12603>; Gerhard May, *Creation Ex Nihilo: The Doctrine of “Creation out of Nothing” in Early Christian Thought*, trans. A. S. Worral (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), xii.
10. See Sands, “The *Imago Dei* as Vocation,” 28–41.
11. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 12–13.

12. See Dierdre Nansen McCloskey, *Bourgeois Equality: How Ideas, Not Capital or Institutions, Enriched the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).
13. See Robert Sirico, *The Economics of the Parables* (Washington: Regnery, 2022).
14. See Os Guinness, *The Call: Finding and Fulfilling the Central Purpose of Your Life* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998).
15. See F. A. Hayek, *Law, Legislation, and Liberty*, vol. 2: *The Mirage of Social Justice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
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17. See Pennington, “Human Flourishing and the Bible”; John R. Schneider, *The Good of Affluence: Seeking God in a Culture of Wealth* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).
18. Edward Younkens, “Michael Novak’s Portrait of Democratic Capitalism,” *Journal of Markets & Morality* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 8–34.
19. Goldin Claudia, “Human Capital,” in Claude Diebolt and Michael Hauptert, eds., *Handbook of Cliometrics* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2016), 55–86.
20. See Robert Solow, “Technical Change and the Aggregate Production Function,” *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 39, no. 3 (1957): 312–20; Claudia, “Human Capital.”
21. See Solow, “Technical Change.”
22. Paul M. Romer, “Endogenous Technological Change,” *Journal of Political Economy* 98, no. 5, Part 2: The Problem of Development: A Conference of the Institute for the Study of Free Enterprise Systems (October 1990): S71–S102.
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26. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Penguin Press, 1956).
27. See Pierpaolo Donati, “What Does ‘Subsidiarity’ Mean? The Relational Perspective,” *Journal of Markets & Morality* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 211–43.

28. See Pope Leo XIII, encyclical letter *Rerum Novarum* (May 15, 1891); Pope Pius XI, encyclical letter *Quadragesimo Anno* (May 15, 1931). See also Pierpaolo Donati, “What Does ‘Subsidiarity’ Mean? The Relational Perspective,” *Journal of Markets & Morality* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 211–43.
29. See Glenn Sunshine, “Who Are the Poor?” in Bradley and Lindsley, *Counting the Cost*, 57–78.
30. See F. A. Hayek, “The Use of Knowledge in Society,” *The American Economic Review* 35, no. 4 (1945): 519–30.
31. See Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*.
32. See Arianne Cohen, “How to Quit Your Job in the Great Post-Pandemic Resignation Boom,” *Bloomberg*, May 10, 2021, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-05-10/quit-your-job-how-to-resign-after-covid-pandemic>.
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