The Alice M. Rivlin Initiative for Economic Policy & Competitiveness

Proposed Research Projects for Years 3 & 4
January 2024

“Demand for D.C.” how can D.C. re-establish its competitive edge?

The Rivlin Initiative: History, mission, and vision

Launched in March 2022 by the D.C. Policy Center, the Alice M. Rivlin Initiative for Economic Policy & Competitiveness produces objective, data-driven research that evaluates the District of Columbia’s competitiveness vis-à-vis neighboring jurisdictions and other employment centers in the United States. Through its research and engagement with the community, the Rivlin Initiative highlights policies that create broad-based prosperity, foster economic growth, and increase D.C.’s appeal. The Rivlin Initiative stands out as the first recent effort in the city to systematically analyze D.C.’s competitive position and what it means for the city’s growth potential.

Three principles inform the Rivlin Initiative’s work.

1. Economic growth is necessary for sustained economic mobility.
2. Economic growth can offer the fastest path to shared prosperity, especially when supported by thoughtful policies.
3. D.C. will grow fastest if it is a “competitive city” that businesses, investors, workers, and residents find attractive.

The Rivlin Initiative engages in three types of work:

1. **Data-driven analyses.** The Rivlin Initiative will publish objective, data-driven analyses that speak to D.C.’s short- and long-run economic concerns. Our analyses will resonate with a broad audience: D.C.’s elected officials, advocacy groups, research organizations, the business community, the interested public, and the media.

2. **Advancing knowledge and creating new data.** The Rivlin Initiative will develop new data by systematically engaging business establishments and employers in the city and across the region. We will use this data to examine what jurisdictional factors employers consider in making various business decisions, how these factors have changed since the pandemic, and what these changes mean for growth and economic mobility in the District of Columbia. Systematic engagement
of employers—who are untethered by administrative borders—is crucial for painting a full picture of the region’s competitive dynamics.

3. **Practical policy proposals and productive collaboration.** The Rivlin Initiative will develop practical policy proposals that re-establish the District’s competitive edge and reinvigorate its economy. We will also collaborate in productive ways with elected officials, researchers, journalists, advocacy groups, and businesses that are similarly dedicated to the success of urban areas in the United States.¹

In its first two years, the Rivlin Initiative worked hard to publish eleven in-depth, long-form reports and many timely, incisive shorter publications. Our work examined how the COVID-19 pandemic changed migration trends and the demand for cities, and how these shifts changed the District’s competitive position. The Rivlin Initiative covered an array of topics, including the District’s fiscal position, the rise of remote work, the geography of jobs, labor force dynamics, employment trends, migration patterns, business formation, and the commercial real estate market.

Here are some research highlights from the first two years:

- **Remote work and the future of D.C.:** In 2019, approximately 500,000 people of the 810,000 people who worked at a business in D.C. commuted into the city from a neighboring jurisdiction. The report estimated that, given the option of working from home, 155,000 fewer people would commute into the city, which in turn, would result in less economic activity. Demand for public transportation, office space, and locally provided goods or services would decrease.²

- **Migration out of high-cost metro areas:** During the pandemic, lower-cost metro areas fared better than higher-cost metro areas—attracting more people and jobs, and generating more economic activity. Not only did lower-cost metro areas gain population at the expense of higher-cost ones, lower-cost metros also suffered less nonfarm employment loss than their higher-cost counterparts, and bounced back faster.³

- **Household growth:** While the District lost population during the pandemic, the number of households in D.C. increased. Single adults between the ages of 25 and 34 with high earning potential primarily drove the household growth.⁴

- **Job activity and worker sprawl:** For this current era of remote work, the Rivlin Initiative developed a new metric—job activity—to better track the geographic


spread of jobs. Instead of using a business establishment’s location as the Bureau of Labor Statistics does, the “job activity” metric uses the job location reported by a worker.\(^5\) This metric provided a clearer and more accurate view of job sprawl in the Washington metropolitan area.

The Rivlin Initiative’s research quickly earned a reputation for trustworthiness, relevance, and significance. In the first two years, major media outlets such as the Wall Street Journal, the Washington Post, Washington Business Journal, Axios D.C., Politico, and Greater Greater Washington frequently referenced the Rivlin Initiative’s work.

Over the next two years, the Rivlin Initiative will research topics that are closely related to the city’s economic prosperity. The main theme for the next two years is “Demand for D.C.”—focusing on how residents, workers, businesses, and investors are valuing the District in a post-pandemic world as a place to live, work, or invest.

Our planned research projects will offer insights into the District’s business environment, its competitive position, and its fiscal future. We will also analyze and compare how various metro areas perform during recessions, and how the pandemic might have changed such performance. Lastly, we plan to examine how the D.C. government can more effectively use the data it already has.

**Why is this work important?**

In the next two years, the Rivlin Initiative will focus on how the District can revive its economy and re-establish the city’s competitive edge. Various indicators—employment numbers, domestic migration trends, the geography of work, office occupancy rates, the health of the commercial real estate market, the budget outlook, and the potential move of two professional sports teams—all point toward the fact that D.C. has become a less attractive city for people to live, work, invest, and do business. Put differently, all the aforementioned indicators point to serious economic distress in D.C.\(^6\)

Recent data show that employment growth has stalled in D.C. Even though the Bureau of Labor Statistics data shows employment growth around 1 percent in the last year, this growth could just be noise. The weak job growth also extends to the federal government, and the professional, scientific, and technical services sector—two sectors that have previously powered the District’s economy.\(^7\)

Domestic migration trends have also boded poorly for D.C. For every year between 2020 and 2023, more people moved out of the District than those who moved in. This domestic out-migration contributed to a loss of population in 2020 and 2021 and

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hampered the city’s population growth in 2022 and 2023. In addition to hampering population growth, domestic outmigration threatens the District’s tax base because higher-income households tend to move more often. But not all the migration data is bleak. In 2022 and 2023, the District’s population grew primarily because of increasing international in-migration. It is also the case that the rate of domestic out-migration has decreased in recent years.\textsuperscript{8}

Another area of concern is the driver of natural growth of the population. In 2023, the natural growth was driven by fewer deaths, and not by higher births.\textsuperscript{9} In fact, the District had the lowest number of births in the last 17 years.\textsuperscript{10} These numbers are another sign of reduced demand for the city.

The transformation wrought by remote work has also put the District in a more vulnerable position. Before the pandemic, D.C. was a city that relied on commuters. Almost half a million people from neighboring jurisdictions commuted to D.C. for work each day. But now, with the option of working at home, an estimated 31 percent of those commuters can avoid the commute by working from home. All else equal, if fewer people work in D.C., that will result in fewer people buying goods or services at local D.C. shops, restaurants, and businesses.\textsuperscript{11} And office occupancy rates—which, as of January 2023, are 54 percent below pre-pandemic levels—suggest that the return to in-person work may have peaked, at least in the short run.\textsuperscript{12} It is possible that the District will never return to its pre-pandemic levels of office occupancy.

The D.C. Policy Center’s “job activity” metric—which uses a worker’s reported location to track jobs—shows how remote work has profoundly changed the geography of work in the D.C. region. More people are working in the surrounding suburbs or exurbs instead of working in the city itself. In short, the D.C. region has experienced substantial job sprawl. In 2019, D.C. accounted for 30 percent of the region’s business and financial jobs. By 2021, that number had dropped to 21 percent. With this 9-percentage point decline, D.C. lost its status as the region’s leader of business and financial job activity to suburban Fairfax County.\textsuperscript{13}

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\textsuperscript{10} In 2022, there were 8,075 births in D.C., a low figure not seen since 2005. Yesim Sayin and Chelsea Coffin (2024), “The fiscal future of public education in the District of Columbia.” Expected publication date: February 13, 2024.


Given that more people are working in the suburbs and exurbs, D.C.’s commercial real estate market has also suffered. Over the last year, D.C.’s office market had a negative net absorption rate of more than 2 million square feet. Other market indicators are blinking red as well. D.C.’s Central Business District (CBD) has a vacancy rate slightly under 19 percent and an availability rate of 22 percent. The fact that CBD’s availability rate is greater than its vacancy rate suggests that vacancy rates might increase even more. The CBD is not an isolated example. In fact, many of D.C.’s real estate submarkets may experience higher vacancy rates in the future.

D.C.’s budget also presents challenges. Between fiscal years 2019 and 2024, the District’s operating expenditures increased by 34 percent. Revenues, however, failed to keep up. Revenues are expected to grow only half as fast as expenditures—or at 17 percent. And if one looks at the District’s current four-year financial plan, one will notice that the city’s reoccurring expenditures exceed its reoccurring revenues for each of the four years. To balance its budget in 2024, the D.C. government will use 166 million dollars in federal aid. But using federal support to balance the budget will not be an option after Fiscal Year 2024.

Lastly, D.C. will potentially lose two of its professional sports teams—the Wizards and the Capitals—to a neighboring jurisdiction. The potential departure of the two teams shines a bright symbolic light on the current struggles of Downtown D.C. At the same time, the potential departure presents new opportunities for paving the road to a revitalized city and downtown.

The Rivlin Initiative's Framework for Thinking About Urban Success

One can look at three metrics to judge a city’s health. The first metric is whether the wages offered in a city are high. The second is whether a city’s real estate prices are rising. And the third is whether a city is experiencing population growth.

A thriving city performs well on all three metrics. Employers generously compensate employees because of their productivity. There is a strong demand for real estate

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because people find the city an appealing place to live, work, and invest. And the city’s population grows, in part, because non-residents find the city a more attractive place to live and work than where they currently reside.19

Between the early 2000s and the outbreak of COVID-19, D.C. represented a model city. The District saw its population grow as young adults moved into the city. Given the increased demand for living in D.C., property values in the city also rose.20 And the wages offered in the city were high.21

With thoughtful, evidenced-based public policies, D.C. can once again become a model of urban success. But it will require careful analytical work and holistic thinking about public policies—which are two principal strengths of the Rivlin Initiative.

It is important to remember that any policy that the District pursues can “reverberate” across the region. While D.C. has its own administrative boundaries, these boundaries are permeable. The boundaries do not prevent businesses, residents, investors, or workers from voting with their feet if D.C. enacts ill-advised policies. For this reason, it is important to think carefully and rigorously about the District’s position vis-à-vis the greater D.C. metro region.22

Thinking holistically also means being sensitive to the interactions between policies that might appear disconnected on the surface. The District’s education policies will shape the skills and productivity of its future workforce. The District’s land use policies can affect the affordability of its housing. And the District’s transportation policies can affect the degree of economic and racial segregation in the city’s schools.23


The Rivlin Initiative’s Flagship Research Agenda

In the next two years, the Rivlin Initiative will complete five flagship reports. In the paragraphs that follow, we overview the topics and potential sources for each flagship report.

I. Quarterly Business Sentiments Survey

*Planned delivery:* February, May, September, and November

*Overview:* The Quarterly Business Sentiments survey will be the Rivlin Initiative’s cornerstone research project for 2024 and 2025. The survey will furnish detailed yet actionable information on the experiences of businesses in the D.C. region to elected officials, the media, and the public. Using the survey platform Qualtrics, the survey asks businesses about barriers to growth, the overall business climate, and any experiences interacting with government or local advocacy groups. Each survey round will have an optional set of themed questions. Some of the themes under consideration include location and re-location decisions, regulatory burdens, and hybrid work arrangements. Any business or non-profit—whether currently or previously located in the D.C. region—will be invited to participate. The inaugural round of the survey launched on January 16, 2024.

II. Demand for D.C. in a Post-Pandemic World

*Planned delivery:* May 2024

*Overview:* This report will evaluate how the end of the pandemic has affected demand for D.C and how demand for living, working, and doing business in D.C. has changed in the last ten years. To measure the District’s competitive position, the report will examine migration patterns of businesses, households, and people. It will also investigate employment patterns among D.C. residents, and it will analyze the formation and investment patterns of businesses. The report will conclude by offering policy recommendations to improve the District’s competitive position. These
recommendations will be sensitive to the possibility that D.C. office occupancy rates may never return to their pre-pandemic levels.

**Potential sources:** To gauge the demand for D.C. from households or residents, the report will analyze employment and migration patterns using American Community Survey microdata and the Census’s Components of Residential Population Change data. To gauge the demand from workers, the report will use the American Community Survey microdata. To gauge the demand from businesses, the report will assess business formation, migration, and investment patterns using BLS’s Business Formation Statistics, National Establishment Times Series (NETS) data, and any relevant results from the Quarterly Business Sentiments survey.

**III. The Fiscal Picture**

*Planned delivery:* March 2024

**Overview:** This report will assess the various components of D.C.’s fiscal position—including its revenue, spending, one-time spending, and the effectiveness of its spending. The report will also consider what fiscal challenges the District may face in the future and what can be done policy-wise to meet those challenges. During the pandemic, the District’s finances benefited from high end-of-year surpluses and a substantial amount of federal aid. The federal aid allowed the District to increase its spending despite declining revenues. With federal fiscal aid drying up in Fiscal Year 2024, a more difficult fiscal future likely awaits.

**Potential sources:** This report will draw on publicly available budget sources including monthly cash reports, D.C. CFO’s Current Services Funding Level, DC CFO’s Budget Book and Capital Plan, DC CFO’s Budget Archives, and D.C.’s Revenue Estimates.

**IV. Labor Markets and Unemployment**

*Planned delivery:* September 2024

**Overview:** Using comparative and time series analysis, this report will explore why employment growth in D.C. has been so sluggish in the last year and identify possible contributors to the weak growth. Contributors might include the out-migration of hiring companies, recessionary expectations, interest rate increases by the Federal Reserve, and stronger competition from other metro areas. The report will conclude by recommending policies to revive job growth in D.C.24

**Potential sources:** The report will draw on data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, including the Local Unemployment Statistics (LAUS), Current Employment Statistics (CES), and the Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages. The report will also draw on any relevant findings from the Quarterly Business Sentiments survey.

**V. D.C. metro area booms and busts in comparative perspective**

*Planned delivery:* December 2024

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Overview: This report will examine the nature of recessions and economic expansions in metro areas in the United States. Using standard economic barometers, the report will assess how the D.C. metro area fares, on average, during a recession versus an expansion compared to other metro areas in the country. The report will also explore how D.C.'s performance during recessions and expansions has changed over time, and whether D.C. is as recession resistant as popular opinion suggests.

Potential sources: To identify recessions and periods of economic expansion, the report will use the National Bureau of Economic Research's “US Business Cycle Expansions and Contractions” data. To assess the relative performance of the D.C. metro area and other metro areas, the report will use the metro employment, unemployment, income, and gross domestic product data from FRED and the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

VI. D.C. can do more with its data

Planned delivery: February 2025

Description: This report will explore ways the D.C. government can do more to leverage data it already has to better guide its key policies. The report will pursue two possibilities. The first possibility is to connect the administrative data from unemployment insurance to tax roll data. Combining these two datasets would enable one to gain a fuller picture of the economic mobility of D.C. residents. The second possibility is to connect tax rolls to resident addresses to study rent control.

Potential sources: This report will draw on various sources, including the U.S. Department of Labor’s Employment and Training Administration unemployment insurance data, CoStar, IRS income statistics, and D.C.’s open data containing addresses and tax rolls.

Description:

Shorter publications or charts of the week

In addition to its flagship reports, the Rivlin Initiative will publish timely shorter pieces and charts of the week. These shorter publications or charts of the week may address the following topics:

1. Labor market outcomes: The Rivlin Initiative will track mainstream economic indicators, such as the unemployment rate, employment growth, and wages. Periodically, we will compare D.C.’s labor market indicators to those of the D.C. metro area and other metro areas in the United States.
2. Budget and fiscal outlooks: The Rivlin Initiative will monitor budget and tax-related matters, including trends that could threaten the District's tax base or revenues—whether it be declining commercial property values, the outmigration of high-income earners, or shocks that cause shifts in consumer spending patterns.
3. Population and demographic changes: The Rivlin Initiative will track the District's population changes, identify the drivers of such changes, and explain what the changes mean for the city’s future.
4. Geography of work: For D.C., the broader D.C. metro area, and other metropolitan areas, the Rivlin Initiative will compare the BLS employment statistics to the D.C.
Policy Center’s “job activity” metric to assess the extent of job sprawl and how it has changed over time.\(^5\)

5. **Business conditions:** The Rivlin Initiative will periodically evaluate the business climate using data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Business Sentiments Survey. We will consider the intended and unintended consequences of targeted regulatory interventions, such as employment laws. We will also assess what incentives are important for attracting businesses to the D.C. region.

6. **Understanding the labor force:** Between November 2022 and November 2023, D.C.’s unemployment rate rose from 4.2 percent to 5.0 percent.\(^6\) What has contributed to this change? Who are the unemployed and what are their demographic characteristics? How has D.C.’s labor force changed over time?

7. **Commercial real estate market:** Currently, it is hard to know what D.C. office buildings are worth because transactions in the commercial real estate market have come to a virtual standstill.\(^7\) Using CoStar data, the Rivlin Initiative will continue to monitor and analyze the health of D.C.’s commercial real estate market in terms of vacancy and availability rates. Can the District’s commercial assessment process be improved by having a consensus approach to cap rates?

8. **Transportation and commuting patterns:** What are the region’s commuting patterns? How have commuting patterns changed since COVID-19?

9. **Public sector:** Between November 2022 and November 2023, the federal government experienced negative employment growth. Put another way, the federal government lost jobs.\(^8\) What are the implications of this and other federal workforce trends for the District’s economy?

10. **Crime:** In recent years, D.C. has battled elevated levels of violent crime. Is violent crime correlated with domestic migration patterns? And is violent crime correlated with business closings or business migration?

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**About the D.C. Policy Center**

The mission of the D.C. Policy Center is to arm decision makers with fact-based, unbiased, and reliable research and analyses to help create a vibrant local economy that can maximize opportunities for residents, workers, and businesses in the District of Columbia. Through objective and rigorous research and collaboration, the D.C. Policy Center develops and tests policy ideas, disseminates its findings, actively promotes policy solutions, and engages in constructive dialogue and debate.

The D.C. Policy Center is a 501(c)(3) organization. To read more, please visit: [https://www.dcpolicycenter.org/about/](https://www.dcpolicycenter.org/about/)

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