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The Pew Charitable Trusts

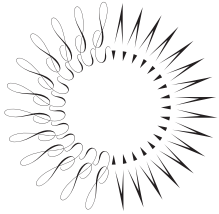
Trust



Common Ground

How bipartisanship produced the largest
land conservation legislation in a decade

Fall 2019 | Vol. 21, No. 4



TIME CAPSULE

Thirty-five years ago, The Pew Charitable Trusts began funding a program that supports promising young researchers who seek to advance human health. The Pew Scholars Program in the Biomedical Sciences was one of the first of its kind—and the first to have the Pew name attached to it after years of anonymous grantmaking. Nearly 1,000 scholars have received grants and their numbers include three scientists who have gone on to win the Nobel Prize, awarded in a ceremony each year by Sweden's King Carl XVI Gustaf: Roderick MacKinnon for chemistry in 2003, Craig Mello for physiology or medicine in 2006, and Carol Greider for physiology or medicine in 2009.

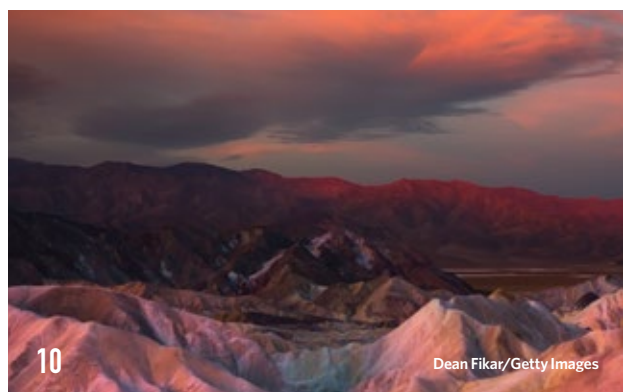


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Cover: Sankar Salvady/Getty Images

What a Difference a Decade Makes



Decades are often given names that serve as a short—and nostalgic—description of a bygone era: The Roaring Twenties. The Fabulous Fifties. The Swinging Sixties. But the passage of 10 years can also tell a more nuanced story of economic, environmental, and social progress.

Pew's work is all about moving the needle on difficult challenges—especially where we can add unique value and serve the public good. Often, we are in it for the long haul—a decade or more—and a critical element of our approach is to establish priorities, timelines, and milestones that chart progress along the way. Then we can determine, using rigorous research, whether we're achieving our objectives.

Three stories in this issue of *Trust* illustrate the point.

The first is our cover story about the John D. Dingell Jr. Conservation, Management, and Recreation Act. This bipartisan legislation, which passed the House 363-62 and the Senate 92-8 and includes six Pew priorities, is the largest conservation package since 2009. It will safeguard nearly 2 million acres of public land and 450 miles of scenic rivers across four states: California, New Mexico, Oregon, and Utah. The legislation also expands several national parks, creates five national monuments, and protects some of the best steelhead trout spawning streams in the world.

This major land conservation law did not happen quickly or easily: We worked with local partners in each state to move this legislation forward, including businesses, outdoor enthusiasts, veterans, Native

Americans, conservationists, community leaders, and others who want to conserve wild places. Accompanying the narrative of the decade-long effort to craft and pass the bill, you'll find breathtaking photographs of some of the sites the law protects.

In another long-standing effort, Pew's state fiscal health project provides research, analysis, and technical assistance to help state officials navigate fiscal challenges and identify solutions. Starting in 2007, our nation became mired in the worst economic downturn since the 1930s. Millions of Americans lost their jobs, and, in many cases, their home values and savings plummeted. States felt the pain too, as revenue declined and economic growth stalled.

In 2009, the economy began a decade-long expansion that continues to this day. As you'll learn in this issue, states have benefited from this turnaround with tax revenue higher in 2018 than in 2008 and "rainy day" reserve funds at record levels in some states.

It's difficult to predict what name will be given to this and future decades. Yet we should always strive to make the future brighter.

But states didn't benefit from the economic expansion right away; the 50 states together gave up \$283 billion in forgone revenue—adjusted for inflation— just between 2009 and 2012. As a result, a key economist has called the last 10 years a "lost decade" for many states. That's because despite a turnaround in the national economy, revenue and expenditures in these states have declined. As of 2016 (the most recent year for which some data are available), funding for K-12 education was down in 29 states; state investment in infrastructure is at its lowest level in more than 50 years; and many local governments are facing their own challenges because of shrinking state aid.

In this issue, we also look at an important milestone for Pew's work in our hometown of Philadelphia: the 10th anniversary of the "State of the City" report. To commemorate this annual assessment of economic, social, and cultural trends in the city, the Philadelphia research initiative recently published "10 Trends That Have Changed Philadelphia in 10 Years," a data-driven portrait that vividly describes the many changes the city

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has undergone over the past decade. The report notes that Philadelphia's population has grown steadily, fueled by young adults and immigrants. Over the past 10 years, violent crime has fallen 31 percent, but opioid deaths have nearly tripled in the same period and are now the city's third-leading cause of death.

The news on infant mortality is much better; 178 infants died in 2017, compared with 286 in 2007—a decline of more than one-third. And the number of people in Philadelphia without health insurance has dropped substantially, as has the city's jail population. This issue of *Trust* brings into focus these and other trends—and the difference a decade can make to a great and historic city such as Philadelphia.

It's difficult to predict what name will be given to this and future decades. Yet we should always strive to make the future brighter. At Pew, we measure progress toward that goal with evidence-based data. But our most important tools for building a stronger and healthier world are the commitment of our organization's founders to public service, the diligence of our staff, and the dedication of our partners. They have strengthened our work throughout the decades—and always will.



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THE BIG PICTURE

A school of American sand lance swims off the Eastern Shore of Nova Scotia. Canada is home to the world's largest shoreline—some 151,000 miles—as well as some of the largest riverine systems, which had been managed by the same fisheries legislation for more than 150 years. But in June, Canada enacted a new fisheries law, one that incorporates Indigenous knowledge and improves and modernizes how the nation manages its fisheries. Pew has begun working in the Atlantic waters off Canada to conserve the rich diversity of life and rebuild depleted fish species through partnerships with Canada-based scientists, conservation and fishing organizations, Indigenous communities, and government agencies.



Virtual reality headsets, like the one on this woodland visitor, are one of several new ideas for generating revenue that could help defray rising maintenance costs in our national parks. *Getty Images*

Innovative Ideas Could Help Fund National Parks

BY DEMETRA AOSPOROS

From the highest U.S. mountain peak in Alaska's Denali National Park and Preserve to the jagged and thunderous inlets of Acadia National Park in Maine, the National Park System protects treasures from coast to coast.

However, the park system is suffering from years of deferred maintenance—to the tune of about \$11.9 billion. This has resulted in crumbling roads, roofs, and bridges,

overgrown trails, damaged visitor centers, and more.

The Pew Charitable Trusts is urging Congress to make a significant investment to help the National Park Service (NPS) address this maintenance backlog by enacting legislation that would direct \$6.5 billion over five years to address priority deferred maintenance projects.

At the same time, Pew's restore America's parks project is exploring new ways to keep the backlog from

compounding over time. What if park visitors—there were 318 million of them in 2018—had the opportunity to pay for cutting-edge, technology-enhanced experiences that made their trips more memorable? Could fees from such innovations help NPS offset some of these maintenance costs in the future, and maybe even keep things running more cost-effectively in the decades to come? The restore America’s parks project explored this idea, among others, in a recent report, “Protecting Our Parks,” undertaken with the engineering, design, and project management firm AECOM.

The research, published in May, focused on three strategies to diminish future costs: transferring or eliminating deferred maintenance, generating new streams of revenue, and increasing the resilience of assets. The innovative ideas have the potential to draw down future maintenance costs by \$3.7 billion over the next decade.

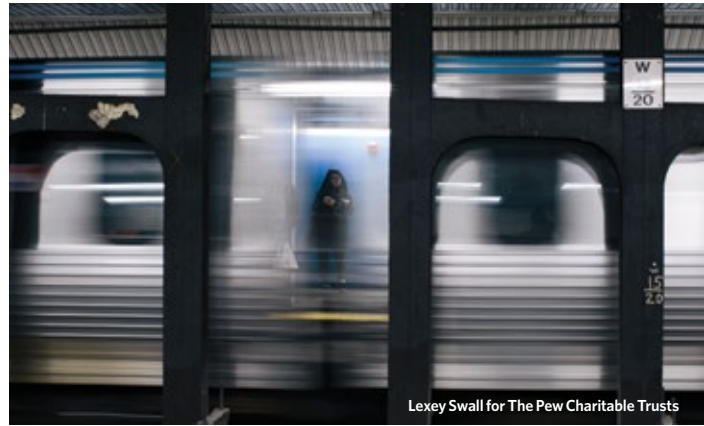
Handing over the management of some park assets to other entities could help—for instance, transferring the responsibility for plowing and patching roads to municipalities that are connected by park roads. Demolishing nonessential or underutilized nonhistoric buildings could eliminate future maintenance costs, and allowing rarely used unpaved roads and trails to return to nature could do the same.

Pew’s restore America’s parks project is exploring new ways to keep the backlog from compounding over time.

Smart technology could make some park assets more resilient, thus reducing their maintenance costs: Sensors on a roof that signal the first sign of a leak could initiate the installation of a simple patch before a gaping hole forms, requiring a more costly repair. Restroom sensors could alert NPS staff to bathrooms that need attention or waste cans that need emptying, freeing up staff to devote time to other work.

In looking at ways to potentially generate income, the report examined ways to use modern technology. Offering visitors customized virtual-reality experiences—3-D or 360-degree headsets—that capture the sights and sounds of historic moments, or offer a selection of in-depth historic tours from virtual park rangers, could boost NPS coffers.

“The strategies in the ‘Protecting Our Parks’ report shouldn’t supplant a robust investment in the park backlog from Congress, but the ideas are worth considering as we think about how to keep park repairs from escalating in the future,” says Marcia Argust, who directs Pew’s parks project.



Philadelphia’s High Commuting Costs

In Philadelphia, nearly a quarter of all people who commute to work use public transportation, the third-highest percentage among the ten U.S. cities with more than 1 million people. During weekdays, Philly commuters take about 819,000 trips on the buses, trolleys, and rail lines of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority’s (SEPTA’s) City Transit Division. Many of these riders must transfer from one line to another to reach their destinations—and doing so can make their commutes among the most expensive in the country.

To be sure, the base fares in Philadelphia are low compared with those in most of the other cities. But total fares for trips to work vary substantially within Philadelphia, depending on payment method, the type of public transit, and whether the rider must transfer. These findings appeared in the Pew Philadelphia research initiative’s July report, “The Cost of Commuting for Philadelphians,” which compared SEPTA’s fares with those in the seven other cities with the highest number of public transit riders: New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington, Boston, and Seattle.

The report found that commuters who live outside the city’s center and away from the rail and trolley lines—and those who travel to jobs located outside central Philly—often wind up paying higher fares. That’s because of SEPTA’s transfer fees, which riders must pay unless they can afford to purchase weekly or monthly passes in advance. And the jobs outside the city center tend to be those paying less than \$40,000 a year.

All of these factors point to lower-income workers paying, on average, higher fares. “Low-paying jobs are dispersed throughout the Philadelphia region,” says Larry Eichel, who directs the research initiative. “Because of this, many lower-income riders must make one or more transfers or use Regional Rail to get to work—paying more for their commute than trips that don’t require transfers.”
—Carol Kaufmann

Complicated Views on Diversity in the U.S.

Americans have complicated—even contradictory—views about diversity at a time when the United States is becoming more racially and ethnically diverse, and companies and organizations grapple with how to build workforces that reflect these changing demographics.

A Pew Research Center survey released in May found that most people say it's good that the country has a diverse population, but many also say that this brings challenges in society. A majority values workplace diversity, but few endorse the idea of taking race or ethnicity into consideration in hiring and promotions.

Specifically, the survey found that three-fourths of Americans say it is very or somewhat important for companies and organizations to promote racial and ethnic diversity in their workplace. But the survey showed that an equal percentage also said that in hiring and promotions, companies should only consider an individual's qualifications—even if it resulted in less diversity.

Majorities say race, ethnicity shouldn't be considered in hiring and promotions

Percent saying ...

It is _____ for companies and organizations to promote racial and ethnic diversity in their workplace



When it comes to decisions about hiring and promotions, companies and organizations should ...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Overall, whites, blacks, and Hispanics said about equally that it was good that the U.S. population is racially and ethnically mixed, and majorities said that this had a positive impact on U.S. culture.

The findings come from a survey of 6,637 adults conducted in English and Spanish from Jan. 22 to Feb. 5. The survey also found that two-thirds of U.S. adults (66 percent)—including a majority of those living in neighborhoods with little diversity—are satisfied with the racial mix in their community. A majority (54 percent) said children should go to local schools, even if that made the schools less diverse, while 42 percent said children should go to racially and ethnically mixed schools even if that meant students go to classes outside their local community.

Overall, whites, blacks, and Hispanics said about equally that it was good that the U.S. population is racially and ethnically mixed, and majorities said that this had a positive impact on U.S. culture. Black Americans placed more value on workplace diversity and school integration than did whites and Hispanics.

Opinions on these issues vary considerably along political party lines, with Democrats and those who lean to the Democratic Party more likely than Republicans and Republican leaners to express positive views of the importance and impact of racial and ethnic diversity. This is the case even after taking into account the differences in the racial composition of the two parties.

“Across several questions in the survey, on diversity in particular and on other issues related to race relations and racial inequality, views divide more sharply along partisan lines than across racial or ethnic groups or other demographic characteristics,” says author Juliana Menasce Horowitz. “This is consistent with what we’ve seen recently with other topics—including views on gender and the state of higher education—we study.”

—Daniel LeDuc

Surgeon General Adams Speaks at Pew

To U.S. Surgeon General Jerome M. Adams, the 2.1 million Americans with opioid use disorder represent more than a pressing national health crisis. It's a personal one, too.

Adams' younger brother, Phillip, struggled with untreated mental illness for years and eventually turned to substances to self-medicate, the surgeon general said at a June 26 event at The Pew Charitable Trusts in Washington.

Phillip Adams began using tobacco and alcohol, then marijuana, until "one day at a party someone gave him a pill," a prescription opioid, the surgeon general said. Phillip is now serving a 10-year prison sentence for stealing \$200 to support his addiction.

Adams says he tells his brother's story to combat what he calls "the biggest killer" in the country: stigma. "Stigma keeps people in the shadows, keeps people from asking for help, and keeps people like my brother from recognizing that he has a problem," he said. "We have to share stories to turn around the crisis that we're in."

Almost 48,000 Americans died from opioid overdoses in 2017—an average of 130 lives lost each day, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. But these deaths do not tell the full story about substance use disorder. Individuals who misuse drugs or alcohol are more likely to develop chronic health conditions, experience poorer health outcomes, and have contact with the criminal justice system. The National Institute on Drug Abuse estimates that illicit drug and alcohol misuse accounts for more than \$400 billion in annual spending related to health care, lost productivity at work, and crime.

To help reduce the number of people suffering and dying from opioid addiction, Adams advocates forming partnerships with law enforcement, the military, the medical and business communities, faith leaders, and local officials.

Getting individuals into treatment is key to combating the crisis, Adams said, citing the need to pair them with peer recovery coaches and medication-assisted

treatment—a combination of behavioral therapies and FDA-approved drugs—to put them on the path to long-term recovery.

Pew's substance use prevention and treatment initiative develops and supports state and federal policies to prevent substance misuse and improve treatment options for people with substance use disorder, and also encourages states to expand access to medication-assisted treatment.

"We're not going to turn around the opioid overdose epidemic unless more people are willing to carry naloxone," Adams also told the audience at Pew.

In April 2018, the surgeon general issued an advisory urging more Americans to carry the Food and Drug Administration-approved medication that can reverse the effects of an opioid overdose. Since then, more than 2.7 million double doses of naloxone have been distributed.

The medication is the first step to getting individuals struggling with opioid use disorder into critical care, Adams said. "A person dies every 11 minutes of opioid addiction. They're not dying in alleys—they're dying in homes, bathrooms, in kitchens," he said. "We're not going to overturn the opioid epidemic unless more people carry naloxone. We can't get people into recovery if they're dead."

—Carol Kaufmann

U.S. Surgeon General Jerome M. Adams speaks at Pew's Washington offices on June 26 about combating the opioid epidemic, in an event that was open to the public. *Lexey Swall for The Pew Charitable Trusts*



HOW AMERICA'S LANDS BECAME COMMON GROUND



A rare display of congressional bipartisanship leads to the most significant conservation legislation in a decade.

BY CHARLES BABINGTON





Sunrise over the Organ Mountains in southern New Mexico. *iStockphoto*

On March 12, President Donald Trump signed into law the largest land conservation legislation in a decade.

But it almost didn't happen.

Finally poised for congressional votes in late 2018 after intense negotiations, the legislation—which affects large swaths of the American West and touches nearly every state—died in the budget stalemate that closed much of the federal government for more than a month.


Perseverance, however, paid off. Local advocates and conservationists in communities large and small, who had worked for years on the various proposals ultimately included in the bill, didn't give up. More importantly, the legislation's champions in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives—on both sides of the aisle—also continued to press ahead.

When a new Congress convened in January 2019, the legislation was expedited to the top of the agenda. And in a Capitol typically riven by partisanship, the votes marked a rare moment of national agreement. The Senate passed the legislation 92-8 on Feb. 12; days

later the House approved it, 363-62. The president's signature came soon after.

The massive omnibus bill—officially the John D. Dingell, Jr. Conservation, Management, and Recreation Act—runs 662 pages and includes more than 120 proposals, some of which have languished for years. Named for the longtime conservationist lawmaker from Michigan who passed away shortly before Senate approval, it permanently protects nearly 2.5 million acres of land and 676 miles of river, and creates three national parks. It also permanently reauthorizes the Land and Water Conservation Fund, which helps pay for parks, recreation areas, and wildlife preserves with fees from oil and gas companies for offshore drilling rights. (The fund is generally popular with leaders in both parties, but its renewal had been mired in partisan infighting.)

Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-KY) hailed the final legislation's scope, saying it "features the input of a wide coalition of our colleagues, and has earned the support of a broad, diverse coalition of many advocates for public lands, economic development, and conservation."



Little Grand Canyon in Utah's expansive—and distinctive—Emery County stretches as far as the eye can see. *The Pew Charitable Trusts*

Representative Raúl Grijalva (D-AZ), chair of the House Natural Resources Committee, called it “one of the biggest bipartisan wins for this country I’ve ever seen in Congress.”

And *The Washington Post* declared in an editorial that “the strikingly bipartisan package” shows that “Congress is not broken.”

But the celebration of bipartisanship belies the legislation’s long and sometimes shaky trek. A look back at the dynamics surrounding the bill shows that success came only after conservation advocates and other organizations worked for years to build coalitions among disparate groups—and earn support in Washington from lawmakers of both parties.



Most years, legislation this broad seemed impossible, as debates over how to manage federal lands roiled the nation, and especially the American West. The differences typically found the interests of ranchers, naturalists, mining companies, outdoor enthusiasts, and Native Americans pitted against one another. Congress hadn’t passed a lands bill this expansive in a decade.

A case in point is Emery County, a sprawling, beautifully rocky, and sparsely populated area in east-central Utah. The federal government owns much of the region’s land, and local groups across the ideological spectrum sought a voice in how it would be used. But efforts to reach agreement among the various groups on land-management proposals faltered for years.

Starting in the mid-1990s, the executive branch in Washington increasingly stepped into these political voids, with a succession of presidents using the U.S. Antiquities Act to limit the use of large tracts of federal land, including some in Utah, by designating them national monuments. Local governments and activists got the message: You either become part of the solution, or events pass you by. “When you live in and around lands owned by the federal government,” former Emery County commissioner Randy Johnson says, “changes come whether you want them or not.”

The Pew Charitable Trusts’ U.S. public lands team was among the organizations that stepped up to help shape these inevitable changes. Pew has worked for years to protect biodiversity by identifying and preserving important tracts of land and rivers throughout the American West.

From the start, Pew’s staffers took a pragmatic, collaborative approach, recognizing that no one group could get everything it wanted and that uncompromising demands would kill any far-reaching effort.

It was about getting “something done, not a ‘posture’ bill,” says Ray Peterson, Emery County’s public lands administrator, who called Pew’s help “invaluable” in helping draft legislation and navigate Congress’ political minefields.

The omnibus Dingell law includes six pieces of legislation affecting California, New Mexico, Oregon, and Utah that had been high priorities for Pew. The provisions will protect 1.39 million acres as wilderness, the highest level of land conservation the government can bestow. With other designations, the law protects another 517,000 acres of land and 452 miles of river in areas where Pew was working.

Numerous lawmakers were crucial to the Dingell bill’s ultimate success. Among them were two Utah Republicans: Senator Orrin Hatch, a 42-year veteran of the Senate who retired when the 2018 session ended, and Representative John Curtis, who entered the House in early 2017 and represents Emery County.



Pew's team worked closely with Rep. Curtis and his staff on a much-debated proposal called the Emery County Public Lands Management Act. Because of the county's vast size and natural splendor, the Emery measure was seen as a conservation priority, and essential to drawing support from senior lawmakers such as Sen. Hatch for the overall omnibus bill.

The senator had long been wary of land-management bills. Some of his Utah constituents resented dictates from Washington, and he was cautious about legislation that seemed unlikely to pass. But Senate insiders say Sen. Hatch yearned for a conservation legacy before retiring, and advocates hailed his eventual strong support of the omnibus bill.

Rep. Curtis said that Pew staffers "played a pivotal role in bridging the two sides because of their strong credibility with the environmentalists." He said Pew and other key groups committed themselves early to a collaborative, give-and-take process that was the legislation's only hope.



The Kingston Range in California is home to a diverse population of plants and animals, including white fir trees and barrel cacti, desert bighorn sheep, yellow-billed cuckoos, and the banded Gila monster—as well as to endless opportunities for backcountry adventure.
Bob Wick/Bureau of Land Management

The Dingell bill—which was sponsored in the Senate by Senator Lisa Murkowski (R-AK), the influential chair of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee—could not have existed without the efforts of countless groups and individuals nationwide who worked for years on local proposals that ultimately would make up the legislation. Utah is a good example of the start-and-stop, contentious debates that have often divided communities over the question of how to protect, but still enjoy, federal lands.

Since the 1970s, various Utah factions had made stabs at some type of reconciliation on land use. The early 1990s seemed briefly promising, as groups cobbled together a statewide land-management proposal that would need Congress' blessing.

But in the end, it collapsed. Conservation groups said it didn't provide enough wilderness protection. Mining firms didn't see the regulatory certainty they wanted.

"It just nationalized the polarization in Utah," says Johnson, the former Emery County commissioner. The bill's failure set back the effort for years, he says, with many stakeholder groups returning bruised to their corners and demanding more concessions than before. But eventually, Johnson says, both sides realized they couldn't prevail forever by doing nothing.

In 2009, as part of Congress' last omnibus lands package, hard-fought land use measures were enacted for Utah's Washington County, which drew impressive support from various stakeholders. Emery County leaders saw it as an encouraging example and began a long, painstaking series of public hearings that allowed all interests to air their concerns and gather information.

"I started every meeting by saying, 'Doing nothing is an option. But it's probably not the best option,'" Peterson says. "That got people's attention."

Meanwhile, another Utah county—San Juan—was suffering a brand of infighting and stalemate that Emery hoped to avoid. Feuding factions couldn't settle on a plan to protect the spectacularly scenic area known as Bears Ears.

Tired of the impasse, President Barack Obama in late 2016 invoked the Antiquities Act to declare 1.3 million acres of Bears Ears a national monument, restricting the land's use. (A year later, President Trump moved to reduce the monument's size by 85 percent, as well as another in the state—the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument—by nearly half. These issues are now tied up in lawsuits.)



Meanwhile in Congress, key lawmakers were starting to assemble dozens of local conservation proposals, from many states, into an omnibus bill. As Rep. Curtis assumed office in early 2017, the fight over Bears Ears was still stirring passions in Utah. Most Utahans, he said, wanted legislative solutions to land use issues, which they could participate in, not mandated pronouncements from Washington. Agreeing to sponsor the Emery County Public Land Management Act in the House, he worked with Democrats, federal officials, Pew staffers, and others to negotiate changes that a wide group of stakeholders could accept, building on what he called "the trust that had been worked on for decades in Emery County."

By the summer of 2018, a big conservation bill seemed possible before Congress adjourned at the year's end. Pew and other groups worked with congressional staffers for months. Finally, on Dec. 18, key House and Senate leaders agreed on the package. With the government set to shut down at midnight on Dec. 21 because of a partisan impasse over the federal budget, the goal was to quickly

attach the omnibus land use measure to a must-pass spending bill.

But two days before that deadline, Sen. McConnell said he'd allow only a "clean" spending bill, with no attachments. Frantic efforts to pass the conservation bill by itself, by removing "holds" from a few opposing senators, fell short. The legislative clock ran out on the 115th Congress.

Ordinarily, legislative proposals must start afresh when a new Congress convenes. But Sen. Murkowski secured a promise from Sen. McConnell to revive and expedite the omnibus bill when the new Congress began in early 2019. By February, the Dingell bill was on its way to enactment.

The new law included many compromises, such as allowing reasonable, long-established practices to continue in many newly protected areas. In Emery County, for instance, climbers, hunters, and off-road vehicle enthusiasts can still access many of the places they used before. And coal-fired energy plants, important to Emery County's economy, will continue to operate.

"All along we said we will not eliminate one resource use to benefit another," Peterson says. This sometimes required creative negotiations, such as drawing wilderness boundaries to narrowly exclude existing roads and trails important to key groups. These agreements proved crucial in bringing disparate groups to the bargaining table and keeping them there.

And it resulted in a law with significant protections: In Utah, it preserves more than 661,000 acres of the San Rafael Swell in Emery County as wilderness; establishes a 216,995-acre national recreation area in the San Rafael Swell (protecting the area from new mining and road construction); and designates 63 miles of the Green River as wild and scenic. It also establishes a new Jurassic National Monument on a site with numerous dinosaur fossils.

In California, the law protects more than 375,000 acres as wilderness; adds more than 43,500 acres to Death Valley and Joshua Tree national parks; designates 77 miles of wild and scenic rivers; establishes the 18,840-acre Alabama Hills National Scenic Area; and establishes several off-highway-vehicle areas totaling about 200,000 acres.

In New Mexico, it permanently protects more than 21,000 acres in two new wilderness areas—Cerro del Yuta and Rio San Antonio—within the Rio Grande del Norte National Monument, northwest of Taos. It also safeguards more than 240,000 acres of wilderness



Water rushes into Whiskey Creek, a tributary of the Rogue River in Douglas County, Oregon. Nearly 312 miles of the state's waterways, as well as almost 100,000 acres surrounding them, will be safeguarded by the new legislation, a national commitment to keeping natural landscapes and rivers wild and scenic. *Garth Lenz/iLCP*



within the Organ Mountains-Desert Peaks National Monument in southern New Mexico. And it allows for a buffer zone to aid border security in the Portillo Mountains area.

In Oregon, the law protects nearly 100,000 acres in Douglas County as a special management area, which includes some of the Pacific Northwest's best wild steelhead spawning areas. It creates the Devil's Staircase Wilderness on roughly 30,600 acres of Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management land; permanently protects nearly 312 miles of rivers; and prevents future mining in the Chetco River, a key site for salmon and steelhead.



Any one of those proposals by itself would have been difficult to accomplish, because it's hard to get floor votes in Congress on individual land protection bills. But bundling so many proposed protected areas into the omnibus Dingell legislation helped build support in Congress and make it a bipartisan priority.

That only came, of course, with strong advocates from both parties—like Republican Rep. Curtis and Sens. Hatch and Murkowski and Democrats including Senators Maria Cantwell (WA), Martin Heinrich (NM), and Ron Wyden (OR)—and after long hours of public and private meetings with every group whose interests might be touched by the legislation.

"You have to be willing to really listen to diverse interests and perspectives, to hear their concerns, and find creative ways to meet their needs without pushing other people away from the table in the process," says John Seebach, a project director for Pew's work to conserve U.S. public lands and rivers. "It's not easy, there are no shortcuts, and you can't give up. You just have to keep plugging away at it and resolve every new issue that comes up until you finally get it done."



Charles Babington covered Congress for The Washington Post and the Associated Press.

2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 20

The Lost Decade

The Great Recession may be over,
but many states are still feeling its effects.

By Stephen Fehr

14 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019

The summer of 2019 ushered in sunny fiscal conditions for states. On July 1, the U.S. economic expansion tied the record for the longest in history—a decade after the Great Recession ended in June 2009.

At the same time, surging tax collections, low unemployment, favorable interest rates, rising equity portfolios, and stable real estate markets combined to improve state finances. Most states ended the budget year June 30 with year-over-year increases in revenue and spending, and higher amounts set aside in reserves. Many even finished with a surplus, some for the second year in a row, which did not seem possible in the past 10 years.

When top legislative fiscal directors from 34 states gathered for a meeting in Nashville in August, an official from the National Conference of State Legislatures asked them to hold up an emoji poster characterizing their states' fiscal outlook. All but one chose the smiling image. "Lots of happy faces," said the NCSL official, Mandy Rafool, as she looked around the room.

But research this year by The Pew Charitable Trusts showed that the outlook is not as rosy as it may appear in several states. In fact, Pew's analysis of 10 years of fiscal data concluded that many states still were facing lingering effects from the recession. The research by Pew's Fiscal 50 team was inspired by economist Ray Scheppach's prediction during the 2007-09 recession that states would face a "Lost Decade" before they would recover from the severe revenue losses, spending cuts, and deferred investments. "Lost Decade" became the title of Pew's report.

"We found that, heading into 2019 legislative sessions, state finances still had not fully emerged from the Lost Decade," says Barbara Rosewicz, who directed the

research. "There were still budget cuts and deferred investments that haven't been fully restored, and other costs that rose in the wake of the recession and have remained higher."

As a new decade of state finances began with the July 1 start of the fiscal year, the findings magnified a concern that some states may not be sufficiently prepared for another downturn. Among the reasons for the uneasiness is the question of whether some of the spending cuts made during the Lost Decade, such as those to higher education, will ever be restored to pre-recession levels. "These cuts could be cemented in place if the funding isn't restored before the next recession," Rosewicz says.

Moreover, policymakers worry that states will not pick up the costs they shifted onto others during the recession, including local governments and higher education shortchanged by reduced state aid. Pew's research showed that as the recession took hold, strained states missed out on collecting at least \$283 billion in tax revenue that in healthier times could have mitigated those trickle-down cost effects as well as spending reductions in virtually every program or service. To cover the budget gaps after revenue plunged, states variously cut spending, put off public pension and infrastructure investments, increased taxes, tapped rainy day funds, and spent one-time federal stimulus money.

As fiscal year 2019 began, nine states still were taking in fewer tax dollars, adjusted for inflation, than they did at their peak before or during the recession. The decline in tax dollars—states' largest source of revenue—was the catalyst for spending reductions. General fund spending has recovered nationally, surpassing levels reached before the recession, after accounting for inflation. However, Pew's analysis showed that 15 states

Pew's analysis of 10 years of economic and fiscal data concluded that many states still were facing lingering effects from the Great Recession...as a new decade of state finances began with the July 1 start of the fiscal year, the findings magnified a concern that some states may not be sufficiently prepared for another downturn.

still reported lower estimated general fund spending in fiscal 2019 than in fiscal 2008.

Many legislatures approved budgets for fiscal 2019 and fiscal 2020 that added money to programs and services that had been cut, including K-12 instruction and teacher pay raises. Nevertheless, the historic size of the revenue loss during the recession and the long, slow recovery exposed persistent consequences states have yet to surmount.

Nowhere is that more true than in cuts to higher education, the third-largest budget expense after K-12 education and Medicaid. Forty states reported lower per-student funding in fiscal 2018 than 10 years earlier, after adjusting for inflation. As a result, public higher education in 26 states relied more on tuition and fees from students than on state support—the most widespread, lingering impact of the Lost Decade, according to Pew's analysis. Tuition at public four-year colleges doubled in Louisiana since the recession and rose by more than half in 11 other states.

"This new norm is here to stay," says Robert E. Anderson, president of the State Higher Education Executive Officers Association. "With that said, states have the capacity to chart a new path by establishing an appropriate balance between state and student investment in higher education and how this balance can be maintained."

Other important spending areas also lagged pre-recession levels in many states, the analysis said. State investment in roads, bridges, water and sewer systems, school buildings, ports and airports, parks, and other infrastructure was at its lowest level as a share of the economy in more than 50 years, according to the most

recent data (from 2017). State aid to local governments, many of which were struggling with budget problems of their own, was lower in 26 states.

The effects of the recession were not only fiscal; the number of state workers in fields other than education was 4.7 percent lower in 2018 than at its peak in 2008. That could make it more difficult in the next downturn for policymakers to turn to workforce reductions for budget savings—not to mention the loss of many experienced, knowledgeable employees.

States also wrestled with growing fixed costs, which are harder to contain than other spending. Medicaid is a mandatory cost that usually rises during recessions when the demand for benefits goes up as people lose their jobs and health care coverage. The program, funded jointly by the federal government and states, was using up a greater share of revenue in 48 states than before the recession.

During the depths of the downturn, states were temporarily shielded from a spike in Medicaid enrollment and costs by federal stimulus dollars from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. Once that money ran out in 2011, state Medicaid spending rose and has remained higher as a share of revenue even as the economy has improved. The optional expansion of Medicaid under the Affordable Care Act also had little impact on state spending initially because, until 2017, the federal government picked up the full tab for enrolling newly eligible low-income adults.

Another fixed cost—public pension system funding—was already rising before the recession, but shortfalls grew after pension systems experienced investment

losses during the downturn and tight budgets made it hard for many states to pay their annual retirement contributions. Unfunded pension liabilities went up in nearly every state, collectively totaling \$1.28 trillion by fiscal 2017, the most recent figure.

Other Pew research released since the Lost Decade analysis showed that although every state pension system experienced investment losses, some states rebounded better than others during the recovery. South Dakota, Tennessee, and Wisconsin had almost all the assets they needed to fully fund their liabilities in 2007 and in 2017, Pew found. The three states with the biggest shortfalls — Illinois, Kentucky, and New Jersey — ended the decade with fewer assets than at the start of the downturn.

“Policy choices drive differences in state pension funding levels,” says Greg Mennis, who directs Pew’s

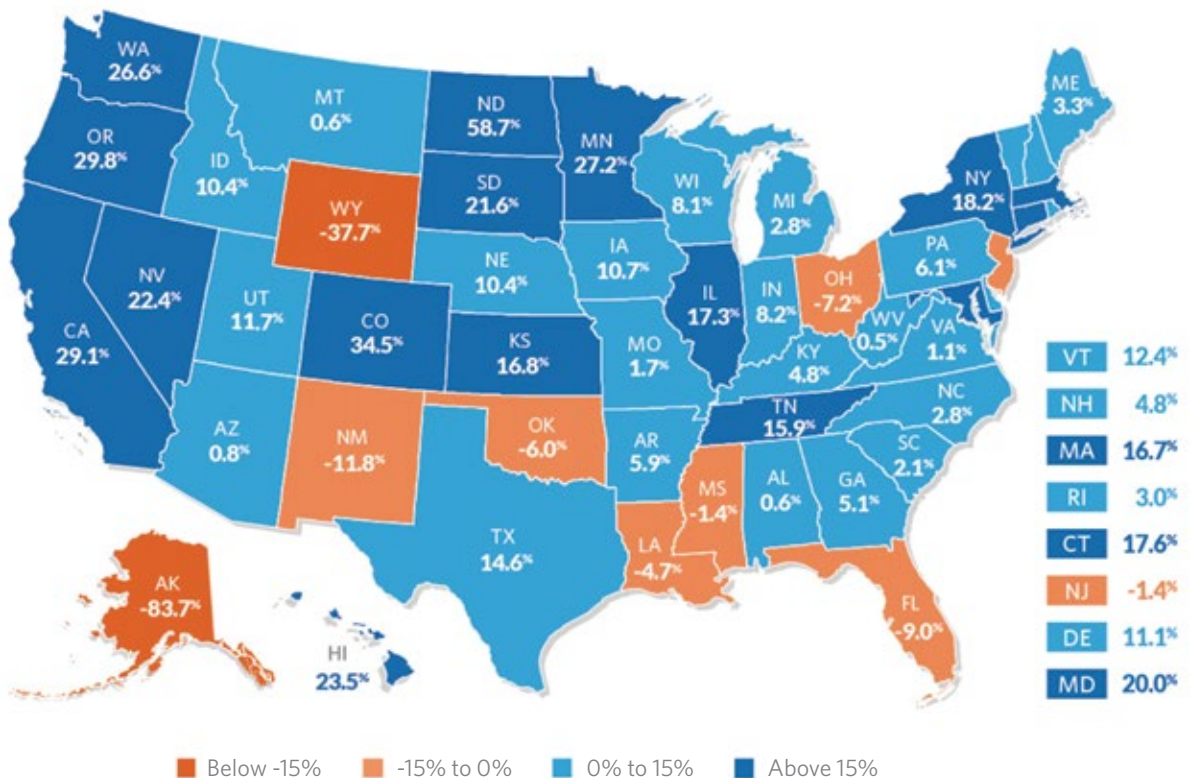
public retirement system research. “Well-funded states successfully coped with the adverse effects of the recession by consistently making their actuarially determined contributions in good times and bad. States with poorly funded plans have had to substantially increase their contributions to try to catch up.”

Policy choices to rebuild reserves during a recovery—after spending them down to balance recession-era budgets—also vary by state. The good news: Pew’s Lost Decade analysis found that, taken together, states made substantial progress refilling their rainy day funds in the 10-year period. By the end of fiscal 2019, rainy day funds were estimated to hold more money than in any year on record.

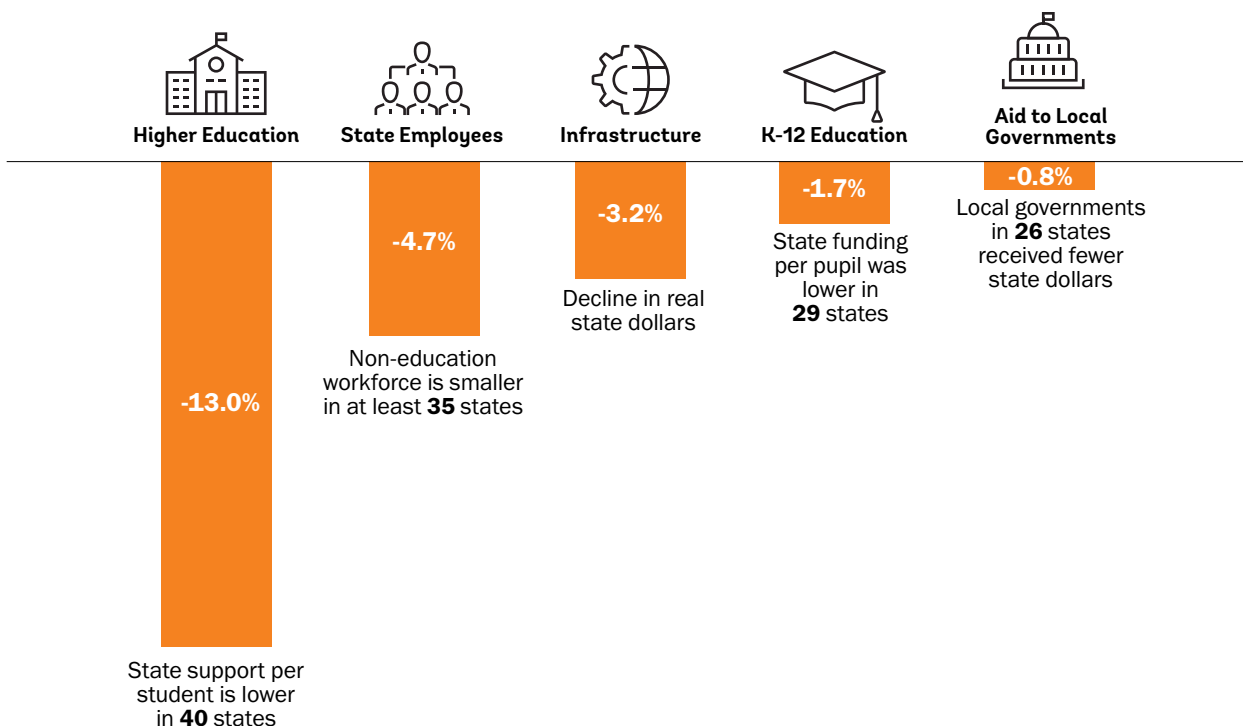
A better measure than dollars, though, is how far that money would go in covering day-to-day operating expenses, expressed by the number of days a state

Nine States Are Still Collecting Less Tax Revenue Than During the Recession

Tax collections in Q3 2018 compared with each state’s peak, adjusted for inflation



Spending Lags Pre-Recession Levels in Many States



could run on its reserves alone. Using that measure, at least 13 states still had smaller rainy day funds—as a share of operating costs—by the end of fiscal 2019 than they did the year before the recession began. Six—Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Montana, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—expected to have less than a week’s worth of operating costs.

Although government fiscal analysts do not recommend a specific percentage of general funds that states should set aside in reserves, one measure of states’ progress in building their savings is a comparison with pre-recession levels. For many states, even pre-recession levels were not large enough to plug the budget gaps during the downturn.

That is why, out of caution, many states are refilling their reserves in preparation for the next downturn, enacting rules about when to put money in and take it out. Policymakers in states with budget surpluses in fiscal 2019 set aside a portion of the extra revenue to stockpile reserves. Utah lawmakers, for example, used surplus revenue to boost the rainy day fund to its targeted levels—on top of the fund’s automatic required deposits.

The buildup in reserves comes as economists debate

the timing of the next downturn, especially after a key recession predictor, the bond market’s inverted yield curve, reared its head in mid-August. Uncertainty over the timing is a big worry among state fiscal policymakers after such a long expansion. “We’ve had a 10-year recovery. To me, it’s like, when does the next downturn happen?” says Bob Lang, director of the Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau.

“There’s probably a recession coming,” Dan White, an economist at Moody’s Analytics, warned state lawmakers at the August legislative meeting in Nashville. “It’s going to be more stressful for you than previous recessions, but probably not as stressful as the Great Recession. There won’t be much help from the federal government, so you’re on your own.”

Because of the experience gained in the Lost Decade, White added, states may be in a better position to fend for themselves this time. Still, they will confront a host of challenges. Interviews with policymakers at the Nashville meeting brought up lingering issues from the Lost Decade—and new ones.

Utah legislative fiscal analyst Jonathan Ball worries

Higher education in 26 states relied more on tuition revenue from students than from state support—the most widespread, lingering impact of the Lost Decade...tuition at public four-year colleges doubled in Louisiana since the recession and rose by more than half in 11 other states.

that the state's tax system is not capturing revenue it should from taxes on services such as Uber and Lyft. West Virginia Senate budget director Chris DeWitte says his state needs to retool its economy in the face of a declining coal industry and falling population. Arizona and New Mexico officials say they are under pressure from courts and educators to adequately fund K-12 education. And Alaska legislative finance division director David Teal says, "I don't think anyone wants to be where we are"—with an unprecedented budget deficit that has resulted in deep cuts, especially to the University of Alaska.

Even officials in relatively stable states are not sanguine. Virginia finished fiscal 2019 with a \$778 million surplus. But Senate Minority Leader Richard Saslaw says the state will need to find additional revenue in the next decade to finance K-12 education, higher education, and transportation. "I don't know how we're going to do it," Saslaw says, "but sooner or later, we're going to have to raise revenue."

And what does the economist who first came up with the Lost Decade prediction say? Ray Scheppach, who headed the National Governors Association until 2011 and now teaches at the University of Virginia, worries that the spending reductions made to public investments such as education and infrastructure during

the recession will harm productivity, which in turn will lead to slower economic growth in the coming years.

He points out that growth of the labor force—the number of people working or looking for work—is a key factor in the expansion of state economies, but that growth is projected to continue slowing because of the decline in population growth and the aging of Americans. In addition, Scheppach says, although the economy has shifted from goods to services, elected officials in most states have not changed their sales tax structure to capture revenue from that transition because it could lead to politically sensitive new charges on previously tax-free services.

Somewhat reassuringly, Scheppach says he doesn't think the next recession will lead to another Lost Decade. "It won't be eight to nine years of no growth," he says, "but there will be substantially lower growth relative to the boom periods in the decades before 2008. States will continue to struggle fiscally throughout the next decade. This will be the 'New Normal' decade."

Stephen Fehr reported and edited state government coverage at The Kansas City Star, The Washington Post, and Stateline before becoming a member of The Pew Charitable Trusts' state fiscal health team.



ACTUIN

A sweeping view of Philadelphia's skyline greets drivers and pedestrians who head into the city across the Benjamin Franklin Bridge from Camden, New Jersey.



MOTION

A bump in population from immigrants and young people is just one of the positive changes for Philadelphia over the past decade. But challenges remain for the city.

BY TOM INFELD

PHOTOGRAPHY BY LEXEY SWALL FOR THE PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS



Castor Avenue has attracted a mix of immigrants who have put down roots and started businesses, a boon to the Northeast neighborhood. Such increases in population and construction are among the dozens of indicators documented in the “State of the City” report from Pew’s Philadelphia research initiative, which has provided a data-driven look at the city’s trends each year for the past decade.

The Castor Avenue business corridor may be the most ethnically diverse section of Philadelphia, with immigrants from almost every part of the planet settling into the once largely Jewish community.

“We’ve got Brazilian, Honduran, Guatemalan, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Vietnamese, Liberian, Nigerian, Indonesian, Puerto Rican—all of them,” says Vick Singh, who owns Rainbow Market at 6433 Castor Ave. “I am from India, but this is a Brazilian store,” Singh says. “All I sell are Brazilian products.” He’s learned Portuguese from his interactions with customers and points to the checkout counter and says proudly, “This is my school.”

Singh, who is Sikh, is on good terms with the Chinese Buddhists who founded a storefront temple next door. Down the street sits a Pentecostal Christian church. Businesses in a three-block stretch include Cafe Albania, the Asian Bank, a Korean foot spa, a Colombian restaurant, an Indian restaurant, a Vietnamese/Cambodian nail salon, and the Bull Boi Meat Supermarket (“Falamos Portugues,” says the sign, and “Hablamos Español”). A traditional Philadelphia soul food emporium is also part of the mix.

This is ZIP code 19149. The influx of the foreign-born has made it one of eight (out of the city’s 46 residential

ZIP codes) that have grown by 15 percent or more since 2000, according to an analysis of census data in the latest “State of the City” report from The Pew Charitable Trusts’ Philadelphia research initiative. The report also found that home sale prices in 19149 rose faster between 2010 and 2018 than in any other area of the city’s large Northeast section.

The increased population, in large part from the arrival of immigrants, is just one of the factors leading to profound change in Philadelphia over the past decade—and for each of those 10 years, the Pew “State of the City” report has analyzed the data and identified the trends underlying that evolution. Beyond population, the reports look at housing, jobs, poverty, public safety, health care, transportation, arts and culture, and taxation. The goal of the annual report is to provide “straightforward facts about what’s happening in the city,” says Frazierita Klasen, vice president for Pew’s work in Philadelphia, where Pew has been based for seven decades. “We want a city that is thriving and is supportive of residents and visitors alike,” Klasen says. “But we’re here to report a true and accurate picture.”

Distributed to hundreds of elected officials and policymakers, along with civic leaders, academics, journalists, and others, the “State of the City” also is

available to the public on Pew's website.

"There is tremendous value to revisiting Philadelphia—its conditions, challenges, and opportunities—on a regular basis, both to remind us how we stack up relative to other cities and how we stack up to our own recent past," says David Thornburgh, president of the Committee of Seventy, a nonprofit civic leadership organization. The report, he adds, "gives us a pretty good unvarnished sense of where we are. Sometimes the data may point to a conclusion that is a little more sobering than in the popular consciousness, and sometimes it is a little more encouraging."

The objective approach to data gathering has been welcomed by city policymakers. "It was the best free, comprehensive research we could ever put our hands on," says former two-term Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter (D). "We may not have liked all of the things it said, but at least we knew it was accurate. It wasn't partisan."



The recent arrival of immigrants along Castor Avenue is the sort of trend that emerges from Pew's data analysis but isn't always widely recognized in Philadelphia as a whole. For example, more media attention has been paid in recent years to the surge of Millennials that has transformed Center City and its adjoining neighborhoods (another trend noted in Pew analyses).

The city's total population grew by 6 percent between 2006 and 2018, to 1,580,221—about 60,000 more residents than in 2000. Despite the increase, what was the nation's third-largest city in 1950 now ranks sixth behind New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, and Phoenix.

The proportion of foreign-born residents has risen to 13.8 percent, more than doubling the 6.5 percent of 1970, when Philadelphia was shedding population at a rapid rate. Nearly 40 percent of the new immigrants between 2012 and 2016 came from Asia. A third came from the Americas, a sixth from Europe, and a tenth from Africa.

"On a citywide basis, Philadelphia's population has been rising for more than a decade, a strong sign of civic



The signs may be in English, but many businesses along Castor Avenue are owned by people who speak primarily Portuguese, Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Arabic, or Bahasa Indonesian—languages that add to the diversity and vibrancy of the city.

well-being," the report says. "But the growth has been concentrated in the center of the city and in pockets of the Northeast where immigrants have settled. In large swaths of North, Northwest, and West Philadelphia, the population has been declining or has stayed about the same."

Larry Eichel, who directs Pew's Philadelphia research initiative, notes in a foreword to the latest report that "when we published our first 'State of the City' in 2009, Philadelphia saw itself as a place still mired in decline, having endured a discouraging half-century of jobs disappearing, families leaving for the suburbs, and the poverty rate rising. Some positive changes were already starting to happen. But many hadn't yet shown up in the data and hardly any had penetrated the city's collective psyche. Today, Philadelphians have become accustomed to the idea that good things can happen here."

That decade-long perspective also provided an opportunity for the research initiative to take an extra step back for a longer view of how Philadelphia has evolved over the past 10 years. In addition to the annual "State of the City" report, the team this year produced a companion online analysis, "10 Trends That Have Changed Philadelphia in 10 Years." As in all the research initiative's work, data was central to the findings.

"We're trying to put in one place a comprehensive look at what the data says about Philadelphia on a number of fronts," Eichel says. "We hear a lot of people saying things are great or things are terrible. But this is what the numbers tells us, what the data tells us—the degree to which things are getting better, getting worse, staying the same. Everything is in the numbers."

The 10 trends are topped by the growth of the population, fed by immigration and the influx of young adults attracted by city amenities. This growth has led to a surge in residential construction, with builders and investors making the decision to trust the resiliency of growth by laying bricks and mortar.

“Construction has thrived, with the annual number of residential building permits more than tripling since 2009,” Eichel notes. “Home sales have risen every year since 2011.”

The trend analysis finds positive change in the city’s long-troubled public schools: The four-year high school graduation rate rose to 69 percent for the class of 2018, a one-fifth jump from a decade earlier. That’s the good news; the bad news is that the graduation rate still lags well behind the national average of 84 percent.

Another Philadelphia change has been the reduction of its jail population. Traditionally, the city has had one of the country’s highest levels of incarceration. But the number of people in jail fell by about 40 percent over the past decade, from 8,932 in 2013 to 5,251 in 2018—perhaps the most dramatic sign of a broad attempt by the city to reshape its criminal justice system. (City jail inmates typically differ from state prison inmates, serving shorter sentences or awaiting trial.)

Also on the criminal justice front, overall violent crime was down for a third consecutive year in 2018. But homicides have increased each year since 2013. Between 2016 and 2018 alone, the number of homicides jumped 27 percent, to 351, the most since 2007.

Health trends include a high rate of overdose deaths from opioid painkillers and street drugs. More than 1,200 people died of drug overdoses in 2017. The total fell slightly in 2018, but Philadelphia still has one of the highest opioid death rates in the country.

Police say the opioid crisis is fueling, in part, the rise in homicides because of illegal street trafficking in heroin and fentanyl. Other societal problems, such as a steep rise in homelessness, also have been exacerbated by the drug crisis.

But there’s good news in health care, too: Infant mortality is dropping, for reasons that aren’t clear, according to Eichel, who notes: “The country as a whole has been doing better on this, but Philadelphia’s improvement was bigger.” The analysis of health-related trends also found that “in recent years, the percentage of individuals without health insurance declined in Philadelphia and other cities in states that have exercised the [federal government] option to expand Medicaid eligibility under the Affordable Care Act.” In Philadelphia, in which a large share of residents is eligible for Medicaid because of low income, the proportion of people with no health care coverage has dropped to 7.1 percent of the population.

All of the good things that have happened in recent years come with a caveat. Philadelphia’s persistently high

poverty rate may be its most significant and perplexing problem, Eichel says.

“According to the latest data,” the analysis says, “Philadelphia has the highest poverty rate among the nation’s 10 largest cities and the third-highest among the comparison cities studied in the ‘State of the City’ report, behind only Detroit and Cleveland.”

Despite gains in jobs and a lowered unemployment rate in the past decade, poverty has not decreased: The rate has been stuck in the 26 percent range for the past five years. “The troubling thing is the sheer magnitude,” Eichel says. “That’s close to 400,000 people.”

In fact, the “deep poverty” rate—defined as the share of households with incomes 50 percent or more below the poverty line—rose from 11.1 percent in 2008 to 14 percent in 2017 despite the expansion of the national economy.

Statistics like these provide a nuanced view of Philadelphia and, in the words of Shawn McCaney, executive director of the William Penn Foundation, “demonstrate that over time, in big urban centers, change is possible.”

He calls the annual “State of the City” reports “indispensable background research for anyone who is interested at all in a deep understanding of the key social, economic, and demographic trends in Philadelphia.”



Providing that information, after deep research, was the goal when the research initiative was created in 2008. Eichel has been the director from the inception, coming to Pew after more than three decades as a journalist at *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. In addition to the “State of the City” reports, the initiative has produced data-based analyses on a range of urban issues, from commuting costs to budget and revenue concerns and public safety issues. Many of the reports compare Philadelphia’s experience with other similar large cities, attracting the attention of leaders in other urban centers.

But the focus is always on Philadelphia, a city that has had a pretty self-deprecating view of itself.

One of the biggest changes the reports reflect, Eichel says, is the way Philadelphia sees itself. This was a city that several decades ago had a highway billboard that read “Philadelphia isn’t as bad as Philadelphians say it is.” And the Philadelphia of 2019 is a different and more prosperous place from a decade ago.

“Relative to the likes of New York, Boston, and Washington, Philadelphia has been anything but a boomtown in recent years,” Eichel says. “But compared with its own past, it’s done rather well. For a lot of Philadelphians, that alone feels pretty overwhelming.”

Tom Infield is a longtime Philadelphia journalist.

The Role of Efficient Regulation in Building Vibrant Economies

BY SUSAN K. URAHN

State lawmakers and economic development managers are always looking for opportunities to improve the regulatory climate for businesses. But too often, proposed solutions set up a false choice between growing the economy and adequately protecting public health, the environment, and consumers. The result is an unproductive debate between eliminating as many rules as possible and preserving each one at all costs.

Advocates for less regulation sometimes ignore the important reasons that rules are put in place. Efficient regulatory systems with strong management oversight help to minimize negative impacts while providing fair “rules of the game,” giving businesses less to fear from competitors who might exploit dysfunctional regulatory systems to cut their costs unfairly.

But governments can undermine opportunities for investment and job creation when businesses are forced to spend too much time or money navigating inefficient or unnecessary regulatory processes, or when new projects are delayed or canceled because companies don’t understand how to comply with the rules—or can’t afford to.

As recent research by The Pew Charitable Trusts illustrates, improvements in how regulatory agencies interact with businesses can make launching a company or bringing an innovative product to market quicker and easier. And by administering regulations more effectively and partnering with the private sector, states can lower compliance costs for businesses while still achieving important goals such as protecting the environment and public health.

While states’ attempts to improve how they regulate business are still in the early stages, policymakers now have a wide range of inventive and successful ideas to emulate. In 2017, Colorado agencies reported saving businesses 2.3 million hours, largely by eliminating unnecessary administrative tasks and making the companies’ dealings with the state more user-friendly. For example, the state reached out to large employers of pharmacists and through their insights learned about cumbersome licensing processes that were causing delays in hiring. Ultimately, the state was able to reduce the time to get a pharmacist license from 114 days to 18. “That’s just a lot of time and a lot of efficiency that

we didn’t know was being wasted out there,” former Colorado Gov. John Hickenlooper said at a Pew-hosted event last November.

In 2015, the Arizona Government Transformation Office brought together officials from 23 agencies to work on 40 permit processes. Even though the subject matter of these permits varied by agency, problems such as incomplete applications, excessive handoffs, internal review loops, and poor tracking were found to be slowing virtually every process. At the end of the project, the office reported that the average time to approve or deny a permit was reduced by more than 60 percent.

Another example comes from the Washington State Department of Commerce, which has developed a worksheet for manufacturing firms exploring site options to help them navigate the city, county, state, and federal regulatory requirements of each potential site. Especially valuable for small manufacturers, it provides guidance on how to work with the various agencies as well as estimates of the time and costs for fulfilling regulatory requirements. It’s estimated that the worksheet can save a manufacturer two months in the process of determining whether a potential site would work.

Paying attention to how regulations are implemented is often inexpensive and can even lower costs for governments while yielding value for businesses. Unfortunately, states are not rigorously measuring the results of regulatory reforms, so we don’t know which new approaches provide the greatest economic benefit. A long-term commitment to improve regulatory processes and outcomes would include setting goals and then monitoring whether these goals have been achieved.

It’s a commitment that governments can’t afford not to make as they work to build more vibrant economies. As Hickenlooper put it, making regulatory operations more efficient is “powerfully essential for a state to grow its economy.”

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*Susan K. Urahn is The Pew Charitable Trusts’ executive vice president and chief program officer. A version of this essay first appeared online in *Governing* on March 6, 2019.*

The World's Population Is Projected to Nearly Stop Growing by the End of the Century

Pew Research Center analysis of new United Nations data shows significant global changes in store.

BY ANTHONY CILLUFFO AND NEIL G. RUIZ

For the first time in modern history, the world's population is expected to virtually stop growing by the end of this century, due in large part to falling global fertility rates, according to a Pew Research Center analysis of new data from the United Nations.

By 2100, the world's population is projected to reach approximately 10.9 billion, with annual growth of less than 0.1%—a steep decline from the current rate. Between 1950 and today, the world's population grew between 1% and 2% each year, with the number of people rising from 2.5 billion to more than 7.7 billion.

Here are 11 key takeaways from the UN's "World Population Prospects 2019":

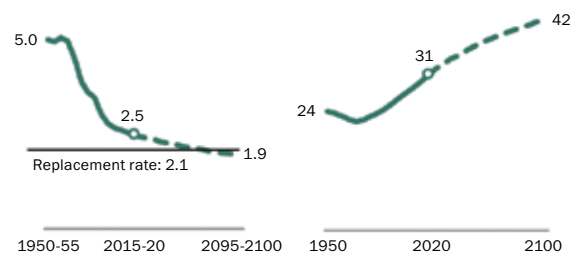
1 The global fertility rate is expected to be 1.9 births per woman by 2100, down from 2.5 today. The rate is projected to fall below the replacement fertility rate (2.1 births per woman) by 2070. The replacement fertility rate is the number of births per woman needed to maintain a population's size.

2 The world's median age is expected to increase to 42 in 2100, up from the current 31—and from 24 in 1950. Between 2020 and 2100, the number of people ages 80 and older is expected to increase from 146 million to 881 million. Starting in 2073, there are projected to be more people ages 65 and older than under age 15—the first time this will be the case. Contributing factors to the rise in the median age are the increase in life expectancy and falling fertility rates.

Global fertility is falling as the world is aging

Number of live births per woman (total fertility rate)

Median age of the world population



Note: The replacement rate is the number of births per woman required to maintain a population at a constant size.

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3 Africa is the only world region projected to have strong population growth for the rest of this century. Between 2020 and 2100, Africa's population is expected to increase from 1.3 billion to 4.3 billion. Projections show these gains will come mostly in sub-Saharan Africa, which is expected to more than triple in population by 2100. The regions that include the United States and Canada (Northern America) and Australia and New Zealand (Oceania) are projected to grow throughout the rest of the century, too, but at slower rates than Africa. (This analysis uses regional classifications from the UN and may differ from other Pew Research Center reports.)



Tightly packed apartment buildings serve as home for tens of thousands of people in Hong Kong, one of the most densely populated places on the planet. Expensive rents force some of the region’s nearly 7.5 million residents to live in squatter-like conditions or “coffin homes,” tiny subdivided apartments often not big enough for a person to fully lie down. The total population of Asia is expected to increase until 2055, before it begins to decline—one of the factors that contributes to the projection that the world’s population will stop growing by 2100. *Getty Images*

4 Europe and Latin America are both expected to have declining populations by 2100.

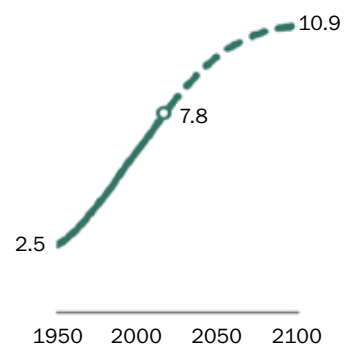
Europe’s population is projected to peak at 748 million in 2021. The Latin America and Caribbean region is expected to surpass Europe in population by 2037 before peaking at 768 million in 2058.

5 The population of Asia is expected to increase from 4.6 billion in 2020 to 5.3 billion in 2055, then start to decline.

China’s population is expected to peak in 2031, while the populations of Japan and South Korea are projected to decline after 2020. India’s population is expected to grow until 2059, when it will reach 1.7 billion. Meanwhile, Indonesia—the most populous country in Southeastern Asia—is projected to reach its peak population in 2067.

World population growth is projected to flatten in coming decades

World population, in billions



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6 In the Northern America region, migration from the rest of the world is expected to be the primary driver of continued population growth. The immigrant population in the United States is expected to see a net increase of 85 million over the next 80 years (2020 to 2100) according to the UN projections, roughly equal to the total of the next nine highest countries combined. In Canada, migration is likely to be a key driver of growth, as Canadian deaths are expected to outnumber births.

7 Six countries are projected to account for more than half of the world's population growth through the end of this century, and five are in Africa. The global population is expected to grow by about 3.1 billion people between 2020 and 2100. More than half of this increase is projected to come from Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and Angola, along with one non-African country (Pakistan). Five African countries are projected to be in the world's top 10 countries by population by 2100.

8 India is projected to surpass China as the world's most populous country by 2027. Meanwhile, Nigeria will surpass the U.S. as the third-largest country in the world in 2047, according to the projections.

9 Between 2020 and 2100, 90 countries are expected to lose population. Two-thirds of all countries and territories in Europe (32 of 48) are expected to lose population by 2100. In Latin America and the Caribbean, half of the region's 50 countries' populations are expected to shrink. Between 1950 and 2020, by contrast, only six countries in the world lost population, due to much higher fertility rates and a relatively younger population in past decades.

10 Africa is projected to overtake Asia in births by 2060. Half of babies born worldwide are expected to be born in Africa by 2100, up from three-in-ten today. Nigeria is expected to have 864 million births between 2020 and 2100, the most of any African country. The number of births in Nigeria is projected to exceed those in China by 2070. Meanwhile, roughly a third of the world's babies are projected to be born in Asia by the end of this century, down from about half today and from a peak of 65% in the 1965-70 period.

By 2100, five of the world's 10 largest countries are projected to be in Africa

Countries with largest population, in millions

1950		2020		2100	
China	554	China	1,439	India	1,450
India	376	India	1,380	China	1,065
U.S.	159	U.S.	331	Nigeria	733
Russia	103	Indonesia	274	U.S.	434
Japan	83	Pakistan	221	Pakistan	403
Germany	70	Brazil	213	D.R. Congo	362
Indonesia	70	Nigeria	206	Indonesia	321
Brazil	54	Bangladesh	165	Ethiopia	294
UK	51	Russia	146	Tanzania	286
Italy	47	Mexico	129	Egypt	225

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11 The Latin America and Caribbean region is expected to have the oldest population of any world region by 2100, a reversal from the 20th century. In 1950, the region's median age was just 20 years. That figure is projected to more than double to 49 years by 2100. This pattern is evident when looking at individual countries in the region. For example, in 2020, the median ages of Brazil (33), Argentina (32), and Mexico (29) are all expected to be lower than the median age in the U.S. (38). However, by 2100, all three of these Latin American nations are projected to be older than the U.S. The median age will be 51 in Brazil, 49 in Mexico, and 47 in Argentina, compared with a median age of 45 in the U.S. Colombia is expected to undergo a particularly stark transition, with its median age more than tripling between 1965 and 2100—from 16 to 52. Japan is projected to have the highest median age of any country in the world in 2020, at 48 years old. Japan's median age is expected to continue to rise until it peaks at 55 in 2065. It is expected to be lower in 2100 (54). By that time, the country with the highest median age is expected to be Albania, with a median age of 61.



Anthony Cilluffo is a research analyst focusing on social and demographic trends, and Neil G. Ruiz is associate director of global migration and demography at the Pew Research Center.

Pew experts explore innovative ideas on the most critical subjects facing our world.

Public Sees Benefits to Resolving Civil Court Cases Online

Survey shows majority willing to try web-based tools to navigate legal system

BY ERIKA RICKARD AND AMBER IVEY

The creators of this country's civil legal system more than 200 years ago set up a system that had to be navigated by lawyers. But every year, more than 30 million people in the United States try to handle civil court matters—such as debt collection, eviction, and child custody—without legal help. The reality is that state courts are often difficult to maneuver without professional assistance.

A recent survey by the National Center for State Courts (NCSC) found that 59 percent of registered voters agree that “state courts are not doing enough to empower regular people to navigate the court system without an attorney.” And, despite some reservations, most are willing to try using web-based tools to settle certain kinds of disputes more expeditiously and efficiently.

Court systems have begun to explore technology solutions to modernize and increase remote access to the courts to help those who use the civil legal system without a lawyer or who face barriers, such as limited mobility or inflexible work schedules. Among these solutions is online dispute resolution (ODR)—a tool already in use in the private sector to help resolve disagreements between consumers and online retailers.

Applied in the court context, ODR allows people to resolve civil legal disputes online without ever setting foot in a courthouse. State and local court leaders are increasingly looking to this approach to modernize and streamline how individuals interact with civil courts and to address the high-volume types of cases that clog their courtrooms. Since the beginning of the year, chief justices in Hawaii, Iowa, Utah, and Texas have highlighted ODR as a key judicial priority in their State of the Judiciary addresses.

According to the NCSC survey, conducted nationwide last November, 64 percent of registered voters say they would be very or somewhat likely to try resolving their legal disputes online. Of the alternatives to attorney representation provided in the survey, support for ODR

proved to be the strongest.

Although interest is growing among court administrators and judges, the technology has been tried in only a handful of jurisdictions and has yet to undergo evidence-based evaluations to show the impact of these tools on the general public. Respondents to the survey expressed interest in this emerging tool but still have doubts about its fairness and their ability to use it successfully.

Those surveyed perceived ODR to be efficient and cost-effective but not necessarily more fair. As courts adopt such online systems, leaders must weigh how to use the technology to streamline court processes without sacrificing fairness. Nearly two-thirds of respondents—65 percent—described ODR as cost-effective for both users and taxpayers, while 55 percent said it would be more efficient than traveling to a courthouse in person. However, a majority expressed the view that sessions at the courthouse are easier to understand (65 percent), better for people without lawyers (56 percent), and more fair and impartial (54 percent), compared with ODR.

Survey respondents preferred going online over visiting the courthouse only when dealing with certain case types, such as consumer debt issues and traffic tickets. Researchers have yet to conduct evidence-based outcome evaluations detailing the effectiveness of ODR by case type.

Reflecting on the survey results, NCSC concludes that “more information is clearly needed for voters to decide whether they want to engage with these new resources.” In 2018, The Pew Charitable Trusts launched its civil legal system modernization project to help make the system more accessible. In partnership with NCSC, this initiative will explore, research, and evaluate adoption of online dispute resolution to provide more information to the field on this emerging technology.

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Erika Rickard is a senior officer and Amber Ivey is a manager with The Pew Charitable Trusts' civil legal system modernization initiative.

New Jersey Reform Leader Says Better Data Strengthened Bail System

Chief courts administrator discusses push for long-term, sustainable changes

Judge Glenn A. Grant, the acting administrative director of New Jersey's courts, has been a leading force behind the state's shift from a pretrial system that detained a significant number of defendants on monetary bail to one that has reduced inequities while safely increasing pretrial releases. A state report showed that in 2013, nearly 40 percent of New Jersey's jail population was incarcerated because of an inability to post bail; 12 percent remained in jail on bails of \$2,500 or less.

Since then, legislation to reform New Jersey's criminal justice system that took effect at the start of 2017 has drastically reduced the system's reliance on cash bail, requiring judges to focus more on alternative approaches and evidence-based decisions on the risk to public safety.

A judge of the Appellate Division of Superior Court, Grant was appointed to the bench in 1998. He served as the presiding judge of the family division in Essex County from 2003 until assuming his current post in 2008. Grant earlier worked for the city of Newark as corporation counsel and business administrator.

Associated Press



How did you become involved in the reform efforts in New Jersey?

The story really starts with Chief Justice Stuart Rabner, who convened the Joint Committee on Criminal Justice in 2013 to examine problems with pretrial detention in our state.

He brought together prosecutors, public defenders, members of the private bar, judges, and advocates in a broad coalition that came up with recommendations for criminal justice reform (CJR).

More broadly, I've always been driven by that seven-letter word—justice. As an African-American, I am especially appreciative of the journey to try to create a better, fairer system. It's part of our country's hopeful DNA. We are brave enough to say: "We can do better. We can improve the lives of people who are charged with a crime and protect public safety."

Was there a moment when you and others realized that New Jersey's approach to pretrial justice had to change?

It is not a new debate, and it's really reflective of larger social dynamics. If you go back and look at the 1960s, you'll see that there was a recognition then that bail as a release determination was unfair and had a disproportionate impact on the poor and minorities. Attorney General Robert Kennedy testified about it before the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1964, noting that "only one factor determines whether a defendant

stays in jail before he comes to trial," and "the factor is, simply, money."

So we've known for decades that a system using bail as the primary determinant for release of those charged with crimes had two errors: one, people who were poor could be held in jail because of poverty and, two, high-risk defendants could get out of jail because they had access to money.

What were some of the policy changes with the greatest impact?

One of the most important was adoption of our evidence-based, objective Public Safety Assessment tool. It provides a much more comprehensive picture of the defendant in seconds and has changed our approach from one centered on how much money the defendant has to one more focused on conversation about behavior and whether he or she should be released. The tool is working as intended and allowing judges to make much more informed decisions.

We also now have strict timeframes that specify when those who are detained pretrial will have their day in court. Our system does not provide the judge with unilateral authority to detain someone pretrial. A prosecutor must file a motion to request pretrial detention and, if, after the hearing, the judge orders detention, we have an expedited process by which that case can be reviewed by the appellate court.

New Jersey also is the first state to create a statewide technological infrastructure to support criminal case processing. This required a significant investment and is an extraordinary strength of our system, allowing

electronic access to a case by all involved parties from arrest through sentencing. This technology has allowed us to establish a virtual courtroom in every county, where judges can make release decisions on weekends and holidays. The virtual courtrooms offer the same protections and functions as in-person hearings, without the need to open entire courthouses, and the public can view the sessions live online.

Why take on statewide reforms rather than county-level reforms?

New Jersey has a strong form of government that allowed us to take on these initiatives on a statewide basis. If you want to ensure equal treatment across all 21 counties, wouldn't you want to make sure that the process followed in county X is the same as in county Y? You would not want a situation in which two similar individuals in different counties are charged with the same crime and one is subject to bail and the other is subject to the pretrial detention process.

Describe the importance of buy-in among members of the judiciary and of judicial culture change to successful pretrial reform. How does that change happen?

We recognized that change required support from the judicial workforce. The courts play a critical role in release, detention, and sentencing decisions, so it was essential that our judges understood why this program was so important. You need to have buy-in if you are going to have sustainable long-term change.

So we spent a great deal of time preparing for criminal justice reform through a communications plan, kickoff events, training, and a coordinated strategy involving outreach by certain judges at the local level. We are still in our communities every day talking about the reforms, even though they've been on the books since January 2017. You need to do this to permanently cement this culture change. And it's naive to think complete success will be immediate because we are transforming something that has existed for 300 years.

What lessons or memorable experiences can you share from working with people whose views differ from yours?

We have tried to help those who oppose reform understand the full weight of the evidence and impacts surrounding pretrial detention, including data showing that those held pretrial plead guilty more often, are convicted more often, are sentenced to prison more often, and receive harsher sentences than similarly situated defendants released during the pretrial period. They often change their perspective once they understand this. Our approach strikes a balance so that people who pose a high risk to the community can be detained pretrial, while those who pose a low risk are released and avoid some of the devastating consequences associated with detention—such as loss of a job, loss of child custody, and loss of housing.

As for memorable experiences, for me it's the stories of people released pretrial. Many individuals participate in pretrial monitoring, and I can tell you countless stories about people who come in and say: "Thank you. I know I don't have to report this week but I want to report anyway because, by getting access to drug treatment, I have restarted my life." Knowing we're having an impact is what's meaningful for me.

What challenges have you and others faced in implementing reforms and communicating why they were needed?

One challenge has been the need to create a stable and dedicated financial structure for our Pretrial Services Program, which is still supported through court fees. Unless we accomplish that, it will be difficult to fulfill our mission fully and properly. Another significant challenge is the shortage of available and affordable community-based substance abuse treatment, mental health treatment, and housing assistance programs, and that will continue absent additional, sustainable funding. And while our reforms have reduced some racial disparities, the overrepresentation of black males in our pretrial jail population remains an area in need of further examination.

Finally, we are also confronted with the continuing challenge of educating the public on the importance and value of this type of pretrial release program. The goal is to balance the community's public safety concerns with the constitutional protections afforded those accused of a crime. Under CJR, we recognize and incorporate in our processes a continuing examination of our efforts to meet these two goals.

What has gone well since the state enacted the reforms, and which outcomes are you most proud of?

The system is working as intended. Our latest report shows that people released under CJR are no more likely to commit a new offense or fail to show up for a court appearance than defendants released under the prior system of monetary bail.

Our county jail population has been substantially reduced as a result of reform, with 6,000 fewer people incarcerated on Oct. 3, 2018, compared to the same day in 2012. That's not why we did criminal justice reform, but it's a remarkable outcome. In addition, the jail population looks very different than it did pre-reform, and now largely holds defendants who present a significant risk of flight or danger to the community. In 2018, nearly 75 percent of the jail population consisted of defendants charged with serious offenses.

The other result to note is that crime did not increase as a result of CJR. I'm not trying to take credit for that, but if crime had increased, the naysayers would have been jumping up and down. That was the prediction of the bail bondsmen, that all these people who were released would be out there committing crimes. It hasn't happened.

Using Data to Help Improve Public Pensions

Philadelphia philanthropist Richard Vague and Pew are mining statistics to help states and cities create more sustainable retirement benefits for their employees.

BY DEMETRA AOSPOROS

Richard Vague likes to probe data. The Philadelphia businessman—who is a managing partner of Gabriel Investments and chairman of the nonprofit Governor’s Woods Foundation—spent three decades in the banking and credit card industries, where he would routinely analyze datasets with millions of pieces of information to solve a pressing problem. Today, Vague studies voluminous statistics out of a desire to help address some of the tougher financial issues facing Americans.

His interest in data led him to examine the factors surrounding the Great Recession, and he recognized that private debt had quickly increased in the years preceding the crash, which he believes was a major contributing element. To probe the connection, he dug into the statistics behind other financial crises across a 200-year time frame and several countries—Great Britain, Germany, France, Japan, and the U.S. among them. His resulting book, *A Brief History of Doom*, published in May, makes a well-researched case that a financial crisis becomes likely if the ratio of private debt to gross domestic product grows by 15 to 20 percentage points over a five-year period and also reaches 150 percent or more. The book was his second on the topic.

Vague’s in-depth work on this and the Private Debt Project—a Governor’s Woods Foundation initiative in which a team of seven researchers studies the relationship between private debt, economic growth, and financial stability—led him to survey pensions for public employees. The debt project underscored for him that a holistic approach to state and local debt would require pensions to be part of the big-picture equation.

In 2000, most states’ pensions were fully funded. Today, The Pew Charitable Trusts’ research shows that only three states—South Dakota, Tennessee, and Wisconsin—have at least 95 percent of the assets needed to fund their pensions, and on average state pensions are only 71 percent funded. And according to the same report, “The State Pension Funding Gap: 2017,” state pension funds cumulatively report a \$1.28

trillion deficit. This shift from 2000 to 2017 happened partly because of the significant hits that pension fund investments took during the dot-com crash and Great Recession, and because of a drop in state revenues; both factors contributed to a shortfall of funds devoted to state employee pensions. The decline affects taxpayers as well as millions of state and local workers—first responders, teachers, and other public employees—who count on pensions as a critical component of their retirement income.

“Pensions are one of those almost intractable problems where all of the conventional solutions, while they might result in some improvement, won’t really fully address the problem,” says Vague. “Pensions are an area where truly creative breakthrough thinking is going to be required. Pew is doing research on policy issues and approaches that may prove enormously useful to states and cities.”

Pew’s public pensions project has been researching the challenges facing states and cities as they try to ensure their public sector retirement systems are affordable and sustainable, help provide a secure retirement for workers, and preserve governments’ ability to recruit and retain a talented workforce. Pew’s reports were among the first a decade ago to call attention to the growing gap between the promises made to public sector employees and the funding set aside to meet them, and the project now provides personalized technical assistance to state and local policymakers, recognizing there is no one-size-fits-all solution to the problem.

“We hope to be able to provide states with evidence-based solutions and the necessary tools to advance sound policy reform in their pension systems,” says Greg Mennis, who directs the project.

Vague decided to support Pew’s pension work because he had encountered the project’s research for years, in almost every area that his team has investigated.

“Pew is best not only in regard to the quality of their



Richard Vague relaxes in his office near Philadelphia City Hall, in a building that also houses the Governor's Woods Foundation and the Private Debt Project. *Lexey Swall for The Pew Charitable Trusts*

work, but also in their willingness to consider all sides of a problem," says Vague. "There are any number of foundations that have a kind of vested interest or agenda they are trying to push. Pew almost uniquely in my view has a very balanced approach to things."

Vague's support of the public pension project is one example of how Pew works with philanthropists to tackle complex issues, including substance use disorder, the scarcity of antibiotics, and plastic in the world's oceans.

Mennis said that Vague's professional background and work on the debt burden faced by state and local governments have helped shape the team's efforts. "We are so grateful for Richard Vague's support," Mennis says. "We've found that we're able to learn as much from Richard on the subject of debt as we might learn from our data, which is a real advantage of working with him. His team's extensive work on debt has helped us to think more holistically about measuring and addressing states' long-term liabilities, including infrastructure deficits."

Vague's partnership with Pew is just one of his wide-ranging interests. He is the founder of Delancey Place, a daily blog that was inspired by his love of reading and features a quote from a work of nonfiction meant to be thought-provoking. His philanthropic efforts include the

Richard W. Vague Professorship of Immunotherapy at Penn Medicine's Abramson Cancer Center, a hub for innovative cancer research; gatherings of leading thinkers on the budget, public and private debt, infrastructure, and other issues; and Philadelphia's FringeArts festival, which supports local artists and brings cutting-edge cultural experiences to the city. The last has a personal connection.

"When I was young, I trained as an artist," Vague says, referencing his early passion for oil painting and charcoal drawings. "It was my intention as an 18-year-old to become a professional artist. But life happened, and I got into business instead."

Across all his philanthropic efforts, data-driven or not, Vague explains there is a common theme: He likes to support projects that combine disparate and unconventional methods to find creative new solutions.

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For more information about philanthropic partnerships at Pew, please contact senior vice president Sally O'Brien at 202-540-6525 or sobrien@pewtrusts.org.

Demetra Aposporos is the senior editor of Trust.

How Highly Religious Americans View Evolution Depends on How They're Asked About It

But responses from the religiously unaffiliated remain the same.



Getty Images

BY CARY FUNK

More than a century and a half after Charles Darwin published his groundbreaking thesis on the development of life, the subject of evolution remains a contentious one for Americans and, in particular, for those who are religious. But when it comes to exploring the views of highly religious groups—white evangelical Protestants and black Protestants—a new survey approach finds their responses vary depending on how the question is asked.

One approach in the Pew Research Center survey asked about evolution in a two-question “branched choice format.” First, survey respondents were asked if they believe humans have evolved over time. Those

who said humans have evolved then branched to a second question which asked for their views about the processes behind evolution, including the role of God in those processes.

When asked this way, about two-thirds of white evangelical Protestants (66 percent) took a “creationist” stance, saying that “humans have always existed in their present form since the beginning of time,” consistent with past center surveys using a branched choice format with somewhat different question wording.

But the results differed when the question was posed in single-question format to a random sample of respondents from the same survey. This approach

asked about people's views on whether or not human evolution has occurred, the processes behind evolution, and the role of God in those processes together in one question. In this case, a 62 percent majority of white evangelical Protestants took the position that humans have *evolved* over time.

Similarly, 59 percent of black Protestants asked about this topic in the two-question format said humans have always existed in their present form. By contrast, with the single-question format, just 27 percent of black Protestants said this, while a 71 percent majority said humans have evolved over time.

These findings are in keeping with arguments from scholars of religion that highly religious people may feel conflicted about saying that humans have evolved over time unless they are able to clarify their views about the role of God in these processes. A number of past Pew Research Center surveys have experimented with ways to ask about beliefs in evolution, including ways to ask about the role of "a supreme being" in evolution.

Indeed, groups who respond differently to the two approaches are those who primarily believe that God or a higher power had a role in human evolution. For example, nearly all white evangelical Protestants who say humans have evolved—whether in a branched-choice or single-question format—believe God had a role in human evolution.

Differences in response to these two approaches occur among highly religious groups, but not among religiously unaffiliated Americans (those who describe their religion as nothing in particular, agnostic, or atheist). Overwhelming majorities of the religiously unaffiliated said humans have evolved over time on both the two-question branched choice (87 percent) and the single-question format (88 percent).

There are smaller differences among Catholics in response to the two question formats. White mainline Protestants hold roughly the same views about evolution regardless of which approach is used.

Americans continue to argue about evolution and its place in school curriculum.

Regardless of people's own views about evolution, 76 percent of Americans see widespread scientific consensus on this issue, saying that "most biological scientists say that humans have evolved over time due to processes such as natural selection." A 68 percent majority of white evangelical Protestants and 44 percent of black Protestants see widespread scientific consensus on evolution, as do even larger shares of religiously unaffiliated Americans (86 percent) and white mainline Protestants (80 percent).



Cary Funk is director of science and society research at the Pew Research Center.

How the single- and two-question formats of the evolution question differ

Single-question format

Q1 Which statement comes closest to your views?

Humans have always existed in their present form

Humans evolved; God had a role

Humans evolved; God had **no** role

Two-question format

Q1 Which statement comes closer to your views?

Humans have always existed in their present form

Humans evolved

Those who said "evolved" were asked about the process:

Q2 Which statement comes closer to your views?

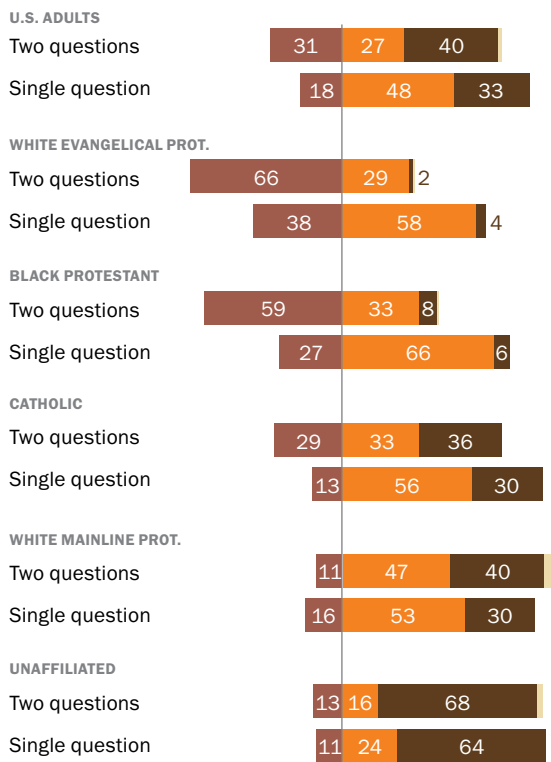
God had a role

God had **no** role

Question format matters, especially for those who believe evolution has been guided by God or a higher power

Percentage of each religious group who say humans have...

- Existed in their present form
- Evolved; guided by God or higher power
- Evolved; due to natural processes



Note: Respondents in the two-question format who did not specify whether evolution is due to natural processes or guided by God/higher power are shown in beige.

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Stateline, an initiative of The Pew Charitable Trusts, is a team of veteran journalists who report and analyze trends in state policy with a focus on fiscal and economic issues, health care, demographics, and the business of government. More stories are available at pewtrusts.org/stateline.



Housing Crunch Sends Bigger Populations to Smaller Towns

Cris Bautista, a teacher at a high school in Oakland, California, shares an apartment an hour from his school and works a second job to afford the high cost of housing. Steep prices for homes in large cities are increasingly driving people to live in smaller, more affordable places. Ben Margot/The Associated Press

BY TIM HENDERSON

Cities with fewer than 200,000 residents grew faster than larger metropolises between 2017 and 2018 as high housing prices chased many people away from big cities and their closest suburbs.

The biggest cities grew by a collective 326,000 people, less than half the number earlier in the decade, and less than the number for smaller cities — 421,000 for cities with populations between 10,000 and 50,000.

And small towns of fewer than 10,000 people grew more quickly than earlier in the decade, attracting more than 142,000 new people last year, according to a *Stateline* analysis of U.S. Census Bureau estimates, driven in part by retirees seeking affordable housing.

Larry Vollmer, a 37-year-old web development manager, felt lucky to find a home in 2017 in Vallejo, California, a city of about 122,000, despite a new two-

hour commute to his job in San Francisco.

Tired of constant rent increases for small apartments in closer suburbs, he and his wife bought a \$450,000 four-bedroom home with room for a family if they decide to have children. That price might have bought an apartment with less than half the space where they lived before, in Walnut Hills.

"It's one of the last affordable places to commute to San Francisco. The house was on the market for two days and we were one of six people bidding on it," said Vollmer, whose commute consists of a 10-minute drive to a ferry, 20 minutes in a line, an hour on the boat and then a half-hour walk to work.

It's a particularly pressing problem in California, where well-paid tech workers have no trouble finding jobs but are hard-pressed to afford a home.

"Jobs need beds," said Adam Fowler, research director at Beacon Economics, a Los Angeles consulting

firm, who studied the gap between jobs and housing last year. “We’ve had an influx of well-paid information workers, but we haven’t built housing for them.”

California policymakers have been unable to overcome entrenched resistance to the construction of new apartment buildings. But housing shortages in booming cities is a national problem, said Lawrence Yun, chief economist at the National Association of Realtors.

Yun estimated that the nation needs another six million homes near the new jobs created in the past decade, and that the shortage will cause political turmoil in places where it is most acute, such as San Francisco and New York.

San Francisco grew by about 4,100 people from 2017 to 2018, well down from a recent growth peak of more than 13,000 between 2011 and 2012.

New York, the nation’s largest city at about 8.4 million, lost almost 40,000 people, after gaining more than 82,000 earlier in the decade, between 2010 and 2011.

“There are repercussions,” said Yun, adding that fear of inflated housing costs and congestion helped doom Amazon’s plan to build a headquarters in New York City this year. The situation gives an economic boost to places that build both housing and jobs, Yun said.

One example might be Sierra Vista, a city in southeast Arizona of about 44,000 that lost 1,500 people between 2016 and 2017 but gained 1,400 last year, as increases in defense spending helped fuel growth at Fort Huachuca, said Robert Carreira, chief economist at the Cochise College Center for Economic Research in Sierra Vista.

Nearby Sahuarita, a far suburb of Tucson, is more typical of places where people are seeking affordable housing, which Carreira called “drive till you qualify.” The small city of about 30,000 grew by more than 800 people, the largest bump in a decade.

Carreira said there are plans to build retirement homes in tiny nearby Benson, with less than 5,000 people, which has been losing population every year until gaining 31 last year. The city hopes to mimic the success of rural retirement areas such as the Villages in Florida, a development that contributed to a more than doubling of Fruitland Park’s population to about 10,000 from 2016 to 2018, said Richard Doty, a research demographer at the Bureau of Economic and Business Research at the University of Florida.

Retirees seeking affordable housing have helped boost population in small cities of less than 10,000, which collectively grew by more than 142,000 people, compared with about 8,000 between 2011 and 2012.

In California, efforts to build more urban housing have been frustrated despite Democratic Gov. Gavin Newsom’s vow to build 3.5 million homes by 2025 — about 500,000 a year, compared with the roughly 85,000 new homes that went up between 2017 and 2018. The state announced plans in April to build housing on state-owned land in cities including San Francisco.

State Sen. Scott Wiener, a Democrat representing the

San Francisco area, sponsored a bill intended to ease construction of apartment buildings near mass transit that failed to pass this year. Wiener still hopes it will pass by next year.

“It’s politically divisive but it’s critical,” Wiener said. “We have to develop the political will and a culture change from NIMBY attitudes. The people get it.”

In 2012, the cities with the most population growth were New York, Houston, Los Angeles, Phoenix and Austin. Last year’s leaders were Phoenix, San Antonio, Fort Worth, Seattle and Charlotte, and even those cities saw slowing growth compared with earlier years.

“It’s not that the biggest and brightest cities are any less attractive, but they are more expensive,” said Patrick Adler, a research associate at the University of Toronto’s School of Cities.

People who can’t afford housing, or maybe Millennials looking for more space to raise children, might choose a less glamorous city nearby because of costs, Adler said. “If they’re in New York and they want a cheaper city with 70% of New York, maybe they’d go to Philadelphia or Jersey City. If they’re in Los Angeles or San Francisco, maybe they go to San Diego.”

Some of the smaller cities gaining population are exurbs that lost their appeal in the rush to live in cities. California’s “Inland Empire” has seen a resurgence in interest, with the cities of Ontario and Chino Hills east of Los Angeles seeing growth doubling since the previous year. Ontario now has about 181,000 people and Chino Hills has 83,000 — together they grew by about 8,900, compared with 4,400 the year before and less than a thousand five years ago.

That’s because affluent people priced out of Los Angeles have been buying new houses there. Light rail makes commuting possible, and home prices are half what they are in coastal suburbs such as Orange County, said John Husing, an economist specializing in Inland Empire issues.

San Bernardino County, which includes Ontario and Chino Hills, opened to more extensive development about five years ago when dairy farmers decided to cash in and move their herds east, Husing said. It’s growing because it’s one of the few places in California where the typical family’s income is enough to buy the typical house.

At the same time, lower-income people are moving even farther inland.

He added that legislation such as Wiener’s, which prioritizes urban apartments, would hurt the development of single-family houses in the Inland Empire by subjecting it to more review.

“They call us sprawl. They’re trying to gut our kind of development,” Husing said. “I don’t see it happening. Over the last 50 years, people have repeatedly tried to get people out of single-family homes and the marketplace has said, ‘No way.’”

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Tim Henderson is a staff writer for Stateline.

RETURN ON INVESTMENT

*The Pew Charitable Trusts applies a rigorous, analytical approach to **improve public policy, inform the public, and invigorate civic life**, as these recent accomplishments illustrate.*

IMPROVING PUBLIC POLICY



Towering mountains and diverse geologic features form a backdrop for a flock of birds in Chile's Patagonia Park, one of 17 parks covered by a new collaborative agreement. *Linde Waidhofer*

Chilean president collaborates on public-private funding plan for Patagonia parks

In May, President Sebastián Piñera of Chile announced an agreement between the Chilean government and an international conservation coalition led by Tompkins Conservation, Balloon Latam, World Wildlife Fund, and The Pew Charitable Trusts to collaborate on the creation

of a public-private fund for the long-term management of Chilean Patagonia's national parks and to support the economic development of neighboring communities. The project is intended to cover 17 national parks spanning 1,700 miles.

National Park Service receives additional appropriations for deferred maintenance

The Nationally Significant Federal Lands and Tribal Projects Program provided \$123 million to the National Park Service (NPS) for transportation repair projects as part of the fiscal year 2018 and fiscal year 2019 appropriations. While many land management agencies and tribes vie for the funds, Pew's restore America's parks campaign worked with congressional appropriators and partners to ensure that adequate funding was dedicated to NPS. More than half of the National Park Service's deferred maintenance needs are transportation-related.

Western U.S. states advance wildlife migration policies

In June, Oregon Governor Kate Brown (D) signed into law the Wildlife Corridor and Safe Road Crossing Act, which directs state wildlife and transportation agencies to collaborate on the identification and conservation of crucial wildlife migration pathways across the state. At the invitation of the Oregon House of Representatives and Senate natural resource committees, Pew provided technical assistance to lawmakers and testified in support of the bill. In the same month, the Western Governors Association passed the "Wildlife Migration Corridors and Habitat" resolution, which called for additional migration-related federal policies that are informed by states, better collaboration between state and federal agencies, and additional resources to build wildlife-friendly transportation infrastructure. Pew participated in a wildlife migration panel for the association in April and provided advice during the drafting of the resolution.

New help to fight antibiotic resistance

Several months after Pew's annual Capitol Hill fly-in event "Stand Up to Superbugs" in March, House appropriators provided additional funding and support to combat antibiotic resistance and promote appropriate antibiotic use. As a result of advocacy by Pew and the Infectious Diseases Society of America, bipartisan members of the Senate and the House introduced the DISARM Act in the summer to incentivize antibiotic drug development, expand hospital stewardship programs, and improve data collection and reporting to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. In addition, as a result of Pew's advocacy, the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services extended the timeline to finalize a proposal requiring hospitals to implement antibiotic stewardship programs as a condition of participation in Medicare and Medicaid, which was set to expire in June 2019.

Texas flood planning and mitigation laws signed

Governor Greg Abbott (R) signed two bills in June requiring local officials to develop the first watershed-level flood plans in Texas and drawing \$800 million from the state's reserve fund to finance flood mitigation projects. These measures passed during the first state legislative session since Hurricane Harvey, a storm that battered Texas in 2017 and left 89 people dead and caused an estimated \$125 billion in damage to property and infrastructure. Pew's flood-prepared communities team engaged policymakers and other stakeholders in the state to inform drafting of the hurricane recovery bills. These new laws will help Texas minimize risk from future flooding and represent one of the largest investments by a state in mitigation.

French government commits support for marine protected area in the Indian Ocean

In May, the French government announced its commitment to strongly protect 195,000 square miles of waters surrounding the Saint Paul and Amsterdam Islands, French territories in the sub-Antarctic region of the Indian Ocean. These waters are vital habitat for ecologically and economically important animals, including three species of tuna and the critically endangered Amsterdam albatross. Since 2015, Pew has worked to safeguard these vulnerable habitats by providing technical recommendations and generating support for a marine protected area with officials and nongovernmental organizations in France.

Louisiana expands access to treatment for opioid use disorder

The Louisiana legislature approved in June three bills and five resolutions to expand access to treatment for opioid use disorder. Based on recommendations that Pew provided to the state in March after an extensive system assessment, the measures will help expand the number of providers offering medication-assisted treatment across Louisiana and require that residential treatment providers offer medication-assisted treatment onsite. This effort is part of Pew's substance use prevention and treatment initiative's ongoing work to assist states with the adoption of policies that expand access to effective treatment for substance use disorders by 2020.



A North Atlantic right whale breaches in the Bay of Fundy. *Tony Beck/Getty Images*

Canada protects North Atlantic right whales

Canada began implementing seasonal fishing closures in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence in May to safeguard migrating North Atlantic right whales. Entanglement in crab and lobster fisheries gear is one of the leading causes of death for the highly endangered species. Along with Canadian partners, Pew laid the groundwork for this action by supporting research and engaging in outreach with Canada's Department of Fisheries and Oceans. This achievement marks an important milestone toward Pew's goal of reducing deaths of North Atlantic right whales in Canada and the United States, largely caused by entanglement in fishing gear.

Nevada passes jails and community supervision reform

Nevada Governor Steve Sisolak (D) signed legislation in June that provides pretrial alternatives to jail, streamlines the parole process, and changes community supervision—practices including probation and parole, in which a person convicted of a crime is supervised rather than incarcerated. The change to supervision aims to reduce revocations of parole and probation, both of which are major drivers of incarceration in Nevada. Early estimates indicate that the population under community supervision will be reduced by approximately 10 percent, saving more than \$300 million. The Crime and Justice Institute, a partner of Pew's public safety performance project, provided technical assistance and analysis for Nevada.

Tax incentive policy

- In June, Pennsylvania Governor Tom Wolf (D) approved a bill that reforms the state's Historical Preservation, New Jobs, and Film tax credits, each of which was recently evaluated by the state's Independent Fiscal Office. Pew's advocacy and technical assistance with the office helped make the case for establishing this evaluation process in late 2017.
- Washington, D.C., Mayor Muriel Bowser (D) signed two pieces of legislation in July that include the redirection of nearly \$16 million in forgone revenue away from the district's signature package of economic development incentives, known as the Qualified High Technology Companies program, which offers incentive packages to high-tech companies locating in the District. An evaluation of the program by the district's Office of the Chief Financial Officer in 2018 prompted the changes. Pew pushed for passage of the law that requires regular evaluation of the district's tax incentives in 2015 and continues to provide technical assistance to the city's evaluators.

New retirement savings plans rule cites Pew research

The U.S. Department of Labor in July issued a new rule making it easier for smaller private-sector companies to band together and offer retirement savings plans to their workers through association-based multiple employer plans. The Labor Department rule and its accompanying fact sheet cited Pew retirement savings research that found that only 53 percent of small to midsized businesses offer a retirement plan, and that 37 percent of those not offering a plan cited cost as a reason.



The state of trust

The Pew Research Center in July released a report on the state of trust and distrust in America, finding that majorities believe trust in government and in other Americans is shrinking, and that the low trust Americans have in the federal government (64 percent) and in other people (70 percent) makes it harder to solve the nation's key problems. It also found that most Americans think it is necessary to establish more trust: 68 percent say it is very important to repair the public's level of confidence in the federal government, and 58 percent say the same about improving confidence in fellow Americans. In addition, some see fading trust as a sign of cultural sickness and national decline and tie it to what they perceive to be increased loneliness and excessive individualism. About half of Americans (49 percent) link the decline in interpersonal trust to a belief that people are not as reliable as they used to be. The study is part of the Center's trust, facts, and democracy series.

A majority of Americans believe that trust in the government is shrinking, according to a recent report from the Pew Research Center. *Yasuyoshi Chiba/Getty Images*

Religious restrictions around the world

In July, the Pew Research Center released its 10th report examining restrictions on religion around the world, finding that government restrictions on religion and social hostilities involving religion rose between 2007 and 2017. The latest data show that 52 governments—including those of populous countries such as China, Indonesia, and Russia—impose either “high” or “very high” levels of restrictions on religion, up from 40 in 2007. In addition, the number of countries where people are experiencing the highest levels of social hostilities involving religion has risen from 39 to 56 over the course of the study. Government restrictions on religion include laws, policies, and actions by state officials that restrict religious beliefs and practices. Social hostilities involving religion include violence and harassment by private individuals, organizations, or groups.

Higher education demographics

The Pew Research Center released a report in May about the changing demographics and economic circumstances of college students. The study determined that students from low-income families and minority groups have almost exclusively fueled the growth in the overall number of undergraduates. But these changes are not occurring uniformly across the postsecondary landscape. The rise of poor and minority undergraduates has been most pronounced in public two-year colleges, and the least selective four-year colleges and universities. The nation's more selective four-year colleges and universities, where a majority of dependent undergraduates continue to be from middle- and higher-income families, have experienced less change.

American attitudes toward same-sex marriage

In May, the Pew Research Center released a report examining Americans' views of same-sex marriage, finding that a majority of Americans (61 percent) favor allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally, while about half as many (31 percent) oppose same-sex marriage. Although attitudes about same-sex marriage have changed little from two years ago, support has increased substantially over the past two decades. In 2004, opinion was almost the reverse of what it is today: 60 percent opposed same-sex marriage, while just 31 percent were in favor. Today, three-quarters of

Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents favor same-sex marriage, up from 43 percent 15 years ago. By contrast, less than half of Republicans and Republican leaners (44 percent) support same-sex marriage; in 2004, just 19 percent of Republicans supported it. Support for same-sex marriage is highest among Millennials (74 percent), as has generally been the case for nearly a decade. A majority of Gen Xers (58 percent) support allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally, as do about half of Boomers (51 percent) and 45 percent of the Silent Generation.



Supporters of same-sex marriage display flags and balloons in front of the U.S. Supreme Court. *Bill Clark/Getty Images*



Visitors tour the expansive new interactive digital wall at Philadelphia's Independence Visitor Center. *Kyle Huff for PHLCVB*

Philadelphia's visitor center receives an upgrade

The Independence Visitor Center, a gateway to the Philadelphia region for 2.5 million visitors annually, completed a three-year, \$15 million renovation to its building on Independence Mall in May. A new 42-foot-long digital touchscreen "concierge wall" allows patrons to search for area attractions, and a new cafe, expanded event space, and a larger gift shop help make the center more economically self-sufficient. The center's changes aim to address the substantial increase in Philadelphia tourism from 27.7 million domestic visitors in 2001 to a record 45 million U.S. and international visitors in 2018. Pew helped establish the center in 2001 and supported its latest enhancements with a \$500,000 grant in March 2017.

Pew arts fellows receive recognition

The work of Pew Fellows in the Arts continues to reach national and international audiences. The documentary film of 2018 fellow Jonathan Olshefski, "Quest: A Portrait of an American Family," which follows one Philadelphia family for nearly a decade, was nominated for a Peabody Award. The Peabody Awards recognize "the stories that matter" across TV, radio, and digital media. Other fellows currently showing in major

international exhibitions include Alex Da Corte (2012) at the Venice Biennale, Tiona Nekkia McClodden (2016) at the Whitney Biennial, Camae Ayewa and Rasheedah Phillips (2017) at the Chicago Architecture Biennial, Ryan Trecartin (2009) at Fondazione Prada in Milan, Sharon Hayes (2016) at Stockholm's Moderna Museet, and Geoff Sobelle (2006) and Jennifer Kidwell (2016) at the Hong Kong Arts Festival.



Gaby Bonilla/The Pew Charitable Trusts

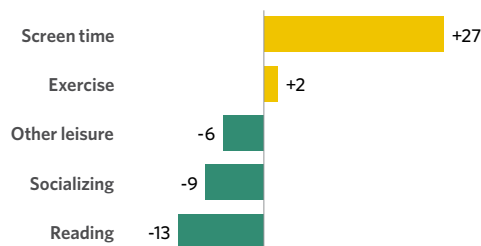
Screen Time Increasing For Older Americans

Americans ages 60 and older are spending almost half an hour a day more on their TVs, computers, tablets, or other electronic devices than they did a decade ago. The Pew Research Center analyzed Bureau of Labor Statistics data and found that while screen time among young people has held steady, older people now spend more than half of their daily leisure time—four hours and 16 minutes—in front of screens, mostly watching TV or videos. Meanwhile, the time that these older adults spend on other recreational activities, such as reading or socializing, has ticked down slightly.

The analysis found that leisure time for Americans 60 and older has held steady at about seven hours a day. On average, they sleep more than eight and a half hours per day; spend three hours on chores and errands; and devote more than an hour to eating, as well as an additional hour for personal activities such as grooming or health care. By comparison, younger Americans work more, have less leisure and screen time, and spend less time doing housework.

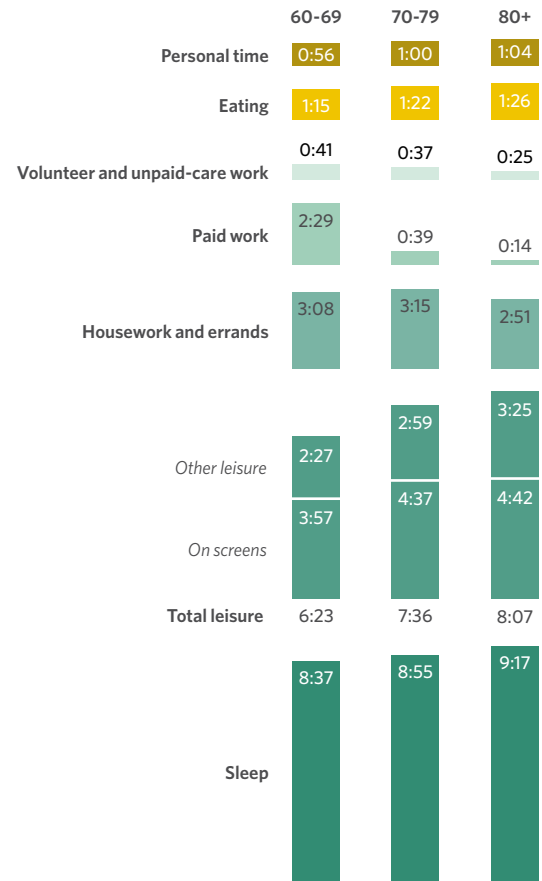
Leisure time looks different today from a decade ago

Change in daily time use 2005-2015 (minutes), for people 60 and older



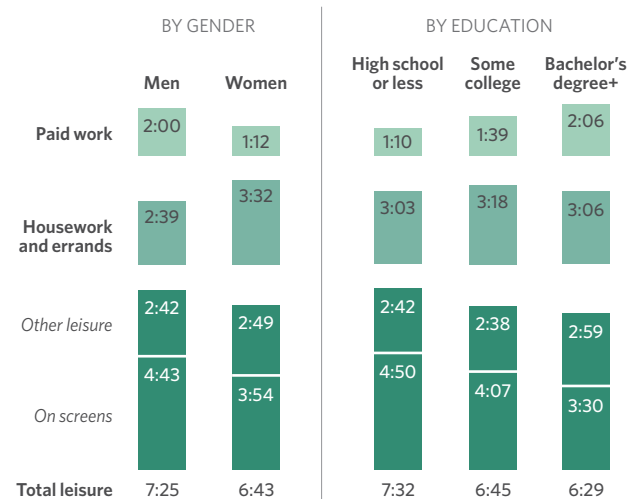
At the oldest ages, more leisure

Average time spent daily on each activity, by age (hours: minutes)

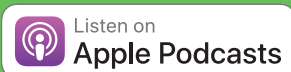


More paid work and more leisure for men than women

Average time spent daily on each activity (hours: minutes), for people 60 and older



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A bump in population from immigrants and young people is just one of the positive changes for Philadelphia over the past decade.

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