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# Can We Fix Our National Parks?

As these treasures enter their second century, they're in desperate need of more than a facelift.

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# TIME CAPSULE

# PEW FOUNDERS J. HOWARD PEW

J. Howard Pew and his brother and two sisters established the seven charitable funds that today form The Pew Charitable Trusts. After college, J. Howard joined his father, Sun Oil Co. founder Joseph N. Pew, in the development of the company's oil refinery near Philadelphia. After his father's death in 1912, J. Howard became Sun Oil's president at age 30. Entrepreneurial, independentminded, and optimistic, he—along with his brother J.N. Jr.—was instrumental in expanding the company into shipbuilding. The brothers cared deeply about Sun Oil employees, instituting a matching-funds program to allow them to buy company stock and ensuring during the Great Depression that no employees were laid off. A committed Christian and supporter of American democracy, free enterprise, and religious education, J. Howard remained creative, principled, innovative, and upbeat about America's future throughout his life.

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Cover photograph by Bettman/Getty Images



The Pew Charitable Trusts is a public charity driven by the power of knowledge to solve today's most challenging problems. Working with partners and donors, Pew conducts fact-based research and rigorous analysis to improve public policy, inform the public, and invigorate civic life.

Pew is the sole beneficiary of seven individual charitable funds established between 1948 and 1979 by two sons and two daughters of Sun Oil Co. founder Joseph N. Pew and his wife, Mary Anderson Pew.

# The Work for a Better Future Never Ends



In 1787, Dr. James McHenry, a Maryland delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, overheard a conversation that has become a wellknown part of the American narrative. A woman asked Benjamin Franklin whether the new Constitution made the country a monarchy or a republic. Franklin's answer: "You have a republic—if you can keep it."

The American people have kept their republic for more than two centuries—by preserving its democratic values and norms while also adapting to changing times. You'll find examples of both of these virtues of the American character in this issue of *Trust*.

The right to vote is, of course, the fundamental democratic value upon which all others stand. The story of the 2016 election—nearly 230 years after ratification of the Constitution—can be told through the lines of voters at polling places, the campaign volunteers knocking on doors, and the strong opinions that populated social media. These are all signs of a robust democracy. But the story of America's most recent election is also about how well the election system performed in making sure that those voters were able to register, find their polling places, and cast their ballots.

As part of Pew's mission to nurture American democracy, we have worked with public and private sector partners for the past 10 years to create tools that make voting easier, more efficient, and less costly. The Voting Information Project (VIP), a partnership among Pew, the states, Google, and many others, provided voters with official information about the election process and helped them successfully cast their ballots. In all, VIP data were accessed more than 123 million times in the days leading up to the November election.

The Electronic Registration Information Center (ERIC), which houses a sophisticated data matching process, is another tool that state election officials used to prepare for the 2016 election. ERIC began with assistance from Pew and is now governed and funded by its member states, which have increased from seven in 2012 to 20 and the District of Columbia now. By cross-referencing state voter rolls against other official government data, such as motor vehicle records, ERIC members have identified over 25 million individuals who were eligible to vote but not registered —including over 13 million in 2016 alone—and sent them registration information. You can read more about Pew's elections work in this issue of *Trust*.

As part of Pew's mission to nurture American democracy, we have worked with public and private sector partners for the past 10 years to create tools that make voting easier, more efficient, and less costly.

We have also followed Mr. Franklin's advice by finding the right balance between preserving the past and reimagining the future. That includes working to expand and maintain our system of national parks, which Pulitzer Prize winner Wallace Stegner called America's "best idea." Unfortunately, the National Park Service now faces almost \$12 billion in deferred maintenance costs for damaged roads, crumbling bridges, and eroding trails. The Statue of Liberty National Monument, which includes Ellis Island—that great steppingstone to a better future for millions of new Americans—requires at least \$160 million in repairs. You'll learn more about how Pew is working to restore our national parks in our cover story. Franklin's admonition also encourages us to continually nurture and adapt our democratic values and traditions to meet a changing world. Every year, every century, and every presidential term brings its own challenges and opportunities. Michael Dimock, president of the Pew Research Center, recently took a deep dive into the extent that the nation changed during President Barack Obama's administration. The review covers the social, demographic, and political evolution of the past eight years; America's place in the world; and how we interact, especially via social media. The result tells us a great deal about how we have changed and who we are today.

The story of our republic began at the Constitutional Convention and deeply inspired Pew's work—from the mission set by our founders to our collaborations with so many philanthropic partners today. While no one can predict what is around the next corner, we do know that if we steward our nation's values and cultural treasures, we will never lose what Benjamin Franklin so deeply hoped we would keep.

Rebecca W. Rimel, President and CEO

# Trust

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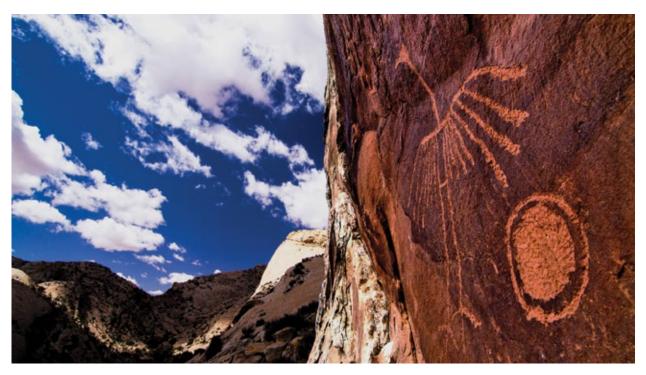
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# THE BIG PICTURE

Freezing for a cause, ocean advocate Lewis Pugh powers through glacial waters during one of a series of Antarctic swims he undertook to help focus attention on the need to protect the region's Ross Sea. The sea was designated the world's largest marine reserve in December after advocacy by Pew and other organizations—and Pugh set a record for the world's most southerly swim.

Kelvin Trautman

# NOTEWORTHY



Bears Ears National Monument in southeastern Utah spans 1.3 million acres and includes 100,000 important Native American archaeological sites, like this petroglyph gracing the Comb Ridge. *Josh Ewing* 

# Two New National Monuments Are Born—and Two Grow Larger

#### BY CAROL KAUFMANN

Few places in the United States combine archaeological treasures, sacred tribal land, and spectacular backcountry. But the Bears Ears region in southeastern Utah and the Gold Butte area in Nevada do—and now they are also the among the nation's newest national monuments. Designated by President Barack Obama on Dec. 28, these culturally and geographically rich areas will be protected for future generations.

Bears Ears National Monument, named for a pair of mesas that resemble a bear rising up from the horizon, showcases a jaw-dropping contrast of red-rock buttes and arches, sandstone canyons, natural bridges, and pinyon-juniper forests. Bears Ears' rugged 1.3 million acres are surrounded by notable and iconic places: Canyonlands National Park lies just north of the monument, while Glen Canyon National Recreation Area abuts the western border. The Navajo Nation resides on the monument's southern side, and the White Mesa Ute Reservation frames the eastern boundary.

Bears Ears' 100,000 archaeological sites, which

include cliff dwellings and rock art, are so important sacred to Native Americans—that 26 tribes joined in asking the president to protect the area. A majority of Utah residents also supported making the area a monument, believing that it would boost the state's tourism industry and benefit wildlife and the environment, as designation of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument did in 1996.

Some 450 miles away in the Mojave Desert northeast of Las Vegas lies Gold Butte, known as Nevada's piece of the Grand Canyon, a land that has been molded over time by humans as well as nature. In the north, stunning tree-covered mountains rise 8,000 feet against the Virgin River and shadow a crimson-hued, harsh land. In the south, narrow, meandering canyons and ridges are dotted with otherworldly geologic formations of red sandstone. Here, Native Americans left part of their history: petroglyphs and shelters that date back more than 12,000 years. The new monument is also home to iconic desert species such as bighorn sheep, mountain lions, desert tortoises, and Gila monsters, while mule deer, Gambel's quails, and chukar partridges attract hunters. Gold Butte's natural wonders are popular with photographers as well as outdoor enthusiasts who hike, camp, bird-watch, and explore slot canyons that slice through layers of sandstone and limestone. A coalition of businesses, community officials, casino executives, and tribal leaders joined in supporting protection of Gold Butte.

The Pew Charitable Trusts campaigned for the monument designations, which were made by the president through the Antiquities Act. They prohibit new development while continuing to allow current nonharmful uses of the land, such as grazing, all-terrain vehicle recreation, fishing, hunting, and traditional tribal activities.

In January, President Obama expanded two existing national monuments: the California Coastal and Cascade-Siskiyou landscapes.

Southwestern Oregon's Cascade-Siskiyou, located at the intersection of three ecoregions along the California border, is the only national monument explicitly designated to protect an area for its diversity of unique species as well as its natural communities, some of which occur nowhere else on the planet. In 2011, an independent interdisciplinary group of scientists recommended that the monument's boundaries be expanded to protect the area's old-growth forests, a land bridge that enables the flow of plants and animals between distinct ecoregions, and clean, cold rivers that support endemic species such as the Jenny Creek redband trout. The expansion adds nearly 50,000 acres to the monument.

The extension of the California Coastal National Monument adds 6,600 acres of land to some 20,000 small islands, exposed reefs, geologic formations, and 1,665 acres along the state's 1,100-mile shoreline. Safeguarding this area helps to ensure that native wildlife—harbor seals, sea lions, bottlenose and Pacific white-sided dolphins, gray and humpback whales, elephant seals, the California red-legged frog, salmon, and steelhead trout—will live in a healthier marine environment. The addition will also create more recreational options, such as hiking trails, beaches, and areas for watching elephant seals and whales—all less than 300 miles from San Francisco.

"The Antiquities Act has created a living, breathing museum that enables us to share our nation's history through firsthand experience," says Mike Matz, who leads Pew's work to protect public lands. "More than 100 years after the act's inception, we appreciate that presidents continue to recognize the importance of these landscapes and that they should be protected for generations."

# Antibiotic Labels Target Use in Food Animals

This year marks a milestone in the fight against antibiotic resistance, with important new policies limiting how the drugs can be used in food-producing animals.

Antibiotics can be lifesaving when used to treat infection. But bacteria exposed to antibiotics are also likely to develop resistance so that the drugs are no longer effective. That's why it is important that they are used only when necessary in people and animals.

As of Jan. 1, at the request of the Food and Drug Administration, animal drug companies have removed any growth promotion indications from the drugs' labels, which means it is no longer legal to administer these antibiotics to healthy animals merely to get them to grow faster. The guidance also mandates that a licensed veterinarian oversee most antibiotics and prevents the drugs from being sold over the counter.

These changes will help to strengthen the stewardship of antibiotics used on farms—something Pew has long championed. The rules mark a growing consensus that these drugs should be used only when they are necessary and appropriate for protecting the health of animals.



Pigs are among the animals affected by changes to the use of antibiotics on the farm. *Monty Rakusen/Getty Images* 

"This is an important step in the right direction," says Karin Hoelzer, a veterinarian who works on Pew's antibiotic resistance project. "Antibiotics can no longer be used to promote growth—but more work needs to be done to ensure that these lifesaving drugs are used responsibly."

-Demetra Aposporos

# Food Fights Divide the U.S.

In the past generation, Americans have been inundated with new science around food: the introduction of genetically modified crops, the rise of the organic food industry, increased concerns about obesity, and a growing awareness of allergies and other food-related health concerns.

The past 20 years also have seen a pronounced shift in Americans' eating habits, with far-reaching implications for how food is created, prepared, and consumed. Moreover, the way Americans eat today is a source of potential social, economic, and political friction as people follow personal preferences reflecting their beliefs about how foods connect with their health, according to a survey by the Pew Research Center released in December.

The new food divides are encapsulated by how people assess the health effects of two kinds of food: organic and genetically modified (GM).

The survey finds that 55 percent of Americans believe organically grown produce is healthier than conventionally grown varieties, while 41 percent say there is no difference, and 3 percent consider conventionally grown produce to be better. Four in 10 Americans say that most (6 percent) or some (34 percent) of the foods they eat are organic. Threequarters of these Americans are convinced that organic foods are healthier than those conventionally grown.

At the same time, a sizable minority of Americans—39 percent—considers genetically modified foods to be worse for a person's health. This compares with 48 percent of adults who say GM foods are neither better nor worse than non-GM foods, and 10 percent who say GM foods promote better health.

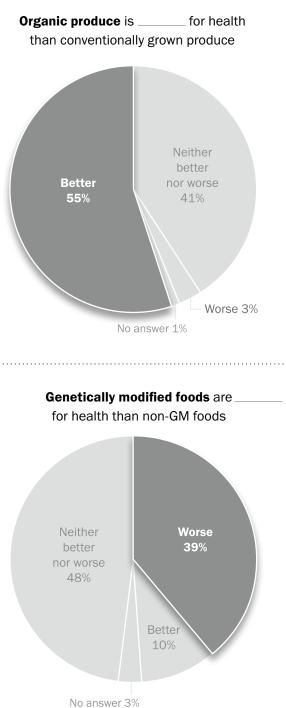
-Demetra Aposporos



Are organically grown avocados better for us? More than half of Americans say yes. *Getty Images* 

### Most Americans See Health Benefits in Organics, but Sizable Minority Sees Health Risks in Genetically Modified Foods

Percentage of online U.S. adults who say the following



Note: Percentages include those who lean toward each response. Source: Survey conducted May 10–June 6, 2016 "The New Food Fights: U.S. Public Divides Over Food Science"

#### PEW RESEARCH CENTER



Shafts of light warm strollers in Elferth's Alley in Philadelphia, where middle-income families owning homes enjoyed their lowest tax burden in years. Victor J. Blue/Bloomberg/Getty Images

# Philadelphia's Tax Gap With Suburbs at 15-Year Low

The tax disadvantage of living in Philadelphia instead of its suburbs has dropped to its lowest point since 2000, thanks in part to recent property and income tax changes.

In the November issue brief "The Shrinking Tax Gap Between Philadelphia and Its Suburbs," which focused on taxes that a hypothetical family would pay in the city versus the suburbs, Pew's Philadelphia research initiative found that on average, a middle-income family owning a house in Philadelphia spent 12.4 percent of its income on local property tax, state and local sales tax, and state and local income tax in 2015. A similar family in the surrounding Pennsylvania or New Jersey suburbs paid on average 11.8 percent, or just 0.6 percentage points less. This urban-suburban tax gap dropped from a difference of 3.7 percentage points 15 years earlier.

Philadelphia's homestead relief program helps to explain this shift. The program, enacted in 2013, reduced the taxable portion of property assessments for homeowners by up to \$30,000. Without this exemption, the city's tax burden—and tax disadvantage—would have grown, according to Pew's analysis.

When people are deciding where to live within a region, the tax rate can often help tilt the decision. Economists view the tax gap as a useful measure of competitiveness and a potential factor in helping people choose where to live and in determining funding for public services. It can also help local officials weigh their tax decisions against those of surrounding areas.

Although Philadelphia still had heftier tax bills than most of its suburbs, ranking 97th out of the 355 southeastern Pennsylvania and southern New Jersey municipalities studied, the city's tax burden shrank the most when compared with those of suburbs with relatively low median household incomes. Among the region's 100 poorest communities, Philadelphia's tax burden declined from third-heaviest in 2000 to 59thheaviest in 2015.

In addition to the homestead exemption, a number of other factors helped bridge the urban-suburban tax gap—among them, incremental decreases in Philadelphia's city wage tax and a more rapid increase in property taxes in the suburbs.

The biggest change involved suburban commuters. In 2000, owning a home in the suburbs but working in the city saved an average family around \$300, but in 2015 that same household lost \$1,210.

"For Philadelphians of moderate income, who presumably have moderately priced homes, this tax break was a big deal," said Larry Eichel, director of Pew's Philadelphia research initiative, referring to the homestead exemption. "It made a significant difference, especially vis-a-vis some of the lower-income suburbs."

-Erika Pontarelli Compart









#### **Photos:**



 Hammered gold of sunrise reflects off the Colorado River, 3,000 feet below Toroweap Point on the North Rim, Grand Canyon National Park. *Paul Rojas/Getty Images* An ice cave within Root Glacier, Wrangell-St. Elias National Park, Alaska. *Noppawat Tom Charoensinphon/Getty Images* Tinted with autumn, a mountain stream flows through Great Smoky Mountains National Park. *Dean Fikar/Getty Images* Morning breaks over the boulder-strewn coast of Acadia National Park in Maine. *Sascha Kilmer/Getty Images*



Starved of funding, our national parks have fallen into grave disrepair over the past few decades, with a maintenance backlog that now exceeds \$12 billion. The dawning of the National Park Service's second century presents us with an urgent challenge: to rejuvenate America's "best idea."

by Don Belt



Left: Built in the 1960s, the leaky 16-mile-long Trans-Canyon Pipeline is overdue for repairs estimated to cost up to \$150 million. In the meantime, water supplies to parts of Grand Canyon National Park are intermittent, affecting thousands of visitors. NPS Right: A lone hiker takes in the Grand Canyon at dawn from Toroweap Point. Dan Ballard/Aurora Photos

rowing up in southeastern Pennsylvania, David Ruth got hooked on history early. It may have been hereditary: His father and grandfather were avid Civil War buffs whose dinner conversations

often drifted back to the 1860s and the momentous battles that had raged nearby—Gettysburg, Harpers Ferry, Antietam. As a kid, Ruth remembers poring over *American Heritage* books about the Civil War, staring for hours at battle paintings and richly illustrated battlefield maps. It was, he says, "kind of an obsession."

When Ruth was 10, his father, who was an Air National Guard officer, drove him to Virginia, where the two of them spent several days traipsing through Civil War battlefields in the rolling countryside around Richmond, the Confederate capital—from the earthworks of Cold Harbor, where Grant and Lee faced off in 1864, to the fortified landscapes of Petersburg, where a 10-month siege by Union forces finally broke through to Richmond in the spring of 1865.

Nearly five decades later, Ruth still walks these historic battlefields—now as superintendent of Richmond National Battlefield Park, an archipelago of 14 park units encompassing 3,600 acres of historic buildings, grounds, open lands, and park facilities, which collectively preserve and exhibit the bloodiest chapter in American history to nearly 100,000 visitors a year.

Ruth is proud of what the National Park Service (NPS) has done here—the public lectures, the living history programs, and the grass-roots and donor support for acquisitions such as Shelton House, an 18th-century farmhouse, still standing, where Patrick Henry, then 18, married his childhood sweetheart, Sarah Shelton, in 1754.

More than a century later, in 1864, the house was overrun by the Union Army moving on Richmond, and for a few days in May 1864, the two-story house was used as a Union field headquarters. General Robert E. Lee's Confederate artillery, dug in at nearby Totopotomoy Creek, struck the house more than 50 times, but it never burned. Through it all, women and children of the Shelton family huddled in the basement.

"This house has an incredible story to tell about the Civil War and Virginia farm life in the 18th and 19th centuries," says Ruth, gesturing to the collection of antique nails, ammunition, woodwork, letters, and other artifacts recovered from the site. "We have plenty of historical documentation, and we've even got rooms full of furniture that may date to the Civil War."

No one doubts the value of properties such as the Shelton House, which remind us of who we are as a nation and inspire a younger generation to learn the lessons of the American past.

The challenge, however, is to preserve them. Ruth estimates that it will cost about \$265,000 to stabilize and restore Shelton House and open it safely to the public.

That amount pales alongside the \$13 million in other "deferred" maintenance (defined by the NPS as necessary work on roads, bridges, trails, campgrounds, buildings, and physical assets delayed for at least a year) that Richmond battlefield park has had to postpone over the past few decades. The long todo list includes everything from building repair and expansion to the clearing of storm debris from trails and landscapes. The park doesn't have the money to pay for it—any of it.

Yet compared with other units in the National Park System, Richmond has little to complain about. A hundred miles to the north, Shenandoah National Park is staring at a maintenance backlog of \$90 million, half of it for road repairs, while the deferred maintenance at Great Smoky Mountains National Park has soared to \$232 million. The iconic parks of the western U.S. lag even further behind: Grand Canyon (\$372 million), Glacier (\$180 million), and Yosemite (\$555 million) lose ground every year to the backlog—while Yellowstone's maintenance bill is approaching \$640 million. And on the National Mall, America's "front yard," the NPS is facing deferred maintenance costs of nearly a billion dollars, which includes structural repair of the White House, the Tidal Basin, and the Jefferson and Lincoln memorials.

Nationwide, it adds up to the National Park Service facing a maintenance deficit of nearly \$12 billion.

Author Wallace Stegner wrote that the "national parks are the best idea we ever had. Absolutely American... they reflect us at our best." He was right, and as the NPS enters its second century, Pew, with support from philanthropist Lyda Hill, is raising awareness of the parks' deferred maintenance needs and encouraging Congress to increase funding to address them. The effort is meant to ensure the parks remain accessible to future generations—and remain places of natural grandeur and historic treasures, as well as economic engines that boost communities around the nation. Even with its maintenance challenges, the NPS marked its centennial in 2016 by welcoming some 325 million visitors to the parks, a record number for the third consecutive year.

In 2016, Congress passed, and President Barack Obama signed into law, the National Park Service Centennial Act. A key provision of the law establishes the Centennial Challenge Fund, a program that matches private donations with federal dollars and directs that the monies be used to address deferred maintenance projects. The fund has the potential to generate \$50 million annually.

"That was movement in the right direction, but more needs to be done. Congress needs to step up, and we also need to be facilitating more public-private collaboration," says Marcia Argust, director of Pew's restore America's parks program, citing the enormity of the maintenance backlog.

What's clear is that the backlog has grown considerably for more than a decade and that the NPS is struggling to keep pace.

"The problem is not poor fiscal management by the park service," says Denise Ryan, who served as

With its haunted landscapes and historic structures, Richmond National Battlefield Park preserves Shelton House (inset), an 18th-century farmhouse commandeered by the Union Army in 1864 that needs \$265,000 worth of repairs. The entire park faces a deferred maintenance backlog of \$13 million. Julia Rendleman for The Pew Charitable Trusts



NPS deputy director for congressional and external relations until January 2017. "It's a lack of adequate funding from Congress for the service to fulfill its mission. The number of visitors to the parks is rising every year, and maintenance costs are skyrocketing at the same time. And yet National Park Service budgets have been more or less flat since 2010. Do the math."

As a nation, we've been here before. In fact, the situation was even more dire in the mid-1950s, when the National Park System, 40 years after its founding and only a decade removed from an all-consuming war, had been largely forgotten—and starved of funding by a Congress more concerned about the USSR than the NPS.

Visitors to the parks back then registered a litany of complaints: blocked trails, trash-strewn parking lots, long lines, overgrown buildings, and a general lack of services and information. In 1953, historian and author Bernard DeVoto visited 15 parks, took note of the run-down facilities, and proclaimed in his popular column for *Harper's Magazine*: "Let's Close the National Parks."

"The crisis is now in sight," DeVoto wrote. "Homeopathic measures will no longer suffice; thirty cents here and a dollar-seventy-five there will no longer keep the national park system in operation.

"Therefore only one course seems possible. Let us, as a beginning, close Yellowstone, Yosemite, Rocky Mountain, and Grand Canyon National Parks—close and seal them, assign the Army to patrol them ... [holding them] in trust for a more enlightened future."

DeVoto's essay caught the attention of Conrad Wirth, a veteran of President Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps who was serving as director of the NPS. Sensing opportunity in the chaos, Wirth conceived a bold, 10-year program, dubbed Mission 66, to dramatically restore the national parks in time for the 50th anniversary of the NPS in 1966.

Wirth presented Mission 66 to President Dwight Eisenhower in 1955, along with a request for 10 years of guaranteed funding to free the program from the burden of yearly appropriations. Wirth asked for an astonishing sum—\$900 million, the equivalent of \$8 billion in 2017 dollars. To Wirth's surprise, President Eisenhower enthusiastically agreed, launching a transformation of the National Park System through the most ambitious building and renovation program in its history.



At the end of an overgrown road in Everglades National Park, where there's a maintenance backlog of \$78 million. David Guttenfelder/National Geographic/Getty Images

# TO THE NATIONAL PARKS

N PILGRIMAGE



BY CONOR KNIGHTON

knew Yellowstone would be cold in the winter. Just how cold was a bit of a surprise. It was 34 degrees below zero when I was there in December. But a smile would've been frozen on my face no matter what.

My visit to America's first national park was my last stop on a quest to visit every national park in one year—all 59 of them.

It's a journey that began with a hike in the dark. On Jan. 1, 2016, I joined a small group of strangers on top of Cadillac Mountain at Acadia National Park in Maine. On New Year's Day, it's where the first rays of sun hit the contiguous United States.

I wanted to get a head start on 2016, the 100th anniversary of the National Park Service. I knew I had a lot of ground to cover.

Soon, I was underground at Mammoth Cave in Kentucky; then, underwater at Biscayne in Florida. I traveled across sand and soil, from the lowest point in the United States at Death Valley National Park to the base of our highest peak, in Denali National Park. One week, I was marveling at Iava in Hawaii. The next, I was in awe of a glacier in Alaska.

Setting aside these majestic places for the enjoyment of all was a prescient American idea, and I've never felt prouder to be an American. The 59 parks are just a small slice of the over 400 units managed by the National Park Service, a collection that includes monuments, seashores, and battlefields that all work together to tell our nation's story. It was certainly an illuminating year to be crisscrossing America and I found that our nation's natural beauty is as diverse as the people who live in it. I spent plenty of time in red states and in blue states. At Big Bend National Park in Texas, I saw a 1,500-foot-high canyon wall that already exists on the Mexican border. I watched a presidential debate at my hotel in American Samoa, where the people aren't able to vote for the U.S. president.

Much has been made about how divided we are as a country. But somehow, you don't really feel that in the national parks. They're places where red and blue can come together, sometimes in the same vista.

Naturalist John Muir once wrote, "Everybody needs beauty as well as bread, places to play in and pray in, where nature may heal and give strength to body and soul."

Fortunately, there's no shortage of natural cathedrals on our public lands.

I spent New Year's Eve at Point Reyes National Seashore in California. On Dec. 31, it's where the sun sets last in the Lower 48. I wanted to have the longest year possible. I loved every second of it.

To mark last year's 100th anniversary of the National Park Service, Conor Knighton contributed a series of reports to CBS News' "Sunday Morning."



Glorious from a distance, the Jefferson Memorial began shedding chunks of limestone from its portico in 2014, as water corroded the steel framework that holds the ceiling in place. The park service mounted wire netting (above) to catch the falling material—a stopgap until it can afford proper repairs. With nearly a billion dollars in unfunded maintenance on the Mall alone, the National Park Service isn't sure when that day will arrive.

The timing was perfect. In the late 1950s, millions of American families were striking out on the country's new interstate highway system, with more and more making national parks their destination. Wirth made sure that they were greeted by friendly and wellinformed park rangers, sophisticated signage, new roads and parking lots, well-marked hiking trails, and a system of distinct, midcentury modern visitor centers. By 1966, America's National Park System was a source of national pride, and one of the most respected institutions in the country. for the surging crowds and giant tour buses that visit the park today. Until funding is provided, "we just patch things together and hope for the best," he says. "We're trying to be creative, but the yellow caution lights are definitely flashing."

Like many superintendents, Ruth works with a number of private donors, corporate partners, and grass-roots organizations to address needed repairs in the park—a recognition of the reality of today's difficult budgetary climate that has the NPS looking at creative partnerships to help reduce maintenance needs.



**DENISE** RYAN

**Getty Image** 

Fifty years later, many of the buildings and improvements that were brand new in 1966 are still in service. Not surprisingly, the effect today isn't quite as impressive.

At Richmond National Battlefield Park, for example, a number of visitor centers and facilities dating to Mission 66 are on the maintenance list, in urgent need of repair or renovation.

According to Superintendent Ruth, those projects include the expansion of parking lots originally designed to accommodate family station wagons—and too small

Help from Congress may yet come, however, if repairing the nation's infrastructure becomes a priority and lawmakers on both sides of the aisle rally to the cause. Americans cherish their national parks, the thinking goes, and restoring America's birthright is a matter of patriotic duty. Is America ready for a remake of Mission 66?

What could make that a reality is the fact that the parks have enjoyed a long tradition of bipartisan support in Congress. In the House of Representatives, prominent voices include Representative Raul Grijalva (D-AZ) as well as Representative Rob Bishop (R-UT), who sponsored the National Park Service Centennial Act last year.

In the Senate, supporters include Senators Lisa Murkowski (R-AK), Rob Portman (R-OH), Maria Cantwell (D-WA), and Mark Warner (D-VA). They have expressed a willingness, as Sen. Portman says, to "work in a bipartisan way to find additional funding to reduce the backlog."

"It is crucial that national park facilities be kept safe and accessible," says Sen. Warner. "In addition to protecting some of our nation's most awe-inspiring land and historic sites, our National Park System serves as an important economic engine nationally and in local communities."

National Park Service data indicate that every tax dollar invested in the agency generates \$10 to the U.S. economy. The national parks, funded by \$2.6 billion in federal dollars, created 295,000 jobs and contributed \$32 billion to the national economy in 2015, including an estimated \$17 billion in communities around the parks. A Pew analysis also estimates that tackling the \$12 billion maintenance backlog in the parks would create up to 130,000 jobs.

And, as Pew's Argust points out, "These would be American jobs. American jobs to help restore our parks and help local communities—it's hard to beat that."

Such an effort would transcend economics, of course.

"I'm a huge fan of the national parks—have been since I was young," said Caroline Coe, a cheerful, curlyhaired soul in running shoes with binoculars around her neck. She was shepherding her 2-year-old grandson, Oliver, around the Richmond National Battlefield Park headquarters, a relic Confederate arms factory along the Richmond riverfront, on a crisp winter day.

A few years ago, Coe and her family toured Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming—a park she'd visited before—and were "stunned" by what they found. "I couldn't believe the crowds," she said. "It was a crazy scene, with huge groups of tourists, including hundreds from China, pouring into the park. The pressure on the facilities was intense, and Yellowstone was looking a little sad, to be honest. I can't imagine how much it costs to keep the parks functioning, even at the most basic level."

Informed of the maintenance backlog facing Yellowstone and the parks in general, Coe thought for a moment.

"The federal government needs to step up to fund the parks in a way that America deserves," she said. "These are the national parks, after all—our natural heritage, our pride and joy. Our national parks are just plain sacred."

On that point, most Americans probably agree. Like all good ideas, America's "best idea," the national parks, won't live on without nurturing and more than a little support.

Don Belt is a longtime writer and editor for National Geographic. His last contribution to Trust was an essay commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Wilderness Act.







# **DURING BARACK OBAMA'S PRESIDENCY**



Americans access news via mobile devices

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Millennials who are eligible voters, matching boomers

## THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER LOOKS BACK ON THE SOCIAL, DEMOGRAPHIC, AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF THE PAST EIGHT YEARS.

BY MICHAEL DIMOCK

Shutterstock

arack Obama campaigned for the U.S. presidency on a platform of change. After his eight years in office, the country he led is undeniably different. Profound social, demographic, and technological changes swept across the United States during Obama's tenure, as did important shifts in government policy and public opinion.

Apple released its first iPhone during Obama's 2007 campaign, and he announced his vice presidential pick—Joe Biden—on a 2-year-old platform called Twitter. Today, use of smartphones and social media has become the norm in American society, not the exception.

The election of the nation's first black president raised hopes that race relations in the U.S. would improve, especially in the view of black voters. But by 2016, following a spate of high-profile deaths of blacks during encounters with police that prompted national protests, many Americans—especially blacks—described race relations as generally bad.

The U.S. economy is in much better shape now than it was in the aftermath of the Great Recession, which cost millions of Americans their homes and jobs, and led Obama to push through a roughly \$800 billion stimulus package as one of his first orders of business. Unemployment has plummeted from 10 percent in late 2009 to below 5 percent today; the Dow Jones industrial average has more than doubled.

But by some measures, the country faces serious economic challenges: A steady hollowing of the middle class, for example, continued during Obama's presidency, and income inequality reached its highest point since 1928. Obama's election quickly elevated America's image abroad, especially in Europe, where George W. Bush had been deeply unpopular following the U.S. invasion of Iraq. Obama remained largely popular internationally throughout his tenure, though there were exceptions, including in Russia and key Muslim nations. And Americans themselves became more wary of international engagement.

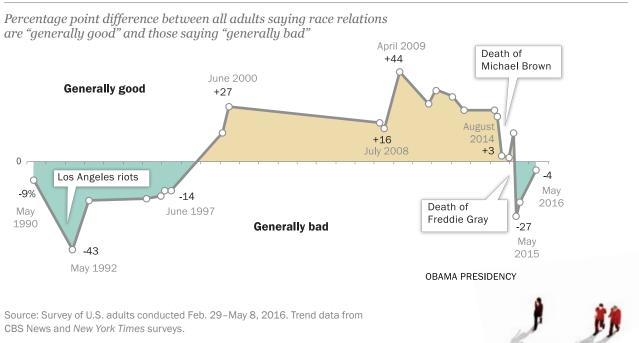
Views on some high-profile social issues shifted rapidly. Eight states and the District of Columbia legalized marijuana for recreational purposes, and for the first time on record a majority of Americans now support legalization of the drug.

The Supreme Court settled momentous legal battles during Obama's tenure, including overturning longstanding bans on same-sex marriage. Even before the court issued its 2015 ruling, a majority of Americans said for the first time that they supported same-sex marriage.

As the Obama era drew to a close, the Pew Research Center looked back on these and other important social, demographic, and political shifts that occurred at home and abroad during the tenure of the 44th president. And we looked ahead to some of the trends that could define the tenure of the 45th, Donald Trump.

### **A SHIFTING NATIONAL IDENTITY**

Demographic changes don't happen quickly. Obama's presidency is only a chapter in a story that began long before his arrival and will continue long after his departure. Even so, the U.S. of today differs in some significant ways from that of 2008.



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Millennials have surpassed baby boomers as the nation's largest living generation. They now match boomers in eligible voters.

The nation's growing diversity has become more evident, too. In 2013, for the first time, the majority of U.S. newborns were racial or ethnic minorities. The same year, a record-high 12 percent of newlyweds married someone of a different race.

The November electorate was the country's most racially and ethnically diverse ever. Nearly 1 in 3 eligible voters on Election Day was Hispanic, black, Asian, or another racial or ethnic minority, reflecting a steady rise since 2008. Strong growth in the number of Hispanic eligible voters, in particular U.S.-born youth, drove much of this change. Indeed, for the first time, the Hispanic share of the electorate is now on par with the black share.

Although illegal immigration served as a flashpoint in the tumultuous campaign to succeed Obama, there has been little change in the number of unauthorized immigrants living in the U.S. since 2009. And for the first time since the 1940s, more Mexican immigrants both legal and unauthorized—have returned to Mexico from the U.S. than have entered.

In terms of religious identity, the biggest trend during Obama's presidency was the rise of those who claim no religion at all. Those who identify themselves as atheists or agnostics, as well as those who say their religion is "nothing in particular," now make up nearly a quarter of the U.S. adult population, up from 16 percent in 2007.

Christians, meanwhile, have fallen from 78 to 71 percent of the U.S. adult population, owing mainly to modest declines in the share of adults who identify with mainline Protestantism and Catholicism. Due largely to the growth of those who don't identify with any religion, the shares of Americans who say they believe in God, consider religion to be very important in their lives, say they pray daily, and say they attend religious services at least monthly have all ticked downward in recent years. At the same time, the large majority of Americans who do identify with a faith are, on average, as religiously observant as they were a few years ago, and by some measures even more so.

The tide of demographic changes in the U.S. has affected both major parties, but in different ways. Democratic voters are becoming less white, less religious, and better-educated at a faster rate than that of the country, while Republicans are aging more quickly than the country as a whole. Education, in particular, has emerged as an important dividing line in recent years, with college graduates becoming more likely to identify as Democrats and those without a college degree becoming more likely to identify as Republicans.

#### MORE POLITICALLY DIVIDED

Partisan divisions in assessments of presidential performance are wider now than at any point going

back more than six decades, and this growing gap is largely the result of increasing disapproval of the chief executive from the opposition party. An average of just 14 percent of Republicans have approved of Obama over the course of his presidency, compared with an average of 81 percent of Democrats.

80 million Boomer 69.7 C 70 69,2 61 60 57 50 47 Silent/ Greatest 40 30 Millennial 28 20 10 0 '96 '98 '00 '02 '04 '06 '08 '10 '12 '14 '16

Eligible voters by generation, 1996-2016

Note: Eligible voters are U.S. citizens ages 18 and older. Millennials refers to population ages 18 to 35 as of 2016. Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 1996-2014 Current Population Survey November Supplement (IPUMS) and the April 2016 Current Population Survey

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But the partisanship so evident during Obama's years is perhaps most notable because it extended far beyond disagreements over specific leaders, parties, or proposals. Today, more issues cleave along partisan lines than at any point since surveys began to track public opinion.

Between 1994 and 2005, for example, Republicans' and Democrats' attitudes toward immigrants in the U.S. tracked one another closely. Beginning about 2006, however, they began to diverge. And the gap has only grown wider since then: Democrats today are more than twice as likely as Republicans to say that immigrants strengthen the country. Gun control has long been a partisan issue, with Democrats considerably more likely than Republicans to say it is more important to control gun ownership than protect gun rights. But what was a 27-percentage-point gap between supporters of Obama and Republican presidential nominee John McCain on this question in 2008 surged to a historic 70-point gap between Hillary Clinton and Trump supporters in 2016.

# SKEPTICAL OF GOVERNMENT, WARY OF NATIONAL ENGAGEMENT

If views of some issues changed markedly during Obama's time in office, views of the government did not. Americans' trust in the federal government remained mired at historic lows. Elected officials were held in such low regard, in fact, that more than half of the public said in a fall 2015 survey that "ordinary Americans" would do a better job of solving national problems.

Americans felt disillusioned with the way Washington responded to the financial meltdown of 2008. In 2015, 7 in 10 Americans said the government's policies following the recession generally did little or nothing to help middle-class people. A roughly equal share said the government's post-recession policies did a great deal or a fair amount to help large banks and financial institutions.

Against a backdrop of global terrorism—including several attacks on U.S. soil—Americans also became less confident in the ability of their government to handle threats. In 2015, following major attacks in Paris and San Bernardino, California, the public's concerns about terrorism surged and positive ratings of the government's handling of terrorism plummeted to a post-9/11 low.

Although Obama's election provided a boost to America's global image, Americans themselves grew more wary of international engagement during his presidency.

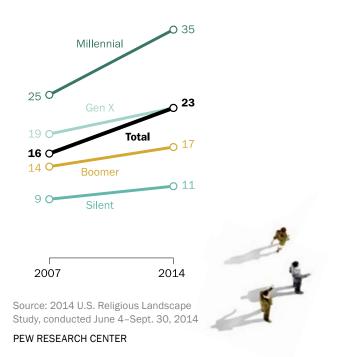
The share of Americans who say it would be better if the U.S. just dealt with its own problems and let other countries deal with their own as best they can has risen 11 points since spring 2010.

The public's wariness toward foreign engagement extends to U.S. participation in the global economy and international trade agreements. Roughly half of Americans say U.S. involvement in the global economy is a bad thing because it lowers wages and costs jobs; fewer see it as a good thing because it provides the U.S. with new markets and opportunities for growth. Americans' views of trade agreements have also soured, a shift driven almost entirely by increasingly negative views among Republicans.

#### **SMARTPHONES AND SOCIAL MEDIA**

If demographic changes are slow, technological changes can be swift. More than two-thirds of

% of each generation that identifies current religion as atheist, agnostic or nothing in particular



Americans owned a smartphone by 2015, six times the ownership levels at the dawn of Obama's tenure. When Apple released the iPad halfway through Obama's first term, only 3 percent of Americans owned tablets; nearly half had tablets by the end of 2015.

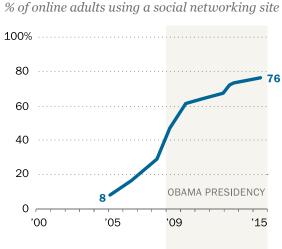
Only a third of Americans used social media in 2008. With the rise of Facebook, Twitter, and other apps, social media use climbed to about three-quarters of online adults by 2015.

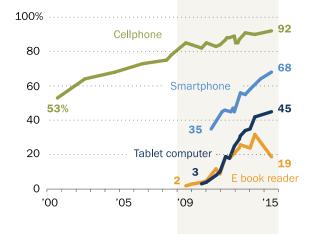
Obama also helped usher in the rise of digital video in politics, sharing his weekly address through the White House YouTube channel. By the end of his second term, YouTube had become a media behemoth with over a billion users.

The rise of digital tools and social platforms has also helped bring about profound changes in the U.S. media landscape. In 2008, relatively few Americans said they got their news through social media or via a smartphone or other mobile device. By 2016, 6 in 10 Americans said they got their news through social media and 7 in 10 said they accessed it through a mobile device. In fact, more U.S. adults learned about the presidential election last year through social media than through print newspapers.

Print newspapers continued a long-term decline, with sharp cuts in newspaper staffing and a severe dip in average circulation. Newspaper editorial staff in the U.S. went from nearly 47,000 in 2008 to about 33,000 in 2014—a 30 percent drop, according to data from the American Society of News Editors. Although television remains a major source of news for Americans, viewership of local TV newscasts has been flat or declining for years. Between 2007 and 2015, average viewership for late-night newscasts declined 22 percent, according to analysis of Nielsen Media Research data.

Overall, Americans remained extremely wary of the news media. In a 2016 survey, 7 in 10 adults said the media have a "negative effect" on the way things are going in the U.S. today—the highest share of any nongovernmental institution polled. But for all the skepticism facing the media, Americans continued to value the watchdog functions of the press. About 8 in 10 registered voters, for example, said it is the news media's responsibility to fact-check political candidates and campaigns. Three-quarters said that news organizations keep political leaders from doing things they shouldn't.





% of American adults who own a ...

Source: Surveys conducted March 17–April 12, 2015, and June 10–July 12, 2015. Trend data are from previous Pew Research Center surveys.

The future of the media is likely to be an even more salient question following the 2016 presidential campaign, which saw the emergence of a trend of "fake news" that has caused some to observe that America has entered a period of "post-truth politics."

#### **LOOKING AHEAD**

Although the 2016 election is over, looking ahead requires equal measures of caution and humility, particularly when it comes to politics and public policy. Still, there are certain bigger trends we know are going to continue and others that show no signs of reversing.

The technological changes that were such a hallmark of Obama's eight years will go on, reshaping the way we communicate, travel, shop, and work.

Americans seem to expect major changes: More than 6 in 10, for example, believe that within 50 years, robots or computers will do much of the work now done by humans.

The nation's demographic changes will continue. The country as a whole will turn grayer, and its racial and ethnic diversification is expected to continue: In less than 40 years, the U.S. will not have a single racial or ethnic majority group, according to Pew Research Center projections. The U.S. has also long been home to more immigrants than any other country in the world, and by 2065, 1 in 3 Americans will be an immigrant or have immigrant parents, compared with about 1 in 4 today.

The nation's stark partisan fissures are likely to persist and may deepen. A reality of American politics today is that one of the only things large numbers of Republicans and Democrats can agree on is that they *can't* agree on basic facts.

The foreign policy challenges facing this politically fractured nation seem endless, from Russia and China to terrorism and the environment. At home, financial prosperity—even stability— feels increasingly out of reach to many Americans: Today, far more people are pessimistic than optimistic about life for the next generation of Americans.

Yet the United States enters this uncertain new era with undeniable, if often overlooked, strengths. Majorities in both parties say the U.S. is still the world's leading military—and yes, economic—power, and most Americans say that one of the hallmarks of U.S. society, its racial and ethnic diversity, makes the country a better place to live.

It is tempting to believe that the pace of change in the U.S. has never been greater or that 2016's election is of greater consequence than others. As significant as the current moment of transition is, however, only the passage of time can reveal the trends that will truly have lasting importance.

Michael Dimock is president of the Pew Research Center.

#### PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# A CHANCE TO \$AVE FOR THEMSELVES

*Millions of U.S. workers don't have access to an employer-sponsored retirement plan. Around the nation, state policymakers are trying to change that.* 

BY SEAN ELDER

Saleem Noorani, owner of two Cork & Bottle stores in Oregon, is glad to administer his state's retirement plan for his nine employees. The Oregon Retirement Savings Plan is scheduled to roll out this year. Robbie McClaran for The Pew Charitable Trusts

ifty years ago, the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco was a mecca for thousands of America's youth, who flocked to what poet George Sterling called "the cool, grey city of love" to pursue pleasure and, in some cases, duck any number of responsibilities.

Today's Haight Street is considerably cleaner than it was during the famed "Summer of Love," although the small businesses that line the street still tend

toward vintage clothing shops and tattoo parlors. There's a good old-fashioned independent bookstore, Booksmith, that reflects the neighborhood ethos with a wall of graphic novels as well as a modern addition: security door scanners to address the Haight's longtime headache of shoplifting. The store is looking to the future in other ways, too—for its employees.

"When we took over Booksmith in 2007, the store did not have a retirement plan," says co-owner Christin Evans, who bought the store with her husband, Praveen Madan. "We were looking at the package of employee benefits we were offering and asking ourselves how they compared to other businesses in terms of recruiting talent to the store. We had a lot of young people coming out of colleges and MFA programs, even a couple recently graduated high school students. We had a population that was thinking more about student loans and using their paychecks to get by and thinking less about putting funds toward retirement."

Booksmith's employees were not unusual: A Pew analysis of census data last year found that more than a third of U.S. workers don't have access to either a traditional pension or a 401(k)-type plan from their employers. Not coincidentally, about a third of U.S. workers—some 42 million people are employed by companies with fewer than 100 workers. Most small businesses can't afford to offer a retirement plan, and those that can afford it often lack the expertise to set one up without outside assistance.

"We have a big wave, demographically speaking, of people that don't have enough for the basic needs of retirement like health care, food, and other concerns," says John Scott, who directs a Pew project researching American retirement savings. "After they retire, they're probably going to have to go to the government for assistance." The median amount in retirement savings





Christin Evans, owner of independent bookstore Booksmith in San Francisco, favors new programs that offer retirement benefits to small-business workers. California's Secure Choice will be available to her employees in about three years. Winni Wintermeyer for The Pew Charitable Trusts

accounts in this country is \$22,000, according to Pew's research—only \$6,000 more than the median annual Social Security benefit.

This state of affairs has drawn the attention of policymakers around the country, many of whom are concerned that state governments could be facing a generation of retirees who will put a new strain on social services.

So in recent years, 31 states have passed or begun considering programs to help people establish individual retirement accounts or find other ways to save. California recently created the Secure Choice Retirement Savings Program, which is about three years from becoming available to workers and is aimed at employees at small businesses such as Booksmith. Workers will be automatically signed up to contribute 2 to 5 percent of their wages toward retirement. They can choose to opt out (there is no mandate to save), and the plan is portable, meaning workers can take their savings with them if they move to another job. Employers will not be required to contribute matching funds; the only burden that Secure Choice places on the employer is ensuring that the business's payroll service makes the automatic deduction for the employees.

Seven states have passed similar legislation in recent years, with Connecticut, Maryland, Illinois, and Oregon using the same model as California. Advocacy groups such as AARP extol the new opportunities for workers.

"AARP has been very supportive of expanding the opportunity for people to save, and it just so happens that the action is in the states at the moment," says David John, a senior strategic policy adviser with the organization's Public Policy Institute. Through his years on panels and in workshops exploring the possibilities of government-sponsored retirement plans, he has gotten an earful from small-business owners across the country.

"Typically, whenever you talk to a businessperson about

something new to do, the immediate reaction is to throw up their hands and say: 'Oh, geez, we already do this and this; why do we have to do this, too?' One of the very interesting things about the California Secure Choice model, which is based on the automatic IRA, is that the more businesspeople understand the issue and the details, the more supportive they get," John says. In fact, the business owners say the plans help them recruit and keep a better workforce.

Retention is an issue for many small businesses. Evans says she and Madan are constantly looking for incentives to get good people to stay at Booksmith. And a plan's portability is important, too, she says, because many employees eventually leave to write books or work for publishers.

Other employers have more immediate concerns about California Secure Choice. "What kind of position is the employer going to be in when the employees maybe paid attention when they were given the information and maybe they didn't?" says Marti Fisher of the California Chamber of Commerce. "When there will be a deduction in their paycheck, and they don't understand—how is that all going to play out?"

The chamber was opposed to the initial Secure Choice legislation, which was

sponsored by Senate President Pro Tempore Kevin De León of Los Angeles. But Fisher says the chamber worked with the bill's supporters to secure amendments addressing its concerns about employer liability and administrative burdens and did not oppose the final plan. Chambers in other states often continue to oppose the plans because they perceive them as a burden on business.

Pew's research has found that the majority of owners of businesses with fewer than 250 employees support some kind of automatic retirement savings plan for their workers—as long as it doesn't create new work for them.

"These employers want to know how much of a burden these state plans are going to be on their business," says Scott. "So in developing these programs, the states should be thinking about how those burdens can be minimized. Can states reduce the paperwork and take on more of the communication and education so business owners aren't wearing three hats and can focus instead on their businesses without worrying about having to do more administrative work?"

The financial services industry also frequently opposes the plans, concerned that the programs could harm its business. But proponents noted that the workers being targeted by the law constitute a new market. AARP's John points to Britain's National Employment Savings Trust—created by similar legislation in 2008—which he says has been "spectacularly successful. ... Financial services businesses that initially thought this was going to be a problem recognized that this was an unparalleled opportunity."

The percentage to be deducted from each employee's paycheck is one of the devilish details to be settled over the next three years as the California plan is rolled out. Other options also haven't been decided, such as how much investment risk the funds will have.

An estimated 6 million California workers, or about half the state's private sector workforce, don't have access to an employer-sponsored retirement plan. In smaller states, the needs are just as daunting. To the north in Oregon, about 36 percent of workers don't have access to an employer-sponsored plan. The new Oregon Retirement Savings Plan is similar to California's approach and is slowly being rolled out, beginning in July. It's already attracting attention from small-business owners, such as liquor store owner Saleem Noorani, and their workers.

Noorani owns two small stores, both called the Cork & Bottle Shoppe: one in Springfield and the other in Corvallis, home to Oregon State University. He has nine employees in the two locations, most of them part time, and joined the law's rules advisory committee as a small-business owner to help ensure that the plan had minimum negative impact on other small businesses.

"We do all our payroll in-house," says Noorani. "Any retirement savings plan is just another line item. I wanted to make sure for any small-business employer that this is as easy as it possibly can be." He says that most small-business owners use simple payroll computer programs and that adding retirement deductions should be easy. "From then on it's automatic—they won't even see it."

Noorani says his state's sponsored retirement savings plan is a great benefit for workers. "We all know just relying on Social Security as a vehicle for retirement income is not enough," he says. "It was never designed to be and is never going to be. More than half the people working in America do not have access to either a 401(k) or some vehicle of saving for retirement. A plan like this, where the state is saying, 'Hey, all you smallbusiness owners: We will take on the responsibility and management, and you don't have to fund-match.' I think that is a big concern also for business owners who are barely making ends meet."

He has spoken to his staff about the plan. "Most people in their 20s don't think beyond a week," says Noorani. "By the time you are in your 40s or 50s and you start stressing over your retirement, it's a little too late."

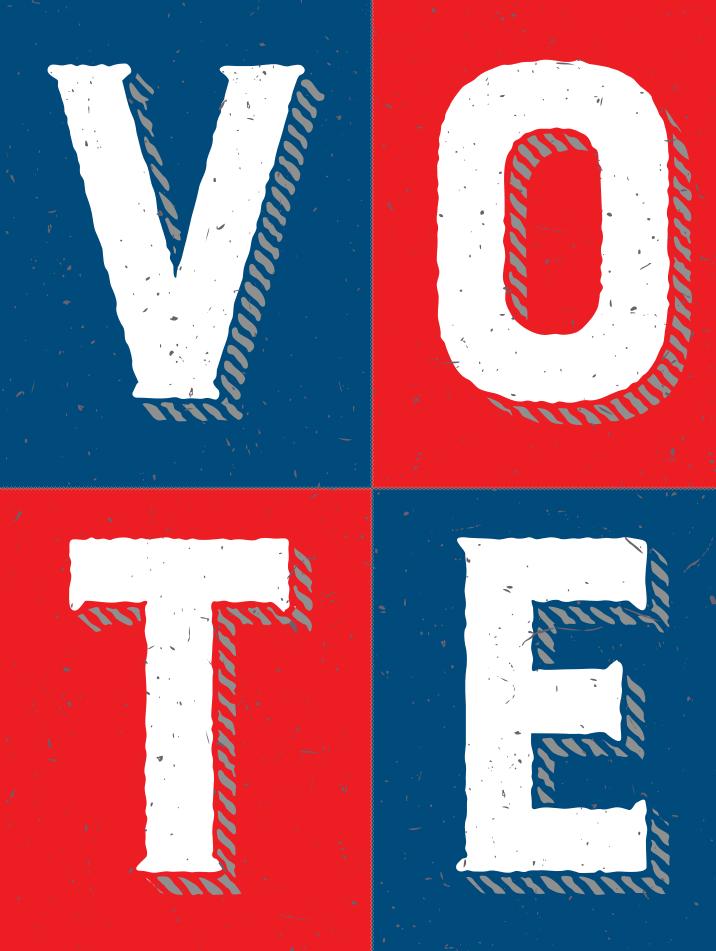
Otto Deurloo-Willard, 31, manages Noorani's Springfield store, where he began working after managing a movie theater for 10 years. "I had a 401(k) with the company," he says. "I wasn't really informed about its purpose or function. When I stopped working for them, I cashed it out without realizing what I was doing. ... Other than the fact that they were taking money out of my paycheck, I didn't know much about what they were doing. I didn't know the consequences of closing it out early or the fact that I could potentially roll it over."

The Eugene native has tried to save since, a goal that has only become more important: He is newly married and his wife has been unemployed for most of the past year while she took care of her father. "I've been living paycheck to paycheck pretty much my whole adult life," he says, adding that the Oregon Retirement Savings Plan is "fantastic."

"I believe my business is run on my employees," says Noorani. "My business is all about customer service. If you have customer service, you will retain and gain customers; if you don't have good customer service, you lose customers. Customer service is provided by my staff, and if I have a happy, satisfied staff, that translates automatically. People come into the store, and they feel that vibe."

Booksmith's Evans echoes Noorani, saying small businesses have a different relationship to their employees than larger ones. The new programs offering retirement benefits are a chance to nurture that relationship and help workers plan for their futures. "Small-business owners," she says, "see a responsibility to helping them achieve longer-term goals."

Sean Elder is a journalist based near San Francisco and a contributing writer at Newsweek.





# FOR VOTERS IN 2016, INFORMATION WAS ONLY A CLICK AWAY

More than a decade of Pew's work dedicated to improving Americans' voting experience culminated in 2016 with online voting information tools used more than 123 million times.

### BY CAROL KAUFMANN

f you were on Facebook in the weeks leading up to last Election Day, you would have seen a box inviting you to "Find out how to get to your polling place." On the Firefox browser's home page, you were invited to click on "Find your local polling place." On LinkedIn, the message was direct: "See where to vote."

Without having to try, millions of online Americans were offered the opportunity to find ballot information and where to vote, whether they were checking in on Foursquare or looking for a forecast on Weather Underground. The easily discoverable treasure-trove was also available on Etsy, Univision, Instagram, AOL, AT&T, Twitter, MTV, and many other sites. If you had a smartphone, you could text "vote" to GOVOTE (and Spanish speakers could type "voto") and get election details on a smaller screen.

In short, voting information last fall was available to more people than in any previous U.S. election thanks to high-tech companies and their "Get to the Polls" effort. And that was also the goal of the Voting Information Project (VIP). The partnership Pew created with state election officials, Google, and other technology experts collected state election data, confirmed its accuracy, and made it widely available online. In addition to the big social media sites, state election websites used the data free of charge for voters who looked there.

The project began in 2008, after Pew and Google recognized that they could create the technological infrastructure to support a standardized, reliable, nationwide source for basic information about where and when to vote, and what was on the ballotsomething that didn't exist. Since then, a number of funding partners have joined Pew's VIP effort, including the Rita Allen Foundation, the Democracy Fund, the Ford Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Joyce Foundation, the John D. And Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the State Infrastructure Fund at NEO Philanthropy, and the Open Society Foundations. "When Pew launched VIP, our dream was that someday Americans everywhere would be able to use everyday technology to answer their questions about voting," says Doug Chapin, who directs the Program for Excellence in Election Administration at the University of Minnesota and helped found the project while at Pew. In 2016, that dream was realized."

Right from the start, VIP reached large numbers of people. Two years after the project's launch came the 2010 national midterm elections, and the project's data was accessed 10 million times. Two years later, during the presidential election, the number climbed to more than 25 million. In the 2014 midterm elections, VIP information was accessed 32 million times. Four years later, before most polls opened on Election Day last fall, more voters had tapped into VIP resources than ever before. By the time voting ended, the tools had been used more than 123 million times.

State election officials and administrators chose to use the free tools in a variety of ways. "In the runup to the presidential general election, Pew's polling place lookup information proved indispensable," says California Secretary of State Alex Padilla. "Recognizing the value of the information in a state the size of California, we developed a smartphone app that bundled voter status lookup, voter registration, a quick guide to the 17 propositions [on the California ballot], and the polling military voters to cast a ballot and found that states had inconsistent processes and requirements for American voters who lived overseas. Tracking and highlighting these issues got the attention of Congress and led to the federal Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act, as well as related legislation in 11 states with the highest number of military voters. The laws removed voting obstacles for American military personnel and citizens overseas, allowing more time to cast a ballot and eliminating the notarization or witness requirements.

Another Pew analysis showed that voter registration applications received electronically tend to be more



Mobile apps from Twitter and Facebook used VIP information to help Americans learn ballot information, register to vote, and find polling locations on and before Election Day 2016.

VOTING INFORMATION WAS AVAILABLE TO MORE PEOPLE THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS U.S. ELECTION THANKS TO THE HIGH-TECH COMPANIES<sup>®</sup> "GET TO THE POLLS<sup>®</sup> EFFORT.

place lookup tool. We also made the information available on our website and via text message. These features improved the election by empowering voters with quick and easy access to these tools." California's voter hotline had fewer calls on Election Day than in previous balloting because voters could directly access the information they needed, Padilla says.

"We often joked in the runup to Election Day that our motto should be 'Ubiquitas victoria est'—Ubiquity is victory—and it's safe to say we made it happen in 2016," says Chapin. "That accomplishment—and VIP's success in putting information people need in places they can find it, even if they weren't necessarily looking for it is a worthy legacy of Pew's investment in the effort."

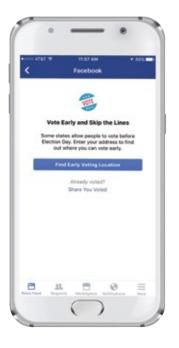
Pew has long been dedicated to preserving the foundations of democracy, and its work to improve elections began 15 years ago, well before VIP, with research into how the states administered the election process.

One Pew analysis revealed that 25 states and the District of Columbia did not provide enough time for

accurate and cost less to process. Yet in 2008, only two states offered online voter registration. In 2009, Pew began working with state election officials to document and disseminate information on how online voter registration can streamline the election process, better maintain voter records, and reduce administrative costs. The improvements worked: By 2016, eligible citizens in 32 states and the District of Columbia could go online to securely and accurately register or update their voter records. Seven more states are implementing such systems.

Election research also showed that more than 1 in 8 voter registration records was out of date: Nearly 3 million deceased people were still on the rolls, and millions of eligible voters were not registered.

To help, election officials in seven states agreed to contribute to a sophisticated data-matching experiment called the Electronic Registration Information Center, or ERIC. The center compares participating states' voter and motor vehicle records, as well as data from the U.S. Postal Service and death records from the Social Security Administration. These data sets allow participating states



to identify voters who moved, died, or have duplicate registrations, and those who may be eligible to vote but are not registered. The states were able to update their rolls and provide information to eligible voters about how to register in time to cast a ballot. Not only did ERIC help Americans register, it also saved the states money and improved voter turnout.

"The American public is mobile, and ERIC is the tool to help Americans keep

pace with the mobility of the voting public," says John Lindback, part of the team that created ERIC at Pew and its current executive director. "Reform does not happen overnight. We started small, with a few pioneers. But ERIC has definitely picked up steam as the snowball rolled down the hill."

Today, 20 states plus the District, representing more than 75 million eligible voters, are part of ERIC, which is now independent of Pew and funded by member states. Since the 2012 presidential election, its members have identified a large number of voter records that are likely to require an update or cancellation, including more than 5 million voters who have moved but haven't updated their records, more than 75,000 duplicate records, and more than 160,000 deceased individuals still on the rolls. In addition, the states were able to inform some 25 million eligible but unregistered Americans about how to register to vote efficiently and securely.

### V

"I thought our voter rolls were clean," says Kim Wyman, Washington's secretary of state. "ERIC showed me that there is always room for improvement." In 2016, Washington had 399,186 updates to voter rolls, reached 1.8 million citizens over the course of five mailings, and had about 123,000 new registrants—significant milestones for a state already known for trying to make it easier for citizens to vote, including with voting by mail.

Pew's initial voting research also examined how administrators ran elections. It showed that they usually operated with a focus on their own states, rarely sharing information or strategies with colleagues in others. In addition, policymakers on both sides of the aisle accused each other of changing election rules to benefit their own parties rather than focusing on improving the experience for voters. The system was also costly for taxpayers.

For an election system to be convenient, accurate, and fair, election administrators need data to review and track their voting processes, from registration to ballot counting. "Because of the nature of elections, the administrators were so focused on getting the winner right that not a lot of energy went into using the data that was available to them in other ways," says Charles Stewart III, a political science professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

No common set of performance measures existed to compare how well states were doing on the basics of election administration. To help local and state officials combat these challenges, Pew helped create the Election Performance Index (EPI).

The EPI uses 17 indicators that measure, among other things, wait time at polls; voter turnout; registration rates; return and rejection rates of absentee, military, and overseas ballots; and the availability of online voter registration and voting information. Taken as a whole, those indicators show just how secure and convenient voting is for the public. Election administrators can measure how well they're performing—in comparison to each other and over time. What the indicators show is that state election officials are steadily getting better at their jobs. "We've been able to document an improvement in election administration across the board since 2008 coming up to 2014," says Stewart, who helped Pew develop the EPI. "At every iteration, we've been able to document the successes as well as some of the challenges." Stewart also predicts that the data, when it's available, will reveal further improvements in how the states ran the 2016 presidential election.

Even knowing that a state hasn't performed well in certain aspects of election administration has proved useful to those who run them. "We have stories of states feeding back to us how actually residing down in the lower levels of the EPI has been useful in communicating with state officials, especially state legislatures, about the need to get more resources, to get more administrative changes, in order to increase the standing" compared with other states, says Stewart.

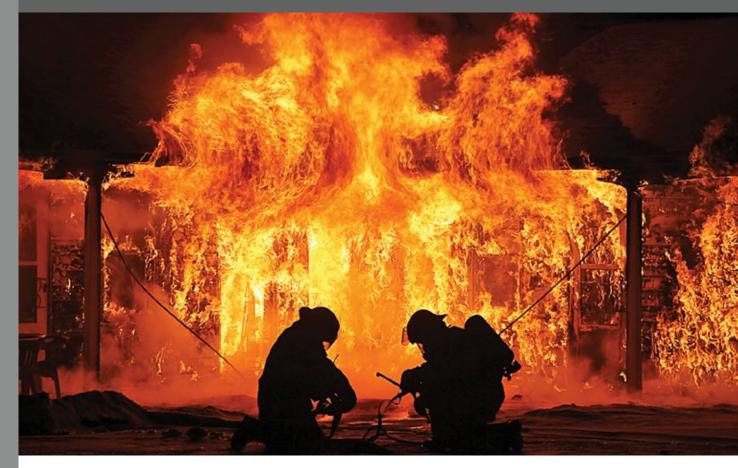
VIP has increased the availability of election information to voters and made that information easy to find. ERIC has modernized registration for those who manage and count ballots—and those who cast them. And the EPI has amassed data generated by the elections themselves to provide measurable benchmarks that will continue to grow and improve.

"2008 was not that long ago," says Michael Caudell-Feagan, Pew's vice president overseeing election research, "but so much has changed to help citizens participate in their democracy."

Carol Kaufmann is a Trust staff writer.

# STATELINE

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.



Flames destroyed the Colonial Inn Motel in Yankton, South Dakota, in March 2014. Containing the early-morning blaze required firefighters from three towns. *Kelly Hertz/Yankton Daily Press & Dakotan/AP* 

# Volunteer Firehouses Struggle to Find Recruits

BY JEN FIFIELD

Everybody at a fire station in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, was sleeping one recent morning when the alarms started blaring. Six firefighters hopped out of their bunks and pulled their gear over their pajamas. The sun was still coming up when they reached a house where smoke was rising from the basement. After squelching the smoke, the young men, back in their pajamas, gathered in the station's control room. The chief's son wrote up the report: furnace malfunction in the basement, no injuries, no damage. Then the bantering began—about girlfriends, the holidays, and work. This all-volunteer fire station and the two others in Shippensburg, a factory and university town of about 5,500 people in a central Pennsylvania valley, are vestiges of the past. Firefighters sit around on weekdays playing rummy, and people gather for bingo Friday nights. Yet, the stations are much quieter than they were decades ago, when they felt like the center of the town. And as the community's interests have shifted from the fire stations, the number of volunteers has fallen.

"Everybody has other things occupying their time," says Shippensburg Fire Chief Randy O'Donnell.

The number of volunteer firefighters has been falling for decades here and across the country, dropping by about 12 percent from 1984 to about 788,000 in 2014. That has

spelled trouble for cities and towns—especially smaller ones in more rural areas—that have always depended on volunteer departments to save thousands, even millions, of dollars every year on salaries and benefits. Many have been forced to hire at least some paid staff.

The decline in volunteers has become more drastic in the last decade, as young people have moved out of rural areas and into bigger cities.

To stem the loss, states increasingly are offering financial incentives for volunteer firefighters, such as tax breaks. Pennsylvania passed a law in November that is giving volunteer firefighters property tax or local income tax credits. Connecticut expanded a similar law last year, and Alaska and New York have similar laws in place.

Other states are choosing to forgo state revenue to give income tax credits to volunteer firefighters. Nebraska passed a law last year, and similar laws are on the books in Delaware, Iowa, Louisiana, Maryland, New York, and South Carolina. Some of the laws also apply to other emergency responders, such as paramedics.

O'Donnell and other chiefs across the country welcome the tax breaks, which they say help offset the costs of volunteering, such as driving personal cars to and from the station. They say the incentives might convince existing volunteers to stay around longer—but they probably won't convince others who don't already have the desire to serve to volunteer.

It's become harder to recruit volunteer firefighters as family and work environments have changed, says Jack Reckner of the Kentucky Association of Fire Chiefs, which has been advocating for a tax credit in the state.

Men—who have always been the majority of volunteer firefighters—are taking a larger role in raising children and more of their wives are working. Commutes are longer. Sports and other activities are pulling families in more directions. Volunteerism, in general, is on the decline.



Fire police Capt. Bill Shirley is a 26-year veteran at the firehouse in Shippensburg, population 5,500. His story is more uncommon than it was decades ago when more citizens offered to help fight fires. *Jen Fifield* 

"Volunteerism is one of the first things that go by the wayside, simply because people can't afford it," Reckner says.

#### **Demands on volunteers**

States' reliance on volunteer firefighters varies greatly. In Pennsylvania, about 97 percent of departments are run by all or mostly volunteers, compared to 9.1 percent in Hawaii.

As the number of volunteers goes down, the number of departments with mostly or all paid staff goes up from 4,209 departments in 2009 to 4,485 in 2014.

Decades ago in Shippensburg, residents were more likely to work in factories in town. When a call came through, they would run out of their jobs to the station. Now, more work outside Shippensburg, and employers here and across the U.S. are less likely to offer such flexibility.

The job of the volunteer firefighter also has changed, says Dave Finger, chief of legislative and regulatory affairs at the National Volunteer Fire Council. It used to be that firefighters served with little training and requirements. Many states now require firefighters to have a certain number of training hours each year to be certified.

Volunteers also spend less of their time responding to calls, and more time writing reports and fundraising. That's one thing volunteers say they don't like about the idea of tax credits—they often lead to more paperwork.

Because of the increased demands, more states have begun considering what benefits they can offer, especially in the last few years as they have come out of recession, Finger says.

The council is asking Congress to help by providing federal income tax credits to all volunteer firefighters, and by extending federal tax exemptions for any state or local benefits that the volunteers receive. "Volunteerism is one of the first things that go by the wayside, simply because people can't afford it."

JACK RECKNER, KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION OF FIRE CHIEFS

#### 'Get 'em young'

Shippensburg's neighborhoods used to be full of families, O'Donnell says. He lived down the street from the fire station when he was growing up in the 1980s, and spent all of his free time there.

Back then, there were far fewer calls, and far more volunteers. The 50 or so active volunteers now respond to about 800 or 900 calls a year, for problems such as building and brush fires, and car crashes.

The department gets many of its volunteers from Shippensburg University and offers firefighters free housing in fire stations. It also attracts residents who work full time as paid firefighters in nearby counties and volunteer on their days off.

It's crucial to convince people to volunteer while they're still young, O'Donnell says, before they get married and have children. The department begins recruiting junior firefighters, who can help out but not fight fires, at age 14. They can become full-fledged volunteers at 18.

"If you don't get 'em young," O'Donnell says, "you probably won't get 'em."

But many people leave Shippensburg after college, and here and across the U.S. departments are struggling to recruit working-age volunteers. Those who do volunteer are sometimes overwhelmed.

Dick Perry, a volunteer captain in Shippensburg

who is in his early 50s, works overnight at a factory in town, and volunteers during the day while his three children are in school. "Because of my schedule, I don't sleep much," Perry says.

#### **Cost of volunteers**

Volunteer firefighters are estimated to save local governments \$139.8 billion annually in pay, benefits, operating, and maintenance that would be spent supporting paid departments, according to a report from the National Fire Protection Association, a trade association that publishes firefighting standards and codes.

In New York alone, volunteer departments save municipalities \$3.35 billion each year.

But volunteers aren't free when states start adding incentives. New York provides volunteer firefighters with income and property tax credits, and allows local governments to set up pension programs for the volunteers. In 2014, the income tax credit alone cost the state \$15.9 million for 73,434 claims.

Despite the benefits, the number of volunteers in the state continues to fall. Financial incentives have "limited value in attracting and retaining volunteers," according to a report by the New York State Professional Firefighters Association.

In some states, such as Kentucky, it's been difficult



Firefighter Brandon O'Donnell, the son of the fire chief, waits for fellow volunteers to return from a smoke-filled house. Jen Fifield

for fire chiefs to convince legislatures to provide tax credits when the states' budgets are already tight. State lawmakers have pushed tax credit bills in the Kentucky Legislature every year for nearly a decade, but none has been approved. A new bill has been proposed for the current session.

In the last few years, the Legislature has been trying to pass comprehensive tax reform, and tax credits for volunteer firefighters have gotten lost in the shuffle, says Michael "Howdy" Kurtsinger, legislative director for the Kentucky Fire Commission. But this year, with new lawmakers coming in, Kurtsinger thinks it might have a chance.

Reckner says it won't cost the state much, and it seems like a noncontroversial issue. "You would think the legislators would jump on it, but they won't."

In Oklahoma, which faced a budget shortfall of more than \$1 billion last year, volunteer firefighters almost saw their tax credit reduced. The state gave up \$723,000 for 2,239 claims of up to \$400 in tax year 2014. Amid a push to cut back on all tax credits, a bill that would have cut the firefighter tax credit by 25 percent failed.

#### something they are unlikely to do.

Because many other Pennsylvania towns are in the same situation, the Pennsylvania Fire and Emergency Services Institute is advocating for more benefits for volunteers. It is putting together what it calls a "cafeteria menu of incentives" to advocate for in the Legislature this year, says Donald Konkle, the institute's executive director.

But Dakota Lanious, a volunteer who lives in a firehouse and helps with recruitment, says that while he thinks financial incentives are a nice gesture, only a "very special type of person" wants to be a volunteer firefighter, and tax credits aren't a deciding factor.

He and other volunteers in Shippensburg say they volunteer because they like helping their community. That, and for the camaraderie.

The firefighters here are so close they eat Thanksgiving dinner at the station. They know one another's families, and keep tabs on each other's school work. Punishment for missing a call is a headlock.

As Lanious says, "This is my family away from my family."

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#### Jen Fifield is a staff writer for Stateline.

#### Camaraderie

In Shippensburg, local officials say they would need to increase taxes significantly to bring on paid firefighters,

#### **LESSONS LEARNED**

# This Won't Be Europe's Last Fish

After a decade of work by Pew in the European Union, new fisheries management is helping to save the oceans.



Fishermen plying European Union waters don't encounter signposts declaring the number of sharks in the sea, the health of deep-sea ecosystems, or the overall state of the fisheries. But thanks to reforms in fisheries management in the EU over the past decade, fishing crews and scientists are seeing welcome signs that the health of the ocean is improving—a trend that should continue if European governments honor their commitments to better manage the marine environment. For decades, the waters around the EU had been beset by overfishing and careless disregard for critical species and ecosystems—conditions abetted by loose fisheries management as well as government subsidies for the fishing industry.

Recognizing that the status quo was rapidly degrading the EU's seas, Pew started working there in 2004, pursuing shark conservation along with two other initiatives: one to reform the EU Common Fisheries Policy, which sets species-specific catch limits, and another to win conservation measures for the deep sea, including stopping bottom trawling, which damages sensitive habitats and threatens numerous species.

Pew's marine policy leaders didn't expect this to be easy, and an early challenge came in September 2006, when the European Parliament was weighing whether the EU should close loopholes in a ban on shark finning—fishermen's practice of tossing sharks back into the sea to die after slicing off their fins, which are highly valued in Asia, mainly for soup.

Heavy fishing for sharks in Europe—much of it driven by the fin trade—had greatly depleted many shark species, leaving some near the brink of collapse. Still, in August 2006, the parliament's Fisheries Committee called for a further weakening of the restrictions on shark finning, and the full parliament appeared ready to follow suit.

But advocates, including Pew's European staff, held out hope. Earlier that year, Pew had joined other conservation groups in forming a coalition called the Shark Alliance, determined to remind politicians and the public of the vital role that sharks play in keeping the ocean healthy and maintaining balance in the food web.

The campaign notched a quick—but only partial victory Sept. 28 when the parliament voted in favor of the restrictions. The move, a rare instance of parliament overturning a committee decision, marked a significant step forward not only for Europe's sharks, but also for a new coalition that hoped to have real impact in one of the world's most important markets.

"The EU is one of the world's top three seafood markets, along with the U.S. and Japan," says Joshua Reichert, who led Pew's conservation work for 20 years and now serves as a senior advisor to the CEO. "Back in 2006, we knew if we could make a difference there, it would be a big help to global fisheries."

Still, six years would pass before the parliament's call for more restrictions turned into legislation due to the daunting political challenges of working in the European Union: The body consists of 28 sovereign nations, whose citizens are represented by 751 elected members of parliament spread across eight political groups. Other important bodies in Europe include the European Commission, which proposes legislation on behalf of the entire EU, and the European Council, which represents individual member countries, works with the parliament to revise, approve, and reject legislation, and has sole authority to set EU fishing limits.

In this multilayered legislative environment, even initiatives with broad support across the EU can fail when opposed by a small group of countries, known as a blocking minority, in the European Council. And even after a policy passes into law, it may not be implemented and enforced uniformly across the Continent.

"You need stamina to get things done politically in

the EU," says Matthew Gianni, an Amsterdam-based expert on EU fisheries policy who has consulted with Pew. "Too many organizations are looking for two- to three-year wins, but to get major legislation through in Europe, you need to commit to six or eight years or more. You're basically working on an international treaty process."

"We knew we couldn't succeed in Europe on our own," says Uta Bellion, who has led Pew's EU marine work since its inception. So Bellion and her Pew colleagues embraced a strategy that included coordinating with other large nongovernmental organizations and enlisting the help of smaller EU member state-based advocacy groups. Funding partners played an important role as well, including Funding FISH, the Lenfest Foundation, Marisla Foundation, Oak Foundation, Sandler Foundation, the Save Our Seas Foundation, and the Tubney Charitable Trust. Forming coalitions with like-minded but diverse groups, Bellion says, enabled Pew to tap a wide range of expertise and to be heard in the capitals. "It made us much stronger at all governance levels, because the size and breadth of the coalitions meant that the EU institutions could not ignore us," she says.

Pew also focused on working in EU member states to better influence public and political opinions, and on deploying a communications team that could get the message out to a wide audience in multiple languages.

Another critical element of the strategy was following a longtime Pew standard of always basing advocacy positions on the best available science. And what the science said about fishing in Europe was not promising.

Overfishing had left Europe's waters in sad shape. By 2004, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization deemed fish stocks around Europe to be the most in need of recovery in the world. Artisanal fishers were catching fewer fish than ever before, and industrial fleets were staying afloat largely because of government subsidies, which kept vessels out on the water even if they caught little. The most direct route to ending overfishing was through reform of the Common Fisheries Policy, which Pew started working on in 2007.

That overarching policy sets broad parameters that sometimes require specific legislation to manage certain regions, species, or ecosystems, such as the deep sea. Those waters—deeper than 600 meters (1,968 feet)—are home to corals, many that are thousands of years old, along with fish that mature slowly and are vulnerable to overfishing.

The deep sea was long considered too remote to fish, but advances in technology late in the 20th century allowed vessels to drag weighted nets across its floors, a practice that often wiped out entire communities of corals, sponges, and similar life. So a decade ago, Pew, which continued to lead the Shark Alliance, began its work to reform the Common Fisheries Policy and launched a campaign to update the EU's deep-sea fishing rules. These three efforts brought Pew to the fore of the European marine conservation community.

Maria Damanaki, who served as EU commissioner for maritime affairs and fisheries from 2010 to 2015, credits Pew with helping to highlight fisheries issues for the European general public, which in turn led people to voice concerns to their political leaders about the marine environment.

Of her efforts to improve both the deep-sea and common fisheries policies during her tenure, Damanaki says: "The health of fisheries could not be seen as an issue only for fishermen and commissioners. We had to engage citizens, [the] consumers who depend on seafood. The issue had to be transformed into a great environmental challenge and a food security issue."

She notes that, to achieve that goal, Pew helped to organize the first successful European Fish Week in 2010, an event that showcased how the ocean was rapidly degrading from a healthy and diverse ecosystem to a barren future. Pew also led an effort the same year that gathered 25,859 signatures on a petition asking Damanaki to defend the marine environment in the Common Fisheries Policy reform process.

"When I took office in 2010, only five stocks were being fished sustainably" in EU waters, says Damanaki, who is now global managing director for oceans for The Nature Conservancy. "Five years later, that number had risen to almost 30 stocks" progress she attributes to the creation of a "new culture" around European fisheries.

One example of that cultural shift is the way the conservation community aligned with politicians and others to reform the Common Fisheries Policy, which had been so watered-down by industry influence that many fisheries experts in Europe feared it would never be an effective tool for rebuilding fish populations.

In 2007, Pew began a meticulous review of the policy to identify options for its reform, and in 2009, along with other conservation groups, began forming a coalition that would be called OCEAN2012, named for its focus on reform of the Common Fisheries Policy that was scheduled to be completed by 2012.

Later in 2009, coalition members met with newly elected members of parliament and the commission cabinet to highlight the importance of fisheries reform. Pew also commissioned a study on member states' use of government subsidies and with coalition members became a resource for fisheries scientists, political influencers, and other conservationists on the environmental problems fueled by those payments. European governments introduced subsidies in 1970 to encourage fishing companies to invest in new technology, but this led to a drastic increase in catch—and an alarming drop in the number of healthy stocks over the ensuing decades.

In 2010, the coalition secured broad support among small-scale fishers for an end to overfishing and launched an internet mapping tool that highlighted both the widespread use of subsidies and the fisheries that were suffering as a result. In 2012, Pew funded production of a short film explaining the issue of overfishing and the role of fisheries subsidies that has been watched by more than 1.5 million people.

Taken together, each piece of this deliberate ground game helped move EU policy, says Chris Davies, a member of the European Parliament at the time of the campaign who pressed for reform of the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP). "Pew combines passion with serious expertise. [The organization is] a first point of reference for any EU politician wanting to promote a sustainable approach to fishing."

Years of effort persuaded enough politicians to do just that: In May 2013, negotiators from the commission, parliament, and council struck a deal on legislation to end overfishing in EU waters by 2015 where possible and by 2020 at the latest.

"For the first time [we have] a CFP that recognizes the social, economic, and environmental benefits of supporting smallscale, sustainable fishers and the coastal communities that they serve," says Jeremy Percy, executive director of the advocacy group LIFE (Low Impact Fishers of Europe). The policy, he adds, "still has a number of flaws" but goes much further than preceding versions toward ending overfishing and the subsidies that have damaged the marine environment.

Although the particulars of each campaign vary, Pew followed a similar script in its efforts to safeguard sharks and the deep sea, building a coalition of like-minded groups and persisting through numerous setbacks before notching critical victories: In December 2012, the European Parliament and Council agreed to finally close the loopholes in the shark finning regulation. And by December 2016, both institutions had ratified conservation measures for the deep sea, phasing out the use of bottom-trawl gear in depths greater than 800 meters (a half-mile) in the northeast Atlantic and protecting vulnerable ecosystems by, in part, requiring environmental impact assessments before fishing could begin in a new area.

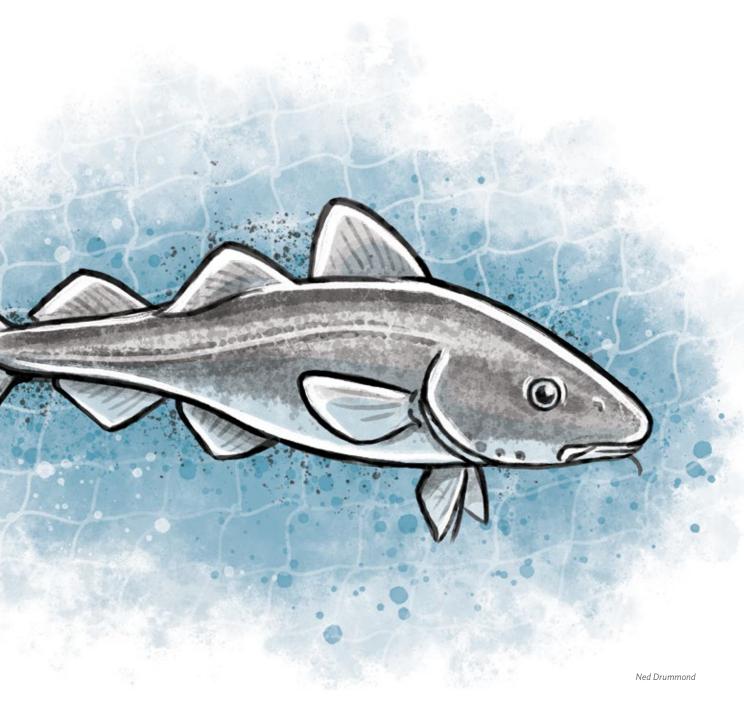
But as with any EU legislation, "passing it is not the whole story," says Andrew Clayton, who leads Pew's work on implementing the reformed CFP in Northwestern Europe. "We are maintaining pressure on [member state] governments to implement catch limits that will end overfishing, and, crucially, we are making the complex data on fishing levels available and understandable to the public so that people know the extent—or lack—of progress ahead of the 2020 legal deadline to end EU overfishing."

Today, Pew staff members in London and Brussels are using strategies gleaned from a decade of

involvement on the Continent to support numerous global campaigns, including work to end illegal fishing, create large marine parks, protect the high seas, help imperiled tuna populations, conserve sharks, and responsibly manage seabed mining.

If Pew is successful, EU fishermen won't need signposts to tell them how much their oceans have improved. But they might need help counting all the fish they'll be catching.

John Briley is a Trust staff writer.



# One of Earth's Last Wild Places Needs Protection

Pew works in Australia's Outback to advance smart conservation and economic development policy for one of the world's most special places.

Since 2008, Pew has been working with Indigenous people, Outback-based businesses, and Australian lawmakers to protect tens of millions of acres of critical wildlife habitat and foster broader appreciation for the region. In a conversation with Trust, Pew's Australia director, Barry Traill, a conservationist and zoologist, details those efforts.



What shocks people most about the Australian Outback? The scale. The size of it is very hard for many—including a lot of Australians—to grasp. It's the same size as the United States' West

and Midwest combined. The diversity is difficult to comprehend as well. Sure, it has the famous red rock and sand, which is what many people know about, but it also has rainforests, great green rolling plains, the world's largest tropical savanna, and a desert country full of plants and wildlife, with thousands of species found nowhere else on Earth.

#### But human life there is scarce.

True. Most Australians live in cities on the coast in the southeast of the continent—in Brisbane, Sydney, and Melbourne. The Outback has a population not much larger than the city of Tulsa, Oklahoma. Outside Antarctica, Australia has the lowest population density of any continent.

## Why focus time and resources on an area where so few people live?

Like the Amazon and Canada's boreal forests, the Outback is one of the very few wild, natural places remaining on a planet that is very crowded, with more than 7 billion people. The Outback is also one of the largest and most natural of those wild systems. Australians sometimes don't view it as a distinct and singular region, but it is—and it takes up more than 70 percent of the continent. Here, the land has been cared for by Indigenous Australians for some 50,000 years. In the Outback, people and the land are inextricably connected.

#### What are the benefits of protecting the Outback?

A well-managed Outback will support a range of industries and put people in jobs, including in land management. But this special place will lose its ecological health if it succumbs to the threats it faces.

#### What is threatening such a remote place?

European settlers introduced all manner of animals, from feral cats, foxes, and other small mammals to cows, goats, water buffalo, pigs, and camels. These invasive species eat Australian plants, and native animals haven't adapted to compete well with the newer arrivals. Other threats to the health of the land include invasive noxious weeds and wildfires.

#### What are some ways to manage invasive animals?

When the feral cats and foxes were introduced, for example, we began to lose small native mammals, wonderful species such as pademelons—they're very small kangaroos—quolls, and bandicoots. Researchers have found that retaining Australian native dogs—our dingoes—in an area can keep cat and fox populations in check, because dingoes are apex predators. They're about the size of a lean Labrador but are so fierce that they've kept rampaging feral pigs and goats in check, and stopped our native kangaroos from overpopulating.

Dingoes are one way to keep the Australian landscape healthy.

Humane baiting and trapping programs, run by Indigenous Rangers and other land managers throughout the Outback, also help control invasive pests.

## How are Outback residents dealing with invasive plants?

Invasive plants are a huge problem. Some can take over and destroy an ecosystem. West African gamba grass, for example, grows 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 meters) tall. Where it is uncontrolled, it overwhelms our diverse northern savannas of eucalypts and native grasses, turning those areas into monocultures of gamba grass. But if a ranger is there, he or she can recognize it and kill it.

#### And the wildfires?

Australia is very fire-prone because parts of it are so dry. Just as in California, people need to be proactive. Here, Aboriginal people have managed fires in different ways for many thousands of years.

However, in large areas of the Outback where no resident managers live, large, fierce, uncontrolled wildfires are a major threat to nature. Much of our work involves getting a foundation of support for Indigenous Rangers to get back on their land so they can actively manage fire. This is often done by lighting smaller, less intense flames in the cooler or wetter seasons, which thins out the available fuel and helps slow and stop the big fires. Controlled burns can also create a mosaic of areas of bush that are different ages, which helps support a variety of plant and animal habitats, and more of them.

## How does Pew protect the land and support the Indigenous people who live there?

We have helped advocate for consistent federal and state government funding to support the creation of Indigenous Protected Areas and to pay the Indigenous Rangers who will manage them. These areas are created through an agreement between Aboriginal landholders and the Australian government and have been a great success story of conservation here.

Now, 63 Indigenous Protected Areas cover more than 150 million acres of the continent, an area larger than the state of California. In addition, nearly 800 Indigenous Rangers use a combination of traditional cultural knowledge and science-based techniques to manage these lands, which have been in their families for more than 50,000 years. Other countries, including Canada, are beginning to emulate this program.

But while we need these new protected areas, we also need to create a vibrant economy in the Outback to support people who can manage the threats. One of the fundamental challenges is maintaining communities both socially and economically.

#### How is land that's being used for grazing faring?

Separate from the land that is fully Indigenous-owned, about 40 percent of Australian land is under lease, similar to the way the Bureau of Land Management operates in the American West. Some of these areas are no longer commercially viable for ranching sheep, goats, and cattle, but there are restrictions on what alternative enterprises are possible. We need to encourage new enterprises that will bring dollars, jobs, stronger communities, and better land management back into many districts.



Tufts of spinifex and a native grasstree glow at sunset in South Australia's Flinders Ranges, terrain that epitomizes the Australian Outback. *Dan Proud* 

## Do Australians who don't live in the Outback visit the area?

Generally, yes, at some point in their lifetime. It's part of the ethos of Australia to travel around the country.

## Is there enough infrastructure to support a vibrant tourism industry in the Outback?

There is a thin web of settlements and roads across the Outback. And the more popular tourism destinations like Uluru, also known as Ayers Rock, and Kakadu have extensive and modern tourism facilities. We are also very lucky to have services similar to those in a modern state but modified for remote living, like a flying doctor service available for emergency ambulance calls.

#### Does the ranger program have longevity?

Those who grew up in the bush developed extraordinarily detailed knowledge of the land and have an especially acute eye for wildlife and the landscape. This is hard-won knowledge earned by making a living, every day, in often harsh country. Part of the job of the ranger programs is to pass this knowledge on to the younger rangers who have grown up in modern Australia and spent much of their lives at school or in small towns.

## The people of the Outback are part of the solution to protect it, then.

Yes, and the development and support of our Indigenous Ranger program has been an outstanding success. These rangers are living in protected areas doing work that looks after the environment—something that benefits all Australians and helps sustain communities in the long run. These are hard jobs in often very remote places, but for them—it's home.

# **Partners in Preserving the Planet**

Pew has worked with the David and Lucile Packard Foundation for more than a decade to safeguard the biodiversity of marine life in the United States.

#### BY DEMETRA APOSPOROS

For more than half a century, the David and Lucile Packard Foundation has embraced a belief in the power of science to restore our planet's health, with a primary focus on conservation and ecology. Packard opened the Monterey Bay Aquarium in 1984 and five years later launched the Monterey Bay Aquarium Research Institute, which continues to be a global leader in ocean science and engineering—all with the intention of cultivating future generations of conservationists to protect the world's oceans.

So when Packard learned in 2007 of Pew's work to secure state protections for Oregon coastal waters, it joined in support. The Our Ocean project resulted in the 2012 designation of five marine reserves and protected areas along 250 miles of rugged Oregon coast that stretches from the city of Cannon Beach south to Port Orford. The safeguards were the first of their kind in the state and marked the beginning of more than a decade of collaborative work around marine conservation between the two organizations.

Pew's Pacific ocean conservation project to secure protections for forage fish was next to gain Packard support. These small fish travel in dense, synchronized schools and are a vital component of the marine food web for larger animals, including fish, seabirds, and mammals.

Because forage fish are not exactly a household name—although some, like anchovies, may be familiar—part of the project's work focused on a communications strategy to help people understand the importance of these little fish to supporting the health of the ocean as a whole. For example, without a steady diet of forage fish, animals such as sea lions can—and have—starved. Thus the campaign's slogan, "Little fish, big deal," was born.

The messaging invokes a forward-thinking approach known as ecosystem-based fisheries management, which brings a big-picture view of the ocean's many moving parts—from groups of the smallest fish to changes in habitat and weather, the overfishing of target species, and the incidental capture or death of other animals (known as bycatch)—into conversations around fisheries management. In the context of forage fish, which are also harvested in large quantities to create feed for the aquaculture and livestock industries as well as for use in fertilizers and health supplements, ecosystem-based fisheries management affords a real-world view of all the forces affecting these fish. And it offers a better picture than looking at each species by itself, which has been the more traditional strategy in fisheries management.

The ecosystem approach—long advocated by Pew and Packard—is another sign of the strong shared approach the organizations have adopted and has helped to strengthen the scientific argument for the need to safeguard forage fish.

"Both of our organizations strongly believe in the power of science-based decision-making, and that has been really important within the management of the U.S.-based fisheries," says Heather Ludemann, program officer for Packard's U.S. ocean strategy initiative. "With Pew, two things I'm really impressed by are their ability to engage diverse allies like recreational fishermen, who are also interested in having prey available for bigger fish, and a real focus on science and being able to demonstrate that these forage species are important to wildlife and seabirds."

Packard's expertise contributed greatly to the project. "One of the unique qualities about Packard is that they understand the science and communities and people of the West Coast better than most and really dig into these conservation issues at a deep level," says Paul Shively, Pew's director of Pacific fish conservation work.

Last fall, thanks in part to the project's efforts, several species of West Coast forage fish—including sand lance, smelt, silverside, saury, lanternfish, and some squid—gained protections in federal waters from Washington to California.

Today, Pew's U.S. ocean conservation project, with support from Packard, is focused on the West Coast swordfish fishery, which has extremely high rates of bycatch owing to its reliance on drift gillnets—large nets with 14-inch mesh openings that can extend across a mile or more of ocean, dropping from some 30 feet below the surface to a depth of over 100 feet. Because they are deployed overnight, when many ocean species converge near the surface of the water, drift gillnets also indiscriminately trap significant amounts of other wildlife—including humpback and



Cape Perpetua is the largest of five marine reserves along Oregon's craggy coast. Macduff Everton

sperm whales, dolphins, sea turtles, sharks, other billfish, and sea lions. By the time the nets are pulled up in the morning, the majority of animals tangled in them have been stuck for many hours, decreasing their ability to survive. Data show that on average the approximately 20 active drift gillnet vessels in the fishery are discarding about 65 percent of what they pull in. Consequently, the project is exploring a less destructive fishing method.

"Pew is helping to support scientific research to understand the feasibility of a new type of gear that would allow fishermen to shift away from harmful drift gillnets," says Ludemann. That method, innovative technology called deep-set buoy gear, consists of hooks about 1,000 feet below the surface, an area of colder water where swordfish, but few other species, swim during the day. When swordfish bite the hooks, buoys at the surface alert fishing boats that they have a strike, allowing fishermen to swoop in, quickly retrieve the fish, and put them on ice, resulting in a fresher and higher-quality product.

As a bonus, deep-set buoy gear results in swordfish that are more valuable per pound—up to 2 ½ times more profitable. The system also means that species on the hooks not targeted by the fishermen can be removed before they die, virtually eliminating bycatch mortality.

The gear, which was developed by the Pfleger Institute of Environmental Research, is being tested in the swordfish fishery. "We've been supporting their deep-set buoy research with combined resources from Pew and Packard, and it's proving to be an extremely promising gear type with high success rates," Shively says.

In California, where many consumers have for years been calling for a less destructive way of landing swordfish, more than 100 seafood industry executives from chefs to restaurant owners and retailers—have signed a letter promoting the use of deep-set buoys. A poll commissioned by Pew last year found that 87 percent of Californians support using less harmful gear. The project's goal is to see deep-set buoys approved by 2018 as an alternative fishing method by the Pacific Fishery Management Council, which governs the West Coast swordfish fishery.

Like Pew, Packard's dedication to ocean science runs deep. Two of David and Lucile Packard's four children obtained degrees in marine biology. One of them, Julie Packard, is the Monterey Bay Aquarium's executive director and served on the Pew Oceans Commission, which in the early 2000s helped raise national awareness about the plight of the ocean. And the organizations are looking forward to future sciencebased collaborations.

Beyond marine conservation, Packard has also supported Pew's work in other areas, including the Cultural Data Project, which helped arts organizations employ data to demonstrate the value they contribute to the community; Pew's project that promoted the adoption of prekindergarten programs in states; and efforts to protect U.S. public lands.

"The Packard Foundation shares a real commitment to science-based projects that make a difference in the world," says Susan Urahn, Pew's executive vice president and chief program officer. "The success of our past work together has been gratifying, and we are honored to continue our strong relationship moving forward."

And for her part, Carol S. Larson, Packard's CEO and president, says: "Creating positive, lasting change is not easy—but it is possible. Working together with a diverse set of grantees and partners like Pew, guided by science and inspired by human ingenuity, we can ensure a better future for the ocean—where life recovers, biodiversity flourishes, and the ocean's natural resilience continues to sustain life for generations to come."

For more information about philanthropic partnerships at Pew, please contact Senior Vice President Sally O'Brien at 202-540-6226 or sobrien@pewtrusts.org.

Demetra Aposporos is a Trust staff writer.

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** 



Beneath ice packs in Antarctica's Ross Sea lie fertile feeding grounds for penguins, seals, whales, and other creatures of the ocean. Dale Lorna Jacobsen/Shutterstock

#### Ross Sea designated as world's largest marine protected area

In October, the Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources (CCAMLR) established the largest marine protected area on the planet in Antarctica's Ross Sea. This marks the first time that CCAMLR's 24 member countries and the European Union reached consensus to protect nearly 800 square miles of the Southern Ocean after similar proposals over the past five years failed. The area will provide critical habitats for penguins, seals, krill, whales, and other marine species. The decision, for which Pew advocated, also represents the first time that nations have agreed to protect a significant area of the ocean that lies beyond the jurisdiction of any individual country.

#### Department of the Interior protects 3.6 million acres

Interior Secretary Sally Jewell in September signed the Desert Renewable Energy Conservation Plan, an effort by California and federal officials that seeks to balance development of renewable energy with land conservation across 11 million acres of Southern California managed by the Bureau of Land Management. The plan protects 3.6 million acres of BLM lands, including Silurian Valley and Centennial Flats. Pew has worked on the plan since 2012, seeking to ensure that wilderness-quality public lands and other ecologically important areas are conserved.

#### Arctic safeguards announced

In November, the Obama administration removed the U.S. Arctic Ocean from the 2017-22 Outer Continental Shelf Leasing Program. The decision means that the new oil and gas exploration leasing in the Chukchi Sea and Beaufort Sea planning areas will not be considered until after 2022. Pew has been working to preserve wildlife migration routes, feeding grounds, and habitats in the Arctic since 2009.

## Kiribati announces world's second-largest shark sanctuary

The Pacific island nation of Kiribati created the world's second-largest shark sanctuary in November. The move bans all commercial shark fishing within Kiribati's 1.3-million-square-mile exclusive economic zone, an area larger than India. It also bans the possession, trade, and sale of sharks and shark products, as well as the use of wire leaders, the fishing gear often used to catch them. Kiribati's sanctuary expands the Micronesia Regional Shark Sanctuary, completed in 2015, to more than 3.5 million square miles. In all, 15 sanctuaries now encompass more than 7.34 million square miles of ocean that are free of commercial shark fishing—an area bigger than South America.

#### 21st Century Cures law targets major health concerns

The 21st Century Cures Act became law in December. The wide-ranging, bipartisan legislation makes important progress on two pressing public health issues, both targets of Pew's research and advocacy work: the growing global threat of antibiotic resistance and limited availability of treatment for substance use disorder, a disease that takes the lives of dozens of Americans every day. The law creates a new approval pathway for much needed antibiotics to treat seriously ill patients and those with highly resistant infections, and includes \$1 billion in funding for opioid use disorder treatment.

## World Conservation Congress calls for protecting at least 30% of the ocean

Members of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) World Conservation Congress voted in September to support increasing the highly protected area of the ocean to at least 30 percent, to help conserve biodiversity. Pew had supported a peer-reviewed study that found protecting at least 30 percent of the ocean is necessary for achieving fisheries and marine conservation goals. The IUCN also adopted motions calling for advancements on a new international treaty to protect the high seas, adoption of new measures to protect shark species from unsustainable international trade, and protection of the Southern Ocean.

#### Australia's Great Kimberley Marine Park receives new protections

In October, Western Australia Premier Colin Barnett announced the creation of two protected areas to become part of the Great Kimberley Marine Park, an interconnected system of marine and terrestrial parks jointly managed by the land's Traditional Owners and the state. One new park covers a 304-square-mile area of ecologically significant reefs and mangrove forests in Roebuck Bay, including some of the world's most diverse mudflat communities and a population of threatened Australian snubfin dolphins. The second area is the 568,340-acre Walyarta Conservation Reserve, which will safeguard important freshwater wetlands and coastal woodlands. Pew has worked since 2008 to protect the pristine coastline of the Kimberley region in the northwest of Australia as a part of the long-term goal to obtain protection for half of the Outback.

## Consumer Financial Protection Bureau expands protections for prepaid card users

In October, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau finalized new protections for the 23 million Americans who each month use prepaid cards—which are essentially checkless checking accounts provided by a bank or other financial services provider. The new rule prohibits consumers from being charged overdraft penalty fees. Pew's research, which informed the federal rule-making, showed that most prepaid card customers do not want to be charged for overdrawing their account, because they use the cards to avoid checking account overdraft fees, and instead prefer to have transactions declined when they don't have sufficient funds.

## First national standards on antibiotic use in long-term care facilities approved

In September, the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services finalized a rule that will help counter the growing threat of antibiotic resistance—a longstanding Pew priority—and protect the health of the estimated 1.7 million patients who live in long-term care facilities in the United States. The rule updates standards of care that nursing homes and assistedliving facilities must meet in order to receive Medicare and Medicaid reimbursement and includes new requirements aimed at ensuring the appropriate use of antibiotics, minimizing adverse effects from their use, and slowing the spread of resistance.

#### States begin evaluations of their tax incentives

In November, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Oklahoma each published their first evaluations of economic development tax incentives. The evaluations, required by 2015 laws mandating their regular review, assessed the strengths and weaknesses of incentives that cost hundreds of millions of dollars. Based on these findings, lawmakers in each state are considering changes to incentives to improve their effectiveness, while ensuring that the programs do not become unaffordable and pose budget challenges. Pew staff assisted the evaluators in each of these states to help ensure their analyses were high quality, as well as helped design each of the evaluation laws and advocated for their passage.

#### New Medicare regulations include key Pew recommendations

The Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS) updated its physician payment program in October to include two recommendations from Pew. CMS adopted new measures to assess the care received by people with serious illnesses. Pew worked with a coalition of provider and patient groups to push for increased use of these standardized metrics, which will help ensure that patients receive care consistent with their preferences as they near the end of life. The CMS rule also improves patient safety and care coordination, consistent with recommendations from Pew, by encouraging physicians and hospitals to share information about which medical device implants a patient has from the electronic health record.

#### INFORMING THE PUBLIC



Migrants wait to receive food in Sonora, a Mexican state that borders the U.S. Hundreds of Central American and Mexican migrants attempt to cross into the United States every day. *Alfredo Estrella/Getty Images* 

## Recent reports focus on unauthorized immigration

In September and October, the Pew Research Center published two reports on unauthorized immigration in the United States. The first examined national and state-level trends, finding that the U.S. immigrant population—11.1 million in 2014—has stabilized since the end of the Great Recession; numbers from Mexico declined while the total from other countries increased. The second report found that 8 million unauthorized immigrants in the U.S. were working or looking for work in 2014, which is 5 percent of the civilian labor force.

#### Pew Research Center examines state of American jobs

In October, the Pew Research Center published a report examining trends in the labor market and how they play out in the lives of American workers. It found that employment opportunities increasingly lie in jobs requiring higher-level social or analytical skills, and the vast majority of U.S. workers say that new skills and training may hold the key to their future job success. Center experts discussed the findings on CNBC's "Nightly Business Report," ABC Radio, and CBS Radio, and the report received additional coverage in *The Wall Street Journal, USA Today*, the *Los Angeles Times*, NPR, NBC News, Bloomberg, CNN Money, MarketWatch, CNBC, CBS MoneyWatch, and Politico, among others. Before the release, center experts presented findings at the White House.

#### Africans optimistic despite corruption

In November, the Pew Research Center published a report examining attitudes in Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa. It found widespread discontent with corruption, but also optimism about the future. The report received widespread domestic and international media coverage in the BBC, FiveThirtyEight, Quartz, Deutsche Presse-Agentur, the *Mail & Guardian* (South Africa), *The Star* (Kenya), and *Nigeria Today*, among other outlets. After the report's release, center experts gave 17 presentations in the three countries, and former Kenyan Prime Minister Raila Odinga cited the findings in commentary for Citizen TV in Kenya.

#### Study reveals polarized views about climate issues

The Pew Research Center published a report in October examining the political divides in the U.S. public's views of climate change and trust in climate scientists. It found that liberal Democrats are especially likely to view scientists and their research in a positive light, while conservative Republicans are considerably more skeptical of climate scientists' findings. Additionally, 79 percent of liberal Democrats say the Earth is warming mostly due to human activity, compared with 15 percent of conservative Republicans. The report is the first of three on how the public views science and scientists in areas that connect with American daily life.

#### **Report gauges Chinese public opinion**

In October, the Pew Research Center published a report examining public opinion in China on key national issues, finding that 75 percent say the superpower is playing a more important role in world affairs than it did 10 years ago. The public names U.S. power and influence as the top international threat facing the country. The report was covered widely domestically and internationally by *The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal*, The Associated Press, Agence France-Presse, BBC, Foreign Policy, Time, Bloomberg, and the South China Morning Post, among others.

#### INVIGORATING CIVIC LIFE

#### Pew Fund awards first advancement grant

In December, the Pew Fund for Health and Human Services awarded its first advancement grant to support the University City District's West Philadelphia Skills Initiative. The grant of \$600,000 over three years will help expand meaningful employment opportunities for low-income and disadvantaged residents in the community. The new advancement grants are reserved for exemplary organizations with the drive and ambition to substantially increase their impact on the region.

#### \$1M awarded to Wistar Institute

Continuing a history of promoting high-quality leadership in biomedical research, Pew awarded \$1 million over three years to the Wistar Institute in December. The support will help expand the institute's immunotherapy and vaccine program, designed to identify innovative prevention and treatment methods that leverage the body's defenses against cancer and infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, influenza, malaria, Ebola, and Zika virus.

# Philly's golden era for tourism and hospitality

BY REBECCA W. RIMEL, THOMAS J. RIDGE, AND EDWARD G. RENDELL

What do Pope Francis, singer and human-rights advocate Bono, and both the Republican and Democratic national committees have in common? In the last two decades, they chose Philadelphia as the best place to advance their values and mission. And the audience was worldwide.

Twenty years ago, Google was still a research project at Stanford. The iPhone was more than a decade away. And Netflix hadn't started mailing DVDs.

We didn't foresee these remarkable changes in the way Americans live, work, and spend leisure time. But in an op-ed we wrote for *The Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1996, we recognized that Philadelphia was being "out-hustled and outspent" by other East Coast cities in the competition for hospitality dollars. Tourists literally treated Philadelphia as a drive-by city—assuming they could find the exit off I-95—on their way to overnight stays in New York City or Washington. But we argued that Philadelphia's golden promise—its potential to create thousands of jobs and add millions of dollars to the economy by becoming a successful tourist destination—could be reached through a strong public-private partnership committed to aggressively marketing our region's unique history, culture, and location.

To that end, The Pew Charitable Trusts, the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the city of Philadelphia pooled their resources and created the Greater Philadelphia Tourism Marketing Corp.—now known as Visit Philadelphia—which this month celebrates its 20th anniversary. Together, we launched Visit Philadelphia, and with support from community



The Liberty Bell, a crown jewel of Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, helps lure millions of visitors each year. Paul Souders/Getty Images

leaders and businesses—and the bipartisan approval of a 1 percent hotel tax in 1999—Visit Philadelphia has flourished, successfully marketing the Philadelphia region.

Our vision of Philadelphia as a destination for millions of visitors required dramatic changes to Independence Mall, the three-block area of Independence National Historical Park that is home to many of Philadelphia's most treasured sites. In 2001, the Independence Visitor Center—a \$40 million public-private project—opened in partnership with the National Park Service, and welcomes more than 2 million people annually.

Other important public-private investments in the city's historical and cultural legacy include restoration of the Benjamin Franklin Parkway with new lighting and landscaping; the remaking of Sister Cities Park; and a

more than 93,000 jobs, and brought in \$612 million in state and local taxes. Today, 1 out of 3 hotel rooms occupied in Center City is for a leisure stay.

The dramatic increase in Philadelphia tourism is a virtuous cycle: More positive media attention and advertising bring more visitors, and more visitors bring more positive media attention. Last year, *The New York Times* placed Philadelphia third among its "52 Best Places to Go in 2015," behind only Milan, Italy, and Cuba. And the travel authority Lonely Planet ranked Philadelphia No. 1 on its list of "10 best places to visit in the United States in 2016." Philadelphia was also recently named our nation's first World Heritage City because of its iconic landmarks and its unique role as the cradle of American liberty and democracy.

Although Philadelphia is one of America's oldest

Twenty years ago we wrote, "It is time to reclaim our place in the hearts and minds of America and to make this region once again a place where people want to come, choose to linger, and look forward to returning." That was Philadelphia tourism's golden promise. Two decades later we have reached a golden era for the city's tourism and hospitality industry.

beautiful museum to house the Barnes Foundation's collection of masterpieces. There is also the new Liberty Bell Center and the Benjamin Franklin Museum, which reopened in 2013 after an \$18 million renovation on the site of Franklin's former home. The National Constitution Center, which opened in 2003, continues to produce thought-provoking programming while encouraging civic understanding of—and debate about—the American Constitution.

There is a famous line from the movie "Field of Dreams": "If you build it, they will come." But that's not the way things work in real life. Yes, through advocacy and vigorous fundraising, we were able to build the Visitor Center and restore Independence Mall. However, to put Philadelphia on the must-see list of millions of visitors, we needed to do more than "build it." We needed an innovative marketing strategy to promote awareness of Philadelphia's historic and cultural treasures. That's what Visit Philadelphia has done with a strong and integrated mix of advertising, a million social media followers, and 19 million web visits last year; news and feature articles, including 8,000 stories in 2015; sponsorships; and effective partnerships with the public and private sectors.

The results speak for themselves. In 2015, the region welcomed a record 41 million domestic visitors, up from 27 million in 1996. Spending from these visitors generated \$10.7 billion in economic activity, supported cities, it has become a favorite of young people. *The New York Times* wrote the first of many articles touting Philadelphia's increasing popularity among millennials in 2005. In the six years that followed, the millennial population increased by 100,000—the largest percentage growth of any major U.S. city.

Twenty years ago we wrote, "It is time to reclaim our place in the hearts and minds of America and to make this region once again a place where people want to come, choose to linger, and look forward to returning." That was Philadelphia tourism's golden promise. Two decades later we have reached a golden era for the city's tourism and hospitality industry. There is still work to be done, and as we did 20 years ago, we're asking those who live and work here to help tell our region's story—that Philadelphia is a vibrant 21st-century city, with a rich history and exciting future, and we are eager to share it with visitors from around the world.

Edward G. Rendell is a former mayor of Philadelphia and governor of Pennsylvania. Thomas J. Ridge is a former governor of Pennsylvania. Rebecca W. Rimel is president and CEO of The Pew Charitable Trusts. This article originally appeared in The Philadelphia Inquirer on Sept. 13, 2016.

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# Fake News Is Having a Real Impact 000

ENDNOTE

## THIS IS TRUE

After the November election, an increasing number of observers—from President Barack Obama to Pope Francis—raised concerns about the effect of fake news on American political life and innocent individuals. One fake news story even prompted gunfire: A North Carolina man went to a Washington, DC pizzeria prompted by false reports spread on the internet about children being abused and hidden in tunnels under the establishment. Police said he fired at least twice but didn't injure anyone. In a December survey, the Pew Research Center found most Americans now believe that fake news is having real impact, with Republicans and Democrats equally likely to say these stories leave people deeply confused about current events.

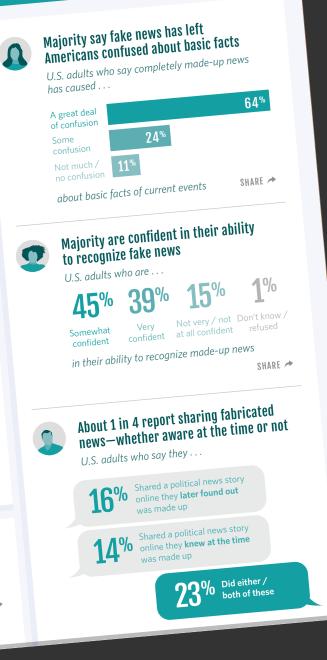
SHARE A

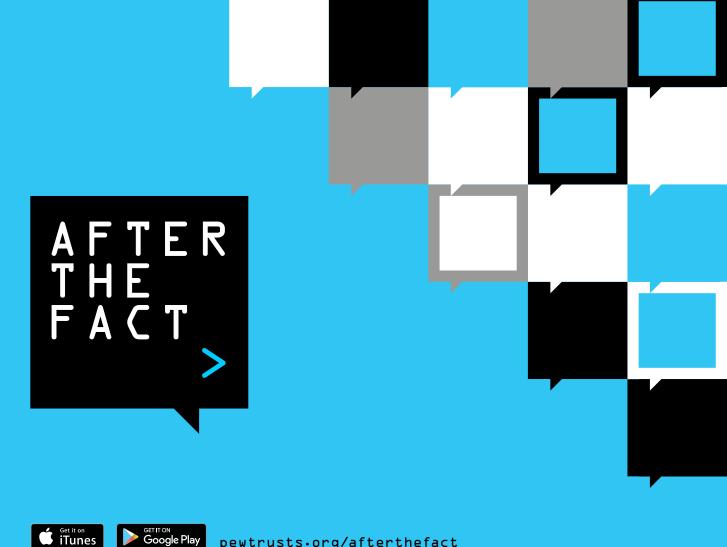
#### THIS IS NOT



Child abuse at DC pizzeria! . . . SHARE A

Martians land in New Jersey! . . .





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For the first time since the 1940s, more Mexican immigrants—both legal and unauthorized—have returned to Mexico from the U.S. than have entered.

How America Changed, Page 22

A general store in the small town of Newtown Grove, NC advertises in both Spanish and English.