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As the virus roils the globe, what are the consequences for public health, government finances, and America's world role?





#### TIME CAPSULE

In the 1990s, The Pew Charitable Trusts began to help create organizations that could accomplish cultural, civic, research, and policy goals. One example was the Pew Health Professions Commission, which began at Duke University and later moved to the University of California, San Francisco, and was charged with improving the health care system by identifying new ways to train and deploy health professionals. Its 1995 report made 10 recommendations, including that states should use standardized and understandable language for health professions certification and maintain fair, cost-effective, and uniform disciplinary processes to exclude incompetent practitioners and to protect and promote the public's health.

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Cover: Photo illustration by Richard Friend



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.

#### NOTES FROM THE PRESIDENT

### Planning, Preparation, and Purpose



The pandemic has reminded the world that there are risks that are unpredictable and hard to manage, despite our planning and preparation. How to cope with these kinds of risks is where science comes in—whether it is the field of epidemiology, which helps us understand the health ramifications of a quick-spreading virus, or economics, which can help guide us through the expanding societal fallout that governments, businesses, and families are facing now.

Although science evolves over time, its proven methodology and focus on evidence is a strong foundation for addressing big challenges. Certainly research and data, as you'll see in this issue of *Trust*, guide our response to the coronavirus, from survey analysis by the Pew Research Center to our technical assistance to state governments facing severe economic disruption.

The work of Pew marine fellow Octavio Aburto reminds us of the many ways that science can inform public policy. Aburto, who studies biodiversity and conservation, argues that researchers "have a responsibility to tell our stories and communicate our science." And with his photography, which appears in this issue, he does just that, helping us better understand the ecology of the world underwater.

Whether it is protecting mangroves, which is Aburto's latest focus of research; or conserving the nation's depleted oyster population; or advocating for reforms to the regulation of over-the-counter medications—all of which you can read about in this issue of *Trust*—Pew and our many partners work hard to ensure that our recommendations and findings are both accurate and effectively communicated to policymakers and the public.

Times like these also call for more effective communication, more bridge-building and consensusseeking, more science and data, and facts from which we can find solutions to the challenges that vex society.

Our way of working requires planning to determine the scope of an issue and preparation to lay out the framework for addressing the problem. Perhaps most of all, it also requires a sense of purpose—the desire that good can result from a problem being fixed, that lives can be improved and communities enhanced. This sense of purpose infuses our work at Pew and was firmly established over the nearly three decades while Rebecca W. Rimel was president and CEO. As she transitions into a role as a senior adviser to the institution, Rebecca leaves a legacy not just of her personal leadership and example, but of her stewardship of Pew's high standards for integrity and nonpartisanship—and our desire to make the world better.

With the help of the entire Pew staff, I will endeavor to maintain these standards and build on the foundation Rebecca has helped create to tackle new issues and test novel approaches. Times like these also call for more effective communication, more bridge-building and consensus-seeking, more science and data, and facts from which we can find solutions to the challenges that vex society. Those are the hallmarks of what Pew always seeks to do with our projects. In these pages of *Trust* and in all that Pew does in the U.S. and around the world, we also plan to provide as much of that sense of purpose as we can.

Susan K. Urahn, President and CEO

### Trust

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#### TRANSITIONS

### A History of Progress and Results

In more than three decades at the helm of The Pew Charitable Trusts, Rebecca Rimel was a steward of the organization's reputation and a leader in its mission of serving the public.

In 1983, The Pew Charitable Trusts was already 35 years old, and, while largely focused on responding to incoming requests for funding, successfully making a positive difference with its philanthropy. Much as it does today, the organization based its decisions and actions with a respect for its founders' values of stewardship, service, and innovation.

In September of that year, Pew made its first hire of a staff member with specific expertise: Rebecca W. Rimel, the first nurse to hold a faculty position at the University of Virginia's medical school, serving as an assistant professor of neurosurgery. Rimel would initially oversee health care projects and would go on to become executive director of Pew in 1988 and then president and CEO six years later, a position she held until June 30.

"Over the course of Rebecca's tenure, Pew has had tremendous impact, improving communities and the daily lives of countless individuals," says her successor, Susan K. Urahn, who joined Pew 25 years ago, also serving in a variety of roles, including executive vice president and chief program officer. "She has been a wise steward of the

organization's reputation and values, and I can't thank her enough for her leadership and example."

Rimel's arrival at Pew came as the Trusts' board of directors deliberated how best to use the organization's substantial resources to address new and emerging challenges. Pew's grant-making had been anonymous, and largely addressed local issues. But Rimel proposed establishing a program to support the research of young, promising biomedical scholars. One of the first of its kind in the field, it would be called the Pew Scholars Program in the Biomedical Sciences, making it among the organization's first national initiatives—and the first to have the Pew name attached.

It was not an easy sell for the new assistant vice president. J.N. Pew III, the son of founder Joseph N. Pew Jr., had served on the board since its inception and was an authoritative voice on the evolution of the organization. He believed that maintaining the founders' values included honoring their desire to avoid recognition for their generosity and their belief that good works were their own reward. Yet the board accepted Rimel's promise

to carefully steward the Pew name in keeping with those intentions and approved the biomedical scholars program. To date, it has produced three Nobel laureates—with an ironclad commitment to the organization's reputation an equally lasting achievement.

One of the laureates, Craig Mello, says, "What Rebecca has done that's so important is she has given these young scholars a sense of purpose beyond our research, integrating us back to the whole mission of Pew—



In 1996, as she announced Pew's support for African American churches damaged by fires, Rebecca W. Rimel was two years into her tenure as the organization's president and CEO.



Rebecca W. Rimel, center, proposed the first project to bear the Pew name, the Pew Scholars Program in the Biomedical Sciences, which has produced three Nobel laureates. Seen here at the program's 1999 meeting in Curaçao, the group gathers annually to exchange ideas and develop collaborations. The Pew Charitable Trusts

which is, of course, to better our whole community."

In that same period, Pew also began work to improve access to health care for the homeless. In cooperation with the United States Conference of Mayors and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Pew funded programs in 19 U.S. cities, creating a model for the McKinney-Vento Act of 1987, one of the first pieces of federal legislation to address homelessness.

By 1989, a year after Rimel became executive director, Pew was the nation's second-largest foundation as measured by giving and focused on six program areas: culture, education, the environment, health and human services, public policy, and religion. That would soon include support of renowned documentary filmmaker Ken Burns. After his 1990 film on the Civil War broke viewership records on public television, Rimel invited him to visit Pew's Philadelphia offices to see what else he had planned, especially if it involved Benjamin Franklin or the Constitution—subjects close to Pew's hometown roots. "I do the Constitution in every film I do," Burns told Rimel, inviting her to his New Hampshire studio to see early cuts of his upcoming film on baseball. He recalls a spirited conversation about America's national pastime, civil rights, and democracy, which prompted Rimel to leave the screening saying, "I get it." Pew would go on to support many of Burns' documentaries—including a forthcoming film on, yes, Franklin.

"We need the transformative power of art, wherever it can reveal itself, because it is a kind of glue that makes

the most complex stuff happen," Burns says. "And it has always been impressive to me that Rebecca and The Pew Charitable Trusts have understood this in their bones."

Pew had begun funding environmental projects in 1974, with one of the first being Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, and over the following years has dramatically expanded its portfolio. Key successes have included support for the creation of vast marine protected areas. The first—Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument in the northern Pacific Ocean—was created by President George W. Bush in 2006. A decade later it was expanded by President Barack Obama, making it the largest protected area, on sea or on land, in the world.

In 1995, Pew began funding the Center for the People and the Press after the Times Mirror Co. ended its support for the prestigious public polling operation. The first Pew-supported poll was in January 1996, focused on that year's presidential primary. The center formed the foundation of the eventual consolidation of several other Pew-sponsored projects into the Pew Research Center. Don Kimelman, the former deputy editorial page editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* who had become a managing director at Pew overseeing information initiatives, was tasked by Rimel with creating the center.

"Rebecca was its main champion," Kimelman says.
"Even though Pew's primary mission is to effect change in the world, and does that through policy advocacy,
Rebecca was also a champion of nonpartisan research that didn't have an advocacy agenda."

While the research center has a national and increasingly international focus with its surveys, The Pew Charitable Trusts retains a strong sense of commitment to Philadelphia, where it is based. It helped create what is now Visit Philadelphia, which promotes tourism, and supported renovations to Independence Mall, a three-block section of Independence National Historical Park that includes the Liberty Bell Center, the Independence Visitor Center, and the National Constitution Center. Pew also has provided grants to a host of social service agencies and arts organizations, including the Barnes Foundation when it relocated its historic collection to a new home on the Benjamin Franklin Parkway.

As the 20th century came to a close, Pew readied itself for a change in how it would do business. Rimel and the board wanted to begin running programs and seek policy improvements directly, which as a foundation it was limited in doing. In 2002, Pew became a public charity and began to build a staff of subject experts, expand offices in Washington, D.C., and open new ones abroad to more effectively collaborate with other foundations and partners to meet societal challenges.

"That's something nobody else has done," Joel L. Fleishman, who directs the Center for Strategic Philanthropy and Civil Society at Duke University, has said. "It is an almost unprecedented story in American philanthropy."

In the ensuing years, Pew has embarked on a range of

projects, always based on research and data and always in a nonpartisan fashion. The organization helped spur the first update of the nation's food safety laws since the Great Depression, the enactment of new consumer protections in credit cards and other financial tools, and the expansion of dental care to young children. Pew also promoted the reform of many vastly underfunded pension funds for government workers around the country, creation of new rules that ensure the votes of military members stationed overseas are counted, and the conservation of Canada's boreal forest, helping to secure some form of protection for close to a billion acres.

Those accomplishments have been possible in great part because of the credibility and trust the Pew name has come to engender—something Rimel would steward from her first proposal for the biomedical scholars program to the institution's latest work in conserving the environment as far away as the Australian Outback.

"Pew's founders entrusted us with great resources and inspired us with their entrepreneurial spirit in seeking to improve the world. It has been an honor to uphold that trust and to be encouraged by their inspiration," Rimel says. "Over the past three and a half decades, we have spoken truth to power and righted many wrongs. That is at the heart of Pew's mission, and I am certain my colleagues will meet with much continued success in their commitment to best serve the public interest."



#### NOTEWORTHY



Dhimurru rangers Rakrakpuy Marika, left, and Georgina Gellett use technology to map abandoned fishing nets, which they will then collect, in Australia's Northern Territory. Kerry Trapnell for The Pew Charitable Trusts

### **Australian Government Increases Funds for Indigenous Ranger Network**

BY JOHN BRILEY

For tens of thousands of years, Indigenous peoples have lived on and cared for the unique and diverse landscapes across Australia, from the islands and sea country of the Great Barrier Reef to the vast deserts of the Outback. These are some of the most ecologically healthy lands remaining in the world, and in recent decades, the Australian government has been moving to recognize the leadership of Indigenous communities in protecting more of these areas.

In the latest example, the government in March committed to extending federal funding for the Indigenous ranger network by \$US70 million per year over the next seven years. Indigenous rangers combine traditional knowledge with modern conservation training to protect and manage their land, sea, and culture.

The funding will support rangers who are managing conservation in vast areas of the Outback. Pew has long advocated for funding for Indigenous land management through a partnership with Country Needs People, an alliance of 40 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organizations.

The additional funding will boost annual monies for Indigenous land management to about \$90 million per year until 2028. The efforts of Pew and its partners—a coalition of Indigenous communities, scientists, conservation organizations, industry, and government

agencies—have generated nearly \$1.4 billion in delivered and committed funding for all terrestrial management of the Outback.

The work has helped to protect remarkable places. In October, the government announced the development of seven new Indigenous Protected Areas (IPAs) that, as proposed, would cover more than 40 million acres of culturally and ecologically rich land and sea. These areas harbor a wide array of threatened, rare, and endemic plants and animals, including sea turtles, dugongs, Gouldian finches, Arnhem shovel-nosed snakes, and many more.

Traditional Owners lead decision-making, conservation planning, and management work within IPAs—including efforts to control key Outback environmental threats such as feral animals, invasive weeds, and wildfires.

Pew has long advocated for funding for Indigenous land management through a partnership with Country Needs People, an alliance of 40 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organizations.

The Australian Outback is one of the few remaining large intact ecosystems in the world, and two of the proposed IPAs—on the Maralinga lands in South Australia and the Haasts Bluff region in central Australia—will extend a network of contiguous protected areas that will be bigger than Texas.

The protections are in addition to five IPAs, covering more than 34 million acres, announced in 2018 but not yet fully established, and an existing network of 75 others totaling 167 million acres. Once the 12 newest areas are completed, around 241 million acres—roughly half of Australia's terrestrial protected areas—will be safeguarded in IPAs.

Pew seeks to safeguard the long-term success and stability of conservation programs by encouraging governments to work with those who have deep and long-standing cultural connections to the land and ocean, such as Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, who have cared for the country's vast landscapes for millennia.

#### Stress Really Can Turn Hair Gray

It's long been a belief—as well as a narrative in science fiction and popular culture—that stress can turn a person's hair gray. Turns out this storyline is based in fact.

Scientists have known for some time that a host of factors can lead to a loss of hair color, including immune attacks, genetic mutations, and aging, but until recently they lacked scientific evidence specifically linking stress to gray hair.

Now, in an article published in *Nature* in January, a team of Harvard scientists, including 2017 Pew biomedical scholar Ya-Chieh Hsu, has detailed how stress can accelerate graying by damaging the pigment-producing melanocyte stem cells of hair follicles, which transform into melanin-producing cells that give hair its color.

The researchers started with the theory that stress initiates an immune attack on melanocyte stem cells. To test it, they injected mice with a compound similar to the spicy component of chili peppers and found that it turned the mice's fur a salt-and-pepper color and eventually gray. Experiments showed that this didn't result from an immune system attack, however, because mice turned gray even if they lacked a compromised immune system. Next, the researchers looked at the stress hormone cortisol as the cause but ruled it out when they found that even if the mice's adrenal glands were removed and cortisol production stopped, the mice still turned gray. So the team then decided to explore a new suspect, the sympathetic nervous system, which is responsible for a body's fight-or-flight response.

And that's when the scientists discovered that when mice were stressed, their sympathetic nervous systems released norepinephrine, the chemical responsible for muscle contraction, which was absorbed by melanocyte stem cells in each hair follicle. This chemical release triggered the stem cells to convert into pigment-producing melanocytes, causing a limited reservoir of stem cells to rapidly deplete. And because there are no stem cells to replenish new melanocytes, this caused the mice's fur to turn gray.

Hsu's team further demonstrated that acute stress affects the entire melanocyte stem cell population in humans too—findings that may ultimately help scientists better understand how stress affects the body, and how to combat its negative effects.

"This research laid critical groundwork," says Hsu.
"My hope is that we will be able to take the research
even further and explore whether stress causes people
to age faster."

—Demetra Aposporos

#### Study Shows Philadelphia's Minimum Wage Effectively the Lowest in the Nation

Philadelphia's minimum wage has been set at \$7.25 an hour—the same as the federal minimum—since 2009. and there's been considerable public conversation in the past year on whether to raise it.

Pennsylvania lawmakers set the rate, and the city has no authority to change it. But Philadelphia voters have weighed in, overwhelmingly expressing support in a May 2019 nonbinding ballot question to raising the rate to \$15, and the city government has begun a phased-in increase to that rate by 2022 for its own workers as well as city contractors.

Amid these developments, Pew's Philadelphia research and policy initiative set out to determine how the current rate measures up against those of other major U.S. cities—and who in Philadelphia is earning it.

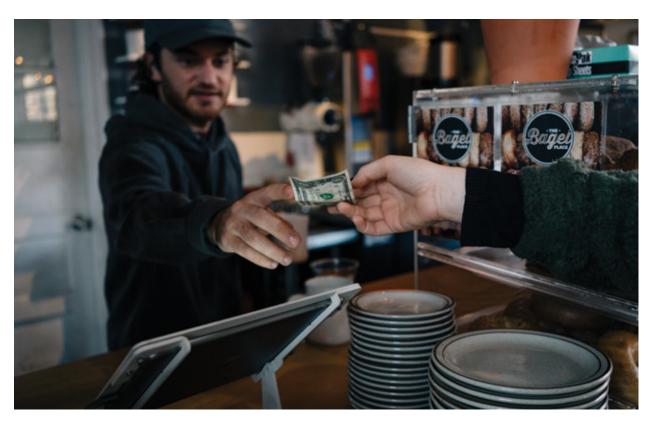
Comparing minimum wages in 31 large U.S. cities, the research found that a majority have higher minimums than Philadelphia's—some substantially higher, although 14 also are set at \$7.25. When the overall level of wages in each of the metropolitan areas that include those cities is taken into account, Philadelphia has what is effectively the lowest minimum of any of the cities. This is the result of Philadelphia's low minimum, the relatively high wages

paid throughout the region, and a higher cost of living than in many of the other cities with the same \$7.25 hourly rate.

Census data shows that about 9% of Philadelphians around 44,000 people—receive the minimum wage, and nearly half of those (approximately 4%, or about 21,000 people) work full time and year-round at that rate. Compared with the city's entire workforce, a disproportionate number of minimum wage earners were young, nonwhite, or Hispanic, and were not college graduates. And 63% had jobs in one of four sectors: accommodation and food services, educational services. health care and social assistance, or retail trade.

"We always knew that no city in America had a lower minimum wage than Philadelphia's \$7.25 an hour," says Larry Eichel, senior adviser to the Philadelphia research and policy initiative. "What was striking was documenting that, in relative terms—whether comparing cities based on cost of living or on regional median wages— Philadelphia has what is effectively the lowest minimum of any major city in the country."

—Erika Compart



A customer buys coffee in the Pennsport neighborhood of Philadelphia. Studies show that about 63% of minimum-wage workers in the city had jobs in accommodation and food services, educational services, health care and social assistance, or retail trade. Lexey Swall for The Pew Charitable Trusts

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### The Impact of the

## Coronavirus Pandemic

As COVID-19 continues to roil the globe, The Pew Charitable Trusts and the Pew Research Center are analyzing fiscal data and surveying public attitudes about the virus' long-term implications for public health, government finances, and America's world role.

The image of the U.S. Capitol is reflected on an ambulance standing by the building in March. Inside, the House of Representatives was debating a COVD-19 stimulus bill that was passed by the Senate earlier in the week. Alex Edelman/ZUMA Wire/Alamy





ost Americans are optimistic that medical advances to treat or prevent the coronavirus are on the horizon, and around 7 in 10 say they would get a vaccine for COVID-19 if it were available, according to a Pew Research Center survey conducted April 29-May 5.

Americans' expectations for the year ahead include an effective treatment or cure for COVID-19, as well as a vaccine to prevent the disease: 83% and 73% of U.S. adults, respectively, say these developments will definitely or probably occur. At the same time, 83% of adults expect another coronavirus outbreak within the year, and 69% expect the focus on the coronavirus to delay progress on other disease treatments.

Around 7 in 10 adults (72%) say they would definitely (42%) or probably (30%) get a coronavirus vaccine if one were available, while about a quarter (27%) say they would not. The survey comes amid concerns that activists and others who are hesitant to get vaccinated for other diseases might not get inoculated against the coronavirus.

Majorities across demographic groups say they would get vaccinated for the coronavirus, but there are some differences by race and ethnicity, partisanship, religion and other factors.

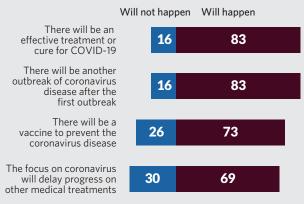
Black Americans are less likely than white and Hispanic Americans to say they would get a vaccine. A little over half of Black adults (54%) say they would, while 44% say they would not. By comparison, 74% of both Hispanic and white adults say they would get a vaccine if one were available. (In a Pew Research Center

survey in 2019, Black adults were also less inclined than white adults to see strong preventive benefits of the measles, mumps and rubella vaccine.)

Republicans and white evangelical Protestants are also somewhat less inclined to get a coronavirus

### Majorities in U.S. Expect COVID-19 Treatment and Vaccine Ahead—as Well as Another Outbreak

% of U.S. adults who say each definitely/probably\_\_\_ in the next 12 months



% of U.S. adults who say if a vaccine were available today, they definitely/probably\_\_\_ get it

	Would not	Would
U.S. adults	27	72

Source: Pew Research Center

vaccine. Among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, 65% say they would definitely or probably do so, while 34% say they would not. Among white evangelical Protestants, 62% say they would get a coronavirus vaccine and 37% say they would not.

The path to new treatments can be a long and uncertain one. The Food and Drug Administration requires new treatments to go through a process of test runs—known as clinical trials—to establish that they are safe and effective in treating people with a specific disease.

In the new survey, about two-thirds of U.S. adults (64%) say the process of clinical trials is very important, "even if it will lengthen the time it takes to develop new treatments." Around 3 in 10 (31%) say the clinical trial

### A Majority in U.S. See Net Benefits of Allowing Access to Experimental Drugs

% of U.S. adults who say \_\_\_\_ in allowing more people access to experimental drugs for treatment of a serious illness or disease BEFORE clinical trials have shown the drug to be safe and effective.

The risks outweigh the benefits and the risks

U.S. adults

The benefits outweigh the risks

The benefits outweigh the risks

Source: Pew Research Center

process is somewhat important, and just 5% say it is not too or not at all important.

Democrats place more importance on clinical trials than Republicans. Around three-quarters of Democrats and Democratic leaners (74%) call this process very important, compared with 54% of Republicans and GOP leaners.

The new survey also asked Americans to consider the overall risks and benefits of access to experimental treatments before the completion of clinical trials. (This process is already happening for some patients with the coronavirus.) Around 6 in 10 Americans (59%) say the benefits of allowing more people to access experimental drugs outweigh the risks, while 40% say the risks outweigh the benefits.

Republicans are more likely to say the benefits outweigh the risks (69% vs. 29%), but Democrats are about evenly divided (50% vs. 48%). Black adults are more likely than white and Hispanic adults to say the risks of experimental treatments outweigh the benefits: A 57% majority of Black adults say this.

Cary Lynne Thigpen is a research assistant and Cary Funk directs science and society research at the Pew Research Center.

# Why State Budget Officials Worry About COVID-19's Impact on Sales Taxes

These revenues helped weather earlier recessions, but they're likely to drop significantly.

By Jeff Chapman and Mike Maciag

Sales taxes have provided a relatively stable source of revenue for states in previous downturns, helping to smooth out the ups and downs in taxes collected from more volatile economic activities such as capital gains, corporate income, or oil extraction. But the coronavirus pandemic and its sudden hit to the economy may be different. With consumer spending severely limited by social distancing and orders for people to stay at home, sales tax revenue is likely to plummet, creating deep holes in state budgets.

Nationwide, total spending on retail and food services from March through May was down 11% from the same period last year. Such a sharp drop in consumer spending poses problems for states and their budget writers because general sales taxes raise nearly onethird of their general tax revenues, according to the latest census survey figures.

Only personal income taxes raise more. General sales taxes are particularly crucial for the six states where they accounted for more than half of all fiscal 2018 tax collections: Florida, Nevada, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and Washington.

In past economic downturns, sales taxes helped to ease at least some of states' losses. For example, Michigan, which typically derives about an equal portion of revenue from sales and individual income taxes, struggled during the Great Recession as major automakers and parts suppliers implemented

massive layoffs. Net individual income tax revenues dropped about 9% in fiscal 2010, but sales tax revenues recorded a marginal increase and helped to mitigate other declines.

A review of tax revenue volatility data over the past two decades from Pew's Fiscal 50 research shows that sales taxes have been a more stable source of revenue than several other taxes—personal or corporate income, severance, and property—in all but four states where they are levied.

Sales taxes have traditionally been more stable than other taxes because household spending usually doesn't drop quite as dramatically as household income. Families don't spend all of their income on taxable retail sales and can use personal savings or debt to maintain spending during tough times.

In the current climate, however, this scenario likely won't hold true. Stores, restaurants, car dealerships, and countless other types of businesses that normally generate tax revenues are either closed or only partially open for business. Many of their customers are opting—or required by local or state governments—to stay at home.

To be sure, sales taxes weren't immune from steep declines in the last recession. Consider Washington—one of the states most reliant on these taxes to fund its budget. Purchases of goods and services subject to the state's sales tax decreased by 4% in 2008 before dropping another nearly 12% when the economy bottomed out in 2009. By 2010, they had fallen a total of more than 15% from their prior peak.

However, loss of sales tax revenue in that period was largely concentrated in specific areas of the economy. As the housing bubble burst nationwide, related spending fell dramatically. The market for auto sales collapsed during the same period. Washington

experienced a 31% total drop in taxable retail sales in construction, two related retail industries (furniture stores and building material stores), and auto sales between 2007 and 2010. The decline in all other industries combined was only 6%.

Complicating today's situation, several industries now subject to state-mandated closures or restrictions because of the spread of the novel coronavirus managed to avoid major losses during the Great Recession. Washington's restaurants and bars, hotels, general merchandise stores, and other types of retail establishments recorded at least slight gains in total taxable sales from 2007 to 2010. These businesses, however, find themselves confronting far greater challenges in the current economic climate. A broader hit to sales taxes—an increasingly likely scenario given all the restrictions in place to mitigate the outbreak—would pose even greater financial hurdles for states than those faced a decade ago.

Although it's difficult to gauge the eventual fiscal impact of the pandemic, early signs aren't promising. Nearly all types of brick-and-mortar retail establishments sustained losses in the government's March sales report. Only grocery stores recorded large gains, but groceries aren't subject to sales taxes in most states. In addition, the latest projections from Moody's predict that sales tax collections will remain depressed throughout most of 2020. If these projections all hold true, what has generally been a dependable source of funding won't provide as much relief for states this time around.

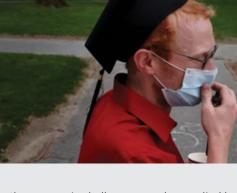
Jeff Chapman is a director and Mike Maciag is an officer with The Pew Charitable Trusts' state fiscal health project.



### How the Pandemic Could Alter Government Higher Education Spending

Historical trends suggest state dollars will drop as federal share increases—but the impact will depend on critical decisions at both levels

By Phillip Oliff and Laura Pontari



Craig F. Walker/The Boston Globe via Getty Images

f past recessions are any guide, the economic challenges resulting from the coronavirus pandemic will likely accelerate the major shift in government support for higher education that has been playing out over the past two decades. Overall, state dollars for colleges, universities, and students have fallen since 2000 while federal funding has risen, after adjusting for enrollment changes and inflation. But there is a great deal of uncertainty, and the actions of both state and federal policymakers will shape the amount and type of public support for students and institutions going forward.

Among the key factors:

- Higher education frequently bears the brunt of state cuts in downturns, but the level of cutbacks will depend on the size of state budget gaps and choices by policymakers.
- Federal aid can mitigate the need for states to make cuts.
- And funding for federal support for students—the largest category of federal spending on higher education—has tended to increase in recessions.

#### State allocations often cut during downturns

In past downturns, state higher education funding has been a major target of recession-driven budget cuts, but the extent this time will depend on the size of the challenge that states face and the actions that policymakers take to address their budget shortfalls.

When the economy weakens, states see revenues drop, creating gaps between the amount of money they take in and the amount they need to sustain services. Policymakers must fill these holes and in past downturns

have relied heavily on spending cuts to do so. And higher education has often taken the biggest hit.

Most recently, state higher education spending fell sharply in the wake of the Great Recession, dropping by 29% per student—adjusted for inflation—between fiscal year 2008, when the recession began, and fiscal 2012 (not including student loans and tax benefits that offset higher education costs).

COVID-19 could present a greater threat to state budgets. The pandemic has already created fierce economic headwinds that are driving down revenues as states face significant additional expenses in responding to the public health emergency and its economic ripple effects.

A few states, including Nevada and Ohio, have already acted, or considered plans, to cut higher education spending.

But the overall size and scope of any cuts will depend on the scale of state budget shortfalls and policy decisions at the state and federal levels. Although the outlook for states appears ominous, policymakers don't yet have the data they need to know the depth of the revenue holes they face. States also can mitigate the need for sudden spending reductions in a downturn through policy actions such as tapping rainy day funds.

### Level of cuts will depend on the amount and nature of federal aid

In recent recessions, the federal government has provided assistance, including money targeted to higher education, to bolster state budgets and economies and lessen the need for state tax increases and spending cuts.

As part of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), Washington provided roughly \$40 billion between 2009 and 2011 to bolster state K-12 and higher education spending. To receive this funding, states had to maintain their education spending at a minimum of 2006 levels. Cumulatively, they used about \$8.3 billion in federal dollars to sustain support for institutions of higher education.

The federal government also provided other support to states in the aftermath of the last recession, most notably by increasing federal funding for Medicaid, the health care program for low-income Americans jointly funded by states and the federal government. Such additional funding can help states pay for health care while also freeing up dollars that can be used to meet spending needs and plug holes elsewhere in their budgets—including higher education.

In response to the pandemic, Congress provided \$30 billion in aid specifically targeted to education in the recently enacted coronavirus relief package. Of that total, \$14 billion will flow directly to public and private postsecondary institutions to help address costs associated with the coronavirus in the current and next fiscal year. And at least half of that money must be spent on emergency grants to students.

Most of the remaining aid will go to K-12 education and flow through the state governments. To draw down that funding, states must maintain most of their K-12 and higher education spending at the average level of the last three years. Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos can waive this requirement for states facing big revenue drops.

In addition, the federal government provided states and localities with \$150 billion specifically to help them address the increased costs of responding to the COVID-19 public health emergency—but not their revenue shortfalls. Congress also boosted states' Medicaid funding again.

State decision-makers expect to need more help that directly addresses their revenue shortfalls. For example, the National Governors Association recently called for an additional \$500 billion in federal aid to respond to the expected budget challenges.

#### Federal funding often rises during a downturn

Federal support for higher education programs has tended to increase as state spending has dropped following recent recessions. In part, this happens automatically as a result of the design of federal programs, but policymaker choices have also played an important role.

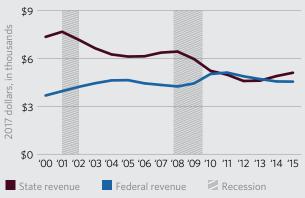
As states cut back during the Great Recession, federal support for postsecondary education spiked. Overall, spending per student rose by 15% between fiscal 2008 and 2012 (not including student loans or tax benefits

that offset higher education costs, and after adjusting for inflation).

Financial assistance to students and families to help pay for higher education amounts to the largest category of federal support. Pell Grants, the American Opportunity Tax Credit, veterans educational benefits, and federal student loans—which, unlike the other programs listed, must be paid back—are among the biggest examples in dollar terms.

#### Federal and State Higher Education Funding Converged Shortly After the Great Recession

Revenue per full-time equivalent student flowing to colleges and universities, by level of government, state 2000-15, adjusted for inflation



Source: The Pew Charitable Trusts

Each of these programs saw significant growth following the Great Recession. In part, this happened in response to trends such as rising enrollments and increasing student financial needs. Higher education enrollment tends to surge during recessions, but the nature of the pandemic has introduced significant uncertainty about whether that will happen this time, particularly in the short term.

Federal policy choices also influence these trends. For example, around the time of the Great Recession, policymakers in Washington expanded who was eligible for, and the amount of aid students could receive through, key programs aimed at helping Americans pay for higher education. All of this suggests a continuing shift from state to federal funding for higher education in the near future, at a time when postsecondary institutions and students face unprecedented challenges. Still, much is unknown about how this will play out.

Phillip Oliff is a senior manager and Laura Pontari is an associate with The Pew Charitable Trusts' fiscal federalism initiative.

### Why Tests for the Virus Were Delayed

Physician and public health expert Joshua M. Sharfstein explains the slow start.

esting for the novel coronavirus in the United States has not kept pace with the enormous demand despite national efforts to ramp up capacity. Increased testing is critical to control the spread of the virus and eventually to enable a return to normal daily life. But from the early stages of the outbreak in the U.S., a number of obstacles—including delays in the development of test kits, critical supply shortages, and unclear guidelines on whom to test—have contributed to ongoing testing shortfalls.



Joshua M. Sharfstein, M.D., the vice dean for public health practice and community engagement at Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, has served as secretary of the Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, principal deputy commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, and commissioner of health for the city of Baltimore. The Pew Charitable Trusts asked him to explain the timeline for how testing was developed and the guidelines for how testing should be prioritized moving forward.

#### Q: In the first few weeks of the coronavirus epidemic, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) developed a test to detect the virus, but it had problems. What happened?

The first test to detect the presence of the 2019 novel coronavirus was developed by CDC under an emergency use authorization (EUA) granted by FDA on Feb. 4, 2020, the same day that the Department of Health and Human Services declared a public health emergency. EUAs are temporary authorizations that permit the use of unapproved medical products—or unapproved uses of approved medical products—in order to respond to a national public health emergency. At first, only CDC was granted an EUA, which meant its test was the only one that could be used to diagnose COVID-19. It began sending initial tests to each state during the first week of February, in roughly equal batches per state.

However, the state labs had trouble getting CDC's test to work, likely due to contamination of one of the reagents, which are chemicals used as part of the testing procedure. This meant that patient samples had to be sent to CDC's Atlanta headquarters for analysis, adding several days to the time it took to get results back. By Feb. 10, CDC had notified FDA about the problems

iteve Pfost/Newsday RM via Getty Images

associated with the test but still hadn't fixed the problem. By Feb. 24, state laboratories contacted FDA, wanting to develop their own tests. But developing those tests took still more time.

In addition, testing was initially limited to only those who had recently traveled to China or had close exposure to someone with the virus, neglecting the emerging community transmission that was simultaneously occurring throughout the country. We needed tests in these areas, but those states didn't have enough tests available during the beginning stages of the outbreak.

#### Q: Why couldn't other labs and hospitals develop their own tests in response to the coronavirus?

During an emergency, FDA has flexibility regarding the requirements it sets for product developers. In this case, FDA initially required labs to submit the tests to the agency for authorization before they could be used on patients. However, given the problems in CDC's lab, this process did not sufficiently boost testing capacity in the early weeks. So on Feb. 29, FDA issued updated guidelines on how labs can perform basic validation for these tests. The agency also said that labs could begin testing patients without FDA authorization as long as they submitted their applications within 15 days of when they began testing. Since that time, the agency has granted authorization to more than 100 tests.

#### Q: How have these actions affected testing capacity?

With the updated guidelines allowing for more tests to be developed, capacity has expanded. However, many labs have reported major supply shortages, both for the reagents that are used to run the tests and key equipment such as swabs. So while the goal of testing everyone with

symptoms of COVID-19 remains a top priority, testing capacity is still inadequate in many parts of the country.

### Q: Who should be getting tests while supplies are limited?

CDC guidelines continue to evolve as we learn more about this disease and as the availability of tests increases. As of June 13, the agency advised that hospitalized patients and health care workers showing virus symptoms should have the highest priority. This will help to maintain the health system infrastructure and lessen the possibility of patients and health care workers getting infected while inside the hospital.

The next priority is those who are at the highest risk of

complications from infection, including the elderly with symptoms, those in long-term nursing care facilities with symptoms, those with underlying conditions who show symptoms, and first responders with symptoms.

After them, the next priority is individuals living in areas with increasing numbers of hospital cases who should be tested to help slow community spread. Testing should still be targeted to health care workers and first responders, critical infrastructure workers (such as grocery store employees) with symptoms, individuals with mild symptoms and who live in communities with a large number of coronavirus hospitalizations, and, finally, individuals who show symptoms but do not meet any of the above categories.

### How Americans Envision a Post-Pandemic World Order

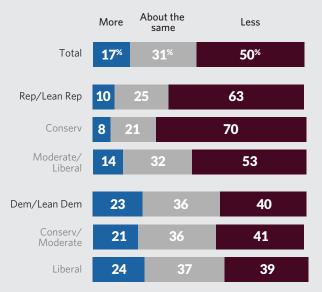
By Mara Mordecai

Any Americans are anticipating changes in the global balance of power and the importance of international cooperation even as the coronavirus outbreak continues to rage across the United States and around the world, according to three recent Pew Research Center surveys. Americans are divided in their outlooks, mainly along ideological lines, but are more united on opinions relating to China's place in the world.

Here are four key findings on how Americans view the reshaping of international relations from surveys of U.S. adults conducted from March to May 2020.

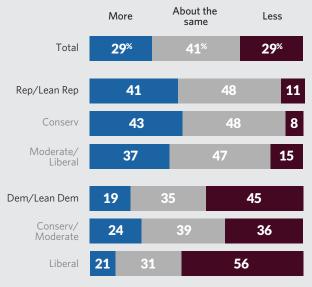
Mara Mordecai is a research assistant focusing on global attitudes at the Pew Research Center.

### Half of Americans Expect China's Global Influence to Wane After the Pandemic



Source: Pew Research Center

#### Many Americans Say the Outbreak Will Have No Impact on Their Country's International Standing



Source: Pew Research Center

### Most Expect the European Union's Influence in World Affairs to Be Unchanged by the Pandemic

	More	About the same	Less
Total	19%	<b>59</b> %	21%
Rep/Lean Rep	13	61	24
Dem/Lean Dem	24	57	18

Source: Pew Research Center

### There Is No Consensus on the Future of Global Cooperation

	Increase thei focus on national interes	will stay	Cooperate more with other countries
Total	29%	34%	35%
18-29	23	46	30
30-49	34	29	37
50+	29	32	37

Source: Pew Research Center









hen he was in college, marine biologist-intraining Octavio Aburto began using a camera as a tool, just as other scientists use microscopes in laboratories. He showed his mother photographs to explain what he was studying at the University of Baja California Sur in Mexico, thinking that if she could understand his work by looking at a photograph, anyone could.

"The general public, and especially decision-makers, can be inspired to make changes if they understand the scientific results that we produce," says Aburto, now director of the Gulf of California Marine Program and a scientist at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography. "Photography is a very good way to convince them or change their perspectives once they realize how important it is to protect and understand marine ecosystems—and how beautiful they are."

Aburto has spent the past decade documenting one such beautiful place—Mexico's Gulf of California, an international hot spot of marine biodiversity. Working underwater, Aburto takes photos of habitat destruction, and through them, shows what places look like when an area is overfished and when the ocean gets warmer.

For his latest project, however, the 2018 Pew marine fellow has been looking down on the Gulf region to research and conserve mangrove ecosystems using overhead drones. Mangrove forests—the trees and shrubs that live in the water between sea and land in tropical and subtropical climates—are natural protectors, shielding coasts from storms, sheltering marine species, and soaking up carbon.

"They are very, very important because they protect the shore, protect the coastal areas for many countries, and produce many benefits for humans, such as offering habitats for many juvenile fish and capturing carbon from the atmosphere," he says. "More carbon, in fact, than any other ecosystem."

But these ecosystems have been disappearing at an alarming rate. In half a century, the world has lost half of its mangroves. Forests are facing competition for resources from human activities, including shrimp aquaculture, the palm oil industry, and tourism development.

To capture an accurate picture of the ecosystems, Aburto's drone photography is combined with high-resolution satellite imagery to produce 3D maps that can distinguish different kinds of mangroves and other plants. These maps can show real-time changes in mangrove coverage and reveal the hidden marine life that lives there.

"My job, of course, is doing science, but also communicating that science in the best way possible," says Aburto, who believes that all researchers have a responsibility to tell stories to convey their work. "Nothing can really happen unless it can be communicated."



Octavio Aburto uses underwater photography to capture science in action and influence conservation.



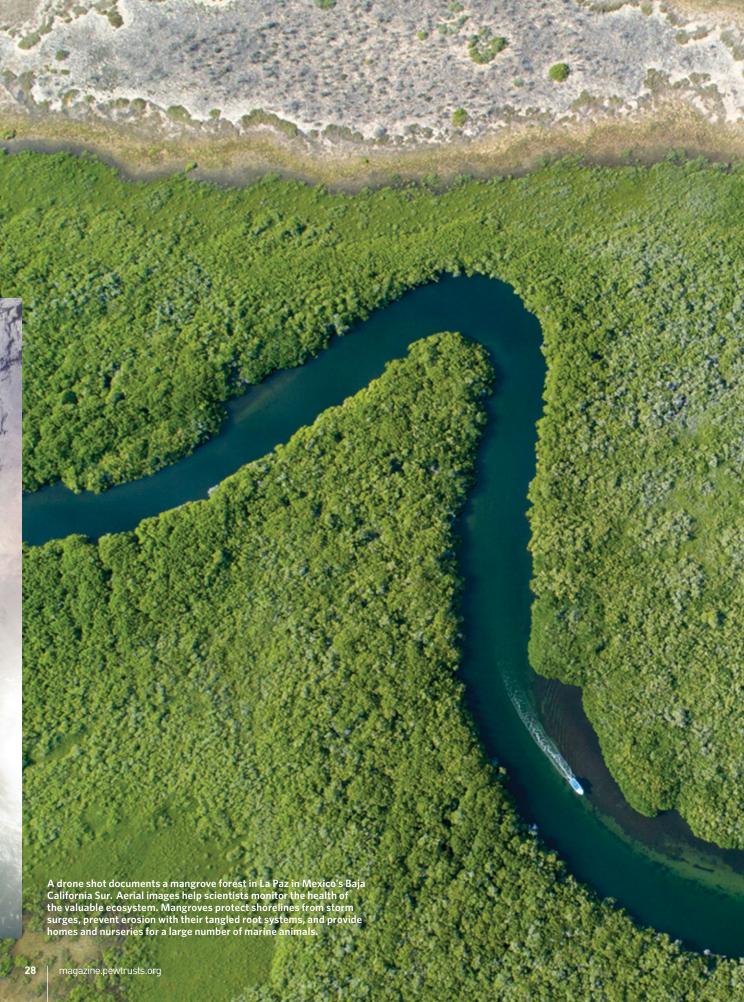
A cylindrical swarm of jack fish dwarfs a lone scuba diver, above, in Cabo Pulmo at the southern tip of the Baja Peninsula in Mexico. Every October and November during a full moon, the jacks come to the water's surface to spawn, an indication of a healthy ecosystem. Aburto spent three years waiting for ideal ocean conditions to capture the swarming phenomenon in a photograph.



A remotely operated vehicle connected to the R/V Rachel Carson, above, captures images in a canyon off Cabo Pulmo, a national park teeming with fish in its shallow waters. But a research team from Monterey Bay Aquarium, the Center for Biological Diversity in La Paz, and a local family dove deeper to produce a map that illuminates the life that lives near the seafloor.







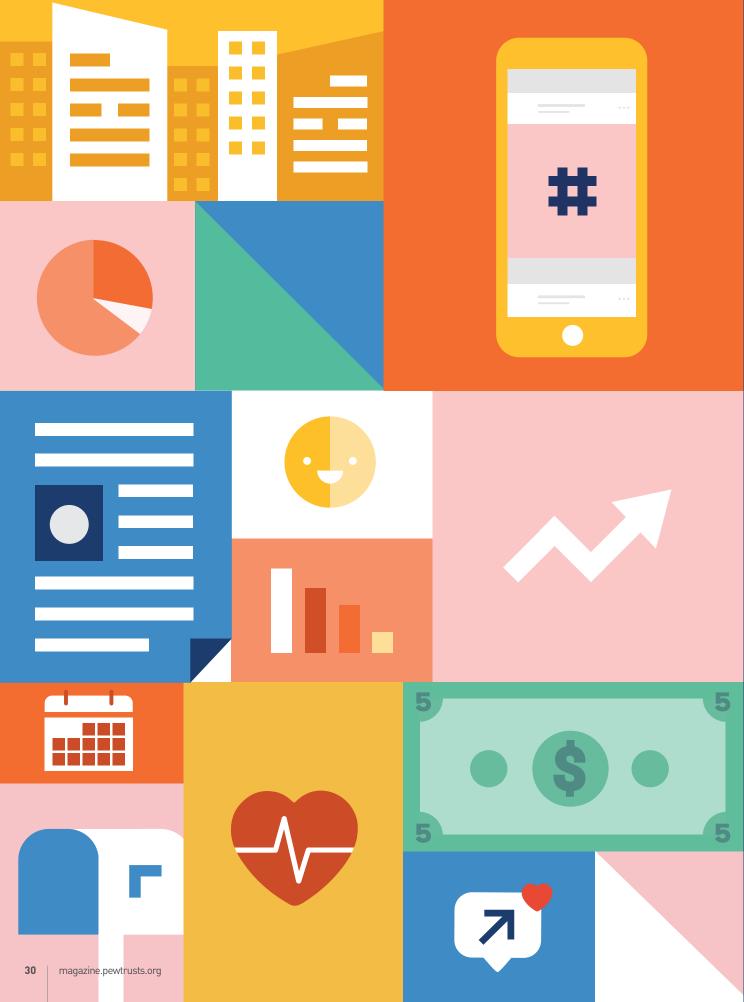




A young crocodile swims in La Encrucijada Biosphere Reserve, where 11 rivers form two lagoon systems. This combination of freshwater and saltwater supports a rich collection of wildlife, including jaguars, river crocodiles, alligators, spider monkeys, and turtles.



A giant manta ray glides through the Pacific Ocean in the Revillagigedo Archipelago National Park in Mexico. Home to a range of marine animals—including whale sharks, dolphins, humpback whales, giant manta rays, and 26 fish found nowhere else on Earth—the wildlife-rich area became a marine protected area with assistance from Aburto—and help from his photographs.





# LivingFacts

An initiative from Pew seeks to share facts about America that inform—and inspire.

By Ann DeFabio Doyle



ade-up news.
Misinformation.
Disinformation. Post-truth. And now, infodemic.

Over the past several years, we've seen a rise in false news and information fueled by a changing media and technology landscape that has made it difficult for people to discern fact from fiction, truth from storyline.

The ripple effects have been profound on our society and culture: Pew Research Center surveys in 2019 found that 89% of Americans said they had often or sometimes come across made-up news and information. Because of that, almost 8 in 10 said they had independently checked facts; roughly 4 in 10 had lessened their overall news intake; and half said they had avoided talking with someone because they thought that person would bring made-up news into the conversation. Long-running surveys also confirmed that public confidence in the government and institutions had hit historic lows.

These findings had special meaning for those of us at The Pew Charitable Trusts, where, quite simply, facts matter. Data is at the core of our work to improve public policy and inform the public; we know that facts can make a difference and can even inspire. So we wanted to respond to these concerns in a meaningful way.

We studied what might work and focused on some key questions: What intrigues Americans today? What do they want to know and how do they want to receive information? And last but not least, can facts be both useful and fun?

We were encouraged by what we learned. Our research showed that people were interested in the

idea of nonpartisan facts being shared more broadly, especially facts about America and Americans today—who we are and how we live. Surveys told us that people wanted facts that, in the words of one respondent, could "bring us together" by helping Americans become more informed about our country through statistics and data. Americans' curiosity, motivation to learn, and patriotism came through loud and clear in the findings and helped validate our initial ideas that yes, facts can be engaging—and can continue to be a bridge to common understanding and greater trust of one another.

Based on these insights, we created Living Facts, an initiative to share facts about our country and its citizens. As our mission statement says, "Our goal is to inform and inspire."

The name "Living Facts" sends the message that this information relates to what Americans believe, do, and think. It provides a snapshot of our nation as it continually grows and changes. And it underscores that each of us is essentially a living, breathing set of facts and beliefs that can help define and illuminate our communities and country.

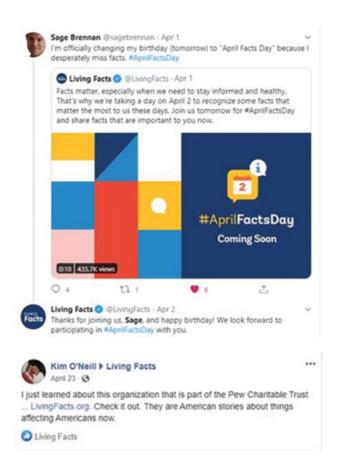
We launched the project in March 2019—sharing facts, quizzes, articles, and videos through the Living Facts website (www.livingfacts.org) and via Twitter and Facebook. The initial response to the information was heartening: One social media follower posted that Living Facts was "the ultimate site for fact seekers" and another said, "It is dispiriting how loosely tied some policy debates are to basic facts that underpin their substance. I'm excited to see that my friends @ pewtrusts are digging in to start to narrow those gaps with @livingfacts."

To begin, we focused on four pillars—demographics, faith, money, and trends. Most of our initial facts came from the Pew Research Center, but we also included data from other nonpartisan and trusted organizations, including such federal agencies as the Census Bureau, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Defense.

Some of the facts are enlightening: Fifty-five percent of American adults say they pray at least once a day; 78% of Americans feel a deep sense of gratitude at least once a week; and 47% of U.S. adults say being outdoors and experiencing nature provides a "great deal" of meaning and fulfillment in their lives.

Some can be sobering: Twenty-six percent of Americans say they have no retirement savings or pension; 8.5% say they didn't have health insurance at any time during 2018; and 1 in 10 Americans said in 2018 that they felt lonely all or most of the time.

Still other facts put a focus on what America will look like in the future as generations evolve: In 2018, 27 was the most common age in the U.S.; between 1965 and 2015, 55% of U.S. population growth



came from new immigrants, their children, and their grandchildren; and in 2016, 53% of Millennials said that they had used a public library in the past year—more than any other adult generation.

In addition to sharing facts, we also developed a way to illuminate the other side of the story by creating the "flip side"—articles and other content about facts when there's an interesting alternate perspective to share. For example, from 2007 to 2010, Generation X households lost 38% of their median net worth, but on the flip side, from 2010 to 2016, Gen X households' median net worth saw a 115% gain. This type of information provides more context about changes in the United States over time that might not be readily apparent if we shared only one fact.

And we recently started sharing videos and other stories as part of our "50 Fascinating Facts" series featuring Americans from all segments of the country today—two older women who began living together as "boommates" to share expenses and company (fascinating fact No. 9 on the list: Thirty-two percent of women age 65 and up live alone, as of 2014); a man whose family has called Gulfport, Mississippi, home since the 1920s (fascinating fact No. 13: Forty-two percent of Americans live in or near the community where they grew up); and the Arapaho and Shoshone



11:27 AM - Nov 12, 2019 - Twitter Web App



The name "Living Facts" sends the message that this information relates to what Americans believe, do, and think.

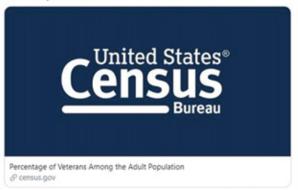


#### We remain focused on the simple premise that facts can inspire people.









Indians of Wyoming, who took matters into their own hands to get digitally connected (fascinating fact No. 11: Fifty-eight percent of Americans living in rural areas say access to high-speed internet is a problem in their area).

The Living Facts database has now expanded to include stats about work, communities, and health. And in early July, we released new content related to American democracy, including facts about our country's history curated from organizations such as the National Constitution Center and the National Archives, as well as information from the Pew Research Center about how Americans view our government, its institutions, the election, and our civic duties. During the 2020 election, we hope that this type of fact-based and nonpartisan information allows Americans to feel more connected to each other while learning engaging facts about our nation.

Beyond the election, we remain focused on the simple premise that facts can inspire people. When you know that 71% of Americans believe that it's better to work with others than be self-reliant, or that about 6 out of 10 Americans say they feel some attachment to their local community, or that 53% of parents say their school-age children have done volunteer work, you gain new insights into America today. And by doing so, over time, facts can become a new, trusted common ground—one that motivates us to learn, connect, and understand.

Ann DeFabio Doyle is vice president of communications at The Pew Charitable Trusts.



Follow Living Facts on social media or visit LivingFacts.org.

### Are You a Coastal Habitats Whiz?

Coastal habitats make up less than 4% of the United States' marine territory, but they provide significant benefits to the ocean, marine wildlife, and the people who live, work, and play along the country's shores. How much do you know about U.S. coastal habitats and the importance of conserving them? Take this quiz to find out.

- How many people in the U.S. live near a coast?
  - a. About 200 million
  - b. 3 million
  - c. 50 million
  - d. Nearly 95 million
- True or false: Once oysters are eaten, their shells shouldn't be put back into the ocean or estuaries because they can slow the growth of new oysters.
  - a. True
  - b. False
- Which U.S. coastal habitats are at risk of degradation or destruction?
  - a. Kelp forests
  - b. Oyster reefs
  - c. Rocky habitats
  - d. Salt marshes
  - e. Seagrass beds
  - f. All of the above
- "Hardened shorelines," such as concrete seawalls and bulkheads, are one strategy to protect the country's coastal communities from flooding and sea level rise. Another approach uses natural barriers to safeguard coastal property and is called:
  - a. Natural shorelines
  - b. Soft shorelines
  - c. Living shorelines
  - d. Green coastlines
  - e. Organic edges

- True or false: All the most valuable coastal habitats are lush, undisturbed plant life.
  - a. True
  - b. False
- The National Estuarine Research Reserve System (NERRS) is a network of 29 protected sensitive coastal areas across 23 states and Puerto Rico. Which activity is allowed in **NERRS** sites?
  - a. Homebuilding
  - b. Kayaking
  - c. Sandboarding
  - d. Spelunking
- True or false? Eelgrass is planted by eels, which expel the seeds, then bury them in rich silt as part of spring mating movements.
  - a. True
  - b. False
- Fill in the blank: Seagrass meadows play 8. important roles in the health of the ocean and coastal communities, such as reducing erosion and providing essential marine habitat. Scientists estimate that a seagrass bed the size of \_\_\_ can provide almost \$30,000 in benefits.
  - a. Two football fields
  - b. Rhode Island
  - c. Lake Superior
  - d. An aircraft carrier

35



#### **Answers**

- 1. Almost **95 million people**—about 29% of the total U.S. population—lived in coastal counties in 2017, the most recent year for which data is available, an increase of 15.3% since 2000. Of that total, about 60 million live in the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico regions, which are the most vulnerable to intense storms such as hurricanes. When healthy, salt marshes, seagrass beds, and other coastal habitats can help blunt the impacts of these serious weather events.
- 2. False. Oyster shells are valuable material for oyster reef restoration. Rather than sending them to landfills, restaurants and other businesses can recycle oyster shells for reef-rebuilding projects. Healthy oyster reefs help reduce erosion, buffer coastal communities from sea level rise and storms, and filter pollutants from the water.
- 3. **All of the above.** All of these coastal habitats are at varying levels of risk from warming ocean temperatures, sea level rise, pollution runoff, and development.
- 4. **Living shorelines.** Coastal habitats offer natural protection for the country's shores and coastal development. When incorporated into coastline conservation and storm mitigation projects, they are called living shorelines. Oyster reefs, seagrass meadows, and other natural formations can reduce reliance on manmade structures that can have significant adverse effects on coastal ecosystems.

- 5. **False.** Ecologically important coastal habitats also are found along rocky shores. In Oregon, rocky habitats make up 41% of the coastline and are among the state's most valuable natural resources, attracting thousands of visitors annually; providing habitat for seabirds, fish, and other marine wildlife; and serving as a living laboratory for scientists and students.
- 6. Kayaking. In addition to facilitating environmental monitoring, stewardship, training and public education, and research, most NERRS sites remain open to many recreational activities, such as kayaking and canoeing, that were allowed before these areas became part of the network.
- 7. **False.** Eelgrass, a type of seagrass, gets its name from its long, eel-like blades, but eels don't cultivate it. Eelgrass beds help stabilize shorelines, provide habitat and shelter for marine wildlife that supports commercial and recreational fishing, absorb climate-warming greenhouse gases in their roots, and help prevent harmful algal blooms.
- 8. **Two football fields.** Research suggests that 2½ acres of seagrass (roughly the size of two football fields) deliver an estimated \$29,000 annually in habitat, erosion control, and other benefits, making seagrass the third-most valuable marine ecosystem, behind only estuaries and wetlands.

### **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.

Painted circles at Dolores Park in San Francisco provide social-distancing guidelines. High-flying drones also have helped law enforcement officers reach out to the public during the coronavirus outbreak. Jane Tyska/Digital First Media/East Bay Times via Getty Images

# Did That Drone Just Tell Us to Stay 6 Feet Apart?

BY LINDSEY VAN NESS

The plan for a pandemic drone didn't last long in Westport, Connecticut.

Within days in late April, the police department of the coastal town outside New York City reversed course on using drone-mounted cameras to scan crowds for fevers and coughs.

The department had said it would use the technology at beaches, train stations, recreation areas, and shopping centers. Biometric readings would help the department

understand population patterns and respond to potential health threats.

Feedback from some of the town's 28,000 residents was quick and laden with concern, Lt. Anthony Prezioso said, so the department canned the program.

"This is not really a time to divide people," Prezioso said. "If this was an issue that would create more angst and division among our community, it wasn't the time."

At least 40 law enforcement agencies across the country have used drones in the past few months for coronavirus-related purposes, according to a Stateline

review of police websites and news reports. Law enforcement drones have hovered over a homeless encampment to invite people to get a free health assessment, flown over parks to check for social distancing, and broadcast messages asking crowds to disperse.

But as in Westport, drones raise the question of what surveillance the public will accept in a tense time. The new measures—monitoring social distance, scanning crowds, testing temperatures—also worry civil liberties advocates and some in the drone industry.

"This is not a time to be, in my opinion, ramrodding the aircraft into the air," said Matt Dunlevy, who owns SkySkopes, a Grand Forks, North Dakotabased drone company.

SkySkopes is testing how drones can be used to deliver supplies or spray disinfectant across areas such as playgrounds, gyms, and stadiums. It is also doing limited indoor testing with a thermal imaging camera.

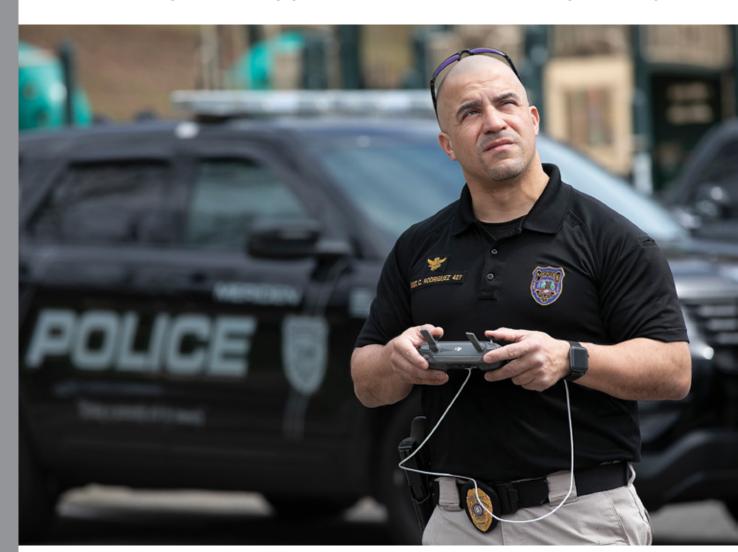
"I think that this is a time to take particular care as to how drones are used," Dunlevy said. "I would personally encourage all drone operators to make sure that they take the utmost care and operate with the utmost sensitivity."

#### **A Versatile Tool**

Roughly 1,100 law enforcement agencies have acquired drones over the past few years, according to research by the Center for the Study of the Drone at Bard College in New York. Agencies tout their uses for evaluating crime scenes and searching for missing persons.

The Federal Aviation Administration requires drone pilots to be certified and keep drones in sight and not above people, with some exceptions. As long as its rules are followed, the agency doesn't regulate how a drone is used.

"I think it's so cool that all these agencies are doing



Police Sgt. Christian Rodriguez operates a drone at Hubbard Park in Meriden, Connecticut. Several police departments have mounted speakers on drones for coronavirus-related purposes, such as asking close-knit crowds to disperse and alerting members of a homeless encampment that free health assessments were available. Dave Zajac/Record-Journal via AP

stuff," said Ian Gregor, a spokesperson for the FAA. "We wrote the authorizations and regulations broadly. When we wrote them, we had no idea we'd be seeing this kind of public health agency use."

Since 2013, at least 44 states have enacted laws addressing drones, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures. For example, some states bar flights over correctional facilities.

At least 18 states require law enforcement agencies to get a search warrant to use a drone for surveillance or to conduct a search, the group said. But those laws leave room for uses such as crowd surveillance and broadcasting social distancing messages, experts said.

"Either of those use cases don't violate the Fourth Amendment because people in public places don't have a reasonable expectation of privacy," said Gregory S. McNeal, a professor of law and public policy at Pepperdine University in California.

"Do we really want to live in a state where we have this ever-present eye in the sky that's collecting information about individuals, about their private, personal health?"

"The other bigger question is whether we as a society want drones flying around as the enforcers of these bureaucratic rules, whether by blaring these commands by speaker or by other means," McNeal said. "That's less of a legal question and more of a social acceptance question."

#### **Robot Government**

Civil liberties advocates worry that the pandemic will push law enforcement agencies to go to extreme lengths to adopt fast-moving technology.

"In a rush to do something, we need to be very cognizant that hastily implemented systems could pose unnecessary and significant risks to privacy, civil rights, and civil liberties," said Kara Gross, legislative director and senior policy counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union of Florida.

Gross pointed to similar civil liberties discussions amid expanded government surveillance after 9/11. "In times of crisis, we are seeing our country relax protections for individuals," she said.

"Do we really want to live in a state where we have this ever-present eye in the sky that's collecting information about individuals, about their private, personal health?" Gross said.

Matthew Guariglia, a policy analyst with Electronic Frontier Foundation, a nonprofit digital rights group based in San Francisco, said he was skeptical of the

accuracy of thermal imaging cameras and questioned their use by law enforcement rather than public health officials. But even sending a drone with loudspeakers toward a crowd gave him pause.

"It normalizes policing and governance by robot," he said. And, he warned, even if a technology is adopted under the guise of short-term use, it's less likely to be removed after the crisis.

"It might be for policing social distancing now, but in seven or eight months it might be sending that drone over protests against a presidential election," Guariglia said.

#### **Mixed Reactions**

The CEO of the company behind the Westport drone program, while commending the department's decision to back out, said he thinks other police departments will give it a try.

"They did the right thing by being transparent about it and providing the community a chance to voice their concern," said Cameron Chell, CEO of Draganfly. The Saskatchewan, Canada-based company with offices in Los Angeles and Raleigh, North Carolina, has been working with public safety agencies for about 15 years.

The thermal imaging software was developed in partnership with the University of South Australia and Australia's defense department, he said. It can detect body temperatures, respiratory rates, and heart rates from 190 feet away. The cameras don't have facial recognition abilities, he said.

"It could provide us real-world information instead of guesses," Chell said.

Chell said he's working with both law enforcement agencies and private industry groups to start more pilot programs. He declined to name any of the groups.

Police in another Connecticut town, Meriden, started a drone program a few months ago with plans to use it to investigate crash scenes and search for missing people. Instead, police have used it to hover over two large parks and see whether residents are social distancing.

"In one snapshot, you can see areas of concern," said Sgt. Jeff Herget. On the first Sunday in May—a warm spring day—the parks were full of families walking and hiking, he said.

Using a speaker on the drone, the police played four or five announcements over about six hours reminding groups to keep a safe distance apart.

Reactions were mixed. Many people at the park responded positively and wanted to see how the drone worked, Herget said, but online commenters were less supportive.

Of ways to use the drones, he said, "I don't think any of us thought we'd be doing social distancing."

Lindsey Van Ness is a staff writer for Stateline.

# New Reforms for Over-the-Counter Drugs

Long-awaited legislation marks the first significant update to federal oversight of these products in nearly half a century

BY CHARLES BABINGTON



In a move designed to streamline regulation of overthe-counter drugs, Congress passed—and President Donald Trump signed—legislation in March that will allow the Food and Drug Administration to move more quickly to address safety concerns and permit manufacturers to more easily market new products.

A coalition of medical organizations, drug manufacturers, and consumer groups, including The Pew Charitable Trusts, had sought the reforms that were the centerpiece of the Over-the-Counter Monograph Safety, Innovation, and Reform Act. The law, which received bipartisan support, was included in the massive coronavirus relief legislation approved by lawmakers and marks the first significant

regulatory changes for over-the-counter medications since 1972.

"This bill improves public health protections and sets us on a path to a modern, streamlined system for regulating drugs that hundreds of millions of Americans use every year," says Liz Richardson, who directs Pew's health care products project.

Pew staff compiled evidence, testified before Congress, and helped create a coalition of public health and provider organizations that built enough support among lawmakers and stakeholder groups to push the package to enactment.

Over-the-counter drugs play a central role in many Americans' lives. Studies show that 4 in 5 adults use

the medications as a first response to minor ailments, and there are more than 300,000 of these drugs on the market, with annual sales of \$35 billion.

Some of these drugs, such as allergy medicines and antacids, are regulated like prescription medications: FDA reviews clinical data and other materials submitted by the drug manufacturers and then determines whether the products are safe and effective enough for sale.

But the great majority of over-the-counter drugs are regulated differently, through an FDA-administered process known as the monograph system; the monographs cover product categories such as cold and cough treatments, pain relievers, and antiperspirants. A monograph describes the active ingredients allowed in a product category; the acceptable forms for the drug, such as capsule, liquid, or topical cream; the dosages or concentrations; and required labeling. If a manufacturer's product falls within the parameters described in the monograph, it can be marketed without FDA review or approval.

Sometimes, however, new research suggests the ingredients in a monograph are less safe than previously thought. In those cases, under the old law, FDA had to go through a complex notice-and-comment rule-making process to make changes. The process typically took many years, sometimes decades.

For example, FDA updated rules for hand sanitizer in 2016, more than 40 years after beginning the monograph update process. That was 16 years after researchers began raising safety concerns about active ingredients in some of these products. Until the changes, the monograph permitted ingredients such as triclosan, an antibacterial agent that has been linked to impaired muscle function and is absorbed into the bloodstream more easily than previously thought.

Another example of lengthy delay involves cough and cold medicines for which no monograph changes have been made since 1987, even as serious safety risks have been identified. The current monograph permits labeling that says the products are appropriate for anyone age 2 or over, even though these drugs were associated with the deaths of more than 100 children under age 6 between 1969 and 2006. In 2007, an FDA advisory committee recommended against use of these products for this age group, but the original monograph still stands. It means these products can still be legally marketed for children as young as 2, although manufacturers have voluntarily agreed not to label them for children under 4.

In short, the system "was in desperate need of modernization," according to Scott Melville, president and CEO of Consumer Healthcare Products Association, which was part of the coalition seeking the reforms.

There were many reasons for these inefficiencies, starting with FDA's limited resources. Before passage of the new law, the agency had fewer than 30 full-time

employees working on the monograph process, with an annual budget of less than \$10 million. Mandates from Congress and the courts focused most of these resources on specific products, including sunscreens and antibacterial soaps.

In addition, obtaining and distilling information on over-the-counter products was a hodgepodge process for regulators. Unlike information about prescription drugs and medical devices, data on over-the-counter products was not submitted in standardized formats. FDA reviewers typically had to sift through years of often outdated and unorganized material and then try to reshape it in a format allowing useful reviews. The agency had no authority to require specific data from manufacturers, so the drugmakers weren't obligated to submit negative evidence.

This required FDA staffers to search scientific literature or to commission research to resolve any data gaps before changing a monograph's status. Still other steps for a proposed change to over-the-counter products included obtaining projected cost implications from the White House Office of Management and Budget.

"It was a complex process," Richardson says.
"When combined with the FDA's limited resources
and restricted authority to seek adequate data from
manufacturers, it was really hard for the agency to
analyze the evidence, act on safety concerns, and
accommodate innovation."

By contrast, FDA could review and approve a new prescription drug application in less than a year.

The new law will make it much easier for FDA to respond to safety issues and innovation and to more quickly update monographs to reflect the latest science, with decision-making resting with agency scientists as it does with prescription drugs. The law also establishes fees, to be paid by the drug industry, that will enable FDA to expand staff, finalize long-pending monographs, and remove ineffective or potentially harmful products from stores.

The coalition that prompted the reforms included a range of medical groups such as the American Academy of Pediatrics, whose CEO, Mark Del Monte, calls the legislation "an important victory for children's health."

"Pediatric labeling on older drugs is based on evidence that no longer meets current safety and efficacy standards or on incorrect assumptions about how adult data should inform the labeling of drugs for children," he says.

The new law, he says, will make it easier for FDA "to keep up with the latest scientific developments and address safety concerns."

Charles Babington is a Washington journalist and frequent contributor to Trust.

#### TALKING POINT

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



BY HOLLY BINNS AND JOSEPH GORDON

Did you know a raw oyster is still alive as you eat it? Or that people have consumed them since prehistoric times? Or that oysters filter and clean water while they eat?

Oysters play a big role in marine and coastal environments but face many threats, from pollution to changing ocean conditions to dredging. That's why it's critical to restore reefs and safeguard oyster habitat. Here are 15 things you might be surprised to learn about Eastern oysters:

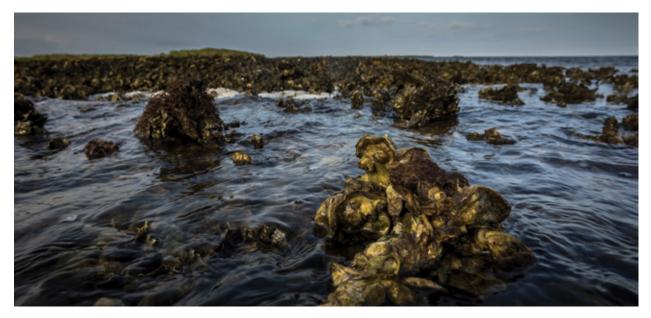
- A healthy adult oyster can filter the amount of water it takes to fill a small bathtub every day. Oysters feed by pumping water through their gills and in the process capture algae and other particles, sort of like a strainer. So by cleaning the water, oysters help maintain the balance of their ecosystems.
- Oysters change gender. Most start out male, but some change to female after they spawn once or twice.

- Oyster reefs are one of the most imperiled marine habitats on Earth, with 85% to 90% of wild reefs lost over the past century.
- Very few oysters produce jewelry-quality pearls on their own; that usually requires a human prying open a cultivated oyster's shell to insert a grain of sand or other seeding material. Oysters make pearls when such foreign substances lodge in their shells. The oyster deposits layers of nacre, the material that makes up pearls, around the foreign body to wall it off and reduce irritation.
- To reproduce, oysters spawn tiny larvae that move through the water and settle on a surface, such as other oyster shells, where they will grow for the rest of their lives. Once attached, these larvae are called spat. As generations of spat grow into adults, they form oyster beds or reefs.
- Oyster reefs help diffuse energy from storms and tides, which helps safeguard coastlines by preventing erosion and protecting estuary waters that serve as breeding grounds for marine life. Extremely strong storms can bury or move these reefs.
- Oysters live in brackish and saltwater bays, estuaries, tidal creeks, shallow ocean areas, and intertidal zones—regions submerged at high tide and exposed at low tide.
- Many marine animals hide from predators in oyster reefs and eat tiny organisms that are drawn there. Reefs host animals ranging from crabs, mussels, and snails to herring, anchovies, and menhaden. These environments provide food for turtles, shorebirds, and recreationally and commercially valuable fish such as red drum, flounder, striped bass, and spotted sea trout.

- Oysters have three-chambered hearts that pump colorless blood throughout their bodies. They breathe with gills, just like fish.
- Wild oysters can live 25 to 30 years, but typically most don't survive past six years.
- Eastern oysters are prey for stone crabs, fish such as black drum, some kinds of sea snails, and sponges that bore holes in ovster shells to find homes.
- Today, oyster populations are at historic lows. Erosion from development, along with wetland loss, pollution, overharvesting, changing ocean conditions, freshwater discharges, disease, and damaging fishing gear have wiped out some populations and caused others to
- Oyster shells are recyclable. Restaurants and other groups in coastal communities collect them to build new reefs.
- Governments, conservation groups, researchers, and others along America's coastlines are building new reefs from recycled shells, concrete, and crushed limestone. They are also growing oysters in tanks and farms to meet consumer demand.
- Some oyster reefs are set aside as sanctuaries—places where oysters are left alone so their populations can recover and potentially spread even beyond the sanctuary boundaries.

For small mollusks, oysters play an outsize role in coastal communities, so protecting and restoring them makes sense for economies, the marine environment, and our plates.

Holly Binns directs The Pew Charitable Trusts' U.S. Conserving Marine Life program in the Gulf of Mexico and U.S. Caribbean; Joseph Gordon directs the program along the Atlantic coast.



Oyster reefs are exposed during low tide in Crystal River, Florida. Charlie Shoemaker for The Pew Charitable Trusts

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#### LESSONS LEARNED

# **Informing Public Debate**

Evaluations of Pew's work provide lessons for effective communications and other strategies that engage the public and contribute to meaningful policy changes.

BY LES BAXTER AND NICOLE TRENTACOSTE

Pew's evaluation team commissions external experts to examine our past work, seeking not only to highlight successes and failures, but to provide lessons that can inform the institution's ongoing and future projects. Our evaluation team also analyzes these reviews to look for effective practices that have been used across a number of Pew's projects to identify broader lessons that can help guide future work. One of these recent cross-topic reviews provides a window on the ways Pew has successfully influenced debate on important topics that have led to improvements in public policies.

The review identified three key approaches that can influence public debate in ways that promote progress toward solutions: raising the profile of issues, especially those that have not previously received much attention; developing language that can describe issues in ways that can overcome barriers to dialogue; and finding and amplifying diverse voices to help carry relevant messages to policymakers.

**Raising the profile:** Pew's research can contribute to increasing an issue's visibility and salience, presenting data in a clear and compelling way that draws audiences.

An example of this is Pew's work on public retirement systems that began in 2007 and has called attention to the financial issues that state governments were facing from their pension obligations for their workers. According to an evaluation of this work, Pew's early research on pensions brought some of the first national attention to funding gaps and investment risk-taking, which was sustained over time as media outlets continued to cite Pew's work, particularly in states that had some of the largest funding problems.

This research helped Pew to be seen as a neutral, expert partner. Policymakers from both parties invited Pew into specific states and jurisdictions to provide custom analysis that addressed the cost-effectiveness of various solutions unique to their location. Pew's reputation for high-quality, nonpartisan research allowed Pew to build a fact-based foundation for the reform process among policymakers who were normally at odds.

Similarly, Pew research on clean energy raised the profile of that issue by presenting clear and accessible information on a technical and complex subject. An evaluation showed that readers of project reports appreciated their focus on the state-level details of clean energy policies. News reporters plumbed the reports to write stories of local and regional interest, and advocates used them to create talking points personalized to the states and districts of members of Congress.

And key messages derived from research reports were often conveyed by highly respected experts and retired military leaders, increasing the reports' credibility and helping to reach high-level officials who might not have had time to directly review the underlying reports.

"Raising the profile ... is not a specific policy win," one of the outside evaluators noted about the clean energy communications efforts, "but it underlies all progress made and that will be made."

**Enabling productive debate:** When those with differing views hunker down and resist change on an issue, it often helps to reframe the debate and find common ground that allows new thinking about an old issue.

An example of this was Pew's approach to reforming criminal corrections policies and practices. That work began in 2005 when mandatory minimum sentences and "three strikes and you're out" laws were at their apex and political candidates were concerned about being labeled as "soft on crime."

Pew's strategy was to help people think about the United States' criminal justice system in a different way, by developing research that conveyed the costs to states for the corrections system, drivers of prison growth, and effects on public safety.

A 2008 Pew report documented the growth of incarceration since the 1970s and the associated costs to taxpayers. It powerfully conveyed for the first time what was happening in the nation's justice system:

One in 100 adults in the United States were in prison, a statistic that became a reference point for the media and policymakers.

Pew also helped reframe the national dialogue about corrections by engaging groups that favored fiscal

conservatism and used traditional language about the need to be "tough on crime." The evaluation of that work showed that engaging these groups helped generate a bipartisan approach to build support for evidence-based approaches to justice reform and narrowed the gap between the right and left on how such reform could be achieved. Victims' rights groups, the business community, and evangelicals joined the call, and media coverage began to change. In 1995 a Dallas Morning News story stated: "Texas must continue being tough on crime." By 2010, a headline in Austin American-Statesman asked "Tough on crime? Check. Smart on crime? Not so much."

Still another example of how to effectively frame debate around an issue was Pew's work to ensure that the votes of U.S. military members and other citizens living overseas were counted. A 2009 report documented how the existing voting system simply did not provide these voters with enough time to acquire, complete, and return ballots. The report offered practical, feasible recommendations that would give military and citizens overseas the time to vote and more options for transmitting ballots. The evaluation of that project found that Pew's study was effective not because it offered new solutions to the problem (it didn't), but because of the directness and clarity of its presentation, including a first-ever analysis showing which states failed to provide their military members with adequate voting time.

The evaluation also noted that the framing of the issue was effective because it identified a specific group—the military—which helped to bring both parties to the table; removed partisan overtones by focusing on flaws in the system rather than placing blame on individuals; challenged assumptions by providing facts; and kept the message simple.

In the end, the work motivated influential senators to support reform legislation.

Finding and amplifying diverse voices: While data and research are fundamental to Pew's approach, compelling personal narratives often bring facts and figures to life, especially when they come from individuals who have been previously overlooked by policymakers. The evaluation review showed that Pew's experience in seeking out those voices often helped influence policy debates.

A good illustration of this was Pew's safe food project, which sought to reduce health threats from foodborne pathogens by strengthening federal authority and enforcement of food safety laws. The project found and enlisted victims of foodborne pathogens and brought them to Washington, D.C., to tell their stories to members of Congress and federal regulators.

An evaluation found that the stories told by these victims helped to cut through the politics of food safety and demonstrated that anyone, in any congressional district, could contract foodborne illness, helping to prompt new food safety legislation that was signed into law in 2011. After the enactment, Pew continued to support broad participation in the rulemaking process at the U.S. Food and Drug Administration so that affected individuals could participate in public meetings—a process sometimes dominated by concerns raised by the regulated industry.

On a completely different topic, Pew used a comparable approach in enlisting under-represented voices. Pew's efforts to conserve U.S. public lands regularly seeks local constituencies who are closest to the landscapes that need protection and who appreciate the environmental, recreational, cultural, and economic value these places provide to local communities and the nation.

A decade ago, Pew worked with a coalition of environmental groups and Indigenous communities to seek a plan that balanced habitat protection with guidance for the oil and gas industry in the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska. In 2013, the federal government decided to restrict oil and gas development on 13.4 million acres of the reserve where the Inupiaq people rely on migratory caribou for traditional subsistence. (In June, however, the Trump administration proposed expanding the area open to development by nearly 7 million acres.)

The evaluation of that work showed Pew was a key intermediary and negotiator between members of the local coalition, and decision-makers in Washington, D.C. And it noted that Pew's gathering of "authentic expressions from native villages were respected in the planning process more than letters that could simply have been sent by conservation groups."

A lesson for our strategy team is that we should work with our program and communications colleagues to make more deliberate and conscious choices about when "influencing the conversation" on an issue will be key to a strategy's long-term success.

The ultimate yardstick for measuring the success of any project is whether it reaches its goals. But the analysis of these evaluations shows that influencing public debate can be a significant achievement for a project—and help lay the foundation for its ultimate success.

Les Baxter is vice president at The Pew Charitable Trusts, leading work ranging from generating ideas for new projects and larger bodies of work to strengthening program strategies and initiatives. Nicole Trentacoste is Pew's director of evaluation and program learning.

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# When Art Is a 'Necessity'

Philadelphia artist Wilmer Wilson IV discusses why art must have 'contact with the everyday.'

Visual artist Wilmer Wilson IV works across mediums, including performance, sculpture, collage, video, photography, and installation, to explore the nature and social value of ephemera and bodily presence in public spaces. Appropriating everyday objects that constitute, in his words, "the marginal shadows of collective life's grand narratives," Wilson works with materials such as paper bags, staples, stickers, postage stamps, and discarded lottery tickets. Based in Philadelphia, he was named a Pew arts fellow in 2017, and his work has been presented at the National Portrait Gallery; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; The Barnes Foundation; and other notable venues. This interview was conducted with the Pew Center for Arts & Heritage.



## How did you become an artist? Is there a particular experience that drove you to this choice?

Art came to me at a time when other modes of communication had failed me. It gave me permission to do gestures that might be able to hold the contradictions of embodied experience. I had casually made art here and there before, but it wasn't until I took a photography class in high school that I was able to understand its usefulness, and that happened almost instantly. It really felt like a necessity to make art, rather than a choice, and it still does.

#### What is your daily art-making routine?

I organize my routines by week more so than by day. I am not very good at multitasking, so having long blocks of time is the only way I can productively engage with a particular thing. I will do a full week of reading, or spend a week in the studio, or take a week to synthesize thoughts into language, or take a week to have conversations with friends and strangers. Perhaps the one consistent routine is walking, around the city or elsewhere. It's a time when I can let things process internally and also take in things happening outside of my controlled space that couldn't be imagined or anticipated. It helps me get out of my own ruts of thought.

# Your work often engages with bodies and objects in public places. How do you think about your work, and the viewer's experience of it, in public spaces versus in a gallery/museum setting?

I think art, which includes its historical institutions, is a useful framework for generating gestures that diverge from everyday patterns of being. But I feel strongly that in order to retain any destabilizing social potential, art then has to re-establish contact with the everyday. The most exciting, urgent, and relevant works are the ones that can be on the fence about what they are—maybe they're art, maybe they're not. Outside of art institutions, it is easier to access the moments, however short, where a work of art is not perceived as such. How else might such gestures be used or interpreted, beyond being art?

"The most exciting, urgent, and relevant works are the ones that can be on the fence about what they are—maybe they're art, maybe they're not."

### What images or things keep you company in the space where you work?

I don't like to valorize the spaces in which I work, because I want to stay flexible and disciplined enough to continue working even in places or times that don't seem ideal. I will say that I enjoy being surrounded by the right amount of clutter. Both my cleaner workspace and my studio are basically filled with publications, paper, prints, tools, wood, fabric, salt blocks, dishwashing racks.



Wilmer Wilson IV's iconic large-scale photographic prints, made with staples and ink on paper (above and below), as well as a billboard-style installation comprise "Slim ... you don't got the juice," the artist's first solo exhibition in Manhattan showcased at the Susan Inglett Gallery. Courtesy of Susan Inglett Gallery

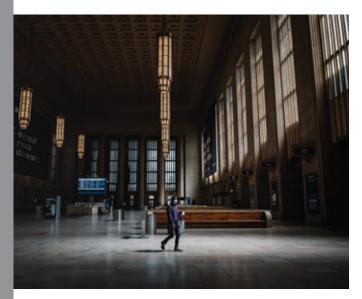
## What was the first work of art that really mattered to you? Did it influence your approach to your work?

My mom, Holly Seon-Wilson, has consistently made and shown work for as far back as I can remember. During my childhood, she employed a spare compositional sensibility and an unusual application of watercolor on canvas to interpret the performances of her favorite jazz musicians. We would always have a good laugh when the occasional viewer would see her work and indignantly walk away remarking, "My kid could do that!" Some people just couldn't make sense of the abstracted ways she painted her figures. Being immersed in her innovative style growing up, I never acquired the belief that the most literal representational modes inherently created a richer or more objective experience of their subjects than those that were less direct. This mistrust of icons is one of the animating tensions in my work.



# Will the COVID-19 Pandemic Reverse Philadelphia's Progress?

BY LARRY EICHEL AND JASON HACHADORIAN



30th Street Station was nearly deserted in April as Philadelphia came to a halt. Hannah Yoon/Bloomberg via Getty Images

Every spring since 2009, The Pew Charitable Trusts has gathered data from numerous sources for our "State of the City" report on Philadelphia. But this year, because of COVID-19, the findings must be seen in a different light.

The numbers we've assembled this year can only serve as a reminder of how the city was doing before the pandemic arrived. But that reminder is useful, perhaps even essential, because it helps focus attention on the long-standing issues that await Philadelphia once the current situation ends—issues including poverty, jobs, and crime.

When 2020 began, as our new report indicates, Philadelphia's story was largely one of success, building upon years of economic progress and demographic change, albeit against a backdrop of persistently high poverty and a rise in violent crime that has the potential to alter the city's overall trajectory.

The population rose for the 13th consecutive year in 2019, the share of Philadelphians with college degrees grew, and the local economy continued a years-long record of expansion. The job count was at its highest

since 1990, and median household incomes had risen by a healthy margin in the past few years.

But the threat to public safety was becoming hard to ignore. In 2019, violent crimes rose 7.2%. The number of homicides reached 356 in 2019, or nearly one per day, a figure essentially unchanged from the previous year but up nearly 45% since 2013. And in the early months of 2020, the homicide rate was on track to be even higher.

The rise in crime came at a time when concern about public safety was already one of the main reasons people were leaving Philadelphia, according to a Pew poll, and when many other cities were seeing a drop in homicides.

Philadelphia officials had attributed the increase in homicides in part to opioid misuse, which has affected neighborhoods throughout the city and put a strain on the health care system even before COVID-19 hit.

The context for much of this, of course, is Philadelphia's enduring challenge with entrenched poverty, which city officials have long seen as Philadelphia's core problem. Nearly 380,000 Philadelphians live below the poverty line.

After the pandemic wanes and the human and financial tolls have been recorded, the city may face new questions about these familiar topics. Will the city stop growing? Will the spike in unemployment be a short-term setback or a long-term problem? Will the rise in homicides continue—or will Philadelphia be a less violent place when the pandemic ends? What will happen to those living at or near the poverty line? Will the poverty rate rise?

In normal times, we'd look to the recent past to offer answers. But in 2020, and perhaps even beyond, that approach may no longer work.

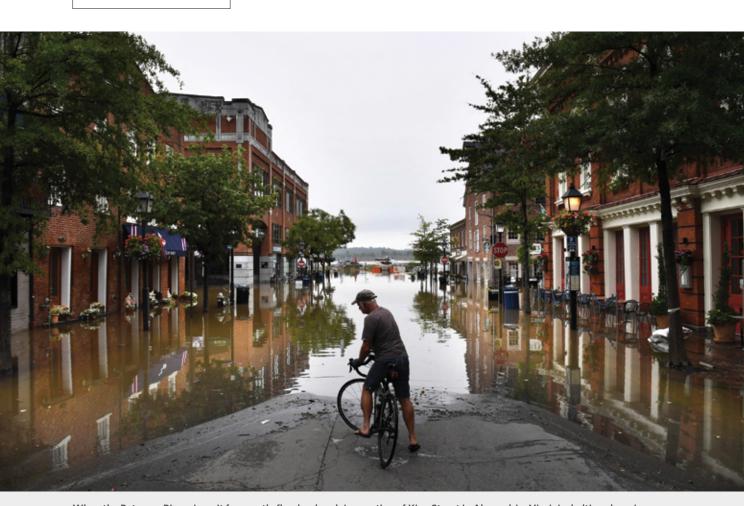
A version of this article appeared in The Philadelphia Inquirer on April 7, 2020.

Larry Eichel is a senior adviser and Jason Hachadorian is a senior associate with Pew's Philadelphia research and policy initiative.

#### RETURN ON INVESTMENT

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

IMPROVING PUBLIC POLICY



When the Potomac River rises, it frequently floods a low-lying portion of King Street in Alexandria, Virginia, halting shopping, restaurant service, and traffic. A new state loan program will help fund activities to reduce flood risks. Matt McClain/The Washington Post via Getty Images

#### Virginia creates flood preparedness fund

A new Virginia law went into effect on July 1 creating the Virginia Community Flood Preparedness Fund, a revolving loan program to fund activities to reduce flood risk. Created by the legislature in March, the program will support buying out repeatedly flooded properties, restoring floodplains, installing living shorelines, and similar activities. The fund will receive up to \$45 million annually from the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative, a

market-based cap and trade program the state recently joined that seeks to reduce carbon emissions. Pew, which promoted creation of the loan program, released a poll in January showing that 84 percent of registered voters in the state—across party lines—favored this type of investment for community flood risk reduction.

#### High sea areas identified for protection

In March, Pew released a report identifying priority ocean areas that could benefit from protections established under a new high seas treaty. The report highlights 10 sites with important features, such as species richness, productivity, and habitat diversity, and includes recommendations to inform the negotiations to finalize a legally binding international agreement on high seas protections. The report, for example, features the Lord Howe Rise and South Tasman Sea, an area between Australia and New Zealand. The region provides marine megafauna such as humpback whales refuge from predators, and rich breeding and feeding grounds along their migratory route. The report, published in the journal *Marine Policy*, will help inform the final negotiating session on the U.N. high seas treaty expected to take place later this year.

#### Northern Australia gets marine park

In April, Australia's Northern Territory parliament approved the Limmen Bight Marine Park, covering 218,440 acres of remote tropical seas along the country's northern coastline. Pew and its partner, the Australian Marine Conservation Society, had worked to promote creation of the park since 2013, engaging with fishing interests, local Indigenous people, and the Northern Territory government. The park contains a variety of coastal and marine habitats, including beaches, mangroves, seagrass beds, and coral reefs, and provides critical feeding grounds for dugongs (a type of sea cow) and sea turtles such as the flatback turtle. The state park adjoins the Limmen Marine Park in offshore federal waters and the Limmen National Park on land, both established following advocacy by Pew, and brings the contiguous protection now on land and sea in the region to 2.8 million acres.

#### Landmark payday loan reform becomes law in Virginia

In April, Governor Ralph Northam signed into law reforms for consumer finance loans in Virginia. Until now, Virginia had some of the weakest laws in the country for payday and auto title loans, allowing lenders to charge borrowers three times more than they do in other states, with annual percentage rates regularly exceeding 200 percent. Pew worked extensively in support of the new law, which is modeled after successful reforms in Ohio and Colorado. The new law takes a balanced approach to maintaining a viable market for lenders while ensuring that consumers have widespread access to credit, affordable payments, and a sensible amount of time to repay. Pew estimates that Virginia families will save more than \$100 million annually. Because of the coronavirus pandemic, Gov. Northam moved up the law's enactment date by six months, to Jan. 1, 2021, which will save consumers an additional \$50 million.



## New federal rules improve care and public health

The federal government in March released a pair of long-awaited rules that will give patients greater access to their health data and improve the flow of information across care settings. These rules, issued by the Office of the National Coordinator for Health Information Technology and Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services, advance goals for better record interoperability and patient access that were set in the bipartisan 21st Century Cures Act.

This major regulatory update to America's health IT infrastructure comes at a time of unprecedented pressure on the nation's health care system because of the rapid spread of the novel coronavirus. Pew conducted research to inform the rules and assembled a coalition of physician groups and industry representatives to support the effort. The pandemic has reinforced the need for on-demand, remote access to health data for patients and providers. Although these rules do not solve every health IT challenge, they represent important steps toward improving the ability of patients and clinicians to access data from electronic health record systems.

#### INFORMING THE PUBLIC

#### Survey finds U.S. adults not polarized over census response

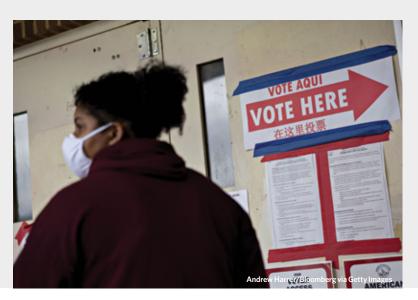
The Pew Research Center in March published a report examining U.S. adults' attitudes about the 2020 U.S. census, their awareness of the survey, and their intent to participate. Notably, in an era in which opinions on a host of national issues fall along political lines, perceptions about the U.S. census largely are not polarized, according to the survey. Republicans and Democrats (including those who lean toward each party) are about equally likely to say they plan to respond. Similar majorities of Democrats and Republicans also say they believe that census results

will not benefit one party more than the other, and majorities of both say the 2020 census will at least be somewhat successful in accurately counting the number of people living in the U.S. Eight in 10 U.S. adults say they definitely or probably will participate in the census, similar to the 78% who said so in a January Pew Research Center survey. Although 8 in 10 U.S. adults said they definitely or probably will participate in the census, intent was lower among some historically undercounted groups, such as Black and Hispanic adults.

### Record number of naturalized immigrants eligible to vote

In February, the Pew Research Center published a report, based on Census Bureau data, showing that more than 23 million U.S. immigrants will be eligible to vote in the 2020 presidential election, making up roughly 10% of the nation's overall electorate; both statistics are record highs. The number of immigrant eligible voters has increased steadily over the past 20 years, up 93% since 2000. By comparison, the U.S.-born eligible voter population grew more slowly (by 18%) over the same period, from 181 million in 2000 to 215 million in 2020. Immigrant eligible voters are those ages 18 and older born outside of the United States who have gained U.S. citizenship through naturalization. Although coming from countries around the globe, most are Hispanic or Asian, with immigrants from Mexico making up the single largest group at 16% of foreign-born voters. More than half of all U.S. immigrants (56%) live in the country's four most populous states: California, New York, Texas, and Florida.





#### High importance to gender equality around the globe

A Pew Research Center report on international views of gender equality published in April found that a median of 94% across the 34 nations polled think it is important for women in their country to have the same rights as men. In many countries, women place more importance on gender equality than men do. However, women are less optimistic than men that women in their countries will achieve equality, and women are more likely to say men have better lives. Although publics around the world embrace

the idea of gender equality, at least 4 in 10 think that men generally have more opportunities than women in their country when it comes to getting high-paying jobs (a median of 54% across the countries surveyed) and being leaders in their community (44%). Publics see more equity in access to a good education—a median of 81% believe that men and women in their country generally have the same opportunities in this area—and expressing their political views (63% say men and women have the same opportunities).

In the Manhattan financial district, a girl stands elbow to elbow with the Fearless Girl statue, which was created to encourage gender diversity in the workplace.  $Noam\ Galai/Getty\ Images$ 



#### Americans' views on economic status

The Pew Research Center in March released a report finding that nearly two-thirds of U.S. adults (65%) say the main reason that some people are rich is because they have had more advantages in life than most other people, while far fewer say it is due to their work ethic (33%). An even larger majority (71%) says people are poor because they have faced more obstacles in life. Only about a quarter (26%) say people are poor because they have not worked as hard. These views are also deeply divided along partisan lines. Large majorities of Democrats and Democratic-

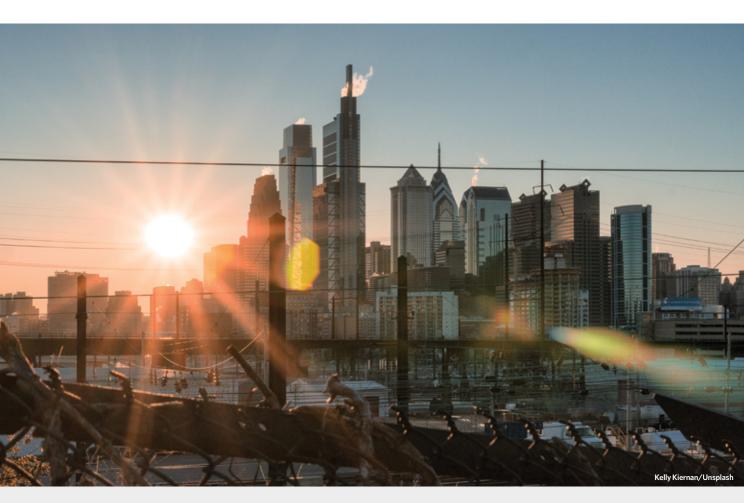
leaning independents say that advantages in life have more to do with why someone is rich (82%) and that having faced more obstacles has more to do with why someone is poor (86%). Opinions among Republicans and Republican leaners are more divided: 53% say hard work has more to do with why a person is rich, while 45% say it is because they have more advantages. On views of why a person is poor, 55% of Republicans say it is more because they have faced obstacles that most others have not, while 42% say it is more because they have not worked as hard as most others.

#### INVIGORATING CIVIC LIFE

#### The state of Philadelphia

On April 7, the Philadelphia research and policy initiative published its annual "State of the City" report, describing the generally positive trajectory of the city before the arrival of COVID-19. At the start of 2020, the city's job count was at its highest level since 1990, unemployment was historically low at 5.2%, the

population was growing, and the educational attainment level of residents was rising. But a rise in violent crime, particularly homicide, had become a central element of Philadelphia's story, with the potential to undercut the city's progress when paired with its chronically high poverty rate.



#### Help for Philadelphia during the coronavirus

The Pew Fund for Health and Human Services in May announced \$6.8 million in grants to help 38 area nonprofit organizations assist some of the most vulnerable adults in the community, including those struggling with homelessness, mental health issues, and extended unemployment. The funding will help organizations address these residents' critical needs, including those exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Pew also is giving all grantees more flexibility in the use of funding to help them adapt, sustain and, in some cases, expand their programs. In addition, the Pew Center for Arts & Heritage will provide additional operating support to current grantee organizations and an additional \$2,500 each to current Pew arts fellows, for a combined total of more than \$535,000, to help the arts organizations and artists offset lost revenue.

53

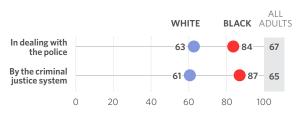
#### **END NOTE**



Protests across the United States in the wake of George Floyd's death in the custody of Minneapolis police brought new attention to questions about police officers' attitudes toward Black Americans, protesters, and others. The public's views of the police are also in the spotlight. The Pew Research Center developed 10 points that illuminate the intersection of race and law enforcement based on its survey findings from recent years.

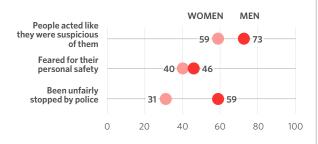
1. Majorities of Black and white Americans in a 2019 survey said Black people are treated less fairly than white people in dealing with the police and by the criminal justice system as a whole.

% saying, in general in our country these days, Black people are treated less fairly than white people...



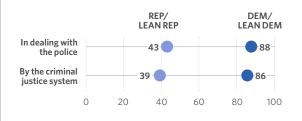
2. Black adults are about five times as likely as white adults (44% to 9%) to say they've been unfairly stopped by police because of their race or ethnicity, according to the 2019 survey, with Black men far more likely than Black women to say this.

% of Black adults, by gender, who say each of the following has happened to them because of their race or ethnicity



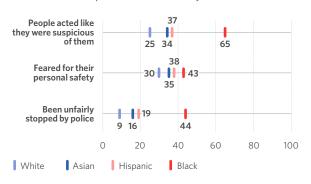
3. White Democrats and white Republicans have vastly different views of how Black people are treated by police and the wider justice system, according to the 2019 survey.

Among white Americans, % of Republicans and Democrats saying, in general in our country these days, Black people are treated less fairly than white people in each of the following situations



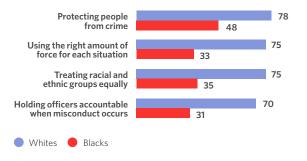
4. Nearly two-thirds of Black adults (65%) said in the 2019 survey they've been in situations where people acted as if they were suspicious of them because of their race or ethnicity, while only a quarter of white adults say that's happened to them.

% of each group saying each of the following has happened to them because of their race or ethnicity



# 5. Black Americans are far less likely than whites to give police high marks for the way they do their jobs, according to a 2016 survey.

% saying the police in their community do an excellent or good job when it comes to...



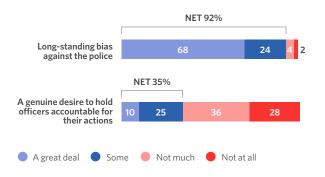
6. A 2016 survey of the general public found that 60% of people viewed fatal encounters between Blacks and police as signs of a broader problem while a separate survey of police officers found that two-thirds viewed such encounters as isolated incidents. But views of police were sharply defined by race with more than half of Black officers saying such incidents showed a broader problem.

% of officers saying the deaths of Blacks during encounters with police in recent years are...



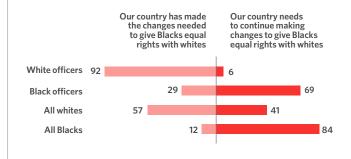
7. Around two-thirds of police officers (68%) said in 2016 that demonstrations over the deaths of Black people during encounters with law enforcement were motivated to a great extent by anti-police bias.

% of officers saying protests over deaths of Blacks who died during encounters with the police are motivated \_ by...



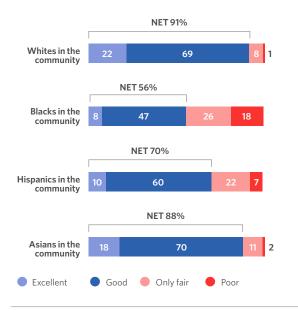
8. White police officers and their Black colleagues have starkly different views on fundamental questions regarding the situation of Blacks in American society, according to the 2016 survey.

% saying that...



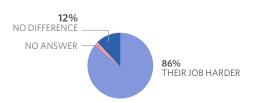
9. A majority of officers said in 2016 that relations between the police in their department and Black people in the community they serve were "excellent" (8%) or "good" (47%), but rated relations with white, Asians, and Hispanics far higher.

% of officers saying they would rate relations between the police in their department and the following groups in the community they serve...



10. An overwhelming majority of police officers said in 2016 that high-profile fatal encounters between Black people and police officers had made their jobs harder.

% of officers saying high-profile incidents between police and Blacks have made...





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