## NORTH GAROLINA SPRAWL

LOVE HURTS

How the Popularity of North Carolina Draws Endless Streams of Outsiders; Who Drive Rapid Population Growth \& Sprawl, Which Destroys the Farmland and Habitat Essence of the State

## NumbersUSA

For sensible immigration
A Report by Leon Kolankiewicz and Roy Beck, with Eric A. Ruark

## NORTH GAROLINA SPRAWL

## LOVE HURTS

## FINDINGS

VOTER POLL RESULTS
www.NCSprawl.com
www.NCSprawl.com/voter-poll


## BAGKGROUND, SOURGES, AND METHODOLOGY

(A) POPULATION AND SPRAWLINEACH NORTH CAROLINA COUNTY (1982-2017)
(B) HOW NORTH CAROLINA COMPARES WITH OTHER STATES
(C) THE THREAT TO NORTHCAROLINA WILDLIFE
(D) IMPORTANCE OF NATURE TO REJUVENATE HUMAN RESIDENTS
(E) SOURCES OF NORTH CAROLINAPOPULATION GROWTH
(F) SPRAWL DATA SOURCES
(G) PER CAPITA LAND CONSUMPTION
(H) METHODOLOGY FOR APPORTIONING SHARES OF SPRAWL
(I) UNDERMINING THE 30 X3O CONSERVATION VISION
(J) DENSER LIVING DIDN'T STOP LOSSOFOPEN SPACE
(K) THE AUTHORS

## (A) POPULATION AND SPRAWL IN EAGH NORTH GAROLINA GOUNTY (1982-2017)

| North Carolina County | 1982 <br> Population | 2017 <br> Population | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Pop } \\ & \text { Change } \\ & 1982 \text { to } \\ & 2017 \end{aligned}$ | \% Pop Change 1982 to 2017 | Developed <br> Land 1982 <br> (1,000's of acres) | Developed <br> Land 2017 <br> (1,000's of acres) | Change in Developed Land (Sprawl in square miles) | \% Change In <br> Developed Land | \% Sprawl <br> Related to <br> Population <br> Growth |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Alamance Co. | 101,000 | 163,276 | 62,276 | 62 | 43.6 | 67.2 | 36.9 | 54 | 100 |
| Alexander Co. | 25,572 | 37,143 | 11,571 | 45 | 9.6 | 27.7 | 28.3 | 189 | 35 |
| Alleghany Co. | 9,754 | 10,988 | 1,234 | 13 | 6.0 | 13.2 | 11.3 | 120 | 15 |
| Anson Co. | 25,317 | 24,829 | -488 | -2 | 14.0 | 25.4 | 17.8 | 81 | 0 |
| Ashe Co. | 22,496 | 26,787 | 4,291 | 19 | 16.1 | 31.1 | 23.4 | 93 | 27 |
| Avery Co. | 14,572 | 17,517 | 2,945 | 20 | 11.2 | 22.0 | 16.9 | 96 | 27 |
| Beaufort Co. | 41,613 | 47,033 | 5,420 | 13 | 29.1 | 46.3 | 26.9 | 59 | 26 |
| Bertie Co. | 21,048 | 19,263 | -1,785 | -8 | 8.2 | 15.6 | 11.6 | 90 | 0 |
| Bladen Co. | 30,147 | 33,443 | 3,296 | 11 | 8.2 | 18.8 | 16.6 | 129 | 13 |
| Brunswick Co. | 38,703 | 130,859 | 92,156 | 238 | 34.0 | 86.8 | 82.5 | 155 | 100 |
| Buncombe Co. | 163,693 | 257,071 | 93,378 | 57 | 45.0 | 119.3 | 116.1 | 165 | 46 |

## (A) POPULATION AND SPRAWL IN EAGH NORTH GAROLINA GOUNTY (1982-2017)

| North Carolina County | 1982 <br> Population | 2017 <br> Population | $\begin{gathered} \text { Pop } \\ \text { Change } \\ 1982 \text { to } \\ 2017 \end{gathered}$ | \% Pop Change 1982 to 2017 | Developed Land 1982 (1,000's of acres) | Developed <br> Land 2017 <br> ( 1,000 's of acres) | Change in Developed Land (Sprawl in square miles) | ```\% Change In Developed Land``` | \% Sprawl <br> Related to <br> Population <br> Growth |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Burke Co. | 73,583 | 90,157 | 16,574 | 23 | 52.2 | 70.9 | 29.2 | 36 | 66 |
| Cabarrus Co. | 89,158 | 206,988 | 117,830 | 132 | 38.1 | 72.8 | 54.2 | 91 | 100 |
| Caldwell Co. | 68,057 | 81,933 | 13,876 | 20 | 29.2 | 60.9 | 49.5 | 109 | 25 |
| Camden Co. | 5,675 | 10,532 | 4,857 | 86 | 3.0 | 6.6 | 5.6 | 120 | 78 |
| Carteret Co. | 43,762 | 68,921 | 25,159 | 57 | 24.4 | 52.4 | 43.8 | 115 | 59 |
| Caswell Co. | 21,416 | 22,616 | 1,200 | 6 | 6.3 | 16.7 | 16.3 | 165 | 6 |
| Catawba Co. | 107,754 | 157,852 | 50,098 | 46 | 67.7 | 102.2 | 53.9 | 51 | 93 |
| Chatham Co. | 34,430 | 71,189 | 36,759 | 107 | 24.0 | 53.0 | 45.3 | 121 | 92 |
| Cherokee Co. | 19,302 | 27,954 | 8,652 | 45 | 10.0 | 29.7 | 30.8 | 197 | 34 |
| Chowan Co. | 12,585 | 14,029 | 1,444 | 11 | 7.8 | 14.8 | 10.9 | 90 | 17 |
| Clay Co. | 6,878 | 11,004 | 4,126 | 60 | 5.2 | 10.8 | 8.8 | 108 | 64 |
| Cleveland Co. | 83,144 | 97,134 | 13,990 | 17 | 25.9 | 55.3 | 45.9 | 114 | 21 |

## (A) POPULATION AND SPRAWL IN EAGH NORTH GAROLINA GOUNTY (1982-2017)

| North Carolina County | 1982 <br> Population | 2017 <br> Population | $\begin{gathered} \text { Pop } \\ \text { Change } \\ 1982 \text { to } \\ 2017 \end{gathered}$ | \% Pop Change 1982 to 2017 | Developed Land 1982 (1,000's of acres) | Developed <br> Land 2017 <br> ( 1,000 's of acres) | Change in Developed Land (Sprawl in square miles) | ```\% Change In Developed Land``` | \% Sprawl <br> Related to <br> Population <br> Growth |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Columbus Co. | 50,859 | 56,047 | 5,188 | 10 | 31.5 | 50.1 | 29.1 | 59 | 21 |
| Craven Co. | 73,774 | 102,492 | 28,718 | 39 | 30.1 | 47.5 | 27.2 | 58 | 72 |
| Cumberland Co. | 251,394 | 330,994 | 79,600 | 32 | 49.3 | 106.9 | 90.0 | 117 | 36 |
| Currituck Co. | 11,537 | 26,290 | 14,753 | 128 | 8.6 | 23.8 | 23.8 | 177 | 81 |
| Dare Co. | 14,593 | 36,199 | 21,606 | 148 | 17.8 | 27.7 | 15.5 | 56 | 100 |
| Davidson Co. | 116,026 | 165,180 | 49,154 | 42 | 53.0 | 86.8 | 52.8 | 64 | 72 |
| Davie Co. | 25,316 | 42,308 | 16,992 | 67 | 11.6 | 23.8 | 19.1 | 105 | 71 |
| Duplin Co. | 40,638 | 58,943 | 18,305 | 45 | 17.4 | 35.4 | 28.1 | 103 | 52 |
| Durham Co. | 156,300 | 312,153 | 155,853 | 100 | 44.3 | 75.5 | 48.8 | 70 | 100 |
| Edgecombe Co. | 56,740 | 52,756 | -3,984 | -7 | 22.5 | 31.8 | 14.5 | 41 | 0 |
| Forsyth Co. | 249,154 | 375,840 | 126,686 | 51 | 59.4 | 108.2 | 76.3 | 82 | 69 |
| Franklin Co. | 30,769 | 66,155 | 35,386 | 115 | 11.2 | 45.5 | 53.6 | 306 | 55 |

## (A) POPULATION AND SPRAWL IN EAGH NORTH GAROLINA GOUNTY (1982-2017)

| North Carolina County | 1982 <br> Population | 2017 <br> Population | $\begin{gathered} \text { Pop } \\ \text { Change } \\ 1982 \text { to } \\ 2017 \end{gathered}$ | \% Pop Change 1982 to 2017 | Developed Land 1982 <br> (1,000's of acres) | Developed <br> Land 2017 <br> ( 1,000 's of acres) | Change in Developed Land (Sprawl in square miles) | ```\% Change In Developed Land``` | \% Sprawl <br> Related to <br> Population <br> Growth |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gaston Co. | 166,369 | 219,656 | 53,287 | 32 | 49.2 | 93.4 | 69.1 | 90 | 43 |
| Gates Co. | 8,936 | 11,514 | 2,578 | 29 | 4.3 | 9.5 | 8.1 | 121 | 32 |
| Graham Co. | 7,189 | 8,524 | 1,335 | 19 | 2.1 | 6.5 | 6.9 | 210 | 15 |
| Granville Co. | 34,790 | 59,372 | 24,582 | 71 | 9.0 | 30.4 | 33.4 | 238 | 44 |
| Greene Co. | 15,855 | 20,963 | 5,108 | 32 | 6.8 | 13.1 | 9.8 | 93 | 43 |
| Guilford Co. | 322,602 | 528,243 | 205,641 | 64 | 96.3 | 166.8 | 110.2 | 73 | 90 |
| Halifax Co. | 55,141 | 51,311 | -3,830 | -7 | 24.6 | 37.6 | 20.3 | 53 | 0 |
| Harnett Co. | 61,176 | 132,395 | 71,219 | 116 | 23.7 | 60.5 | 57.5 | 155 | 82 |
| Haywood Co. | 46,894 | 61,005 | 14,111 | 30 | 25.8 | 54.8 | 45.3 | 112 | 35 |
| Henderson Co. | 61,579 | 115,216 | 53,637 | 87 | 28.9 | 73.5 | 69.7 | 154 | 67 |
| Hertford Co. | 23,270 | 23,923 | 653 | 3 | 10.6 | 15.2 | 7.2 | 43 | 8 |
| Hoke Co. | 21,077 | 54,138 | 33,061 | 157 | 11.1 | 27.7 | 25.9 | 150 | 100 |

## (A) POPULATION AND SPRAWL IN EAGH NORTH GAROLINA GOUNTY (1982-2017)

| North Carolina County | 1982 <br> Population | 2017 <br> Population | $\begin{gathered} \text { Pop } \\ \text { Change } \\ 1982 \text { to } \\ 2017 \end{gathered}$ | \% Pop Change 1982 to 2017 | Developed Land 1982 <br> (1,000's of acres) | Developed <br> Land 2017 <br> ( 1,000 's of acres) | Change in Developed Land (Sprawl in square miles) | ```\% Change In Developed Land``` | \% Sprawl <br> Related to <br> Population <br> Growth |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hyde Co. | 5,879 | 5,240 | -639 | -11 | 6.4 | 10.3 | 6.1 | 61 | 0 |
| Iredell Co. | 84,487 | 175,634 | 91,147 | 108 | 43.8 | 102.4 | 91.6 | 134 | 86 |
| Jackson Co. | 26,400 | 43,224 | 16,824 | 64 | 6.7 | 48.7 | 65.6 | 627 | 25 |
| Johnston Co. | 72,058 | 196,374 | 124,316 | 173 | 31.4 | 94.6 | 98.8 | 201 | 91 |
| Jones Co. | 9,712 | 9,573 | -139 | -1 | 8.2 | 11.2 | 4.7 | 37 | 0 |
| Lee Co. | 37,405 | 60,403 | 22,998 | 61 | 20.1 | 42.6 | 35.2 | 112 | 64 |
| Lenoir Co. | 59,428 | 56,622 | -2,806 | -5 | 20.6 | 31.7 | 17.3 | 54 | 0 |
| Lincoln Co. | 43,361 | 82,557 | 39,196 | 90 | 11.6 | 43.8 | 50.3 | 278 | 48 |
| McDowell Co. | 35,838 | 45,083 | 9,245 | 26 | 15.0 | 33.9 | 29.5 | 126 | 28 |
| Macon Co. | 21,677 | 34,581 | 12,904 | 60 | 20.5 | 44.0 | 36.7 | 115 | 61 |
| Madison Co. | 16,919 | 21,563 | 4,644 | 27 | 7.3 | 16.1 | 13.8 | 121 | 31 |
| Martin Co. | 26,089 | 22,763 | -3,326 | -13 | 12.7 | 19.6 | 10.8 | 54 | 0 |

## (A) POPULATION AND SPRAWL IN EAGH NORTH GAROLINA GOUNTY (1982-2017)

| North Carolina County | 1982 <br> Population | 2017 <br> Population | $\begin{gathered} \text { Pop } \\ \text { Change } \\ 1982 \text { to } \\ 2017 \end{gathered}$ | \% Pop Change 1982 to 2017 | Developed Land 1982 <br> (1,000's of acres) | Developed <br> Land 2017 <br> ( 1,000 's of acres) | Change in Developed Land (Sprawl in square miles) | ```\% Change In Developed Land``` | \% Sprawl <br> Related to <br> Population <br> Growth |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mecklenburg Co. | 422,435 | 1,078,128 | 655,693 | 155 | 146.9 | 282.1 | 211.3 | 92 | 100 |
| Mitchell Co. | 14,316 | 14,992 | 676 | 5 | 3.5 | 13.7 | 15.9 | 291 | 3 |
| Montgomery Co. | 22,495 | 27,269 | 4,774 | 21 | 11.7 | 20.7 | 14.1 | 77 | 34 |
| Moore Co. | 51,394 | 97,368 | 45,974 | 89 | 29.2 | 75.8 | 72.8 | 160 | 67 |
| Nash Co. | 68,784 | 94,019 | 25,235 | 37 | 26.4 | 57.9 | 49.2 | 119 | 40 |
| New Hanover Co. | 107,489 | 228,728 | 121,239 | 113 | 34.3 | 70.2 | 56.1 | 105 | 100 |
| Northampton Co. | 21,941 | 19,890 | -2,051 | -9 | 9.1 | 16.6 | 11.7 | 82 | 0 |
| Onslow Co. | 118,881 | 195,066 | 76,185 | 64 | 32.5 | 81.1 | 75.9 | 150 | 54 |
| Orange Co. | 78,644 | 143,626 | 64,982 | 83 | 27.7 | 56.6 | 45.2 | 104 | 84 |
| Pamlico Co. | 10,636 | 12,638 | 2,002 | 19 | 6.8 | 13.4 | 10.3 | 97 | 25 |
| Pasquotank Co. | 28,781 | 39,386 | 10,605 | 37 | 9.6 | 20.4 | 16.9 | 113 | 42 |
| Pender Co. | 22,903 | 60,719 | 37,816 | 165 | 11.7 | 27.2 | 24.2 | 132 | 100 |

## (A) POPULATION AND SPRAWL IN EAGH NORTH GAROLINA GOUNTY (1982-2017)

| North Carolina County | 1982 <br> Population | 2017 <br> Population | $\begin{gathered} \text { Pop } \\ \text { Change } \\ 1982 \text { to } \\ 2017 \end{gathered}$ | \% Pop Change 1982 to 2017 | Developed <br> Land 1982 <br> (1,000's of acres) | Developed <br> Land 2017 <br> ( 1,000 's of acres) | Change in Developed Land (Sprawl in square miles) | \% Change In Developed Land | \% Sprawl Related to Population Growth |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Perquimans Co. | 9,420 | 13,439 | 4,019 | 43 | 2.9 | 11.2 | 13.0 | 286 | 26 |
| Person Co. | 29,356 | 39,338 | 9,982 | 34 | 7.5 | 24.3 | 26.3 | 224 | 25 |
| Pitt Co. | 93,400 | 178,607 | 85,207 | 91 | 30.7 | 72.4 | 65.2 | 136 | 76 |
| Polk Co. | 13,799 | 20,564 | 6,765 | 49 | 10.5 | 25.8 | 23.9 | 146 | 44 |
| Randolph Co. | 93,626 | 143,037 | 49,411 | 53 | 37.1 | 80.9 | 68.4 | 118 | 54 |
| Richmond Co. | 44,468 | 44,827 | 359 | 1 | 26.6 | 38.4 | 18.4 | 44 | 2 |
| Robeson Co. | 103,114 | 132,626 | 29,512 | 29 | 38.6 | 73.2 | 54.1 | 90 | 39 |
| Rockingham Co. | 84,428 | 90,791 | 6,363 | 8 | 25.4 | 57.4 | 50.0 | 126 | 9 |
| Rowan Co. | 101,319 | 140,356 | 39,037 | 39 | 43.9 | 86.0 | 65.8 | 96 | 48 |
| Rutherford Co. | 55,280 | 66,529 | 11,249 | 20 | 14.8 | 51.6 | 57.5 | 249 | 15 |
| Sampson Co. | 49,170 | 63,263 | 14,093 | 29 | 22.0 | 42.4 | 31.9 | 93 | 38 |
| Scotland Co. | 32,839 | 35,174 | 2,335 | 7 | 15.7 | 24.1 | 13.1 | 54 | 16 |

## (A) POPULATION AND SPRAWL IN EAGH NORTH GAROLINA GOUNTY (1982-2017)

| North Carolina County | 1982 <br> Population | 2017 <br> Population | $\begin{gathered} \text { Pop } \\ \text { Change } \\ 1982 \text { to } \\ 2017 \end{gathered}$ | \% Pop Change 1982 to 2017 | Developed <br> Land 1982 <br> (1,000's of acres) | Developed <br> Land 2017 <br> ( 1,000 's of acres) | Change in Developed Land (Sprawl in square miles) | \% Change In Developed Land | \% Sprawl <br> Related to <br> Population <br> Growth |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Stanly Co. | 48,757 | 61,505 | 12,748 | 26 | 20.5 | 36.6 | 25.2 | 79 | 40 |
| Stokes Co. | 34,256 | 45,724 | 11,468 | 33 | 17.7 | 34.7 | 26.6 | 96 | 43 |
| Surry Co. | 59,896 | 72,107 | 12,211 | 20 | 22.5 | 42.7 | 31.6 | 90 | 29 |
| Swain Co. | 10,633 | 14,263 | 3,630 | 34 | 11.4 | 17.4 | 9.4 | 53 | 69 |
| Transylvania Co. | 24,095 | 33,767 | 9,672 | 40 | 14.8 | 36.8 | 34.4 | 149 | 37 |
| Tyrrell Co. | 4,059 | 4,180 | 121 | 3 | 3.6 | 4.4 | 1.3 | 22 | 15 |
| Union Co. | 73,308 | 231,350 | 158,042 | 216 | 28.1 | 74.4 | 72.3 | 165 | 100 |
| Vance Co. | 37,206 | 44,281 | 7,075 | 19 | 9.5 | 27.3 | 27.8 | 187 | 16 |
| Wake Co. | 316,973 | 1,071,706 | 754,733 | 238 | 112.1 | 294.3 | 284.7 | 163 | 100 |
| Warren Co. | 16,293 | 19,849 | 3,556 | 22 | 9.7 | 19.8 | 15.8 | 104 | 28 |
| Washington Co. | 14,476 | 11,944 | -2,532 | -17 | 5.3 | 10.6 | 8.3 | 100 | 0 |
| Watauga Co. | 33,549 | 55,181 | 21,632 | 64 | 18.1 | 41.0 | 35.8 | 127 | 61 |

(A) POPULATION AND SPRAWL IN EAGH NORTH GAROLINA GOUNTY (1982-2017)

| North Carolina County | 1982 <br> Population | 2017 <br> Population | $\begin{gathered} \text { Pop } \\ \text { Change } \\ 1982 \text { to } \\ 2017 \end{gathered}$ | \% Pop Change 1982 to 2017 | Developed <br> Land 1982 <br> (1,000's of acres) | Developed <br> Land 2017 <br> (1,000's of acres) | Change in Developed Land (Sprawl in square miles) | \% Change In <br> Developed Land | \% Sprawl <br> Related to <br> Population <br> Growth |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Wayne Co. | 98,603 | 123,034 | 24,431 | 25 | 22.4 | 48.3 | 40.5 | 116 | 29 |
| Wilkes Co. | 59,191 | 68,489 | 9,298 | 16 | 23.0 | 49.1 | 40.8 | 113 | 19 |
| Wilson Co. | 63,816 | 81,436 | 17,620 | 28 | 21.7 | 37.7 | 25.0 | 74 | 44 |
| Yadkin Co. | 29,072 | 37,588 | 8,516 | 29 | 12.5 | 27.4 | 23.3 | 119 | 33 |
| Yancey Co. | 15,117 | 17,697 | 2,580 | 17 | 8.5 | 19.5 | 17.2 | 129 | 19 |
| Totals | 6,019,108 | 10,268,233 | 4,249,125 | 71 | 2,358.7 | 4,915.8 | 3,995.5 | 108 | 73 |
| Weighted Average |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 60 |



Scatter Plot for North Carolina County Populations versus Developed Land Area
(Cumulative Sprawl) in 2017
R-value: 0.95

NumbersUSA
For sensible immigration

## (B) HOW NORTH OAROLINA OOMPARES WITH OTHER STATES

Sprawl in 49 States, 1982-2017, Ranked by Increase in Land Area

| Sprawl Ranking 1982-2017 | State | Overall Sprawl (in square miles), 1982-2017 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Texas | 6,633.8 |
| 2 | Florida | 4,353.0 |
| 3 | North Carolina | 3,995.5 |
| 4 | Georgia | 3,910.2 |
| 5 | California | 3,420.5 |
| 6 | Pennsylvania | 2,686.4 |
| 7 | Tennessee | 2,353.9 |
| 8 | Michigan | 2,208.1 |
| 9 | Virginia | 2,179.8 |
| 10 | Ohio | 2,148.8 |
| 11 | South Carolina | 2,125.9 |
| 12 | Alabama | 2,023.1 |
| 13 | Arizona | 1,744.1 |
| 14 | New York | 1,608.8 |
| 15 | Kentucky | 1,582.8 |

(B) HOW NORTH GAROLINA GOMPARES WITH OTHER STATES

| Sprawl Ranking 1982-2017 | State | Overall Sprawl (in square miles), 1982-2017 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 16 | Washington | 1,436.1 |
| 17 | Illinois | 1,332.2 |
| 18 | Missouri | 1,328.8 |
| 19 | Wisconsin | 1,261.1 |
| 20 | Mississippi | 1,217.0 |
| 21 | Indiana | 1,203.4 |
| 22 | Louisiana | 1,191.6 |
| 23 | Minnesota | 1,145.9 |
| 24 | Oklahoma | 1,133.4 |
| 25 | Colorado | 1,206.0 |
| 26 | New Jersey | 1,076.7 |
| 27 | Massachusetts | 1,038.1 |
| 28 | Arkansas | 1,034.8 |
| 29 | New Mexico | 1,018.6 |
| 30 | Maryland | 877.0 |
| 31 | West Virginia | 827.3 |
| 32 | Utah | 712.7 |
| 33 | Oregon | 687.5 |
| 34 | Kansas | 626.9 |

## (B) HOW NORTH GAROLINA GOMPARES WITH OTHER STATES

| Sprawl Ranking 1982-2017 | State | Overall Sprawl (in square miles), 1982-2017 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 35 | Idaho | 582.7 |
| 36 | Maine | 581.1 |
| 37 | Iowa | 505.5 |
| 38 | Nevada | 498.8 |
| 39 | New Hampshire | 498.6 |
| 40 | Montana | 415.6 |
| 41 | Connecticut | 319.7 |
| 42 | Nebraska | 270.2 |
| 43 | South Dakota | 251.7 |
| 44 | Wyoming | 251.3 |
| 45 | North Dakota | 232.8 |
| 46 | Vermont | 224.1 |
| 47 | Delaware | 216.7 |
| 48 | Hawaii | 136.3 |
| 49 | Rhode Island | 99.1 |
|  | Total | 68,334.1 |

Source: 2017 NRCS National Resources Inventory; Table 1
Note: Includes all states except Alaska; does not include territories

## (B) HOW NORTH GAROLINA GOMPARES WITH OTHER STATES

Table 8. Population Change in 49 States, 1982-2017, Ranked By Numerical Growth

| State | 1982 Population | 2017 Population | Population Growth, 1982-2017 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| California | 24,820,007 | 39,358,497 | 14,538,490 |
| Texas | 15,331,408 | 28,295,273 | 12,963,865 |
| Florida | 10,471,405 | 20,963,613 | 10,492,208 |
| Georgia | 5,649,788 | 10,410,330 | 4,760,542 |
| North Carolina | 6,019,108 | 10,268,233 | 4,249,125 |
| Arizona | 2,889,860 | 7,044,008 | 4,154,148 |
| Washington | 4,276,551 | 7,423,362 | 3,146,811 |
| Virginia | 5,492,785 | 8,463,587 | 2,970,802 |
| Colorado | 3,061,562 | 5,611,885 | 2,550,323 |
| Nevada | 881,538 | 2,969,905 | 2,088,367 |
| Tennessee | 4,646,043 | 6,708,799 | 2,062,756 |
| New York | 17,589,737 | 19,589,572 | 1,999,835 |
| South Carolina | 3,207,611 | 5,021,268 | 1,813,657 |
| Maryland | 4,282,923 | 6,023,868 | 1,740,945 |
| Utah | 1,558,314 | 3,101,042 | 1,542,728 |
| Oregon | 2,664,919 | 4,143,625 | 1,478,706 |
| New Jersey | 7,430,970 | 8,885,525 | 1,454,555 |
| Minnesota | 4,131,450 | 5,566,230 | 1,434,780 |
| Illinois | 11,423,413 | 12,778,828 | 1,355,415 |
| Indiana | 5,467,918 | 6,658,078 | 1,190,160 |
| Missouri | 4,929,456 | 6,106,670 | 1,177,214 |
| Massachusetts | 5,771,222 | 6,859,789 | 1,088,567 |
| Wisconsin | 4,728,862 | 5,790,186 | 1,061,324 |
| Alabama | 3,925,263 | 4,874,486 | 949,223 |
| Pennsylvania | 11,845,146 | 12,787,641 | 942,495 |
| Ohio | 10,757,085 | 11,659,650 | 902,565 |
| Michigan | 9,115,196 | 9,973,114 | 857,918 |
| Kentucky | 3,683,449 | 4,452,268 | 768,819 |

## (B) HOW NORTH GAROLINA GOMPARES WITH OTHER STATES

| State | 1982 Population | 2017 Population | Population Growth, 1982-2017 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Idaho | 973,719 | 1,717,715 | 743,996 |
| New Mexico | 1,363,822 | 2,091,784 | 727,962 |
| Oklahoma | 3,206,129 | 3,931,316 | 725,187 |
| Arkansas | 2,294,254 | 3,001,345 | 707,091 |
| Kansas | 2,401,207 | 2,908,718 | 507,511 |
| Connecticut | 3,139,014 | 3,573,297 | 434,283 |
| Mississippi | 2,556,776 | 2,988,510 | 431,734 |
| Hawaii | 993,780 | 1,424,393 | 430,613 |
| New Hampshire | 947,720 | 1,348,787 | 401,067 |
| Delaware | 599,148 | 956,823 | 357,675 |
| Nebraska | 1,581,776 | 1,915,947 | 334,171 |
| Louisiana | 4,352,609 | 4,670,560 | 317,951 |
| Iowa | 2,888,190 | 3,141,550 | 253,360 |
| Montana | 803,984 | 1,052,482 | 248,498 |
| Maine | 1,136,683 | 1,334,612 | 197,929 |
| South Dakota | 690,597 | 872,868 | 182,271 |
| Vermont | 519,108 | 624,344 | 105,236 |
| Rhode Island | 954,170 | 1,055,673 | 101,503 |
| North Dakota | 668,972 | 754,942 | 85,970 |
| Wyoming | 506,400 | 578,931 | 72,531 |
| West Virginia | 1,949,605 | 1,817,004 | $(132,601)$ |
| Entire USA* | 230,580,652 | 322,126,540 | 92,970,281 |

Source: U.S. Census Bureau population estimates
*Note: Includes all states except Alaska; does not include territories

## NORTH GAROLINA SPRAWL

(B) HOW NORTH GAROLINA COMPARES WITH OTHER STATES

| State | 2002 Population | 2017 Population | Population Growth, 2002-2017 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Texas | 21,690,325 | 28,295,273 | 6,604,948 |
| California | 34,871,843 | 39,358,497 | 4,486,654 |
| Florida | 16,689,370 | 20,963,613 | 4,274,243 |
| North Carolina | 8,326,201 | 10,268,233 | 1,942,032 |
| Georgia | 8,508,256 | 10,410,330 | 1,902,074 |
| Arizona | 5,396,255 | 7,044,008 | 1,647,753 |
| Washington | 6,052,349 | 7,423,362 | 1,371,013 |
| Virginia | 7,286,873 | 8,463,587 | 1,176,714 |
| Colorado | 4,490,406 | 5,611,885 | 1,121,479 |
| South Carolina | 4,107,795 | 5,021,268 | 913,473 |
| Tennessee | 5,795,918 | 6,708,799 | 912,881 |
| Nevada | 2,173,791 | 2,969,905 | 796,114 |
| Utah | 2,324,815 | 3,101,042 | 776,227 |
| Oregon | 3,513,424 | 4,143,625 | 630,201 |
| Maryland | 5,440,389 | 6,023,868 | 583,479 |
| Minnesota | 5,018,935 | 5,566,230 | 547,295 |
| Indiana | 6,155,967 | 6,658,078 | 502,111 |
| Pennsylvania | 12,331,031 | 12,787,641 | 456,610 |
| New York | 19,137,800 | 19,589,572 | 451,772 |
| Massachusetts | 6,417,206 | 6,859,789 | 442,583 |
| Oklahoma | 3,489,080 | 3,931,316 | 442,236 |
| Missouri | 5,674,825 | 6,106,670 | 431,845 |
| Alabama | 4,480,089 | 4,874,486 | 394,397 |
| Idaho | 1,340,372 | 1,717,715 | 377,343 |
| Kentucky | 4,089,875 | 4,452,268 | 362,393 |
| Wisconsin | 5,445,162 | 5,790,186 | 345,024 |
| New Jersey | 8,552,643 | 8,885,525 | 332,882 |

## (B) HOW NORTH GAROLINA GOMPARES WITH OTHER STATES

| State | 2002 Population | 2017 Population | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Population Growth, } \\ & \text { 2002-2017 } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Arkansas | 2,705,927 | 3,001,345 | 295,418 |
| Illinois | 12,525,556 | 12,778,828 | 253,272 |
| Ohio | 11,407,889 | 11,659,650 | 251,761 |
| New Mexico | 1,855,309 | 2,091,784 | 236,475 |
| Iowa | 2,934,234 | 3,141,550 | 207,316 |
| Kansas | 2,713,535 | 2,908,718 | 195,183 |
| Nebraska | 1,728,292 | 1,915,947 | 187,655 |
| Hawaii | 1,239,613 | 1,424,393 | 184,780 |
| Louisiana | 4,497,267 | 4,670,560 | 173,293 |
| Delaware | 806,169 | 956,823 | 150,654 |
| Montana | 911,667 | 1,052,482 | 140,815 |
| Mississippi | 2,858,681 | 2,988,510 | 129,829 |
| North Dakota | 638,168 | 754,942 | 116,774 |
| Connecticut | 3,458,749 | 3,573,297 | 114,548 |
| South Dakota | 760,020 | 872,868 | 112,848 |
| New Hampshire | 1,269,089 | 1,348,787 | 79,698 |
| Wyoming | 500,017 | 578,931 | 78,914 |
| Maine | 1,295,960 | 1,334,612 | 38,652 |
| West Virginia | 1,805,414 | 1,817,004 | 11,590 |
| Vermont | 615,442 | 624,344 | 8,902 |
| Rhode Island | 1,065,995 | 1,055,673 | $(10,322)$ |
| Michigan | 10,015,710 | 9,973,114 | $(42,596)$ |
| Entire USA* | 286,409,698 | 323,550,933 | 37,141,235 |

Source: U.S. Census Bureau population estimates
*Note: Includes all states except Alaska; does not include territories

## (G) THE THREAT TO NORTH GAROLINA WILDLIFE

North Carolina supports quite high levels of biodiversity. But many unique ecological communities native to the region have already been modified, compromised and reduced by human actions. ${ }^{1}$

These actions include habitat loss, alteration, and fragmentation due to urbanization, conversion to agriculture, clearcut logging, fire suppression, and filling or draining of wetlands.

Regional scientists cite the case of the once widespread but now severely diminished longleaf pine (Pinus palustris) ecosystem which once dominated as much as 90 million acres from southern Virginia to Florida and west to eastern Texas, but now occupies less than five percent of its former range.

The longleaf pine ecosystem contains possibly the most species-rich communities outside of the tropics, including many highly endangered species such as the Red-cockaded Woodpecker (Leuconotopicus borealis).

If recent population growth and development patterns continue, a gigantic megalopolis may form by 2060, sprawling over farmland and habitat from Raleigh-Durham through Charlotte and on to Atlanta, according to a joint study by the U.S. Geological Survey and North Carolina State University. ${ }^{2}$

The team's simulations indicated that by 2060 the extent of urbanization in the Southeast would increase by $101 \%$ to $192 \%$, or two to nearly three times more than the area of land already developed. These projected land use changes and the emergence of a new megalopolis over the coming decades would impose enormous adverse effects on the Southern Piedmont region's existing largely rural character, natural habitats, biodiversity, farmlands, and quality of life. They would also compromise the region's environmental sustainability.

The threat to wildlife would be even greater than the $101 \%$ to $192 \%$ lost land because of the fragmentation of habitats. New roads and housing that are widely spread apart as they are added to rural areas well beyond the megalopolis may appear from the air to be only moderately destructive.

But even if the calculated square miles of sparse new development may appear modest, the increasingly fragmented natural landscape would compromise available habitat, repress ecologically important natural disturbance processes (such as wildfires), stymie management actions such as prescribed fire in the wildland-urban interface, and likely truncate or eliminate existing wildlife corridors. Moreover, all these impacts could take place concurrently, posing a particularly difficult threat to already vulnerable species and ecosystems.

Not only would habitats and corridors for wildlife be lost, but the continuous urban corridor would have a warmer climate than surrounding rural areas.

## Read more at "Paving The Piedmont" (2017).

[^0]
## (D) IMPORTANGE OF NATURE TO REJUVENATE HUMAN RESIDENTS

Open space, parks, green spaces, natural areas - including wetlands, riparian corridors, farmland, beaches, rivers, lakes, the ocean, fields and forests - provide demonstrable mental and physical health benefits. They have proven to be preventative measures that can actually lower health care costs and reduce the need for health interventions. Exploring or even just gazing upon natural areas - such as a swamp or mangrove-fringed estuary next to a city - gives human beings a sense of perspective, continuity in a changing world, spiritual renewal, well-being, and a feeling of harmony with the world around us. The presence of open space within and adjacent to our urban areas - and the assurance that this open space will outlast us - serves to counter-balance the stress and strain of modern life.

Contact with nature and open space provides both physiological and psychological benefits. Research on the physiological benefits of open space has centered on how direct or indirect (vicarious) experience with vegetated and/or natural landscapes reduces stress, and anxiety. 103 A series of studies spanning nearly 20 years in the seventies and eighties linked photo simulations of natural settings to reduced stress levels as measured by heart rate and brain waves. One study revealed that subjects experienced more "wakeful relaxation" in response to slides showing vegetation only and vegetation with water compared to urban scenes without vegetation. These data were corroborated by attitude measures which indicated lower levels of fear and sadness when experimental subjects observed naturerelated slides, as opposed to urban slides. 104 In studies of hospital patients, recovery was faster, there were fewer negative evaluations in patient reports, and there was less use of anesthetic medication among post-surgery patients with views of exterior greenery than among control group patients with views of buildings. ${ }^{105}$

In new research published in 2023 in the peer-reviewed journal Science Advances, epidemiologists found that long-term exposure to more greenery can increase life expectancy by up to 2.5 years. "Our study shows that being near green space caused some biological or molecular changes that can be detected in our blood," said the study's principal investigator Lifang Hou, a preventive medicine professor at Northwestern University's Feinberg School of Medicine. Apparently, exposure to nature, and living near or in greener spaces can actually modify how genes are expressed (epigenetics), in effect, "getting under our skin" in a positive way. ${ }^{106}$

[^1]
## (D) IMPORTANGE OF NATURE TO REJUVENATE HUMAN RESIDENTS

In other research, breast cancer survivors who engaged in personally enjoyable and naturerelated "restorative activities" showed dramatic effects on their cognitive process and quality of life. ${ }^{107}$ At the end of three months, the experimental group showed significant improvements in attention and self-reported quality of life measures; they had begun a variety of new projects. Control group members, meanwhile, who had been given no advice regarding nature exposure activities, continued with deficits in measures of attention, had started no new projects, and had lower scores on quality of life measures. This research underscored that difference between nature as an amenity and as a human need. As one reviewer of the study observed:
"People often say that they like nature; yet they often fail to recognize that they need it...Nature is not merely 'nice.' It is not just a matter of improving one's mood, rather it is a vital ingredient in healthy human functioning." ${ }^{108}$

There is an important distinction between nature as amenity and nature as need. As one book affirms:
"Viewed as an amenity, nature may be readily replaced by some greater technological achievement. Viewed as an essential bond between human and other living things, the natural environment has no substitutes." ${ }^{109}$

[^2]
## (D) IMPORTANGE OF NATURE TO REJUVENATE HUMAN RESIDENTS

While there are many anecdotal reports linking the natural environment or open space to everything from increased self-esteem to stress reduction, there are few studies attempting to categorize the many phrases used to identify the worth of a walk in the woods or a day birdwatching beside a marsh. ${ }^{110}$ Few studies track long-term longitudinal effects on changed attitudes and behavior. While it is difficult to characterize and quantify the long-term, intangible manner in which lives are modified, it is easy to acquire narrative accounts about the effect of a favorite overlook, trail, or patch of woods on one's psyche. One of the best known of such testimonials is from pioneering naturalist-conservationist John Muir:
"Climb the mountains and get their good tidings. Nature's peace will flow into you as sunshine flows into trees. The winds will blow their own freshness into you, and the storms their energy, while cares will drop away from you like the leaves of Autumn."111

Natural settings are unparalleled in their ability to furnish solitude, privacy, and tranquility. They also have "existence value," that is, there is value to knowing that they are simply there and to the very idea that we could get away into them, if we so chose; this is a value in and of itself, which provides for a psychological "time-out" and a sense of wellbeing.

[^3]
## (E) SOURGES OF NORTH GAROLINA POPULATION GROWTH

FAMILY SIZE: The population growth causing the lost habitat and farmland has little to do with decisions of North Carolinians about family size. Their Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of births per woman has been below the "replacement level" of 2.1 since 2010, and below 1.8 TFR since 2016.
(See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List of U.S. states and territories by fertility rate)
FEDERAL IMMIGRATION POLICIES loom as the biggest single factor in the nation's current population growth, accounting for nearly $90 \%$. Demographic projections made in 2015 by the Pew Research Center indicated that future immigration would comprise some $88 \%$ of the projected U.S. population growth to 2060.
(See: Modern Immigration Wave Brings 59 Million to U.S., Driving Population Growth and Change Through 2065," September 28, 2015, Pew Research Center, https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/ 201509/28/modern-immigration-wave-brings-59-millionto-u-s-driving-population-growth-and-change-through-2065/)

CALCULATING DIRECT IMMIGRATION EFFECT IN NORTH CAROLINA: Federal data show that about $25 \%$ of the state's population growth from 1982 to 2017 was a result of post-1982 foreign immigration.

Almost 1.1 million North Carolina residents in 2017 were foreign-born residents who had arrived in the U.S. after 1982, or were post-1982 immigrants' U.S.-born children and grandchildren in the state, none of whom would be in the state - or country - except for federal immigration policies.

Our estimate of immigration's impact on North Carolina's population growth between 1982 and 2017 is based on an analysis of the public use files of the 2017 American Community Survey (ACS) and the 1999 and 2017 Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplements (CPS ASEC). It is well established that these Census Bureau surveys capture both legal and illegal immigrants, though some modest fraction is missed. The ACS and CPS identify immigrants (also called the foreign born) and ask what year they came to the United States. We use the ACS to measure the number of immigrants living in North Carolina who entered in 1982 or later. In addition to identifying immigrants and their year of arrival, the CPS also asks each respondent the birthplace of their parents, allowing us to measure the progeny of post-1982 immigrants in the state.

The 2017 ACS shows 719,200 immigrants living in North Carolina who indicated they arrived in the country in 1982 or later. This number has been adjusted to exclude half of those who indicated that they arrived in the year 1982. This is necessary because the ACS and the population estimates on which overall state population growth is based reflect the population on July 1 of each year. However, the ACS measures immigrant arrivals by calendar year. In addition to immigrants who arrived 1982 or later, we also find based on the 2017 CPS ASEC that there were 255,988 U.S.-born children (under age 18) of post-1982 immigrants in the state. (We exclude those with only an immigrant father to avoid double counting.) As these children still live with their parents, estimating their number is straightforward.

## NORTH OAROLINA

## (E) SOURGES OF NORTH GAROLINA POPULATION GROWTH

To estimate the number of U.S.-born adults in 2017 with post-1982 immigrant parents, we use the 1999 CPS ASEC. In 1999, these individuals were still minors and lived with their immigrant parents, making possible to estimate the year their parents arrived in the United States. In 1999, 50.7 percent of secondgeneration children born 1982 to 1999 with a foreign-born mother were the child of a parent who came in 1982 or later.

The remainder of U.S.-born second-generation Americans in this age group were born to immigrant parents who arrived prior to 1982. Applying this percentage to those in the survey who are ages 18 to 35 and report they are the children of an immigrant in 2017 means there were 65,094 U.S.-born adult children of post-1982 immigrants in North Carolina. It must be remembered that immigration increased over the entire 1982 to 2017 period, so there are many more recent arrivals in North Carolina than immigrants who arrived in the earlier part of this time period. This means the vast majority of the offspring of immigrants are under age 18 in 2017 and this is why there are so many more minor children of post-1982 immigrants relative to adult offspring.

Finally, we find that there were 56,708 minor children with second generation parents who are 18 to 35 in 2017. These second generation parents are old enough to have a child, but young enough to have been born to a post-1982 immigrant. We again assume that 50.7 percent of these second-generation parents are the offspring of post-1982 immigrants giving us an estimated 28,749 U.S.-born grandchildren.

In total, we estimate there were 1.069 million post-1982 immigrants, their children and grandchildren living in North Carolina in 2017. The state's total population was 6.019 million in 1982 and 10.276 million in 2017. Immigration therefore accounted for 25.1 percent of the 4.257 million increase in the state's population over this time period.

TOP SENDING STATES: Most recently, 2022 data of people relocating into and out of North Carolina showed the highest net additions coming from New York, Virginia, Florida, and California. The counties of Northern Virginia have among the highest concentrations of foreign-born in the nation. The other three states are No. 3, No. 4 and No. 1 in percentage of foreign-born among their residents. (North Carolina ranks 24th.)
(See: https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/slideshows/states-with-the-highest-shares-of-foreign-bornresidents?slide $\equiv \underline{12 \text { ) }}$

MOVING VANS: These states saw the largest influx of movers in 2023, according to U-Haul in its annual survey:

1. Texas
2. Florida
3. North Carolina
4. South Carolina
5. Tennessee
(See: https://thehill.com/changing-america/enrichment/arts-culture/4385097-the-states-movers-flocked-to-the-most-in-2023-according-to-u-haul/)

## (F) SPRAWL DATA SOURGES

Over the past few decades, dozens of diverse factors have been suggested as causes of America's relentless, unending sprawl, defined here as the expansion of urban land at the expense of rural land.

1. One factor is population growth.
2. All the other factors combine to increase per capita land consumption.

This study examines the relative importance of those two overall factors.

The word "sprawl" is not a precise term. But we do indeed use the term "Overall Sprawl" in a precise way in this study - it is the amount of rural land lost to development.

Fortunately, it is easy to measure the amount of Overall Sprawl because of two distinct, painstaking processes conducted by two unrelated federal agencies: the U.S. Census Bureau (Census) and the Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS) of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). Using data from decennial censuses, Census has tabulated changes in the size and shape of the nation's Urbanized Areas (UAs) every 10 years for more than a half a century (since 1950), while the NRCS has estimated changes in the size and shape of America's Developed Lands in National Resources Inventories (NRIs) developed every five years or so for almost 40 years (since 1982). This study, unlike others we have prepared over the past 20 years, uses only the NRI data (in conjunction with Census population estimates for each county in the 49 states covered).

The NRCS uses remote sensing, survey, and statistical techniques to derive NRI's estimates of changes in land use on the nation's non-federal lands. Built-up or developed lands are one of the categories of land use NRCS delineates.

County-by-county Developed Land data from the 1982-2017 National Resources Inventories served as the main data source for our current study of sprawl in the United States. While the Census data pertain to a discrete list of designated cities, the NRI data furnish a portrait that also includes development in places in counties around the country that are outside of the boundaries of the Census Bureau's UAs. Therefore, we were able to assess and include traditional sprawl and development within American cities as well as the more diffuse development and sprawl dispersed across the entire state, as evidenced in the NRI data. The NRI refers to these areas of more dispersed development as "Small Built-up Areas." In 2015, Small Built-up Areas comprised 7.4 million acres or about six percent of the total of 116.3 million acres of Developed Land in the contiguous United States.

## (F) SPRAWL DATA SOURGES

This study quantifies the amount of sprawl in the United States (except for Alaska) over the most recent periods for which the most comprehensive government data are available: 1982-2017. Available NRI Developed Land estimates span an uninterrupted 35-year period from 1982-2012 in seven 5-year intervals (1982-1987, 1987-1992, 1992-1997, 1997-2002, 2002-2007, 2007-2012, 2012-2017). These estimates quantify how much rural land was converted into developed or built-up land over these discrete time intervals, as well as over the 35 year time period in its entirety.

The NRI is based on rigorous scientific and survey protocols. The U.S. Department of Agriculture's NRCS began developing the NRI in 1977 in response to several Congressional mandates. The first NRI published in 1982 used most of the survey methodology and protocols utilized by earlier inventories. However, the scope and sample size of the 1982 NRI were expanded to meet the demands of the Soil and Water Resources Conservation Act (RCA) of 1977, as well as to better address emerging issues like the permanent loss of agricultural lands to nonagricultural uses, such as transportation, industry, commercial and residential land uses. ${ }^{89}$

The NRI covers the entire surface area (both land and water) of the United States, including all 50 states, Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and certain Pacific Basin islands. The sample includes all land ownership categories, including federal lands (e.g., national parks, national wildlife refuges, national forests, Bureau of Land Management lands, military installations), although NRI data collection activities have historically focused on non-federal lands. Sampling is conducted on a county-by-county basis, using a stratified, two-stage, area sampling scheme. The two-stage sampling units are nominally square segments of land and points within these segments. The segments are typically half-mile-square parcels of land equal to 160 -acre quarter-sections (a section is a square of territory one mile on each side, and comprising one square mile or 640 acres in area) in the Public Land Survey System, but there are a number of exceptions in the western and northeastern U.S. Three specific sample points are selected for most segments, although two are selected for 40 -acre segments in irrigated portions of some western States, and some segments originally contained only one sample point. ${ }^{90}$

The 1997 NRI sample contained about 300,000 sample segments and 800,000 sample points. Whereas the NRI was conducted every five years up to 1997 , an annual or continuous approach was begun in 2000. Each year a subset of between 71,000 and 72,000 segments from the 1997 sample is selected for observation. The subset is selected using a "supplemented panel rotation" design, meaning that a "core panel" of about 40,000 segments is observed each year along with a different supplemental or rotation panel chosen for each year.

[^4]
## (F) SPRAWL DATA SOURGES

The NRI survey system uses points as the sampling units rather than farms or fields, because land use and land unit boundaries often change in some parts of the country. Utilizing points has allowed the survey process to generate a database with dozens of factors or data elements that are properly correlated over many years. Thus, analyses and inferences based on these data are using proper combinations of longitudinal data. ${ }^{91}$

Data for the initial 1982 NRI were collected by thousands of field staff of the Soil Conservation Service (SCS - precursor agency to NRCS), whose efforts were supplemented by contractors
and employees of other agencies working under SCS supervision. Data collection began in the spring of 1980 and ran for more than two years, finishing in the autumn of 1982. For the 1987 NRI, data were also collected by teams of trained personnel. Remote sensing techniques (via aircraft or satellite) were used to update 1982 conditions for about 30 percent of the sample sites. Reliance upon remote sensing increased during the 1990s. Beginning in 2000, special high-resolution imagery was obtained for each NRI sample site. ${ }^{92}$

In 2004, NRCS established Remote Sensing Laboratories (RSLs) in Greensboro, NC; Fort Worth, TX; and Portland, OR. These three labs were designed, equipped, and staffed to take advantage of modern geospatial technologies, enabling efficient collection and processing of NRI survey data. The RSLs are now staffed with permanent employees whose full-time job is NRI data collection and processing. ${ }^{93}$

A number of quality control and quality assurance (QC/QA) processes are conducted by NRCS and contract staff as well as by the Statistical Unit and NRCS resource inventory specialists. Many of these QC/QA processes are embedded within the survey software developed by NRCS and the Statistical Unit. The QC/QA processes ensure that differences in the data over time reflect actual changes in resource conditions, rather than differences in the perspectives of two different data collectors, or changes in technologies and protocols.

One of the special features of the NRI is its genuine longitudinal nature, that is, its reliability and consistency through time, so that users of this dataset can be confident that, for example, differences in the area of developed land shown for 2007 and 1997 accurately reflect true differences "on the ground" or in reality. Even though many operational features of the NRI survey program have evolved over the years, processes have been implemented to ensure that data contained within the 2007 NRI database are longitudinally consistent. Data collection protocols always include review and editing of historical data for the particular NRI sampling units being observed. ${ }^{94}$

[^5]
## (F) SPRAWL DATA SOURGES

NRI's broadest classification divides all U.S. territory into three categories: federal land, water areas, and non-federal land. Non-federal land is divided into developed and rural. Rural lands are further subdivided into cropland, Conservation Reserve Program (CRP) land, pastureland, rangeland, forestland, and other rural land. In the present study we are concerned only with developed land.

NRI's category of Developed Land differs from that used by other federal data collection entities. While other studies and inventories emphasize characteristics of human populations (e.g., Census of Population) and housing units (e.g., American Housing Survey), for the NRI, the intent is to identify which lands have been permanently eliminated from the rural land base. The NRI Developed Land category includes: (a) large tracts of urban and built-up land; (b) small tracts of built-up land less than 10 acres in size; and (c) land outside of these built-up areas that is in a rural transportation corridor (roads, interstates, railroads, and associated rights-of-way).

## (G) PER GAPITA LAND GONSUMPTION

Per capita land consumption statistics are a usef ul way to understand the combined power of numerous land use and consumption choices that can lead to urban sprawl. In general, around the United States, the increase in per capita land consumption (Per Capita Sprawl) is an important cause of Overall Sprawl in many cities and counties. The NRI combined with

Census data on the nation's Developed Land allow us to track trends in per capita land consumption from decade to decade.

At a minimum, the per capita land consumption $f$ igure ref lects the combined outcome of all the following individual and institutional choices and factors:

- Development
- Consumer preferences for size and type of housing and yards
- Developer preferences for constructing housing, offices and retail facilities
- Governmental subsidies that encourage land consumption, and fees and taxes that discourage consumption
- Quality of urban planning and zoning
- Level of affluence
- Areal extent of the entire built-up urbanized land area comprised of nonresidential land uses, such as industrial, institutional, government, commercial, etc.
- Transportation
- Governmental subsidies and programs for highways, streets and mass transit
- Consumer preferences favoring the mobility and flexibility offered by using private vehicles rather than public transit
- Price of gasoline (cheap gas encourages sprawl)
- Quality of existing communities and ability to hold onto their residents
- Quality of schools
- Reality and perceptions concerning crime and safety
- Ethnic and cultural tensions or harmony
- Quality of government leadership
- Job opportunities
- Levels of pollution
- Quality of parks, other public facilities and infrastructure
- Number of people per household
- Marriage rate and average age for marriage
- Divorce rate
- Recent fertility rate
- Level of independence of young adults
- Level of affluence enabling single people to live separately


## (H) METHODOLOGY FOR APPORTIONING SHARES OF SPRAWL

A methodology for quantifying the respective contributions of population growth and changes in per capita consumption of any type of resource use was outlined in a 1991 paper by physicist John Holdren ("Population and the Energy Problem." Population and Environment, Vol. 12, No. 3, Spring 1991). Although Dr. Holdren's 1991 paper dealt specifically with the role of population growth in propelling the increase in U.S. energy consumption, the same methodology can also be applied to many types of population and resource consumption analyses.

In the case of sprawl, the resource under consideration is rural land, namely the expansion over time in the total acreage of rural land urbanized or converted into developed land and subsequently used for urban purposes, such as for housing, commerce, retail, office space, education, light and heavy industry, transportation, and so forth.

As stated in Appendix B, the total land area developed in a city (urbanized area), county, or state can be expressed as:
(1) $\mathrm{A}=\mathrm{P} x \mathrm{a}$

Where:
$A=$ Area of total are (in acres or square miles) of development in city or state
$\mathrm{P}=$ Population of that city or state
$\mathrm{a}=$ area of city or state used by the average resident (per capita land use)
Following the logic in Holdren's paper, if over a period of time $\Delta t$ (e.g., a year or a decade), the population grows by an increment $\Delta \mathrm{P}$ and the per capita land use changes by $\Delta \mathrm{a}$, the total urbanized land area grows by $\Delta \mathrm{A}$, expressed as:
(2) $\mathrm{A}+\Delta \mathrm{A}=(\mathrm{P}+\Delta \mathrm{P}) \times(\mathrm{a}+\Delta \mathrm{a})$

Subtracting eqn. (1) from eqn. (2) and dividing through by $A$ to compute the relative change (i.e., $\Delta A / A)$ in urbanized land area over time interval $\Delta t$ yields:
(3) $\Delta A / A=\Delta P / P+\Delta a / a+(\Delta P / P) \times(\Delta a / a)$

Now equation (3) is quite general and makes no assumption about the growth model or time interval. On a year-to-year basis, the percentage increments in $P$ and $a$ are small (i.e., single digit percentages), so the second order term in equation (3) can be ignored. Hence following the Holdren paradigm, eqn. (3) states that the percentage growth in an urbanized land area or developed area of a country (viz., 100 percent $\mathrm{x} \Delta A / A$ ) is the sum of the

## (H) METHODOLOGY FOR APPORTIONING SHARES OF SPRAWL

percentage growth in the population ( 100 percent $\mathrm{x} \Delta P / P$ ) plus the percentage growth in the per capita land use ( 100 percent $\mathrm{x} \Delta a / a$ ). Stated in words, equation (3) becomes:
(4) Overall percentage land area growth $=$ Overall percentage population growth + Overall percentage per capita growth

In essence, this apportioning methodology quantifies population growth's share of total land consumption (sprawl) by finding the ratio of the overall percentage change in population over a period of time to the overall percentage change in land area consumed for the same period. This can be expressed as:

$$
\text { Population share of growth }=\frac{(\text { Overall percentage population growth })}{\text { (Overall percentage land area growth })}
$$

The same form applies for per capita land use:
(6) Per capita land use share of growth $=$ (Overall \% land area growth)

The above two equations follow the relationship based on Prof. Holdren's equation (5) in his 1991 paper. A common growth model follows the form (say for population):

$$
\begin{equation*}
P(t)=P_{0}\left(1+g_{p}\right) t \tag{7}
\end{equation*}
$$

Where $P(t)$ is population at time $t, P_{0}$ is the initial population and $g_{p}$ the growth rate over the interval. Solving for $g_{p}$ the growth rate yields:
(8) $\quad \ln \left(1+g_{p}\right)=(1 / t) \ln \left(P(t) / P_{0}\right)$

Since $\ln (1+x)$ approximately equals $x$ for small values of $x$, equation (8) can be written as:

$$
\begin{equation*}
g_{p}=(1 / t) \ln \left(P(t) / P_{0}\right) \tag{9}
\end{equation*}
$$

The same form of derivation of growth rates can be written for land area $(A)$ and per capita land use (a)

$$
\begin{align*}
& g_{A}=(1 / t) \ln \left(A(t) / A_{0}\right)  \tag{10}\\
& g_{a}=(1 / t) \ln \left(a(t) / a_{0}\right)
\end{align*}
$$

These three equations for the growth rates allow the result of equation (4) to be restated as:
(12) $g P+g_{a}=g_{A}$

Substituting the formulae (equations 9 through 11) for the growth rates and relating the initial and final values of the variables $P, a$ and $A$ over the period of interest into equation (12), the actual calculational relationship becomes:

## (H) METHODOLOGY FOR APPORTIONING SHARES OF SPRAWL

(13) $\ln ($ final population / initial population $)+\ln ($ final per capita land area / initial per capita land area $)=\ln ($ final total land area / initial total land area $)$

In other words, the natural logarithm (ln) of the ratio of the final to initial population, plus the logarithm of the ratio of the final to initial per capita land area (i.e., land consumption per resident), equals the logarithm of the final to the initial total land area.

In the case of the United States (49 states) from 1982 to 2017, this formula would appear as:
(14) $\ln (323,550,993$ residents $/ 230,580,652$ residents $)+\ln (0.358$ acre per resident $/$ 0.312 acre per resident $)=\ln (115,726,400$ acres $/ 71,847,500$ acres $)$

Computing the ratios yields:
(15) $\quad \ln (1.403)+\ln (1.148)=\ln (1.611)$

$$
0.339+0.138=0.477
$$

Then, applying equations (5) and (6), the percentage contributions of population growth and per capita land area growth are obtained by dividing (i.e., normalizing to 100 percent) each side by 0.54381 :

$$
\begin{equation*}
\frac{0.339}{0.477}+\frac{0.138}{0.477}=\frac{0.477}{0.477} \tag{16}
\end{equation*}
$$

Performing these divisions yields:

$$
\begin{equation*}
0.71+0.29=1.0 \tag{17}
\end{equation*}
$$

Thus, we note that in the case of the 49 states of the USA (all except Alaska) from 1982 to 2015, the share of sprawl due to population growth was 71 percent [ 100 percent $x(0.339 / 0.477)$ ], while declining density (i.e., an increase in land area per capita) accounted for 29 percent [ 100 percent $\mathrm{x}(0.138 / 0.477)]$. Note that the sum of both percentages equals 100 percent.

In the main body of this report we modify this gross state-wide percentage of sprawl related to population growth by using a county-by-county weighting approach. This approach accounts for the sprawl that occurs in each county and applies a proportionately greater weight to those counties with greater amounts of sprawl. In essence, sprawl in counties around Flagstaff, Arizona for example, should not be attributed to population growth in counties around Phoenix or Tucson.

In this method, the amount of sprawl related to population growth in each county is summed for all of the counties each of the states. This sum or aggregate is then divided by the total amount of sprawl in the state. Using this procedure, by way of example, 92 percent of the sprawl in Texas between 1982 and 2015 was shown to be related to population growth, which the authors believe is a more accurate rendering of population growth's role than 113 percent, which

## (H) METHODOLOGY FOR APPORTIONING SHARES OF SPRAWL

exaggerates population's role, and implies that all sprawl (and then some) in Texas during that period was related to population growth, which was not the case.
However, the opposite can also occur. That is, hypothetically, the weighted average for a state can also be greater than the gross state-wide percentage.

This is best illustrated by the State of West Virginia (p. D-293 in Appendix D), where the population did not grow from 1982 to 2017, but actually fell by seven percent. Because there was no population growth - indeed there was population decline instead - by our own terminology and procedures, population growth cannot have been related to any sprawl at all in West Virginia in the 1982 to 2017 time period. All sprawl in the state must have been associated with growth in per capita land consumption (i.e., declining population density).

Indeed, this is what is shown on p. D-293. The 827.3 square miles of sprawl in West Virginia from 1982-2017 was all related to declining per capita land consumption, or what we call Per Capita Sprawl. The right-most column, labeled "\% Sprawl Related to Population Growth" shows " 0 ", as it should according to our methodology.

However, it seems a bit absolutist or extreme to conclude that no sprawl at all in the state was related to population growth. How could this be, when individual county results for West Virginia show that population growth did account for some of their own sprawl?

For example, Berkeley County, WV sprawled by 83.4 square miles from 1982 to 2017, a $215 \%$ increase in the area of Developed Land. Its population also grew by 66,545 , a $137 \%$ increase. Our calculations estimate that $75 \%$ of the sprawl in Berkeley County was due to population growth. However, if we examine West Virginia's counties only in the aggregate, these more "granular" results vanish, and that leads to an inaccurate and extreme conclusion that no sprawl at all in the entire state was related to population growth.

But if we add up the counties one by one, weighting them proportionately by how much sprawl and population growth occurred in each county individually, we can obtain a more accurate result for the state as a whole. This is shown in the bottom row of the table for West Virginia (p. D-293 in Appendix D), and indicates that approximately 18 percent of the sprawl (increase in area of Developed Land, or 827.3 square miles) in the state from 1982 to 2017 was related to population growth.

## (I) UNDERMINING THE 30×30 GONSERVATION VISION

## FEDERAL CONSERVATICN AND PIPULATILN POLLCIES AT IDOS

In May 2021, the Biden Administration formally released its grand " $30 \times 30$ " plan in a report called "Conserving and Restoring America the Beautiful." Co-authored by the U.S. Departments of Interior, Commerce, and Agriculture, along with the White House Council on Environmental Quality, the document characterizes itself stirringly as a "preliminary report to the National Climate Task Force recommending a ten-year, locally led campaign to conserve and restore the lands and waters upon which we all depend, and which bind us together as Americans."

The elevated public attention to habitat preservation is a welcome change from the basic disinterest shown during most of our two decades of publishing these sprawl studies. Among many threats to wildlife, including pollution, toxics, invasive species, road mortality, overhunting, or poaching, various studies have found habitat loss is the single most critical threat to the preservation of species.
Preserving natural areas is also important for the quality of life of humans. The presence of open space within and adjacent to our urban areas - and the assurance that this open space will outlast us - serves to counterbalance the stress and strain of modern life. Contact with nature and open space provides both physiological and psychological benefits.

> Nonetheless, many of the same politicians and groups who are ambitiously calling for protecting 30 percent of the United States land area from development by 2030 are also advocating large increases in immigration that would swell the U.S. population even further.

> Most fail to even recognize that U.S. population growth is a major factor in causing the loss of open space and natural habitat in the United States. The White House " $30 \times 30$ "plan, for example, does not have a single reference to U.S. population growth.

That approach doesn't work, according to Joseph Chaimie, former director of the United Nations Population Division. Writing in early 2022 in The Hill, a favorite publication for those who work in and around Congress, he stated: "If the United States intends to address climate change, biodiversity loss, pollution, etc., it must consider how its population affects each issue."

## (I) UNDERMINING THE 30×30 GONSERVATION VISION

He lamented that federal officials for a half-century have ignored the recommendations of a bipartisan federal commission in 1972 to stabilize the U.S. population to reduce pressures on the environment. That failure has had global demographic and environmental consequences. But the United States has a chance to redeem itself: "Gradually stabilizing America's population will provide an exemplary model for other countries to emulate. Rather than racing to increase the size of their respective populations in a world with 8 billion humans and growing, nations would see America moving away from the unsustainable demographic strategy," Chamie wrote.

Congress missed a similar opportunity a quarter-century ago, Gary Wockner wrote in the Las Vegas Sun. The Colorado-based, self-proclaimed "river warrior" recognized for efforts to save wild waterways in many countries decried the failure of federal officials to heed the conclusion in 1996 of President Clinton's Task Force on Population and Consumption that U.S. population stabilization is essential for environmental sustainability. "Time is running out, but we can make sure the next three decades don't mirror the past 30 years of population growth and environmental destruction," he wrote. "President Joe Biden has an opportunity to follow in Clinton's footsteps and finally implement the council's recommendations. Our most pristine and breathtaking places are worth protecting. But we won't be able to save them if our country keeps growing by leaps and bounds."

> The United States has lost well over 20,000 square miles of natural habitat and farmland to development since we at the NumbersUSA Education and Research Foundation began our long series of sprawl studies in the year 2000. The losses have exceeded 35,000 square miles since 1996 when the economic, government, private sector, and environmental leaders on the Clinton task force called on the country to "move toward stabilizing the U.S. population."

At the time of the report, the U.S. population had exceeded 281 million. The task force warned that if the country did not heed its recommendations, "U.S. population is likely to reach 350 million by the year 2030; a level that would place even greater strain on our ability to increase prosperity, clean up pollution, alleviate congestion, manage sprawl, and reduce the overall consumption of resources."

## (I) UNDERMINING THE 30X30 GONSERVATION VISION

Unfortunately, the task force's dismal warning is turning out to be largely precise. U.S. population has already exceeded 332 million in 2022 and is headed for $\mathbf{3 5 5}$ million by 2030, according to the Census Bureau. The imperiled natural habitat, species, and human communities are reviewed in the opening chapters of our study.

Today's urgent national efforts, such as the $30 \times 30$ movement, are based on changing the trajectory of open-space loss by 2030 without changing the trajectory of population growth. Echoing the conclusions of the Clinton task force, our latest national sprawl study finds that formula is highly unlikely to be successful.

The outlook for open-space conservation could be much more positive, however, if Congress Simply would follow the Clinton task force recommendation to adopt annual immigration numerical caps consistent with the goal of stabilizing the country's population size.

## (J) DENSER LIVING DIDN'T STOP LOSS OF OPEN SPAGE

In the United States, nearly all government efforts to combat sprawl have focused on strategies which primarily seek to create denser settlement by changing land use practices.
Our findings, however, indicate that approach will have limited success in saving rural land from development because it fails to address the key reason for current sprawl - population growth and its overwhelming driver, federal immigration policies. Twenty-six states with declining development per resident in the 2002-2017 period provided case studies for that proposition. The residents of those states lived, worked and shopped more densely than prior to 2002. How did that happen? Certainly, some role was played by so-called Smart Growth planning efforts, higher gasoline prices, fiscal and budgetary constraints (limiting new road-building, for example), the increasing popularity of denser city living (pre-Covid pandemic) and its cultural amenities, and the recession-inducing mortgage meltdown in 2008.
The extent to which any of those and still other unforeseen factors and events - such as the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020-2022 - may affect the rate of per capita sprawl in the coming decades is unknown and unpredictable. It may well be, for example, that concerns about high density residential living in the face of pandemics could increase sprawl pressures by raising the preference of consumers for lower-density suburban neighborhoods.
The 26 states with declining development per person are shown in the chart below with negative percentage numbers in green-shaded boxes. As you can see in the column next to them containing the square miles of lost rural land, all 26 states still sprawled over additional large areas of natural habitat and farmland. The population growth in these states simply erased any land-conservation benefit of denser living and better planning.

Change in Land Use Per Person \& Total Land Loss


Change By State in Land Use Per Person \& Total Land Loss (2002-2017)

## (J) DENSER LIVING DIDN'T STOP LOSS OF OPEN SPAGE

Even if all new population could somehow be added to cities without the cities expanding over any new ground, the additional people would still greatly increase the overall ecological footprint of the cities into rural areas. For example, U.S. residents in 2017 on average used or "consumed" 0.356 acre - a little over one-third of an acre - of developed land per resident. But that 0.356 -acre/resident metric does not include relatively unpopulated rural lands - farmlands (cropland, pasture, and rangeland), forests, reservoirs, and mines - that furnish crucial raw materials and products used by every consumer/resident, namely for food, fiber, fuels, water, energy, metals, and minerals. Nor does the 0.356 -acre of developed land include the forestlands needed to absorb each American resident's carbon dioxide $\left(\mathrm{CO}_{2}\right)$ emissions from fossil fuel combustion to produce electricity and propel our vehicles.

All of these ecologically productive lands not covered with pavement and buildings, but used indirectly by each and every U.S. resident (and all human consumers), contribute to the average per capita ecological footprint of each American. This entails approximately 20 acres per person, according to the Global Footprint Network.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eb7L9j48IKot

## THE AUTHORS

LEON KOLANKIEWICZ is Scientific Director for NumbersUSA. He is a national environmental/ natural resources planner and a former planner with the Orange County (California) Environmental Management Agency. He has a B.S. in forestry and wildlife management from Virginia Tech and an M.S. in environmental planning from the University of British Columbia. He has worked as an environmental professional for almost four decades in three countries and more than 40 states, including stints with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, National Marine Fisheries Service, Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation, Department of Environmental Conservation, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, University of Washington, University of New Mexico, and as a Peace Corps Volunteer promoting natural resources conservation in Honduras. He has written or edited more than 400 articles, blog posts, reports, conservation plans, and environmental impact statements, and is the author of Where Salmon Come to Die: An Autumn on Alaska's Raincoast (Pruett, 1993) and a contributor to Life on the Brink: Environmentalists Confront Overpopulation (University of Georgia Press, 2012) and the anthology of classic and contemporary environmental writing Environment and Society: A Reader (New York University Press, 2017). He has been the lead author of more than a dozen studies on sprawl and loss of habitat and farmland for NumbersUSA in the past 23 years.

ROY BECK was one of the nation's first environment-beat newspaper reporters in the 1960s. A graduate of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, he won national recognition for his coverage of urban expansion issues. A former Washington bureau chief for a chain of daily newspapers, he is the author of five public policy books, including Recharting America's Future, and the latest, Back of The Hiring Line: a 200-year history of immigration surges, employer bias, and depression of Black wealth. His articles have appeared in scores of magazines, newspapers and journals. He has lectured widely on the ethical aspects of U.S. population issues and testified before Congress on many occasions. He has co-authored more than a dozen studies on sprawl in the last two decades. He founded NumbersUSA in 1996 to educate the public on the recommendations of two federal commissions on population and environmental sustainability and on economic justice.

ERIC A. RUARK is the Director of Research of NumbersUSA Education \& Research Foundation. He attended Virginia Commonwealth University and the University of Maryland, College Park and has an M.S. in modern European history. He has worked as a researcher on U.S. immigration policy since 2008 and has written extensively on the effects of population growth. His work has been cited in national and international media reports and in his testimony in the U.S. Senate. He is an original signatory in the International Network for Immigration Research.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Reed F. Noss. 2012. Forgotten Grasslands of the South: Natural History and Conservation. Washington, DC: Island Press.
    ${ }^{2}$ Adam J. Terando, Jennifer Costanza, Curtis Belyea, Robert R. Dunn, Alexa McKerrow, Jaime A. Collazo. 2014. The Southern Megalopolis: Using the Past to Predict the Future of Urban Sprawl in the Southeast U.S. PLOS ONE, Vol. 9, Issue 7. July. Available online at: www.plosone.org

[^1]:    ${ }^{103}$ Rubenstein, N.R. The Psychological Value of Open Space. Chapter 4 in The Benefits of Open Space. The Great Swamp Watershed Association. 1997. Available on the World Wide Web at:
    http://www.greatswamp.org.
    ${ }^{104}$ Ulrich, R. 1979. Visual landscapes and psychological well-being. Landscape Research, 4(1): 17-23. 105 Ulrich, R. 1983. Aesthetic and affective response to natural environment. Chapter 3 in I. Altman, \& J.
    F. Wohlwill (Eds.), Human Behavior and Environment: Volume 6 (pp. 85-126). New York: Plenum Press; Ulrich, R. 1984. Views through a window may influence recovery from surgery. Science, 224, 420-421.
    ${ }^{106}$ Allyson Chiu. 2023. Living near green spaces could add 2.5 years to your life, new research finds.
    Washington Post. June 28. Available online at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/climate-solutions/2023/06/28/aging-green-spaces-nature-health/; Kyeezu Kim et al. 2023. Inequalities in urban
    greenness and epigenetic aging: Different associations by race and neighborhood soicioeconomic status.
    Science Advances. 28 June. Vol. 9, Issue 26. Available online at: https://www.science.org/doi/10.1126/sciadv.adf8140.

[^2]:    ${ }^{107}$ Cimprich, B. E. 1990. Attentional fatigue and restoration in individuals with cancer. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan.
    ${ }^{108}$ Kaplan, S. (1992). The Restorative Environment: Nature and human experience. In D. Relf (ed.), The Role of horticulture in human well-being and social development: A National Symposium [Proceedings of Conference Held 19-21 April 1990, Arlington, VA] (pp. 134-142). Portland, OR: Timber Press.
    ${ }^{109}$ Kaplan, R., \& Kaplan, S. (1989). The Experience of nature: A Psychological perspective. New York: Cambridge University Press.

[^3]:    ${ }^{110}$ Op. cit. Footnote \#48. Rubenstein.
    ${ }^{111}$ John Muir. The Mountains of California. First published in 1894.

[^4]:    ${ }^{89}$ U.S. Department of Agriculture. 2009. Summary Report: 2007 National Resources Inventory, Natural Resources Conservation Service, Washington, DC, and Center for Survey Statistics and Methodology, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa. 123 pages. http://www.nrcs.usda.gov/technical/NRI/2007/2007_NRI_Summary.pdf.
    ${ }^{90}$ Ibid.

[^5]:    ${ }^{91}$ Ibid.
    92 Ibid.
    93 Ibid.
    94 Ibid.

