SEPT. 30, 2024

TIME

In Trouble.

time.com

TIME Magazine

[Sep 30, 2024]

- **Articles**

Articles

- How Kamala Harris Knocked Donald Trump Off Course
- This Is Life in America's Water-Inequality Capital. It Might Be About to Change
- Trump New York Hush-Money Sentencing Delayed Until After Election
- India's Supreme Court Orders Striking Doctors to Return to Work
- How We Chose the Democracy Defenders
- From Scooters to Microtransit, Cities Are Embracing Alternatives to Short Car Trips
- How Cities Are Clamping Down on Traffic to Help Fight Emissions
- How TIME and Statista Determined the World's Best Companies of 2024
- James Earl Jones Was So Much More Than Darth Vader
- Kate Middleton Announces She's Completed Chemotherapy
- 7 Metrics Everyone Should Know About Their Own Health

- **Why Mosquitoes Are So Dangerous Right Now**
- **The Superstorm Era Is Upon Us**
- **The Sorry State of Tunisia's Democracy**
- **Does Text Therapy Really Work?**
- **Where the Koch Network Is Putting Their Money—Anywhere But Trump**
- **Companies Shouldn't Overlook This IRA Fund That's Boosting Local Climate Projects**
- **The Heartache of Calling Israel Home**
- **Welcome to the Golden Age of Scams**
- **How We Chose the 2024 Latino Leaders**
- **Kate Winslet Is Reclaiming Her Image—Just Don't Call Her Brave**
- **There Will Never Be Another Sally Rooney**
- **What It Means to Be a Man, According to UFC's Dana White**

How Kamala Harris Knocked Donald Trump Off Course

Brian Bennett is the senior White House correspondent at TIME, based in the Washington, D.C. bureau. He has covered wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, interviewed world leaders, traveled across the globe with President Trump and President Biden, and written extensively about intelligence, immigration and the fallout of major disasters.

Eric Cortellessa is a staff writer at TIME, based in the Washington, D.C. bureau. He covers Congress, Donald Trump, and national politics.

Philip Elliott is a senior correspondent at TIME, based in the Washington, D.C. bureau, where he covers national campaigns, elections, and government. He also writes TIME's politics newsletter, The D.C. Brief.

The two candidates for President of the United States are as different as any duo in history. A billionaire businessman versus a career prosecutor and politician; a son of privilege against the

daughter of a middle-class single mother; one reckless, one cautious; a former commander in chief against the first Black and South Asian woman to claim the nomination. They hail from different coasts, different generations, different tax brackets. But as stark as the choice facing American voters this November may be, the nation had never gotten a glimpse of Donald Trump and Kamala Harris side by side before they squared off in Philadelphia Sept. 10, in what may be their sole debate before Election Day.

For the Republican, the U.S. is a hellscape of rising crime, unchecked immigration and economic misery. For the Democrat, the nation is beset by the division Trump has sowed, the abortion bans he ushered in, and the economic policies he passed that favor the rich at the expense of the rest. But beyond the canned salvos and campaign boilerplate, the high-stakes clash underscored how dramatically the presidential race has changed since mid-summer, when even top Democrats conceded Trump appeared to be sailing to victory in his rematch with President Joe Biden. As plain as it is that Trump wishes he were still running against Biden, it is equally apparent that Harris has rattled him.

The split-screen said it all: Trump glowered and grimaced, spewing old grievances and strange new attacks. The former President repeated a baseless Internet rumor that migrant invaders were killing and eating pet dogs and cats in Springfield, Ohio, and claimed that Harris “wants to do transgender operations on illegal aliens in prison.” With sharp ripostes and canny traps, Harris baited Trump into boasting about his crowd sizes, grousing about the 2020 election, and standing up for the rioters who attacked the U.S. Capitol to thwart the peaceful transfer of power. In the nine years since Trump first burst onto the scene, no opponent—Democrat or Republican—has dealt with the 800-lb. gorilla of American politics as coolly, or gotten under his skin to such a degree.

Click here to order your copy of this issue of TIME

Which is how it's been going for Trump for a while now. Despite weeks of speculation that Harris was poised to replace Biden at the top of the ticket, Trump and his campaign were caught flat-footed, left lurching from one attack line to another. More than once, top aides thought they had settled on a strategy, only to see the candidate himself upend it on the fly. According to a person close to Trump, the level of campaign infighting and backstabbing rivaled the 2016 operation**,** an infamous snake pit. Facing a new opponent, Trump reverted to his old ways.

In a matter of weeks, Trump frittered away his commanding position. Harris' smooth debut galvanized the Democratic base and

unlocked a fundraising behemoth that dwarfed that of Trump and his allies. In the handful of pivotal swing states, her campaign is building on formidable operations she inherited from Biden, and boasts a striking advantage in cash and reserved ad time between now and Election Day. “I think everyone was caught off guard by the way it shifted so dramatically,” says a person close to Trump.

For all that, the race remains deadlocked. The polls show Trump and Harris effectively tied across the battleground states with both sides of the electorate more enthusiastic about voting this fall than they were earlier this year. Despite her deft consolidation of power and surge of support, Harris remains undefined for many Americans. And for all his late-summer stumbles, Trump is in a stronger position now than at this stage of the race in either 2016 or 2020.

The biggest variable in the final weeks of the campaign may be Trump’s trademark indiscipline. The campaign operation that brought him to his peak in July remains in place, layered over with late arrivals more inclined to “let Trump be Trump.” The candidate himself has cut deals for support with once-unlikely allies like Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and Elon Musk, and continues to test new attacks against Harris in search of one that will stick. Either he will become only the second President to win back the White House after defeat, or he will author one of the most dramatic political collapses of modern times.

Less than 24 hours before everything changed, an exuberant Trump stood on a rally stage in Grand Rapids, Mich., cracking jokes next to his new running mate, J.D. Vance. Trump asked attendees if they’d rather he run against Biden or Harris. The crowd cheered their preference for Biden, who was at that moment huddled with advisers in Rehoboth Beach, Del., mulling an exit from the race. A day later, Biden was out, Harris was mobilized, and Trump’s bravado evaporated.

Behind the scenes, the former President was livid and disoriented at the abrupt turn of events. “Obviously, we had to ditch a bunch of stuff, and then overnight start new attacks,” says a campaign official. Trump fumed at how the media was covering Harris’ entry into the race, griping that “they never talk about me that way,” according to a second campaign official. Trump felt like he was being punished for vanquishing his opponent 108 days too early. After a July on offense, the campaign spent August on defense, explaining away Vance’s past statements about “childless cat ladies” and clumsily making amends with Republican Governor Brian Kemp of Georgia, just weeks after Trump bashed him for not backing the baseless claims that the former President really won the 2020 election.

Trump, who previously reduced opponents to punch lines with pithy nicknames, tried out and then ditched multiple ones for Harris. Laffin’ Kamala. Lyin’ Kamala. Crazy Kamala. None seemed to land like he wanted. More recently, he’s favored Comrade Kamala. “It’s like a boxer with his guard up trying out jabs,” says a former Trump aide. “I think it has taken him a while to get there with Kamala.”

As Harris gained in the polls, bringing battleground states that tilted toward Trump into a dead heat, tensions within the campaign

bubbled into view. Trump brought in sharp-elbowed loyalists from his previous runs, including 2016 campaign manager Corey Lewandowski, signaling a new power struggle afoot. Lara Trump, the Republican National Committee co-chair and the former President's daughter-in-law, says Chris LaCivita and Susie Wiles are still running the campaign's strategy, as they have for more than a year. The return of Lewandowski, she says, represents a revival of the "scrappy" character of Trump's first campaign. "He brings back some of the spunk from 2016," she says.

For many Republicans, the only shift they want to see is an end to Trump's sexist and racist attacks on Harris. Trump has said world leaders would treat her like a "play toy" and amplified crude comments about her on social media that implied she had traded sexual favors to help her political career. At a gathering of Black journalists, he claimed Harris only recently "happened to turn Black." Bringing up how Harris frames her identity was a targeted effort to charge Harris as inauthentic, says the person close to Trump. He said, 'OK, no one is hitting her, I'm just going to do it myself,'" the person says.

Read more: *The Reintroduction of Kamala Harris*.

That explanation doesn't fly with Republican strategists and conservative movement leaders, many of whom have pleaded with Trump to steer clear of such comments and focus on the issues. "Don't give people an opportunity to vote emotionally," says a frustrated GOP operative working on the Trump election effort. The candidate appears unmoved. During an Aug. 21 rally in Asheboro, N.C., he drew laughs as he mimicked his advisers telling him, "'Sir, please stick to policy, don't get personal,'" and joked about firing them.

Podcaster Lex Fridman made one of the most direct efforts to get Trump to tone it down, telling him in an interview this month that he was more effective offering a positive vision for the future rather than criticizing Democrats. The former President rejected the premise. “Yeah, I think you have to criticize, though,” Trump said. “I think they’re nasty.”

Many Republicans now seem more resigned to Trump doubling down on his divisive strategy through Election Day. “Trump should be talking issues, not throwing personal insults all over the place,” says Charlie Black, a veteran Republican strategist who was a senior adviser on John McCain’s 2008 presidential campaign. “But he won’t do that. He doesn’t appear capable of it.”

In the minds of Trump defenders, the critics are looking at the situation all wrong. Trump enters the final stretch of the race with a clearer path to victory than in either of his last two campaigns. In the Real Clear Politics polling average for must-win Pennsylvania, he’s tied, whereas he was down 4.3% at this point in 2020 and 6.2% in 2016. Georgia and North Carolina are effectively tied, but advisers believe he is the favorite to pull out both traditionally red states. If Trump takes those three battlegrounds, campaign officials argue, the election is his. Polling in the last two elections, they

note, underestimated his support. On the other hand, argues Democratic strategist Simon Rosenberg, there's been a different pattern since the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade* in 2022: "Republicans have underperformed public polling and expectations and we've overperformed."

That it's even this close is a cause for optimism insist Trump confidants. "This is all during Kamala's salad days, her debut, her convention, her selection of the running mate, her monster fundraising numbers," says Kellyanne Conway, a former Trump aide who still advises him. "If you look at the metrics during the last five weeks, she should be leading him everywhere, and she's not."

They also note some moves by the Trump campaign since Harris' entry, most prominently persuading Kennedy to drop his independent bid and endorse Trump after weeks of prodding from Donald Trump Jr. and venture capitalist Omeed Malik. While Team Harris believes that Kennedy's blessing will alienate moderate voters who recoil from the conspiracy theorist, Trump's orbit believes it will coax more voters into their column. "By him coming off the ballot in some of these places, that is a benefit to the Trump team," says Lewandowski.

In the coming weeks, Trump officials tell TIME, the campaign's strategy is to continue to cast Harris as a far-left chameleon while keeping the focus on immigration, the economy, and crime—the issues on which Trump polls best. They also intend to make better use of resources they squandered in 2020, including a vote-by-mail operation targeted to boost Republican turnout. Vance will be deployed as "the disciplined policy attack dog," says a campaign official.

Read more: *How Far Trump Would Go*.

Trump, on the other hand, has adopted a different media strategy: interviews with podcasters who are popular among young men, such as Fridman, Shawn Ryan, and Logan Paul. Trump may be the first major candidate to so aggressively court the “frat vote”—a cohort of men below the age of 30 who could tip the scales in swing states like Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. At the same time, the campaign is planning a tour of female surrogates to target suburban women voters. If the campaign wasn’t as ready for Harris as it should have been in late July, says Trump ally Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, “they are now.”

Trump’s team is betting that his singular approach to politics can produce another victory. They know their strategy is vulnerable to the whims of their boss—someone who has long trusted, above all, his own instincts. Wiles and LaCivita may have built a disciplined operation designed to get him over the line, but in the final stretch, Trump is surrounding himself more and more with a rotating cast of loyalists who are encouraging him to embrace his impulses.

Squared off against his new opponent on stage in Philadelphia, those impulses sent the former President careening into trouble. By

the end, Trump looked like a man flailing for a solution to an opponent he has yet to figure out, while Harris continued her tidy policy pivot to the center. Her closing statement espoused a vision of unity, strength, and shared prosperity. His was a bitter lament. “We’re a failing nation,” he said. “We’re laughed at all over the world.”

But the clearest sign that Trump’s bid for a return to the White House may be in trouble came after the debate ended. His top advisers claimed victory in a prepared statement hailing his “masterful” performance. Harris’ immediately asked for another showdown next month.—*With reporting by Nik Popli/Washington*

Correction, Sept. 11

The original version of this story mischaracterized as false Donald Trump’s statement accusing Kamala Harris of supporting “transgender operations on illegal aliens in prison” As a presidential candidate in 2019, Harris filled out a questionnaire saying she supported taxpayer-funded gender transition treatment for detained immigrants.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7019747

This Is Life in America's Water-Inequality Capital. It Might Be About to Change

Elliot Ross

This project was supported by funding from the Center for Contemporary Documentation

In the Navajo Nation—a sweeping landscape of red-rock canyons and desert that takes in the Four Corners—water is not taken for granted. Here, more than 1 in 3 Diné, as Navajo people call themselves, must haul water to their homes, often across long distances. The Diné use the least amount of water per person of anyone in the U.S., and pay the most.

Eighty miles away, residents of Utah's Washington County rely on essentially the same water supply, yet pay less for that water than almost anyone else in the U.S. and, until recently, consumed the most. The contrast reflects not only inequities of power and access. It also carries a warning that reaches beyond two arid communities.

A megadrought has desiccated the American West, which is drier than it has been in 1,200 years. On June 22, the planet experienced its hottest day in recorded history, breaking a record set one day earlier. Dust clouds churn on the horizon. Much of the world may be headed this way.

The problem, as old as the land itself, was predicted. The hydrology of the Colorado River Basin is highly variable, a fact that was not fully appreciated (or was flatly ignored) by those who drafted the foundational policy that governs water use in much of the West—the 1922 Colorado River Compact. Despite warnings from experts, the compact based the amount of water to be divided among its signatories on a brief period that proved to be one of the wettest in history. This flaw was compounded by tremendous population growth, Indigenous dispossession, competing values, procrastination, and deadlocked disputes over how water is used.

Now the federal government is drafting a new plan, one that anticipates a drier future. Two countries, seven states, 30 Tribes, cities from Denver to San Diego, and local water managers are hashing out the Post-2026 Operational Guidelines, which when finalized next year promise to set the world’s most litigated river system on a sustainable path. It would also include significant tribal input, meant to address structural inequities in a water supply divided along racial lines. Indigenous communities, whose relationship with the federal government has been largely defined by broken promises, remain deeply skeptical.

On paper, the Navajo Nation is drenched in water. Under the "first in line, first in right" principle that defines water use in the West, the Diné have first dibs on the same declining supply that serves Washington County, which has roughly as many people on one-tenth the land: the Colorado River, its tributaries, and two underlying aquifers. Yet little of it reaches them. In 2023, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, in *Arizona v. Navajo Nation*, that the federal government has no obligation to provide water to the Navajo Nation. But by the time of the ruling, a crucial exercise of "first rights" was already in peril.

The Navajo-Gallup Water Supply Project aims to deliver treated water from the San Juan River to 240,000 people via 300 miles of

pipes. Conceived in the 1960s and begun in 2009, the $2.1 billion project must be completed by Dec. 31 or the Navajo Nation loses its right to that water. It’s far from done. Its fate resides in U.S. House Bill 3977, which would extend the deadline to 2029 and appropriate $689.45 million to finish the job.

Washington County has a $2 billion water project of its own—one of the most ambitious and contentious in U.S. history. The Lake Powell Pipeline would involve 13 pumping stations pushing water up 2,000 ft. across 140 miles. The Washington County Water Conservancy District (locally known as the District) calls the project critical to a population that demographers predict may double by midcentury.

Here is a place drenched not on paper, but in fact. Thousands of swimming pools glitter like diamonds in a desert bounded by green rectangles of Kentucky bluegrass. A local economy embracing tourism promotes the comforts of an oasis: shady tree canopies, ornamental fountains, manicured landscaping, and a few miles outside St. George, a new $1 billion golf resort—the county's 17th. News outlets in the 2010s put daily water consumption at over 300 gallons per person. Today, the District claims 153 gallons. Either figure towers over the 5 gallons used daily by the Diné, who must drive miles over rough roads to collect it.

"Water is life," Monument Valley resident Tom Holiday says, waiting for the 300-gallon tank in the back of his truck to fill. "People in the cities take it for granted and water their plants and grass. Here it's precious. We think of water as a deity."

In places where water is scarce, living as if it were plentiful is no longer in fashion. The Lake Powell Pipeline is derided as a literal pipe dream by the conservation groups, Tribes, and states that have delayed its approval. Under general manager Zach Renstrom, the District pivoted to water conservation, committing to a 20-year plan that will require vast sums of federal and state dollars, plus

local fees, to maximize existing supplies; create a $1 billion Regional Reuse System; and add 60 more miles to 275 miles of pipeline and 18 more wells, some up to a mile deep, to the 30 already in use. “We are wringing every last drop out of this lemon,” says Brock Belnap, the District’s associate general manager. It’s impressive what a community can achieve when it’s empowered by both policy and money.

Washington County isn’t the cause of the Navajo-Nation’s thirst. The water gap is an enduring legacy of manifest destiny; the infrastructure, and legislation, that came with it still largely define how water is used. In the American West, irrigated agriculture uses a whopping 86% of fresh water consumed—the largest share by far going to animal-forage crops like alfalfa. Privately, a St. George resident told me, “Why should I compromise the things that bring

me enjoyment when alfalfa is still being grown? I hate to say that out loud, but that's the reality." On the other hand, since 2002, water–strapped Southern Nevada, including Las Vegas, cut its use by 26% while adding 750,000 people—proof that measures like the Post-2026 Operational Guidelines really matter.

Moving between the two communities for a year, I found residents of Washington County largely unaware of the Diné plight, and

earnest in their dismay. For their part, the Diné expressed neither surprise at how much water people in Washington County consumed, nor anger at the benefits that water brought. They just ask for the same opportunity.

Leaning against his wooden corral, framed by the iconic pinnacles of Monument Valley, rancher Billie Charlie put it succinctly: “We must prioritize humans, not corporations. Prioritize balance.”

The Navajo Nation

Water is Life. People in the cities take it for granted and water their plants and grass, here it’s precious. We think of water as a deity. Water is living.

Tom Holiday, Navajo Nation Native

Eli Neztsosie

On a brutally hot day, Eli Neztsosie fills his family's cattle troughs, and gets a drink for himself, from his homemade water truck. The hardships of daily life have led many Diné to move off reservation and into cities with modern conveniences and more opportunity. "The way I see my remote way of living is not a luxury—it's a necessity," Neztsosie says.

> Without keeping the traditional lifestyle you lose the language, the heritage, the bloodline. It's the lifestyle that's the glue, the binder that holds it all together. That in itself is the biggest sacrifice. It's hard. It takes a lot of commitment.
>
> *Eli Neztsosie*

Linda Jackson, Monument Valley

“My kids would say, ‘Mom, did we ever have running water?’” Linda Jackson says. “And I would say, ‘Kids, we did all the running.’” The average American uses 16 gal. to bathe each day. For Jackson, a whole shower takes 2½ gal., so in the bathroom built separate from her house, she just washes her hair.

The tribal park told us we cannot plant trees because it’ll ruin the scenery. We want to plant fruit trees to not have to rely on Walmart.
Residents are suffering for the preservation of beauty. I told them, “Why didn’t you say that when you drilled the uranium mines?”

Linda Jackson

Effie Yazzie

According to the nonprofit DigDeep, the Diné are 67 times as likely to lack running water as the average American, and spend 71 times as much for what they do get. Yazzie can opt to fill the 300-gallon truck-bed tank either in Goulding, 45 rough minutes away, where lines often stretch three hours, or fill from natural springs in the area, and risk contamination from livestock and uranium. The readiest access comes during the summer monsoon months, when water sometimes collects in shady canyon recesses.

TSE BIT NDZISGAII
COMMUNITY CENTER

Nolan Stevens, Cameron, Ariz.

“One of the reasons I left is because there’s no economy here, no jobs. As a result, my kids grew up off the rez and they lost some of their identity. Down here, you see a lot of people who’ve given up, given up hope. They leave. So, I figured I should do something, and agriculture might be the way–to grow food for my community.”

Most of the infrastructure is owned by the Navajo Nation–they have a monopoly. So farming is one of the only things a private citizen can do. Which is why I want to do it–to bring my family back to the land.

Nolan Stevens

Washington County, Utah

Use It, or Lose It

“We need to learn how to thrive with half the water, two generations down the line,” says sixth-generation farmer Randall Holt. Holt Farms LLC, one of the area’s largest employers, relies almost entirely on groundwater in an arid valley that has seen some of the nation’s worst aquifer depletion. In collaboration with the State of Utah, the Holts are trialing a voluntary approach to water use that challenges the “use it or lose it” principle that defines Western water rights—trading consumption for flexibility in a cooperative effort to bring the system back into balance. In the Colorado River Basin, perhaps the most contentious debate centers on the question of whether agriculture should be allowed to use so much water.

We need to figure out how to survive with half the water, two generations down the line.

Randall Holt

If you don’t have food, you have a lot of problems. If you have food, you don’t have one.

Randall Holt

Why should I compromise the things that bring me enjoyment when alfalfa is still being grown? I hate to say that out loud, but that's the reality.

Washington County Resident

Black Desert Resort

With 17 golf courses within a half hour's drive of St. George, the contrast of green with the cracked red desert is a stunning sight. The District estimates that one in 12 gallons of its water goes to keeping all of this grass alive, which contributes to the county's ranking as one of the thirstiest place in America. The love of grass and greenery in Mormon Country is both cultural and emotional. The prophecy of Isaiah 35:1, "the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose," has long guided the Latter Day Saints in their efforts beginning in 1847 to replumb many of Utah's rivers to serve their communities.

—With additional reporting by Avery MacLear

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7019660

Trump New York Hush-Money Sentencing Delayed Until After Election

Nik Popli is a reporter at TIME, based in the Washington, D.C. bureau. He covers economic policy and national politics, focusing on Congress, technology, and the economy.

The judge overseeing Donald Trump's hush-money case in Manhattan has postponed sentencing until after the 2024 election, meaning voters won't know if the former President will face jail time as they head to the polls.

Trump, the Republican nominee, was convicted in May on 34 counts of falsifying business records. In a ruling on Friday, New York supreme court Judge Juan Merchan said that sentencing will now happen on Nov. 26. It had been scheduled for Sept. 18, about seven weeks before Election Day.

Trump's team had requested the delay, and it was granted without objection from the Manhattan District Attorney's office. His lawyers argued that a sentencing before the election would unfairly impact voters' perceptions and, by extension, the outcome of the

race. Trump is the first ever former President to be criminally convicted, a situation made more extraordinary by the fact he's running for the Oval Office again. "This matter is one that stands alone, in a unique place in this Nation's history," Merchan wrote.

Merchan acknowledged the political sensitivity of the timing of the sentencing: "Adjourning decision on the motion and sentencing, if such is required, should dispel any suggestion that the Court will have issued any decision or imposed sentence either to give an advantage to, or to create a disadvantage for, any political party and or any candidate for any office."

In a statement posted to social media on Friday, Trump wrote, "The Manhattan D.A. Witch Hunt has been postponed because everyone realizes that there was NO CASE, I DID NOTHING WRONG!"

The decision to postpone sentencing until after the election comes as the outcome of the trial is also being considered. In requesting the delay, Trump's lawyers had argued that they would need more time to weigh next steps after Merchan's expected ruling on their request to overturn the verdict on immunity grounds. Merchan is set to deliver his decision on that request on Sept. 16—just two days before sentencing had been scheduled.

Trump claims that the U.S. Supreme Court's recent ruling on presidential immunity, which granted broad protection to presidential conduct, could affect his New York state case and may provide grounds to overturn the conviction. However, prosecutors have argued that the Supreme Court's ruling on presidential immunity had "no bearing" on a state case related to a sex-scandal cover up before he was elected president.

"This case should be rightfully terminated, as we prepare for the Most Important Election in the History of our Country," Trump wrote in his Friday social media statement, calling the New York case a "political attack."

Trump’s conviction in New York stemmed from his involvement in a scheme to cover up a $130,000 payment made to former adult film star Stormy Daniels just before the 2016 presidential election. The payment was made to prevent her from publicly discussing an alleged sexual encounter with Trump. The Manhattan jury found that Trump falsified business records to disguise the nature of the reimbursement, a conviction that carries a potential sentence of up to four years in prison. However, as a first-time offender, Trump could receive a lighter sentence or probation.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7018761

India’s Supreme Court Orders Striking Doctors to Return to Work

India’s highest court has ordered protesting doctors who have been on strike as they demand better working conditions after the rape and murder of a trainee doctor, to return to work by 5 p.m. Tuesday or face “adverse action.”

Hundreds of doctors across India have remained off work and at one point more than a million were expected to participate in some form of a strike following the news of the Kolkata murder on Aug. 9. Some have since returned to work. Hundreds of thousands of women also participated in a protest march. The West Bengal Junior Doctor’s Front, which is spearheading the strike effort in the region, said in an Instagram post that it is demanding all perpetrators of the crime are identified and that an investigation is held to look into possible tampering of evidence. The group has also demanded that the Kolkata police commissioner resigns, and democratic elections are held for all decision-making committees within medical colleges. Sandip Ghosh resigned as principal of the medical college where the crime took place on Aug. 12 and was reportedly suspended by the West Bengal health department in

early September relating to a separate ongoing investigation into financial misconduct.

The victim was a 31-year-old woman training to be a doctor at RG Kar Medical College, a government-run hospital. She reportedly fell asleep in a seminar room after a 36-hour shift, and her severely injured body was discovered by colleagues the morning of Aug. 9. A hospital volunteer was arrested on Aug. 10 and a Kolkata court rejected his request for bail on Sep. 7, according to *The Hindu*. India's Central Bureau of Investigation is expected to file an updated status report into the incident and possible mishandling of evidence by the West Bengal government on Sept. 17.

Read More: *Women Protest on India's Independence Day After Murder of Medic*

The strikes that followed have taken a toll on the country's healthcare system, particularly in the state of West Bengal, where the murder took place and strikes are ongoing. Because junior doctors have been striking, senior doctors have been forced to fill in, according to The Economic Times. Kapil Sibal, the lawyer representing the state of West Bengal before the Supreme Court, claimed that at least 23 patients have died as a result of the doctors' strike.

"We know what is happening on the ground, but doctors must now come back to work. They cannot say senior doctors are working, so we will not work." Chief Justice Dhananjaya Yeshwant Chandrachud said in court, according to India Today. "If doctors do not resume work, then we cannot stop the government from taking disciplinary action."

The doctors have claimed that they have taken necessary precautions to prevent harm from coming to patients due to the strikes, including creating a new telemedicine service that launched

Aug. 31, which they say helps relieve the burden for patients, according to the West Bengal Junior Doctors Front Instagram page.

Dr. Arimpa Saha, a junior doctor on strike at Calcutta National Medical College told TIME that she was disheartened by the court's focus on the doctors' return to work as opposed to justice for the victim. She said in a Whatsapp message that, while the court focused on the strike, she believed there had been little discussion in the Sept. 9 hearing about "30 days of injustice," which she said was the reason so many doctors had taken to the streets.

"We Demand Justice. We want fair punishment for all of those whose heart are as polluted as the mind [sic]," the West Bengal Junior Doctors Front said in a post on Instagram.

As of now, Saha says she and her fellow doctors are unlikely to work tomorrow, despite the Supreme Court's orders. The West Bengal Junior Doctor's Front has yet to officially react to the Supreme Court's news.

It is unclear at this stage what the implications for disobeying the Supreme Court's order will be. "If there is continuous abstaining from work then disciplinary action can be taken against [the doctors] and they cannot be oblivious to the general concerns of the community whom they are intended to serve," Chief Justice Chandrachud said in court, according to the Hindustan Times.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7019308

How We Chose the Democracy Defenders

Sam Jacobs is Editor in Chief at TIME where he leads TIME's global newsroom and its journalism across all platforms. Since joining TIME in 2013, Jacobs has held a variety of senior editorial leadership positions. Previously, he was national political correspondent at Reuters, associate editor at Newsweek and staff reporter for The Daily Beast. His writing has appeared in the Boston Globe and New York Observer.

While many Americans may have Nov. 5, Election Day, circled on their calendars, the presidential election is already well under way. In-person voting has started in Pennsylvania, perhaps this year's most-contested state. It will begin this month in four others, ranging from Minnesota to Vermont. Absentee ballots for military and overseas voters are required to be mailed out by Sept. 21. In truth, "Election Day" is now months long.

But, though the past three elections witnessed historically high turnout, polls still show widespread unease among Americans about the integrity of our election system. Satisfaction with how democracy works in the U.S. is at an all-time low. The second

assassination attempt on former Donald Trump is yet another example of the precarity of our political moment. We know that unease has spread among Americans about the durability of democracy, a sentiment that crosses party lines and chips at the foundation of what many believe makes America an example to the world.

Trump has been the loudest voice questioning the integrity of our vote, including doing so in TIME's interview with the candidate in April—but the fears of many voters go beyond any single candidate. Social media silos are deepening. The spread of artificial intelligence makes it ever easier for foreign misinformation campaigns to spread. Local news deserts widen, harming our ability to find trusted information about candidates as well as providing voters with reliable guidance on the nuts and bolts of our elections.

To do our part to encourage civic participation, we are launching a new initiative called TIME Votes. This fall, TIME's reporters and editors will be publishing a series of articles explaining how America's electoral process works and how readers can best participate in it. These stories will provide basic information about voting and the differences across each state. We'll be publishing guidance meant to help readers become more informed observers of the political process on topics like fundraising and polling. At the same time, our political reporters will be traveling the country with the candidates and speaking to voters to best understand the issues that will determine their votes.

We also know that the work of encouraging civic participation and trust in our democratic process ultimately comes down to each of us, so we are launching our Democracy Defenders initiative, shining a spotlight on leaders who are working to boost voter participation, reverse disenfranchisement, and combat misinformation. This includes election administrators like Wisconsin's Meagan Wolfe, who encourages those concerned about

the integrity of the vote to become poll workers themselves. “Actually going to see it for themselves does give them a lot more confidence,” she says. At Headcount, Lucille Wenegieme has her sights set on registering 520,000 young voters at venues like concerts and Major League Baseball games. Ben Nimmo is a threat intelligence investigator at OpenAI (a TIME licensing and technology partner), where he exposes covert influence operations. Together they join other inspiring state, corporate, and nonprofit leaders who are stepping up to defend our democratic process.

This is the 26th presidential election during which readers have turned to TIME. We thank you for your trust and hope to continue to live up to it.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7021330

From Scooters to Microtransit, Cities Are Embracing Alternatives to Short Car Trips

Joey Lautrup is a senior video producer at TIME.

Almost 70% of the world's population is expected to live in urban areas by 2050. Finding a way for people to get around those cities while tackling emissions presents a conundrum: Transportation accounts for a third of greenhouse gas emissions in cities and public transport is integral to achieving decarbonization goals. So far, more than 700 metros worldwide have committed to halving their greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 to comply with the Paris Agreement's goal of limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius. But getting people from their homes to buses, light rails or other public transport can be a challenge.

While mass public transit in cities is excellent for carrying commuters across long distances, it doesn't always begin or end where commuters need it to. Getting to the bus or metro stop from home and to work can be a challenge, potentially discouraging using public transit in the first place. In the U.S., the maximum distance most people will walk to get to public transit is around ¼

mile. Micromobility—shared scooters, bikes, and other forms of shared individual vehicles—is one way to bridge this gap, reducing traffic and congestion, and decreasing carbon emissions at the same time. Around two-thirds of shared mobility riders reported that they used shared micromobility to connect to transit. According to the North American Bikeshare and Scootershare Association**,** in 2022, shared micromobility offset approximately 74 million pounds of carbon dioxide emissions by replacing auto trips across North America.

"To the degree that it is replacing trips that would otherwise be taken with a car, micromobility has a big climate impact," says Colin Murphy, director of research and consulting at the nonprofit Shared-Use Mobility Center. More than half of all trips in the U.S. by car are less than three miles, the sweet spot that most riders are able to comfortably cover with things like shared scooters or bikes. If some of these can be substituted with lower-emitting forms of transport, it can help cities lower their carbon emissions, he adds.

Already, more than 400 cities across the U.S. have. Cities like Oswego, N.Y. and Nashville, TN, have partnered with Bird, an e-scooter ride-sharing company to reduce the amount of passenger cars in city centers. Bird Rides estimates introducing e-scooters to Oswego could remove 112,500 lbs, or 56 tons, of carbon dioxide annually by using these scooters rather than alternative transportation. Improving access to micromobility initiatives has also had an added benefit of also reducing environmental hazards like air pollution and increasing safety by having less cars on the road. When planned with equity in mind, it can increase access to public transit in underserved communities.

"Micromobility can help create new connections and it can improve existing connections. It is one tool in the toolbox, but it depends on an environment where there is robust public transit," he adds.

Better and adaptive infrastructure, such as dedicated bike lanes, and parking areas, are key for making micromobility more accessible. But for people who can't use scooters and e-bikes because of disability, age, or distance, other shared mobility strategies have also been explored to reduce the use of personal vehicles.

Earlier this year, Via, which provides digital infrastructure for public transportation, partnered with Jersey City to create an on-demand app-based public ride-share service. Via Jersey City uses TransitTech software from Via to match multiple riders headed in the same direction into one shared minivan at $2 per ride. Trips are free to and from the newly-reopened Port Liberte Ferry terminal. Via estimates that almost 6 million miles of driving have been avoided since 2020.

In Lake Tahoe, where cars are heavily used, transportation has one of the largest impacts on the environment causing congestion, carbon emissions, and runoff that pollutes the blue waters of Lake Tahoe. To combat this, the League to Save Lake Tahoe has worked since 2018 to bring microtransit solutions to the area. Now three microtransit systems are in operation in Lake Tahoe: Mountaineer in Olympic Valley, Tart Connect in the North Shore, and Lake Link in the South Shore. Using a curb-to-curb system, riders can request free rides via an app and the algorithm will match them with a shared van.

"It's not a standalone system. The vision is that it helps solve that first and last mile and feeds people into the traditional fixed-route system," says Gavin Feiger, policy director at the League to Save Lake Tahoe. Since launching Lake Link in 2022, the group estimates that they have taken over 111,000 cars off the road, reducing emissions from over 200,000 car miles driven.

The League to Save Lake Tahoe has also worked with Lime to bring bikes and scooters to South Lake Tahoe, which has been equally successful. In 2020, more than 60,000 people took over

200,000 rides on just the e-scooters alone, saving around 186,000 vehicle miles traveled, the organization estimates.

These kinds of shared mobility systems are important for taking cars off the road, says Feiger, but it needs to be part of a larger plan to reduce car usage at all stages in someone's journey. "We need to improve our public transit, regional connectivity, as well as even getting to Tahoe without a car in the first place," he says. "It's a really important part of the solution but not the only one."

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7022399

How Cities Are Clamping Down on Traffic to Help Fight Emissions

Joey Lautrup is a senior video producer at TIME.

Tourists consider Dublin to be a lively, legendary cultural hub. But for its residents and business owners, getting anywhere can be a challenge. “Traffic in Dublin is absolutely appalling,” says Emma Gray, the co-founder of Gaillot et Gray, a cafe in one of the city’s busiest areas.

Multiple studies rate Dublin’s traffic as the second-worst among major global cities, behind only London, whose population is nearly 20 times greater. Ireland’s Department of Transport estimates that the economic cost of traffic jams in Dublin is likely to soar from 336 million euros ($372 million) in 2022 to 1.5 billion euros ($1.7 billion) by 2040.

In February, the city announced a plan that aims for a 40% reduction in overall traffic by 2028. In August, Dublin launched two primary traffic lanes to the city center, set up dedicated bus lanes, and established pedestrian-only streets and gathering spots in

an effort to encourage more people to get around the city without using cars.

Dublin joined a flock of global cities that have banned or limited vehicle traffic on a regular basis. Amsterdam, Paris, Barcelona, Birmingham, England, Brussels, Helsinki, and Copenhagen are among a growing list of places that are addressing congestion and encouraging motorists to walk, bike and use transit.

A key goal is to reduce carbon dioxide and other emissions that pose a danger to people and the environment. Hundreds of cities and countries have joined a U.N.-led drive to achieve net-zero carbon emissions by 2050.

In March, the Biden administration announced new automobile emissions standards pushing automakers to sell more electric and hybrid plug-in vehicles in the U.S. by 2032.

According to the U.N., urban areas consume more than two-thirds of the world's energy and account for more than 70% of global carbon dioxide emissions. U.N. Secretary-General António Guterres has said that cities were "where the climate battle will largely be won or lost."

Paris-, the site of a landmark conference in 2015 focused on the environment, says it has been making progress for years. In 2007, it adopted the Plan Climat, which in 11 years reduced its carbon footprint by 20%, and cut greenhouse gases by 25%. By 2050, the city aims to achieve zero emissions within its borders, and shrink its total carbon footprint by 80%.

Some of its steps include solar panels, and most noticeable by visitors, bike lanes across the city. Since 2001, bike thoroughfares have grown from 125 miles to more than 600 miles. At times, bikes outnumber motor vehicles and there are even bike jams at some

busy intersections. For the Olympics, Paris added 34 miles of new routes in just over two years.

In Amsterdam, where even the royal family uses bicycles, carbon emissions levels have dropped by 30% since 2010, according to Rory van den Bergh, a spokesman for the city. Pollution levels are almost back to 1990 figures, and the city hopes to eliminate 95% of emissions by 2050.

Meanwhile, Copenhagen is aiming to become the world's first carbon neutral city by next year, based on a four-part plan that includes energy consumption and production, mobility measures and administrative steps. It reduced its carbon dioxide emissions by 80% between 2019 and 2022, by focusing on the city's heating and cooling network, which uses residual waste incineration to heat houses across the city. The climate plan aims for at least 75% of all trips to be by foot, bike or public transport in 2025.

But business owners say environmental moves can constrict their ability to operate. In Dublin, Gray already sees an issue with the city's plan to set up the riverside corridors, one of which is near her cafe. Currently, it does not provide for loading zones, something she pointed out in a response to the upcoming regulations.

"Without a place for our deliveries to stop this could be a major problem for us," she says. For instance, a nearby family business that specializes in glazing and glass cutting won't be able to function without regular deliveries of plate glass. "The fear is that without consideration to local business, we will all just move out of the city," Gray says.

That's a crucial consideration: small and medium sized businesses account for more than 90% of businesses worldwide and employ more than 50% of workers. In emerging economies, they provide up to 40% of GDP, according to the World Bank.

Still, there’s a sense that, despite the obstacles, change is inevitable. “More bikes and spaces for cyclists, and more green space and less cars are the way forward,” Gray says.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7020410

How TIME and Statista Determined the World's Best Companies of 2024

TIME has published its second annual list of the World's Best Companies, in partnership with Statista, a leading international provider of market and consumer data and rankings. The result of this quantitative study: 1,000 companies forging the path into the future. Here's how the winners were selected.

Methodology

The research project "World's Best Companies 2024" is a comprehensive analysis conducted to identify the top performing companies across the globe. The study was based on three primary dimensions: Employee Satisfaction, Revenue Growth, and Sustainability Transparency (ESG).

The first dimension, Employee Satisfaction, was evaluated using survey data from employees worldwide. The surveys were conducted in over 50 countries with data collected from approximately 170,000 participants. The evaluation encompassed evaluations of employers across the dimensions image, atmosphere,

working conditions, salary, and equality by verified employees as well as direct and indirect recommendations.

The second dimension, Revenue Growth, was assessed using data from Statista's revenue database and targeted research, which contains company growth data for the last three years. The companies had to meet certain criteria to be considered for the evaluation, including generating a revenue of at least US $100 million in the last available fiscal year and demonstrating positive revenue growth from 2021 to 2023*. Both relative and absolute growth were considered in the evaluation.

The third dimension, Sustainability Transparency, was evaluated based on ESG data among standardized KPIs from Statista's ESG Database and targeted data research. To formulate a comprehensive ESG index, multiple data points were collected. For the environmental evaluation, this included the carbon emissions intensity and reduction rate, as well as the Carbon Disclosure Project (CDP) rating. The social dimension assessed the share of women on the board of directors and the existence of a human rights policy. The governance dimension evaluated whether a company had a Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) report adhering to the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI) guidelines and a compliance or anti-corruption guideline.

Once the data was collected and evaluated, it was consolidated and weighted within a scoring model. The scores of all three dimensions were added on an equal percentage basis to form the final ranking score of a maximum of 100 points. The 1,000 companies with the highest score were awarded as the World's Best Companies 2024 by TIME and Statista.

*When data from 2023 was not available, data from the last available fiscal year was used.

See the full list here.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7020087

James Earl Jones Was So Much More Than Darth Vader

Stephanie Zacharek is the film critic at TIME. She is the recipient of a Newswomen's Club of New York award, and was a 2015 Pulitzer Prize finalist.

This is what happens with the death of an actor who figured in a massively popular franchise: because nearly everybody on the planet knows who Darth Vader is, nearly every mainstream news report of James Earl Jones's death must associate him first and foremost with that role. But Jones, who was born in Mississippi in 1931 and died on September 9, at age 93, did so much more—as an actor, he *was* so much more. His career was so long and so varied that there's no efficient way to hopscotch through it. And he worked so frequently—in movies, television, and theater—that we can only believe he truly loved his craft. The purity of that love shows through in every role, from big to small. He has left us with abundance.

Jones was nominated for an Oscar only once, for his starring role as boxer Jack Jefferson in Martin Ritt's 1970 drama *The Great White*

Hope. In 1969, for playing the same role on Broadway, he'd won the first of his two Tony awards; the other came in 1987, for his performance as blue-collar worker and former Negro league baseball star Troy Maxson in August Wilson's *Fences*. In 1991, Jones won two Emmys, one for his portrayal of private detective Gabriel Bird in *Gabriel's Fire*, the other for his supporting role in the TV movie *Heat Wave*, a drama about the 1965 Watts race riots. In 1977 he won a Grammy for his spoken-word album *The Christmas Miracle of Jonathan Toomey.* And in 2011, he at last received an honorary Oscar, a way of recognizing his expansive film career.

But awards aren't our only measure of greatness; actually, they're a pretty meager one. Though Jones was a contemporary of actors like Sidney Poitier and Harry Belafonte, his career didn't reach the same heights; in America at that time, we had room for only so many Black stars—our lack of imagination, not to mention tolerance, is part of the history we have to reckon with. But Jones brought the deepest kind of pleasure to audiences, and that gift should never be underestimated. His sonorous, shiver-inducing baritone gave life to the dramatic complexity of Darth Vader, in the original *Star Wars* trilogy and several offshoots. And as the voice of the regal Mufasa in both versions of *The Lion King*, he commanded respect mingled with love—he was a cartoon lion you could look up to.

Jones's voice was so resonant, with its rich, rolling vowels, that it seemed to be calling from the depths of the sea. He'd cultivated that voice as a young acting student, seeking to control his stuttering—an object lesson in turning straw into gold. Even if Jones didn't get many major starring roles, the cumulative effect of his hundreds of performances and achievements is its own kind of star quality. We know him from his roles in three movies adapted from Tom Clancy novels *(The Hunt for Red October, Patriot Games*, and *Clear and Present Danger)*, from *Field of Dreams*, from his appearances—as himself—on *Sesame Street*. It's impossible to choose a favorite James Earl Jones performance, but here are two possibilities: His turn as Roop, the charming, waggish sanitation worker who woos Diahann Carroll in the marvelous 1974 romance *Claudine*, and his dual role as a scientist and a fever version of an African shaman in John Boorman's wackadoodle *Exorcist II: The Heretic*, from 1977. Though people hooted at *The Heretic* upon its release, its cracked genius has since been reappraised. And Jones is astonishing. He appears in a dream sequence—or is it reality?—glowering from beneath an elaborate locust headdress, a golden-tinged helmet adorned with quivering antennae and huge, jewellike, all-seeing eyes. In this outlandish headgear, he not only holds your attention, he locks you in his dream. You want to laugh, but you can't. *That's* what a great character actor can do, and sometimes it's everything.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7019442

Kate Middleton Announces She’s Completed Chemotherapy

Rebecca Schneid is a general assignment reporter for TIME covering U.S. and global news.

Kate Middleton, Princess of Wales, announced today on X that she has completed her chemotherapy treatment for cancer.

“As the summer comes to an end, I cannot tell you what a relief it is to have finally completed my chemotherapy treatment,” Middleton says in the announcement. “The last nine months have been incredibly tough for us as a family. Life as you know it can change in an instant and we have had to find a way to navigate the stormy waters and road unknown. The cancer journey is complex, scary and unpredictable for everyone, especially those closest to you.”

The announcement was made on Sept. 9 on the official X account for The Prince and Princess of Wales, with an accompanying video

of Middleton with her husband William, Prince of Wales, and their three children George, 10, Charlotte, 9, and Louis, 6.

The over three-minute long video shows the five smiling and laughing together on the beach and in a forest. The video was filmed last month in Norfolk, a county in the east of England, according to the New York *Times*.

> A message from Catherine, The Princess of Wales
>
> As the summer comes to an end, I cannot tell you what a relief it is to have finally completed my chemotherapy treatment.
>
> The last nine months have been incredibly tough for us as a family. Life as you know it can change in an… pic.twitter.com/9S1W8sDHUL
>
> — The Prince and Princess of Wales (@KensingtonRoyal) September 9, 2024

In March, Middleton announced that she was diagnosed with cancer following a planned abdominal surgery. In a video message shared on March 22, Middleton said the diagnosis came as a "huge shock" and that she and her family had needed time to process the news. The mother-of-three said she would be undergoing a course of "preventative chemotherapy." The palace has not confirmed what type of cancer Middleton was treated for or the stage of her disease.

Read More: *Kate Middleton Reveals She Was Diagnosed With Cancer*

Prior to the announcement, Middleton was the subject of circling rumors and conspiracy theories regarding her whereabouts. Since her diagnosis, she has been taking a break from the more forward-facing duties. She said in the new video that she is "looking

forward to being back at work and undertaking a few more public engagements in the coming months when I can.”

[video id=JBQrRbnh autostart="viewable"]

Over the summer, Middleton attended a few public events. Trooping the Colour parade in June marked her return to the spotlight, which she then followed by attending Wimbledon in July, and presenting champion Carlos Alcaraz. At Wimbledon, she was joined by her daughter Charlotte, and was applauded by the crowd.

In the video posted on Sept. 9, Middleton shared that she and William have been grateful for the messages she’s received since her diagnosis. “Doing what I can to stay cancer free is now my focus,” she said. “Although I have finished chemotherapy, my path to healing and full recovery is long and I must continue to take each day as it comes.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7019268

7 Metrics Everyone Should Know About Their Own Health

Angela Haupt is a health and wellness editor at TIME. She covers happiness and actionable ways to live well.

If you're asked to share a few fun facts about yourself, you're probably not going to rattle off your blood pressure or cholesterol levels (even if your "good" cholesterol is, well, really good). But you should have a solid sense of what those numbers are, experts say. Why? "That old adage that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure is absolutely correct," says Dr. Josh Septimus, an internal medicine physician with Houston Methodist Hospital. A small number of conditions, including heart disease and metabolic disorders, cause an enormous amount of suffering. "If we can identify a few things that help us prevent those morbidities, it's very much worth your time."

That said, you don't have to know *everything*. Experts widely pan full-body health scans, for example, that claim to catch early signs of problems like cancer. And while it's certainly possible to track and analyze your health data via smartwatches and other gadgets,

you’re not necessarily going to gain much by doing so. Septimus’ patients sometimes “get lost in some random number,” he says—and when that happens, he refocuses them “on the basics.”

Here’s a look at the seven metrics everyone should know about their own health.

Your waist circumference

Septimus always tells medical students that if he had only one measurement to use to predict how greatly they’d suffer from medical problems, it would be waist circumference, which reveals the amount of fat around your middle section. If you have a waist size greater than 35 inches for women or 40 inches for men, your risk for heart disease, Type 2 diabetes, and other metabolic problems increases.

This is a much more useful measure than BMI, he says—a notion supported by research. It provides a more accurate estimate of abdominal fat, which predicts disease risk. Plus, BMI—which is calculated based on height and weight—doesn’t account for factors like muscle mass.

To figure out your waist circumference, wrap a tape measure around your middle section, right at your belly button. Make sure you’re standing up, and take the measurement after you exhale. “Know your number, and if it’s too big, try to make it smaller,” Septimus says. He regularly tells patients he doesn’t care what the scale says—that number can be influenced by, for example, new muscle mass—but he does like to challenge them to lose 1 to 2 inches off their waist in six months. “If you’re going to the gym and your waist size is dropping, it’s working,” he says. “If your waist size is not changing, it’s not working,” in which case it’s time to reevaluate your strategy, ideally with the help of a doctor.

Your cholesterol profile

You should always have a sense of your total cholesterol, high-density lipoprotein (HDL) cholesterol, and low-density lipoprotein (LDL) cholesterol. That's why Dr. Sam Setareh, a staff cardiologist at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center and senior clinical researcher at the National Heart Institute, runs lipid panels on his patients at least annually. He repeats the tests every three to six months if someone has elevated levels they're working on lowering. LDL, he adds, is the most important value: "That's going to tell me about the patient's risk of developing coronary disease or atherosclerosis," also known as plaque-clogged arteries. (Not every doctor does this automatically, so you may need to ask for a panel if it's been a while.)

Read More: *What to Do If Your High Cholesterol Is Genetic*

Many people with high LDL will be prescribed medication like a statin, but that depends on factors like your personal risk level. As the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention points out, you might be prescribed medicine if your LDL is 190 mg/dL or higher, or if you're age 40-75, have diabetes or a high risk of heart disease or stroke, and have an LDL level of 70 mg/dL or higher.

Your blood pressure

If you have high blood pressure, your heart has to work harder to pump blood—which, over time, can damage the walls of the blood vessels, leading to atherosclerosis. As Septimus points out, hypertension can trigger complications like heart attack and stroke, while hurting organs including your brain and kidneys. That's why it's so important to check your blood pressure at least once a year, and more often if you're at higher risk based on factors like age, family history, and obesity.

According to the American Heart Association, normal blood pressure is less than 120/80 mmHg. Exactly how your doctor proceeds if yours is high depends on your individual

circumstances. If you're a 35-year-old with mildly elevated numbers, Septimus says, you'll probably be instructed to make lifestyle changes. But if you're 60 and your father died of a heart attack, it's much more likely you'll start medication. "We have dozens of blood pressure medications, many of which are cheap as dirt," he says. "We can use them safely to reduce heart attack and stroke."

Your blood sugar

There are a few basic ways doctors can measure blood sugar, but most rely on a hemoglobin A1C (HbA1C) test. "It's a little bit of a crude tool, and it doesn't tell the whole story, but it's usually the best number to go with," Septimus says. The test averages blood sugar over the past two to three months, and it's used to diagnose Type 2 diabetes and prediabetes. If your A1C level is between 5.7% and 6.4%, you'll meet the criteria for prediabetes. If you have an A1C of 6.5% or above, you'll be diagnosed with Type 2 diabetes, in which case your doctor might encourage lifestyle changes or prescribe medication like metformin.

You should get your A1C tested annually if you're over 45, or if you're younger but are overweight or have risk factors like a sedentary lifestyle or a parent or sibling with diabetes. People with diagnosed diabetes, meanwhile, usually test at least twice a year, depending where they are in their treatment regimen.

Your basal metabolic rate

It's easy to confuse basal metabolic rate, or BMR, with that other three-letter acronym that starts with a B: BMI. But the two measures are markedly different. Your BMR measures the minimum amount of energy your body needs to function at rest. "It's the fuel your body burns just to stay alive each day," says Dr. Farhan Malik, medical director at Atlanta Innovative Medicine.

Knowing your BMR, he explains, allows you to determine if you're eating enough to support your body's basic needs. That way, you can ensure changes to your diet and exercise routine are safe and sustainable.

Lots of online calculators can determine your BMR if you plug in your age, height, weight, and gender. For example, a 30-year-old woman who's 5'5″ and 130 pounds would have a BMR of around 1,300 calories per day. "If she's exercising a few times a week, she'd want to consume more than that to avoid fatigue and maintain muscle," Malik says. "But without knowing her BMR, she wouldn't have that frame of reference to set a proper calorie target." This insight, he adds, helps you know what your body really requires to thrive every day.

Starting in your mid-30s: your grip strength

Grip strength—or how much hand and forearm power you have—is important. "It's a good indicator of the future functionality a person will have as they age," Setareh says. If you have strong hands, you'll be able to open jars, swing a pickleball racket, lift heavy objects, and catch yourself when you fall. Research suggests that weak grip strength, on the other hand, is linked with diabetes, heart disease, and cognitive decline, as well as a higher risk of mortality and worse quality of life.

Setareh recommends asking your doctor or physical therapist to measure yours at your annual physical starting in your mid- to late-30s. Usually, the test involves squeezing a dynamometer, which is a device that measures power. If your grip strength could use improvement, your doctor will suggest a plan for special exercises you can do at home—like squeezing a tennis ball for 10 minutes twice a day—in addition to weight training and resistance training, Setareh says.

If you’re over 60: your vitamin D level

As you age, your body’s ability to convert sunlight into vitamin D decreases—which is why Dr. Meghan Garcia-Webb, an internist based in Wellesley Hills, Mass., checks patients’ levels annually after they turn 60. She does the same for adults who have darker skin (melanin can interfere with vitamin D synthesis) or live in areas that don’t get lots of sunlight (like the Northeast during gloomy winters). It’s also important to be tested regularly if you have a high body weight, “because vitamin D is a fat-soluble vitamin,” she says. “It’s going to get kind of sequestered into that fatty tissue.”

Why the focus on D? For starters, it plays an essential role in keeping bones strong and helping prevent osteoporosis, and it can bolster the immune system. While Garcia-Webb usually treats mildly to moderately low levels with an over-the-counter supplement, people with particularly low levels require a high-dose prescription tablet.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7010448

Why Mosquitoes Are So Dangerous Right Now

Alice Park is a senior health correspondent at TIME. She covers the COVID-19 pandemic, new drug developments in cancer and Alzheimer's disease, mental health, HIV, CRISPR, and advances in gene therapy, among other issues in health and science. She also covers the Olympics, and co-chaired TIME's inaugural TIME 100 Health Summit in 2019. Her work has won awards from the New York Press Club, and recognition from the Deadline Club. In addition, she is the author of *The Stem Cell Hope: How Stem Cell Medicine Can Change Our Lives*. Follow her on Instagram at @aliceparktime.

Mosquito-borne diseases seem to be everywhere this year. Towns in Massachusetts are shutting down public parks and other outdoor areas after officials learned that mosquitoes in the region are carrying eastern equine encephalitis, a rare but deadly virus. And Dr. Anthony Fauci, the former top infectious-disease expert in the U.S., recently was hospitalized with West Nile virus that he allegedly acquired from a mosquito buzzing through his backyard.

Is this a particularly bad year for disease-spreading mosquitoes in the U.S.? And what can we expect in the future?

Why are mosquitoes are such a big threat

Mosquitoes carry a number of viruses and parasites that can be harmful to human health, including malaria, dengue, yellow fever, chikungunya, West Nile virus, and eastern equine encephalitis. Different species of mosquitoes are adept at spreading different viruses.

The species primarily responsible for spreading eastern equine encephalitis, *Culiseta melanura*, have drawn the most attention lately because of how deadly the disease is. But fewer than six cases have been reported so far this year in the U.S., and that's pretty on par with what's reported in New England every year, says Dr. James Shepherd, an infectious disease expert at Yale University School of Medicine. Despite the recent drastic actions of local authorities in closing down public areas, the number of infections so far this year don't seem to be any greater than other years.

The more concerning type of mosquito is actually the most common, says Shepherd. Mosquitoes belonging to the *Aedes* family cause most of the world's malaria, dengue, yellow fever, West Nile, and Zika. They live primarily in urban, densely populated areas and can replicate in tiny amounts of water—just a capful of water can house hundreds of mosquito eggs. With an estimated 80% of people around the world now living in urban settings, "we are concentrating ourselves in much, much denser communities amongst urban mosquitoes," Shepherd says.

When it comes to West Nile Virus, data from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention show that 38 states have reported more than 370 cases so far in 2024; last year, more than 2,500 cases were recorded nationwide, nearly double that reported in 2022. Experts note, however, that cases fluctuate depending on

mosquito populations and the likelihood of human-mosquito interactions.

Read More: *How to Make Friends as an Adult—at Every Life Stage*

The risk of mosquito-borne infections is likely to increase, however, since mosquitoes are multiplying. “There is data indicating that the larger mosquito populations are, the more likely humans beings are to have an encounter with an infected mosquito,” says Dr. Photini Sinnis, professor and deputy director of the Malaria Research Institute at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. “While it’s true that so few mosquitoes are infected, the higher number of mosquitoes makes it more likely that such an encounter will happen.”

Are there more mosquitoes now than before?

“Mosquito populations are really climate-driven and habitat-driven,” says Sinnis. Global warming is making it easier for mosquitoes to survive in more parts of the world—and for longer. The warmer planet also helps them to squeeze in more reproductive cycles, and therefore produce more generations of insects, than ever before.

“With climate change, we see the [habitat] ranges for concerning species like *Aedes* spreading northward,” says Jonathan Oliver, associate professor in the school of public health at the University of Minnesota. “And all predictions indicate that they are going to spread throughout the Southeast and up the Eastern Seaboard, and fairly high north in the Midwest. As mosquito species become established, people are potentially going to get exposed to a wide range of diseases they carry.”

Take dengue, Zika, chikungunya, and West Nile Virus, for example. Shepherd says that in the past decade or so, as winters have become

warner, the species that carries these diseases (*A. albopictus*) now breeds year-round in Connecticut. “We are going to see the march of these infections moving into more temperate zones in the U.S.,” he says.

Milder winters also mean that those surviving mosquitoes can start reproducing earlier, in early spring rather than closer to summer, says Sinnis. “If it’s now only really cold in January and February, then they can start breeding at the beginning of March rather than in April or May,” she says. “Each breeding cycle increases the population by 10-fold. So by the time we get to summer, their populations have increased substantially.”

Read More: *7 Metrics Everyone Should Know About Their Own Health*

Warmer temperatures also affect how viruses survive and thrive inside the insects. “If it’s warmer for a longer part of the year, then the mosquitoes are active longer,” says Oliver, which affects their biology. “If it’s warmer, the virus reproduces faster inside the mosquito and reduces the window of time between when the mosquito becomes infected and when it becomes infectious.” Studies also show that mosquitoes can become increasingly infectious over the course of a season, which in turn raises the chances that they can bite and sicken people with whatever virus they are carrying, he says.

Growing urbanization and densely packed cities—with less-than-ideal sewage and sanitation systems—also provide more and fertile environments for mosquitoes to lay eggs and proliferate. Around the world, “urbanization is occurring in a very haphazard fashion,” says Shepherd. In many cases, “it’s not planned and there is no community development, so these cities are ringed by vast shanty towns that are poorly served without water, sewage, and electricity.” These, he says, “are perfect places for infectious diseases to transmit.”

Another factor is likely fueling the rise of mosquitoes. With increased urbanization comes the destruction of the natural landscape, which contributes to a drop in the biodiversity of species. “The decreased abundance of species is allowing expansion of infectious disease host species and their vectors [like mosquitoes], because they tend to be the most adaptable,” says Shepherd. As abundant insect species are killed off, for example, he says more adaptable ones like *Aedes* may be filling the void and flourishing.

How to protect yourself from mosquito-borne diseases

Try to avoid coming into contact with mosquitoes in the first place, and lower your chances of getting bitten if you do. That means wearing long-sleeved clothing when outdoors and spraying yourself with insect repellent. You can also eliminate mosquito-breeding grounds by getting rid of any standing water around your home, since mosquitoes just need a little bit of water in which to lay their eggs.

On a broader level, researchers are working on ways to reduce mosquito populations, including traps that attract different mosquito species with specific odors. The traps contain larvicides that destroy any eggs mosquito may lay, thus reducing their populations. But developing the traps requires more detailed knowledge about different species and how to attract them than is currently known, says Sinnis. “What we’d really like to do is to be able to predict when and where mosquito populations might be high,” she says. “But we need to learn more about the habits of specific mosquitoes and where they like to lay their eggs.”

Some scientists are turning to genetic modification to manipulate mosquito populations. By introducing sterile males into a region, for example, they could drastically reduce or even eliminate future

generations of insects. But this is still being tested, as researchers want to make sure that plummeting mosquito populations won't have more lasting or unintended ecological consequences.

Another strategy that appears encouraging is infecting mosquitoes with a bacterium that kills the viruses they may carry. This approach has been used in Southeast Asia and Australia to lower the rates of dengue transmission.

More such approaches are needed in order to fully understand and control mosquitoes and the diseases they carry, say experts. "If we are interested in addressing mosquito-borne diseases before they become really rampant, we need to devote more public health funding to mosquito surveillance," says Sinnis. With climate change affecting so many species, including mosquitoes, such knowledge is even more critical. "Chances are, [mosquito-borne illnesses] are going to get worse rather than better."

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7016381

The Superstorm Era Is Upon Us

Fox is the author of *The Last Winter* and *Northland*. He teaches at Columbia University School of the Arts and is a MacDowell Fellow. His latest book is *Category Five Superstorms and the Warming Oceans That Feed Them*

It should be no surprise that Hurricane Beryl broke virtually every early-season hurricane record in June. It was the fastest intensifying June hurricane; earliest Category 5 storm in history; and the strongest July Atlantic hurricane as well, with winds of 165 mph. As ocean and air temperatures spike around the globe, hurricanes and extreme weather fueled by warming seas are growing more intense than any time in modern history.

After reporting on climate change and its geophysical fallout for more than a decade, I spent the last three years documenting warming oceans and the resulting uptick in severe storms. I grew up on the Gulf of Maine—now the fastest-warming large body of water on the planet—and conducted much of my research from the deck of a boat my father built. The correlation between heat and storm is simple: air masses and weather systems draw energy from

heat in the oceans as they pass over, leading to fiercer tropical cyclones. Since the average global sea surface temperature has increased by 2.8 degrees Fahrenheit, storms are growing more powerful than we have ever seen. This is the dawn of the Superstorm Era—and it will only continue to rise, unless we take action to stop it.

More Category 4 and 5 hurricanes hit the U.S. mainland from 2017 to 2021 than from 1963 to 2016. Hurricanes today also last longer than they once did and move slower, multiplying damage by many times. Rapid intensification used to spin up once a century, but studies show that in the future, it could occur more frequently—especially in waters bordering the East Coast—putting cities like New Orleans, Houston, Tampa, and Charleston at higher risk. By 2100, the number of major hurricanes, including a new breed of "ultra-intense" Category 5 storms with winds of at least 190 miles per hour, is expected to increase by 20%.

As with most anthropogenic catastrophes, the effects of climate change are compounding. Storm surge now rides on an elevated sea level, flooding coastlines with walls of water more than 25 feet high (Hurricane Katrina, 2005). Because the atmosphere holds around 8% more water for every 2 degrees Fahrenheit of warming, storms today carry vastly more precipitation—dumping up to 40 inches of rain in a day (Hurricane Harvey, 2017). One example of how the compounding forces of climate change are overwhelming coastlines, according to climate scientist Kerry Emanuel: If Superstorm Sandy had occurred in 1912 instead of 2012, it may not have flooded Lower Manhattan.

Over the past 50 years, tropical cyclones have taken nearly 800,000 lives worldwide and inflicted $1.5 trillion in damages. Some of these people were teenagers. Some were babies. Some lived on a flood plain and others in an apartment building 20 miles inland. At risk on the U.S. mainland are 44 million coastal residents between Texas and Maine, a dozen major seaside cities, thousands of coastal

towns, half the nation's oil-refining business, and major infrastructure like highways, airports, trains, and much of the shipping industry—already backed up with supply-chain issues as it transports 90 percent of all foreign trade. In the last four decades alone, hurricanes cost the United States more than $1.3 trillion and nearly 7,000 lives. By the end of the century, they will likely set the U.S. back $200 billion annually.

Read More: *How Hurricane Beryl Is Shattering Storm Records*

Plotting the cost of weather disasters since 1980 follows a trajectory eerily similar to that of CO2 content in the atmosphere. 2022 was the third-hottest US summer in more than a century, in a year that saw 15 weather disasters cost more than a billion dollars each. 2023 shattered that record, going down as the hottest summer in modern history, and as of August 8, 2024, NOAA has reported 19 confirmed billion-dollar disaster events in the U.S. Adding an estimated .07 watts of heat to every square meter of land and water on the planet influences pretty much everything in the ocean and sky, including thunderstorms, blizzards, squalls, nor'easters, tornadoes, heat waves, and droughts.

You have likely seen some of this freak weather: extraordinary amounts of moisture falling from the sky; random squalls with hurricane-force winds; the weakened and wandering jet stream delivering 70-degree days to the Lower 48 in January, deep freezes in Texas, and springtime polar vortexes in New England. You have likely watched television coverage of tropical storms rolling over Death Valley for the first time, drought draining the last aquifers and reservoirs of the U.S. West, and linked thunderstorm systems annihilating the Great Plains.

Just look at weather around the world in 2022: historic rainstorms flooded the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro; record-low rainfall in Iraq resulted in a massive dust storm that shut down most of the country; heat waves in India and Pakistan brought temperatures

topping 120 degrees Fahrenheit in some places, followed by exceptionally rainy monsoon seasons. The next year saw more billion-dollar weather disasters in the U.S. than ever before, as record heat, rainfall, and a historic 1,197 tornadoes tore across the country. A parade of atmospheric rivers—made wetter and more intense by climate change—dumped more than 30 trillion gallons of water on the state of California, on the heels of a years-long megadrought and some of the worst wildfires in the state's history.

Fast forward to 2024, which saw Earth's average temperature exceed 1.5 °C above the pre-industrial baseline for the first time in history as heatwaves in Southeast Asia killed dozens and shut down schools, parts of Brazil received more than half of their annual rainfall in just ten days, wildfire season started historically early in Canada as drought conditions persisted, and Cyclone Remal forced over 800,000 people in Bangladesh and over 110,000 people in India to evacuate.

Hiro Murakami, a project scientist at NOAA's Geophysical Fluid Dynamics Laboratory in Princeton, N.J., worries that regions with little to no experience with extreme weather are being drawn into storm country. A 2021 study by Yale University researchers showed that warmer waters will soon draw hurricanes north, inundating cities like Washington, DC, New York, and Boston. A possible westward migration of the North Atlantic tropical cyclone generation zone could also result in an uptick of landfalls along the U.S. East Coast later this century. A recent study by Brooklyn's First Street Foundation also shows how hurricanes will penetrate farther inland in decades to come, affecting U.S. states as far west as New Mexico, Kansas, and Wisconsin.

Millions throughout the U.S. remain unprotected. Flood insurance is optional in most of the U.S.; some FEMA loans are contingent on good credit; corrupt contractors flock to disasters because consumer protection laws do not rein them in; and state governments often lack the funds and staffing to manage recovery.

“This kind of unprecedented location may be much more high risk,” Murakami told me. “They have no dikes, no defenses.”

There is a silver lining, though, Murakami says. If we stopped burning fossil fuels today, additional warming would begin to flatten almost immediately, as would the escalation of tropical-cyclone intensity. “Carbon emissions are largely proportional to hurricane changes,” he explains. “If we can successfully constrain emissions in the middle of the 21st century, and CO2 emissions decrease afterward, hurricane activity will also go back to present-day. Cyclone activity largely follows the path of CO2 levels.”

This, then, begs the question: What would it be like to wake up in a world where the amplification of storms, extreme weather, and resulting damage stopped? Or began to contract? What would we do if we were not headed for climate disaster? What would we talk about?

Worldwide disaster is by no means a forgone conclusion. It is not predestined in any way—not in hurricane country, typhoon country, the Horn of Africa, the Philippines, the U.S. East Coast, or the windswept island nations of the Pacific Basin. As we can see in the data, the science, and now in our own backyards, it is merely the result of inaction.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7019186

The Sorry State of Tunisia's Democracy

Ian Bremmer is a foreign affairs columnist and editor-at-large at TIME. He is the president of Eurasia Group, a political-risk consultancy, and GZERO Media, a company dedicated to providing intelligent and engaging coverage of international affairs. He teaches applied geopolitics at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, and his most recent book is The Power of Crisis.

The fruit vendor Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation 14 years ago inspired Tunisians to topple their longtime dictator and kicked off the 2011 Arab Spring. Of all the countries in the region that caught the revolutionary bug, Tunisia was the only one that managed to build a multiparty democracy with separation of powers and freedom of expression, for a while becoming the poster child of successful democratization.

Then came President Kais Saied, an uncharismatic constitutional lawyer, who was elected in 2019 on a populist anti-corruption platform that played to Tunisians' post-revolutionary disillusion with political gridlock and economic stagnation. Five years later,

the birthplace of the Arab Spring has become the scene of alarming democratic backsliding.

The first major sign of trouble was in 2021, when Saied used the COVID-19 pandemic to centralize his power. The Tunisian President suspended the constitution, fired his Prime Minister, and invoked emergency protocols to govern by decree. In 2022, he went further still, dissolving parliament and rewriting the constitution. The persecution of opposition politicians, critics, activists, journalists, and union leaders has only increased since. That includes Rached Ghannouchi, leader of the main opposition Ennahda Party; Lotfi Mraihi, head of the Republican Union Party; and Abir Moussi, president of the Free Destourian Party. All three are now behind bars on trumped-up charges.

With Saied's term set to expire on Oct. 23, Tunisia's strongman is seeking five more years as President in new elections he scheduled for Oct. 6. But having spent his entire tenure dismantling democratic checks and balances, consolidating power, and muzzling dissent, this contest will be neither free nor fair.

All credible would-be challengers to Saied have either been imprisoned, scared into exile, or excluded from running. On Sept. 2, Tunisia's supposedly independent electoral commission—whose seven members were appointed by the President—approved just two relatively unknown candidates, in defiance of an order by the country's highest court to allow three additional candidates to run. One of them, Ayachi Zammel, has since been detained and charged with falsifying ballot signatures (it is unclear whether he will be allowed to run).

Despite some public concern about Saied's autocratic drift, he remains relatively popular. His xenophobic and anti-establishment rhetoric resonates strongly with a large segment of the population that believes democracy did little to improve their living standards.

Saied's biggest vulnerability comes from the worsening socioeconomic conditions most Tunisians have experienced under his rule. After all, the one thing people dislike more than a dictator is a dictator who fails to deliver the goods.

While Saied has so far managed to stave off a sovereign default on Tunisia's bloated foreign debt without resorting to a maligned but much-needed IMF loan, this has come at the cost of higher inflation, slower economic growth, and frequent food and fuel shortages. The government is also increasingly resorting to borrowing from the once-independent central bank as well as local banks to cover its growing financing needs, which will further drive up inflation and create financial risks. As economic challenges deepen, citizens' trust in their government will falter. Demands for change will build. Protests and repression may follow. Perhaps there will even be calls for new elections.

But Tunisians will have little recourse after Kais Saied's near-certain—and certainly illegitimate—reelection this October entrenches Tunisia's autocracy and marks the definitive end of the Arab Spring's last surviving democratic experiment.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7020023

Does Text Therapy Really Work?

Jamie Ducharme is a health correspondent at TIME. She covers the COVID-19 pandemic, Long COVID, mental health, vaping, psychedelics, and more. Her work for TIME has won awards from the Deadline Club, the New York Press Club, and the Newswomen's Club of New York. Additionally, she is the author of *Big Vape: The Incendiary Rise of Juul*, which was adapted for a forthcoming Netflix docuseries.

More than a decade ago, Thomas Derrick Hull, a clinical psychologist who researches digital health, had what felt like a wild thought. What if therapists, who can't keep up with demand for mental-health care in the U.S., started texting their patients instead of making them come into the office?

Back then, it seemed unlikely even to Hull that patients and providers could use a screen to forge the bonds and meaningful conversations that blossom face-to-face. But the benefits were appealing: texting is cheap, fast, accessible, and easy to do on the fly, potentially allowing therapists to have regular interactions with their patients rather than waiting for a weekly session. So Hull

began studying the efficacy of text-based care, eventually doing so as an executive at the online therapy provider Talkspace. (He left the company in 2020 and now works for a digital wellness startup.)

Even if texting turned out to be only 60% or 70% as effective as traditional therapy, the convenience and accessibility could make it a better-than-nothing option, Hull used to think. “That felt like a fair trade,” Hull says. “But as we started looking at the data, it turned out that it seemed to be just as effective.”

Recent research—some of it funded by text therapy providers like Talkspace—continues to suggest that texting is a legitimate and effective way to deliver mental-health care to people of all ages. In a study published in July, for example, Hull and other researchers found that therapy by text or voice note is just as good as teletherapy—which has itself been shown to be roughly as effective as face-to-face therapy—at relieving symptoms of anxiety and depression over the course of three months.

That means people who like the idea of texting a therapist should feel confident they’re getting the same quality of care as people who opt for video appointments, says the study’s senior author Michael Pullmann, who conducted it while a research professor at the University of Washington School of Medicine.

Read More: *How to Make a Long-Distance Friendship Work*

How can that be, when the connection between a patient and therapist is thought to be one of the best predictors of whether treatment will succeed? Can that bond really develop over text? The American Psychological Association hadn’t taken an official stance on text therapy as of 2015, and some therapists remain skeptical of the idea. But a 2021 research review suggests strong ties can grow by text or email, just as they do in person. Other research even finds that people can “bond” with AI chatbots.

Some research does suggest that face-to-face relationships yield better results than online bonds—but Adrian Aguilera, an associate professor at the University of California, Berkeley, who researches digital health, isn't too worried about that. Aguilera says he cares less about whether text therapy is as effective as face-to-face therapy, and more about whether it's better than nothing—because that's how much mental-health care most people in the U.S. receive today. "Is it the best? Probably not," he says. "A better question is, 'Can it meet an unmet need?'"

Read More: *11 Things to Say When Someone Dies Besides 'I'm Sorry'*

The answer seems to be positive. During the pandemic, Aguilera tested a system where people received daily automated text messages meant to improve mental health. (An example: "Self-soothe is an important skill for coping with distress. What are two ways that you can use your senses [e.g., smell, taste, touch] that will be calming?") Across the board, people who got the texts reported improvements in their anxiety and depression symptoms after 60 days. But the program seemed to be especially beneficial for Latinx users, who reported learning new information from the messages, perhaps because they were less likely than white participants to have previously received mental-health care.

Aguilera's other research has also shown that patients tend to stay in therapy longer when it includes a text-based element. And maybe that's not so surprising, given that almost all of us are glued to our phones these days. "Have you ever texted a friend when you've been upset or anxious about something?" Pullmann asks. Almost certainly, the answer is yes.

Just like in casual conversation, texting with a therapist provides both the benefit of immediacy (you can fire off a message as soon as a difficult feeling arises) and asynchronicity (the person on the other end can take time to craft a thoughtful reply), Pullmann says.

Some people may also find it easier to express a dark, embarrassing, or vulnerable thought in writing—and research consistently finds that people benefit from translating their thoughts into written words, Hull notes. Plus, he says, text therapy may offer the benefits of "state-based learning," that old psychological principle that it's best to study for a test in the room where you'll take it. In other words, it's possible that therapeutic principles sink in better when they're delivered in environments where people will actually need those insights, like at home or work.

Read More: *Should You Work Out if Your Muscles Are Sore?*

Text therapy is not perfect. Two of the biggest online providers, Talkspace and BetterHelp, have faced criticism, with Talkspace the subject of a class-action lawsuit alleging it has charged users money even when therapists aren't available to meet with them. (All claims in the lawsuit have now been either dismissed or settled, according to a statement from Talkspace.) In a 2022 Wall Street *Journal* article, providers who worked with Talkspace also criticized the quality of care offered on the platform.

In a statement provided to TIME, Dr. Nikole Benders-Hadi, Talkspace's chief medical officer, said that the platform's therapists are vetted and licensed, and that research suggests text therapy is effective. "Imagine having an always-on, open-door option for people to communicate with their therapists, rather than bottling things up and waiting for their next session," Benders-Hadi said in the statement. "Ultimately what is most important is meeting members where they are, and letting them choose the modality that works best for how they would like to engage with therapy."

Meanwhile, BetterHelp last year agreed to pay almost $8 million to settle charges from the Federal Trade Commission regarding improper data-sharing practices. In a public statement after the settlement, the company said its "technology, policies, and

procedures are designed to protect and secure our members' information so it is not used or shared without their approval and consent."

BetterHelp has also recently faced backlash on social media from customers who say its clinicians gave bad advice or behaved inappropriately. In a statement provided to TIME, a spokesperson for BetterHelp did not directly address those allegations, but emphasized that the company provides "many ways" for clients to connect with therapists, including phone and video calls, and said it is "very rare" for members to exclusively use text messages.

Quality control is an issue with any form of therapy, Hull says. There will always be good therapists and bad therapists, good patient matches and bad ones, whether appointments happen in a private practice or through an iPhone.

"I don't think there's anything about message-based care that reduces quality, in principle," he says. Increasingly, the data are on his side.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7014816

Where the Koch Network Is Putting Their Money—Anywhere But Trump

Philip Elliott is a senior correspondent at TIME, based in the Washington, D.C. bureau, where he covers national campaigns, elections, and government. He also writes TIME's politics newsletter, The D.C. Brief.

This article is part of The D.C. Brief, TIME's politics newsletter. Sign up here to get stories like this sent to your inbox.

When some of the biggest donors to conservative causes made explicit their electoral opposition to a second Trump term way back in February of 2023, it came as something of a shock to the Republican orbit. After all, the powerful network organized under the auspices of billionaire industrialist Charles Koch had officially remained neutral in Trump's 2016 and 2020 campaigns, a sign of how uncomfortable his allies were with a candidate whose positions were so far afoul from their own on so many issues.

But by the time the network gathered at the start of 2023, their position on Trump was not really a point of discussion. The deadly

Capitol riot on Jan. 6, 2021, was finally a step too far. The chief of the network's main political arm, Americans For Prosperity, told her patrons that they were ready to back an alternative Republican who showed promise of winning. The group ultimately plowed more than $32 million into former South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley, and another $10 million in broader anti-Trump efforts before throwing in the towel. The hopes of reclaiming the party from this gatecrasher were dashed and they had to live with Trump as their standard bearer.

It's been six months since Haley ended her bid, and just over six weeks since Biden followed suit. Vice President Kamala Harris has scrambled the electoral map, and might look like more of a threat than Biden on some key Koch issues. So where does that lead Koch World and their deep pockets?

Not far from where they've been all along—doing their best to help Republicans not named Trump. Despite some pleas from Trump apologists who still pony up cash to the organizations operating under the Koch umbrella, the leadership remains unbending in their decision to stay out of the presidential race altogether.

Instead, Koch-linked strategists say their main goal is to be a check against unified Democratic control of Washington. To them, a progressive sweep of D.C. is the biggest threat this fall, and to that end, staff and volunteers have already knocked on more than five million doors to help their Senate prospects, especially those in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Montana.

At the House level, the Koch network—and those who take their cues from it—are focused on about two dozen races, many of them in deep-blue states like California and New York, where voters have shown a willingness to split their tickets. There are currently 17 Republicans from districts Biden won in 2020 and five Democrats from districts where Trump won. With Republicans holding a razor-thin majority, these races are likely to see some of

the highest spending in some of the most expensive media markets.

While the Koch network may be steering clear of the top of the ticket, it's flowing mightily toward these top-target congressional races. The main Koch-aligned super PAC, Americans For Prosperity Action, is in at major levels; it was investing just shy of $70 million in all of 2022 and almost $48 million in 2020. This year, campaign finance reports covering spending through Aug. 12 show the group had already spent $78 million on federal races. And there are still about three months of cash that is not yet accounted for this year.

If it seems like outside groups are playing bigger roles in campaigns than in the past, it's because it is true. During the 2020 campaign—the last presidential race, albeit one that unfolded during a pandemic—outside groups spent $686 million, not far from the $663 million of 2016. Already this year, outside groups have spent $1.3 billion. Of that eye-popping total, $778 million has been dedicated to the presidential campaigns, suggesting the Koch decision to sit out the White House race hasn't choked off all of the heft, just the expertise and efficiencies that come from a penny-pinching leader who is unmatched in getting a return on his investments for his political spending.

Make sense of what matters in Washington. Sign up for the D.C. Brief newsletter.

[video id=uLiqxCkk autostart="viewable"]

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from https://time.com/7018266

Companies Shouldn’t Overlook This IRA Fund That’s Boosting Local Climate Projects

Justin Worland is a senior correspondent at TIME in the Washington, D.C. bureau. He received Covering Climate Now's inaugural Climate Journalist of the Year award in 2022, among other awards. He is the Outrider Foundation fellow at TIME.

(*To get this story in your inbox, subscribe to the TIME CO2 Leadership Report newsletter here.*)

Last month, the Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund (GGRF) committed to sending $27 billion to a range of organizations to support community climate and clean energy projects. Within a matter of months, the funding will help accelerate everything from local solar to residential energy efficiency improvements, bringing the benefits of the energy transition to backyards around the United States.

Jahi Wise, who oversaw the implementation of the GGRF before stepping down last week, told me on Sept. 3 that the program would eventually fund tens of thousands of projects. “It’s a vote of

confidence in American communities and the American people," he says.

Indeed, the program, created by the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), and administered by the Environmental Protection Agency, has been praised by environmental groups for bringing the energy transition to people's doorsteps, particularly low-income areas and communities of color. But the projects financed by the fund are really just the beginning. And it's not about just supporting a few local organizations and moving on. The GGRF has the potential to spark the broader financial innovation needed to encourage the private sector to invest in local clean energy projects—helping unlock the trillions necessary for the energy transition.

"This is really a scale play," says Wise. "The idea here is to use this public capital to spur financial innovation and financial products that allow more projects to be completed."

The GGRF is the creation of a short section of the IRA, easy to miss in the sprawling law. When the law was hastily enacted in 2022, summaries often listed the fund as just one quick item on a long list of new programs. And, yet, it is the single biggest non-tax item from the law.

Its structure is also somewhat complicated. It's divided into three sub-programs, which then fund an array of independent non-profit organizations. Those organizations are then responsible for putting the money to work—convening with project developers, entrepreneurs, and communities to hammer out the best ways to use the funds while meeting mandates and guidelines laid out by the GGRF.

The fund's novelty is also its strength. While the federal government has an array of programs aimed at supporting innovative companies and new technologies, this fund is squarely aimed at advancing projects deploying mature technologies in local

areas. That means that the benefits of the energy transition can be felt directly by people on the ground, especially underserved communities that thus far may have been ignored by clean energy entrepreneurs.

Potential financing tools are wide ranging and might include loans for specific projects, debt to help a company enter a new market, or loan guarantees for communities perceived as having credit risk—to name a few. These aren't new mechanisms, but the innovation comes in adapting them to fit the particular needs of clean energy projects in communities, particularly where private finance has yet to fund these sorts of projects. "The kind of innovation here is strategic capital insertion for products that, in many cases, already exist," says Wise.

The private sector will be key to GGRF's success. To start, the fund is hoping to attract seven dollars from the private sector for every dollar of public money deployed. That will make the funds allocated by the IRA stretch further almost immediately.

But, in the long-term, the impact of the program will also hinge on private capital continuing to finance the same type of projects. The GGRF offers an opportunity to prove that these deals make sense for investors focused on returns. "The idea here is not just to hit the kind of mission-aligned funds," says Wise. "It's to also reach deeper. It's the areas of the market that are a little more agnostic about mission and impact, but where we know there's a ton of capital that we need."

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7018693

The Heartache of Calling Israel Home

Kaufmann is a writer and lawyer based in Jerusalem, where she currently works at a solar energy company.

I knew that as soon as we came home to Israel, I'd ask myself why we'd been so eager to get back. I'd disconnected for a few days in New York with my family, even stopped wearing the hostage necklace I wore every day, and I knew it would be hard to return.

What I didn't know was that the day we got back I'd hear that the bodies of six young hostages had been found, shot by Hamas shortly before the Israel Defense Force (IDF) got to them.

In the weeks following Oct. 7, I couldn't hear anything about the atrocities without breaking down. I was a new mother, only beginning to understand my role protecting the world's most precious person, and it all felt too raw, too horrifying, too close. I walked out of rooms when people started talking. I watched no TV and avoided unnecessary news and shut down social media. I even averted my eyes in the street when I caught sight of the red letters

on the hostage posters, name and age at the top, and “BRING HIM/HER HOME NOW!” printed beneath a smiling photograph.

After some weeks had passed, and the radio started playing regular songs and not only sad ones, I let myself look up at one of the posters, into the eyes of a hostage. Alex Lobanov. He wore an apron and stood next to a lemonade dispenser and smiled back at me. The simplicity of the scene, contrasted with where I knew he was now, twisted my stomach. I thought of his mother.

Read More: *Scenes From Israel, Where Protesters Blame Netanyahu for the Deaths of Hostages*

At an intersection by my house hung a huge poster of Hersh Goldberg-Polin in a floral printed shirt. Having grown up near my office, in the Baka neighborhood of Jerusalem, in an American family like mine, he felt just one degree away from me. Many people I know knew him. Along with thousands of others, I walked with a flag to meet his funeral procession.

I’d held a poster with Carmel Gat’s face on it – smile and curls – at one of the weekly protests for the return of the hostages a few months ago. She reportedly taught meditation and yoga to the other hostages to help them survive. Almog Sarusi was from Ra’anana, where I grew up. His father runs an electric store in my parents’ neighborhood and had a table outside his store with prayer cards and a picture of his son. I’d paused several times at Eden Yerushalmi’s poster and wondered who her friends were. I’d read about Ori Danino, who fled the tragic party on October 7 and then went back to save people.

All dead. Abandoned.

The night we were supposed to fly home from the States turned out to be the night (or morning, Israel time) of Hezbollah’s planned massive missile attack and Israel’s preemptive strike. At the gate,

we received news alerts about the Tel Aviv airport shutting down, power outages up North, and Israel's Defense Minister and IDF spokesperson warning civilians about the situation. For a few minutes – which coincided with the plane's boarding – it looked like this might be the beginning of a much bigger war we've all been dreading. With little information and no time, my husband and I decided not to board. We didn't want to take our toddler into a war zone.

Shortly after the plane took off, it became clear that this was not a regional war – just another crazy day in Israel. But now we were stuck. Almost all airlines had stopped flying to Israel, and the remaining flights were fully booked. We spent 15 hours at JFK with a 20-month-old Imri, who shouted "up-up" at every airplane he saw, but we did not go up.

At the end of another futile day at the airport that week, I walked straight up to the pilots. "Please," I begged them. "Is there anything you can do? I want to get my family home."

What were we so anxious to get back to? Nothing, really. Work. Daycare. Our own washing machine. Buying overpriced cottage cheese at the minimarket down the road. Being home. We had Central Park, but I missed the little playground by our house where Imri rides his baby bike and eats other kids' Bamba.

Finally, we made the very expensive decision to buy tickets from a different airline, with a nine-hour layover in Athens, and a 3:30 a.m. arrival in Israel. In the check-in line, an older Israeli couple smiled at Imri and told us their story of getting stuck without a flight. We met them again near the gate, looking for a smoking lounge. As soon as they found it, the woman sent her husband inside and then whispered to me, "He's driving me crazy. If I don't get some time away from him, I'm going to get divorced after 42 years."

That particular blend of humor and honesty, immediate closeness and hot-blooded temper — I'd never met her, but I knew her.

As the plane neared Ben Gurion Airport, I heard a woman behind me mutter, "Dear, fascist country." Her words were pained and loving, like a disappointed mother.

When we awoke the next morning, the names of the dead hostages they'd found were made public. It was like reading the news in those first few weeks, checking one outlet after the other to make sure I'd gotten it right. The kind of news you can't get out of bed from. The kind of news that devastates, nauseates, doesn't leave you. Shock that they'd survived this whole time, and disbelief that they were shot just before we rescued them.

They should have been home. They should have hugged their parents and children and brothers and sisters so long ago. They should have been alive.

Before we left for our trip, I'd started entertaining thoughts of relocation, like many people I know. Our liberal friends, many of whom are parents, are all wondering what we're still doing here, with one war after the other, Jewish extremism on the rise, an economy that may soon fall apart, and a government seemingly more focused on resettling the Gaza Strip than on saving lives.

"Why are we here?" I asked my husband Yoav on the night of the Iranian missile attack a few months ago. I had actually gone to sleepknowing there would be missiles a few hours later. We woke up at 2 a.m. to go to our neighbors' bomb shelter, where Imri pet their dog as we waited for the sirens to cease. Then we walked back to our building and put him back to sleep. "How is this a normal place to raise a child?"

At Monday night's protest, a man held a poster in Hebrew that read, "I no longer recognize my country." I looked at it for a long

time.

Here we are, in the place we were so desperate to come back to – feeling crushed, confused, and hopeless since we landed. Dreading tomorrow's news.

But also feeling like we're home.

And so with a tight chest and heavy legs, I drag myself outside with an Israeli flag week after week. To protest, fight, and try to protect everything good that still exists here. And to save the lives we still can.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7017432

Welcome to the Golden Age of Scams

Alana Semuels is an economic correspondent at TIME. She covers work, consumer spending, retail, gender, and technology. She is a four-time finalist for the Gerald Loeb Award for Distinguished Business and Financial Journalism, and has won awards from the Society of Business Editors and Writers and the Los Angeles Press Club.

Not long ago, Monica Cotelingham found herself stuffing cash into a Bitcoin machine at a gas station in suburban Maryland and weeping.

Earlier that day, she had received a call from a phone number with the same area code as Cotelingham's father in Louisiana. When she answered, someone identifying themselves as a U.S. customs officer said the government had found a package addressed to Cotelingham that contained stolen passports and driver's licenses. She was in a lot of trouble; law enforcement was going to call her back. When Cotelingham's phone rang next, the number that came up was from local police, who told her the FBI would be in touch. Minutes later, she got a call from a number that matched the

bureau's. The person on the line told Cotelingham that she could get out of the mess by depositing $18,000 into a Bitcoin machine.

In retrospect, Cotelingham says, she should have known it was a scam. The game of law-enforcement telephone made no sense. All the callers had heavy accents. Each instructed her not to tell anyone what she was doing. The bank teller at Truist, where she withdrew the $18,000, asked if Cotelingham was OK, and warned her of scams. Even the Bitcoin machine where she deposited the money had a warning, in big red letters, to beware of scams and fraud.

But Cotelingham, who received the calls on her first day of a medical leave of absence from her job as a psychiatrist, believed at the time that they were legitimate. And so, sobbing in distress, she stuffed $10,000 into the machine until she asked the clerk for help to stop. "Even then, I think part of me knew," she says. "It was incredibly traumatic."

Cotelingham's experience is increasingly common. We are living in the golden age of scams. U.S. consumers lost a record $10 billion to fraud in 2023, according to the Federal Trade Commission, a 14% increase over 2022. That tally is almost certainly an undercount. More than three-quarters of victims, including Cotelingham, don't report to authorities that they've been defrauded. We are constantly baited by scammers—by text, by email, by phone. The average smartphone owner in the U.S. gets an estimated 42 spam texts and 28 spam calls per month, according to RoboKiller, an app for screening calls.

Read More: *The Government Finally Did Something About Robocalls*.

The scams themselves are more sophisticated than ever before, capable of duping the most skeptical consumers. There are romance scams, investment scams, and fake-job scams. Scammers target everyone from pharmacists in Wisconsin (trying to persuade them

to send money because their credentials have supposedly expired) to employees of specific companies (sending emails or texts that say they're from the CEO and instructing employees to buy gift cards). "We are at an epidemic level of fraud," says Kathy Stokes, director of fraud-prevention programs with AARP.

The COVID-19 pandemic is one reason. It made people lonelier and more isolated, which research shows makes them more susceptible to fraud, and it pushed more transactions online, where we can more easily fall victim. One in 3 Americans experiences feelings of loneliness at least once a week, according to a recent poll from the American Psychiatric Association. Members of Gen Z are more anxious and depressed than previous generations—and three times as likely to fall for scams as baby boomers.

But there are other factors. Technology enables scammers to reach more marks, robo-dialing many more numbers in a day or using AI to send carefully crafted emails and text messages. It's also given rise to online marketplaces selling hacker services, scam scripts, and other tools of deception. Social media helps scammers find information about individuals and use it against them. And fraudsters have more of that information because of increasingly common data breaches, and can use it to trick us into thinking they're someone they're not.

That specific kind of grift is known as an impostor scam. A perpetrator reaches out, pretending to be a government official, a bank representative, or a law-enforcement agent. Impostor scams like the one Cotelingham fell victim to were responsible for nearly half of all frauds reported to the FTC in 2023, with about 490,000 people reporting them. Americans said they lost $1.1 billion to impostor scams last year, three times what they lost in 2020. The success of the impostor scam illuminates another reason criminals are able to bilk Americans today. Our trust in institutions has collapsed, making it easier for scammers to pose as authority figures, says Stacey Wood, a fraud expert and professor at Scripps

College in California. “Authority can look very different now,” Wood says. “If someone is skeptical of the U.S. government, they often trust someone else—who can scam them.”

Americans may not believe in the government or the media, but we want to believe in something—and sometimes that’s a stranger who says they can solve our problems, or love us, or give us our dream job, or take our money in exchange for a better life.

Doug Shadel, a fraud expert and consultant who recently directed AARP’s Fraud Watch Network, has fought scammers since the 1990s. Back then, employed by the Washington State attorney general’s office, he used to bust so-called boiler rooms—places where dozens of people made scam calls, reading from prewritten scripts and dialing numbers one by one. The scammers might reach a few hundred people in a day, Shadel says, and would have to pay long-distance charges for the phone lines. Now, Shadel says, voice over internet protocol (VOIP) technology allows scammers anywhere to dial hundreds of thousands of phones in a day for free—what Shadel calls “spray and pray” dialing. They can “spoof” phone numbers, making it look like they’re calling from a government number. And they know much more about who they’re calling than ever before.

There were 3,205 reported data breaches impacting around 353 million people in 2023, according to the Identity Theft Resource Center. As a result, many of our Social Security numbers, addresses, phone numbers, or affinity-group memberships are available to resourceful scammers. One California family, who requested anonymity for fear of being bilked again, lost $400,000 when a scammer, armed with one of their Social Security numbers, called Bank of America 16 different times to try to change the password and information on an account, according to the family’s lawyer, Nick Barthel. Fifteen bank representatives refused, but the 16th was duped, according to Barthel, who says the scammer wired

the family's savings out of the account. The bank has not refunded the family, Barthel says. (Bank of America says it cannot comment on pending litigation. Police eventually found the perpetrator, but he was deceased and the money was nowhere to be found.) "This could happen to anybody," says Barthel. "All the guy needed was the basic information you would get from a data breach."

Read More: *Defrauded? Banks May Not Give Your Money Back*

This data often finds its way onto messaging apps like Telegram, says Frank McKenna, co-founder of PointPredictive, an AI firm that detects frauds. Cybercriminals can buy and sell tutorials and scripts for scamming people, as well as victims' personal information. For $500, you can purchase a live scamming class, 25,000 U.S. phone numbers, and instructions for sending spam links, according to a report from the security firm Guard.Io. "Social media platforms like Telegram began to emerge as these hubs of scam knowledge and transfer," McKenna says. (Telegram CEO Pavel Durov was taken into custody in Paris on Aug. 24 and faces charges stemming from the platform's alleged role in enabling criminal activity; Durov calls the charges "misguided.")

Scam syndicates exist all over the world, from Southeast Asia to Mexico to the Middle East, says Marti DeLiema, a professor who studies scams at the University of Minnesota's School of Social Work. "This is the new mafia," DeLiema says. The work can be lucrative. A 2024 report by the U.S. Institute of Peace found that transnational criminal networks based in Southeast Asia steal $64 billion annually through scams. In Myanmar, according to the report, there are "scam compounds" where people who have been lured by fake online job ads are held prisoner and forced to make calls to try to swindle Americans.

The rise of artificial intelligence has been a boon for these scammers. A decade ago, you might have been the target of a poorly written email from someone claiming to be a Nigerian

prince and asking for money to help them regain access to their wealth. Today, AI helps non-English speakers write more convincing missives. The technology can also be used to copy voices and likenesses to convince people that their family members are in danger. That's what happened to Fauzia Vandermeer.

Vandermeer, a 51-year-old radiologist who lives in Baltimore, received a call earlier this year from a number she didn't recognize. She ignored it, but the person called again, so Vandermeer picked up, worried that something had happened to a family member. She heard the sound of her sister's voice, sobbing and asking for help.

"I was totally freaking out," Vandermeer remembers. The voice that resembled her sister's told Vandermeer that she was at a Walmart and had gotten into an accident. Then a man came on the line. He said that Vandermeer's sister had hit his van, which had kilos of drugs in it, and that he needed to be compensated. Vandermeer was in her car, ready to drive to the Walmart, when the man told her that the matter needed to be dealt with "sensitively," she says. Suspicious, Vandermeer asked one of her children to try to locate her sister, which they did with the Find My Friend function on their iPhone. Vandermeer's sister was at home. Vandermeer sidestepped the scam, but says she easily could have been victimized. "To hear a loved one on the phone, crying for help," she says, "immediately you are kicked into this stress response."

People are more likely to fall prey to scams when they are in a heightened emotional state. That's why scammers try to target your emotions, telling you that you've won some sort of prize or money, or that something terrible has happened. It's a big reason people get duped by frauds that strike observers as obvious. A 2021 AARP study found that scam victims reported experiencing twice as many stressful life events in the past year as nonvictims.

The Department of Justice says it has stepped up efforts to catch and prosecute scammers who target Americans, even when those criminals are in other countries. From July 2022 through June 2023, the department says it pursued 300 criminal and civil actions against more than 650 defendants who collectively stole more than $1.5 billion from over 2.4 million victims. U.S. authorities also partner with foreign law-enforcement offices. One such collaboration last year led Indian police to raid call centers, arresting 26 people and seizing equipment used in scamming, according to a senior DOJ official, who says a similar effort is under way in Ghana.

Some people, frustrated with the government's inability to combat scammers, have taken on the task themselves. They're known as scam baiters, and they embrace a kind of vigilante justice—working to lure the scammers into targeting them and then hacking into their computers or collecting evidence they can turn over to authorities.

One such scam baiter is Jim Browning. He's an IT specialist in Ireland who got frustrated by the bombardment of scam calls and emails he was receiving. Browning, who uses a pseudonym, tries to catch scammers and turn them over to authorities, as well as to educate viewers on his YouTube channel, which has 4.3 million subscribers. His technological prowess offers him—and his viewers—insight into who the perpetrators are and how their operations work. In one of his most-watched videos, Browning accesses CCTV camera footage to watch Indian scammers run the same grift that duped Monica Cotelingham. The footage shows young men sitting in cubicles in a call center, dialing potential victims until eventually one finds a mark. The scammer instructs the target to deposit money into a Bitcoin machine before passing the phone to his superior—a "closer," Browning explains, someone with better English and more experience.

Browning's channel illustrates how hard it is to stop people from being scammed, even when they're made aware that a crime is unfolding. In the video, Browning hears where the scammers tell the victim to deposit the money, calls the location—a store in Michigan—and reaches a clerk. Browning tells the clerk that the woman stuffing money into the store's Bitcoin machine is being scammed. The clerk acts quickly, passing the information on to the woman. But she can't be deterred. "She's not budging on thinking that it's real," the clerk tells Browning. It's also why Browning, who has worked as a scam baiter for a decade, is skeptical about law enforcement's ability to counter fraudsters. "I have encountered thousands of scam operations," he says, "and the percentage of people who actually get arrested is tiny."

Read More: *Banks Aren't Doing Enough About Scams*.

Another scam baiter, an American who uses the alias Kitboga, tries to torment or prank the scammers as a form of payback. Kitboga, who has 3.6 million subscribers on YouTube, will give scammers access to his computer and then go into theirs to delete files. He says he takes these steps because law enforcement isn't equipped to deal with all the scammers out there and he wants to educate people about the risks. "This is," he says, "a pandemic-type situation."

Pierogi, the nom de guerre of a popular YouTuber who runs a scam-baiting channel called Scammer Payback, says he has started feeding federal authorities information about scam rings. "All different sorts of agencies have knocked on my door," says Pierogi, a onetime cybersecurity expert who adopted the pseudonym because his wife is Russian. (Yes, he knows pierogi are Polish.) Yet even when police get involved, it can be hard to put scammers away. A conviction can require law-enforcement cooperation across

multiple countries and victims willing to testify. Scammers sometimes still escape with just a slap on the wrist. “We’re making it harder for the scammers, but they’re also getting smarter,” Pierogi says. “It’s this cat-and-mouse game.”

The true toll of these scams goes far beyond the financial losses. In the age of scams, consumers are stuck in a vicious cycle: a lack of faith in institutions makes us fall victim to fraud, which in turn makes us even less trusting of institutions. Monica Cotelingham is still reeling from the scam that targeted her in 2022. She says she’s less trusting and never answers her phone if it’s not someone in her contacts. “I’m very careful about what information I reveal,” she says. She was too trusting just once, she says—and now she finds it difficult to believe in anyone at all.

Correction appended, Sept. 18*: The original version of this story misstated the pseudonym of a scam baiter; he goes by Kitboga, not Kit Boga. It also misstated whether he has teamed up with other scam baiters to send glitter bombs; he has not.*

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7021745

How We Chose the 2024 Latino Leaders

Ruairí Arrieta-Kenna is an editor for TIME based in Singapore.

Lori Fradkin is the executive digital editor at TIME. She previously co-edited a package at Cosmopolitan that won an ASME.

Tessa Berenson Rogers is an editor at TIME based in the Washington, D.C., bureau. She was White House correspondent during Donald Trump's presidency.

Vaya abajo de la página para leer este artículo en español.

Latinos have always been a part of the fabric of America—indigenous to the continent and a continuously growing proportion of the national population.

Today, one in five people in the U.S. identifies as Latino. It’s the country’s largest racial or ethnic minority group, according to the Census Bureau—and it’s expected to grow from 65 million people to over 111 million by 2060.

Latinos' influence on politics, culture, and all of society is undeniable—which is why TIME inaugurated a list last year during Hispanic Heritage Month to spotlight Latino Leaders, inspiring figures who are reshaping their industries and the world.

This year, we're highlighting 17 more U.S.-based trailblazers—from Hollywood to Washington, D.C., and everywhere in between. We chose the group based on the significance of their work and the diversity of their perspectives.

Some, including Olympic gymnast Hezly Rivera and singer María Zardoya of the Marías, are on their way to stardom and proud to represent their community. Others, like Sundance Film Festival director Eugene Hernandez and Estée Lauder executive Michelle Freyre, have made their way to the top and are intent on turning their visibility into opportunity for the next generation. "I do know that now they can look at me," Freyre says. "But I have to go and pull them up with me and make that happen."

Unfortunately, as Mexican former diplomat and marketing mastermind Claudia Romo Edelman says she discovered, being Latino in the U.S. can come with a stigma that needs to be overcome—which is why she has dedicated herself to rebranding Latinos as the positive contributors that they are. Edelman isn't the only honoree on this year's list working to shift perception. Comedian George Lopez remembers seeing his grandfather discriminated against by a restaurant server. That moment angered him, and it fueled a passion to use humor and his own depictions of family life to transform the story of Latinos in America from one of trauma into one of resilience.

"People have kind of put Latina characters in a box," says actor Aubrey Plaza, who like fellow actors Camila Mendes and Wilson Cruz has sought to infuse Latino identity into her roles. But it's impossible to navigate everyone else's expectations. "If you stick

to being authentic to yourself," says Mendes, "then you can't really go wrong."

It's a sentiment social media influencer Tefi Pessoa—who like many young Latinos has faced criticisms of not being Latino *enough*, whether for the language they choose to speak publicly or where they're from—can relate to. "I think that if my ancestors met me," says Pessoa, "they would like me, and I think they would want me to be proud of where I came from."

Read the full list of 2024 Latino Leaders here

Cómo decidimos quién estaría en la lista

Los latinos siempre han formado parte del tejido de Estados Unidos—indígenas del continente y una proporción en continuo crecimiento de la población nacional.

Hoy en día, una de cada cinco personas en los EE.UU. se identifica como latina. Es el grupo racial o étnico más grande del país, según la Oficina del Censo—y se espera que crezca de 65 millones de personas a más de 111 millones para el 2060.

La influencia de los latinos en la política, la cultura y toda la sociedad es innegable—por lo que TIME inauguró una lista el año pasado durante el Mes de la Herencia Hispana para destacar a los Líderes Latinos, figuras inspiradoras que están remodelando sus industrias y el mundo.

Este año, estamos destacando a 17 más pioneros basados en EE.UU.—desde Hollywood hasta Washington, D.C., y en todos los rincones intermedios. Elegimos al grupo en función de la importancia de su trabajo y la diversidad de sus perspectivas.

Algunos, incluidos la gimnasta olímpica Hezly Rivera y la cantante María Zardoya de The Marías, están en camino hacia la estrellato y se enorgullecen de representar a su comunidad. Otros, como el director del Festival de Cine de Sundance Eugene Hernandez y la ejecutiva de Estée Lauder Michelle Freyre, han llegado a la cima y están decididos a convertir su visibilidad en una oportunidad para la próxima generación. “Sé que ahora pueden mirarme,” dice Freyre. “Pero tengo que ir y levantarlos conmigo y hacer que eso suceda.”

Desafortunadamente, como dice la ex diplomática mexicana y experta en marketing Claudia Romo Edelman, ser latino en EE.UU. puede venir con un estigma que debe ser superado—por lo que se ha dedicado a rebranding a los latinos como los contribuyentes positivos que son. Edelman no es la única galardonada en la lista de este año que trabaja para cambiar la percepción. El comediante George Lopez recuerda haber visto a su abuelo discriminado por un servidor de restaurante. Ese momento lo enfureció y avivó una pasión por usar el humor y sus propias representaciones de la vida familiar para transformar la historia de los latinos en América de una de trauma a una de resiliencia.

“La gente ha puesto a los personajes latinos en una caja,” dice la actriz Aubrey Plaza, quien, al igual que las actrices Camila Mendes y Wilson Cruz, ha buscado infundir la identidad latina en sus papeles. Pero es imposible navegar las expectativas de los demás. “Si te mantienes auténtico a ti mismo,” dice Mendes, “entonces realmente no puedes fallar.”

Es un sentimiento con el que la influencer en redes sociales Tefi Pessoa—quien, al igual que muchos jóvenes latinos, ha enfrentado críticas por no ser suficientemente latina, ya sea por el idioma que elige hablar públicamente o por dónde es originaria—puede relacionarse. “Creo que si mis ancestros me conocieran,” dice Pessoa, “les agradaría y creo que querrían que estuviera orgullosa de dónde vengo.”

Lea la lista completa de los Líderes Latinos 2024 aquí

—Reportando en español por Israel Meléndez Ayala

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7018771

Kate Winslet Is Reclaiming Her Image—Just Don’t Call Her Brave

Kate Winslet loves tables. She loves them so much that the Oscar-winning actor collects them. There is nothing fancy about these antiques, but they enchant her. “It’s the knots and the whorls, the shape and feel,” she says. “They can feel like old friends, and there is something emotionally charging about an old table that comes with a history—I find imagining what that might be enormous fun.”

This hobby has had an unexpected impact on her career choices. In 2015, Winslet’s friends, the owners of an auction house in Cornwall, came across a table from a house that belonged to Annie Penrose. She was the sister of Roland Penrose, who was married for years to Lee Miller, the renowned model turned war photographer who made haunting photos of the liberation of Paris and the concentration camps at Buchenwald and Dachau. When it arrived at Winslet’s home, she placed her hands on it and thought of all the people who had sat there. Her mind turned to Miller. And that mind, which had spent decades thinking about people’s stories

and how to tell them, became fixated on one nagging question: Why had no one ever made a film about Lee Miller?

Winslet spent the next eight years willing one into existence. The result is *Lee*, out Sept. 27, which Winslet produced and stars in as its eponymous subject. *Lee* is not a cradle-to-grave biopic, but instead focuses on Miller's work during World War II and her evolution as a war photographer, capturing some of history's most horrifying moments. The film marks a meaningful reunion too: it's directed by Ellen Kuras, a cinematographer Winslet first collaborated with on one of the actor's most beloved films, 2004's *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind.*

To develop the film, Winslet worked closely with Miller's son Antony Penrose (played onscreen by Josh O'Connor), whose biography *The Lives of Lee Miller* serves as the basis for the screenplay. Winslet attributes the long development period to her desire to get Miller's story right, through "massive" research. She felt the presence of Miller, who died in 1977, throughout the process: "I'm telling you she was behind the scenes pulling the levers the entire damn time."

Winslet joins a Zoom call in late June from a hotel room in London, filled with energy. She opens by declaring that there's

“literally not a shred of makeup on my face,” though she looks exactly like the Winslet we’ve come to know over 30 years. She speaks in exuberant, run-on paragraphs, cursing up a storm. Though her HBO miniseries *The Regime*, where she played a lisping dictator, premiered in March, she hasn’t been in front of a camera in a year. Her current gig is “fully supporting” *Lee*’s release; eventually, she’s scheduled to reunite with her *Mildred Pierce* director Todd Haynes for a limited series based on Hernan Diaz’s Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Trust* and star in an A24 drama series for Hulu, *The Spot.*

But you’d be forgiven for thinking Winslet is constantly working, because in general she has been since the mid-1990s. Her career was launched in large part by Peter Jackson’s *Heavenly Creatures*, followed by *Sense and Sensibility* and, of course, *Titanic*.

Lee not only teams her with Kuras as *Eternal Sunshine* (the surrealist fable about a man who tries to erase the memory of the woman he loved) celebrates its 20th anniversary. It also allows her to explore topics that have preoccupied her in films from *Revolutionary Road* to *Ammonite.* Namely, questions of women, their ambitions, and their bodily autonomy.

“Kate is very bold and is someone who, like Lee Miller, looks at the plight of women and cares about what happens,” Kuras says. “Kate is looking behind the scenes, much like Lee Miller looked behind the scenes.”

Winslet was adamant that Miller, who began her career as a model, not be defined by the male gaze. Rather, she wanted to highlight how Miller was a pioneer in a male-dominated space, and how her work turned a lens on injustice. “People still refer to her as the former model and muse of Man Ray,” Winslet says. “That was a minute in her life. I felt very strongly that we needed to take the most important decade that, if she were alive today, would likely have been the one she felt defined her.”

Lee also marked her first time producing a narrative feature. So in addition to figuring out "how the f-ck I was going to play her," she was also handling the "f-cking cash flow." She lived with fellow producer Kate Solomon, who took charge when the emotional toll of playing Miller became intense: scenes in concentration camps or Hitler's apartment, restaging Miller's famous self-portrait, nude in the genocidal dictator's bathtub.

Winslet is known for being forthcoming about the pressures of having a female body in Hollywood—in the past she's discussed the fat-shaming she endured after *Titanic* launched her to stratospheric fame when she was in her early 20s. But the way she talks about her body and uses it onscreen also signals some of the freedom in *Lee.* In one scene, Miller rests unabashedly topless with her friends, a picture of prewar bliss. Winslet says she wanted to be the "softest physical version" of herself in the film, but notes that you never see Lee naked in a sexual context. When someone on set told her to suck in her stomach and sit up straight, her reaction was "You think I'm not aware you can see that? I just went, 'I'm all good.'"

Not that she wants you to call that "brave," a word that irks her when applied to women who don't wear makeup or are comfortable in their skin. "That's not f-cking brave," she says. "I'm not an ex-

postmaster fighting for justice, I'm not in the Ukraine. I'm doing a job that matters to me." Part of that job means breaking down the lines between cast and crew, which is how Winslet first connected with Kuras on *Eternal Sunshine.* "She knows everybody's lines as well as her own, was accessible and kind to the crew, and these are qualities we note as crew people," Kuras recalls.

In those days, there were even fewer women on sets, so Winslet says it was only natural that she would gravitate toward someone like Kuras, as they were executing director Michel Gondry's experimental, sometimes impromptu ideas—like setting up a bed on a snowy beach in Montauk for the film's most iconic image. *Eternal Sunshine*'s existential exploration of romance is still a touchstone—so much so that Ariana Grande named her most recent album after it. ("I mean, how old must she have been when the movie came out?" Winslet says with bewilderment.) It's also a favorite of O'Connor's.

"There's something really special about *Eternal Sunshine* somehow becoming an inspirational narrative for those young people who are still figuring it all out," Winslet says.

Kuras and Winslet stayed in touch over the years—they once had an all-star Thanksgiving dinner, Kuras says, with Daniel Day-Lewis, Rebecca Miller, and Brigitte Lacombe. In *Lee*, Winslet saw an "obvious opportunity" for her friend who had spent her life, like Miller, telling stories visually. "Ellen and I, and anyone growing up in that world, it's a pretty specific kind of gang you're in, an exclusive club of hardcore filmmaking survivors of the fittest, you know?" Winslet says. "When you have that in your film DNA, it never leaves you."

While Winslet has Worked with female filmmakers, including Jane Campion and Nancy Meyers, many of her most famous works have been helmed by men. But she doesn't believe a male camera sees her any differently than a female one. "I've always played women who, hopefully, are real women," she says. Mostly, she's just grateful to continue having a voice in her industry—whether she's pulling together the money for an indie or starring in an HBO hit like *Mare of Easttown*, for which she won an Emmy.

She describes how she recently showed her 10-year-old son a picture of the small sliver of a house she grew up in. Having a mother who has always, at least to him, been an Oscar-winning movie star, he couldn't work out what he was looking at or that six people had lived there. The anecdote conveys why she doesn't take anything for granted. "Getting work and still being invited back to the party is the greatest privilege of my life," she says. "And it's not one I take lightly." Yet levity is one of her undeniable qualities. "She's like a kind of older sister who is looking out for me and constantly asking how I'm getting on," says her co-star O'Connor. "She's in touch with her inner child, and that playfulness makes it really exciting to work with her."

Case in point: Winslet's story of how she first became acquainted with Miller's work. In a famous photograph, Miller's subject bends

forward, her rear end forming an almost abstract shape in the frame. Friends often sent Winslet cards with that very photograph, a winky allusion to her own body. “The number of times I’ve been sent that—specifically *that* image, assuming that my butt reminds them of that butt,” she laughs, her voice swelling in volume. “I’m very proud. I enjoy that about myself.”

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7019630

There Will Never Be Another Sally Rooney

A few years ago, someone posted a photo of a man walking through Brooklyn with a copy of *Conversations With Friends* tucked in the back of his trousers, the name *Sally Rooney* peeking out above his waistband. It was an accessory that telegraphed as much about his personal style as his choice in attire did. Less than a month earlier, the book critic Constance Grady had published an essay titled "The Cult of Sally Rooney," deeming it "aspirational" to be a fan: "If you read Sally Rooney, the thinking seems to go, you're smart, but you're also fun—and you're also cool enough to be suspicious of both 'smart' and 'fun' as general concepts."

Thanks in part to endorsements from Taylor Swift, Sarah Jessica Parker, Lena Dunham, and Emily Ratajkowski, Rooney, the 33-year-old Irish novelist known for her exacting, witty portraits of the romantic and sexual entanglements of Dublin millennials, broke out in 2017 with her debut novel. Her name quickly became a shorthand for a cultural sensibility—the way young people in the late 2010s sublimated their deep uncertainty into a performance of anti-capitalism and avoidant attachment. *Conversations With Friends* probed the ambiguities of friendship and affairs, while Rooney's second novel, *Normal People*, published in the U.S. in 2019, charted how social class and miscommunication derailed a romance.

With both books, Rooney had captured a mood. She has sold millions of copies of her novels, which also include 2021's *Beautiful World, Where Are You*, in an age when most books sell fewer than 5,000 copies. Both *Normal People* and *Conversations With Friends* have been adapted into popular TV series. Ahead of her fourth novel, *Intermezzo*, out Sept. 24, 140 bookstores across the U.S. will host release parties—a treatment usually reserved for blockbuster series about wizards, fairies, and vampires.

Selling literary fiction is notoriously difficult—one publisher told *Granta* he estimates the category has only 20,000 "serious and consistent readers" in the U.S.—yet Rooney has managed to recruit fans who rarely read for pleasure. No one expected her level of success, especially Rooney herself. *Conversations With Friends* was a sleeper hit, picking up momentum in the year after it was published almost entirely because of word-of-mouth buzz. Many have wondered: For the literary world's sake, could the Sally Rooney effect be reproduced?

A lot of fans believe Rooney's books are in a category of their own. Mitzi Angel, the president of her U.S. publisher, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, acquired *Conversations With Friends* while in a previous

role at Faber & Faber in the U.K. When she first read the manuscript in 2016, Angel felt “a jolt of recognition,” as if the book “had already been written” or always existed. Inside the will-they-won’t-they romantic storyline between 21-year-old student Frances and 32-year-old married actor Nick were also moral quandaries. Rooney is skilled at “listening to and interpreting the culture,” Angel says. “Her work is always about the contracts between people. What is the contract between one person and another? That’s an ethical question, but it’s also a political question.”

As the former top-ranked college debater in Europe, Rooney was well-positioned to speak to young people who treat the personal and political with equal degrees of importance. In an era where name recognition for debut novelists matters more than ever, her academic bona fides, agent at a major firm, and book deal with an influential editor allowed her to start her career with a degree of seriousness not often afforded to young female novelists. She was hailed as “the Salinger of the Snapchat generation,” a phrase that has followed her for years (and which she is eager to shake).

Once Rooney trickled through the intelligentsia, her work reached the global creative class that can anoint—and consume en masse—the next “it” thing among movies, shows, and other works of culture. This group is not necessarily made up of avid readers, but they’ve read *My Year of Rest and Relaxation* by Ottessa Moshfegh, *Detransition, Baby* by Torrey Peters, *Luster* by Raven Leilani, and, most recently, *All Fours* by Miranda July. When these very-online cultural consumers discovered Rooney’s work, they were hooked. “She was one of the few people taken seriously for writing about relationships and sex and female anxiety, female body politics,” says literary agent Angeline Rodriguez. “And even then, she still was kind of dismissed by more establishment people and, frankly, men. Until she became so popular that people had to pay attention.”

Rooney herself has shied away from the spotlight, emphasizing how ordinary she is during almost every (rare) interview. In *The Point*, Becca Rothfeld wrote of Rooney's modesty: "This person, or this persona, is at pains to convince us that she is someone any of us could become." For many, today's vision of success involves becoming famous; how little Rooney seems to court or embrace fame has conferred on her byline an intelligent, aloof glamour.

That cool-kid quality shows up in her characters, too. For young people exposed to neat Hollywood fantasies, filtered Instagram photos, and the choreographed scripts of pornography, the matter-of-factness with which Rooney writes about sex can make those situations feel radically mundane, similar to the effect of the messy sex depicted on Dunham's *GIRLS* a decade ago. "People are clearly enjoying themselves," Rodriguez says. Rooney writes about "sex being just something that happens between people, in a normal and positive way."

Rooney has been a leading voice in a literary era where desire and body politics are taken seriously, and part of her audience has embraced other works on the subject matter, from Lisa Taddeo's 2019 best seller *Three Women* to Annie Ernaux's chronicles of her own sexual and private life through the decades. Those writers, along with Rooney, offer a sisterly counterpart to a larger boom in contemporary romance, with hits by authors like Emily Henry, Colleen Hoover, and Casey McQuiston dominating the best-seller lists and social media. *Normal People* is shelved under romance at Target—but it's the only title in the aisle you'd also see tucked into the waistband of a dude walking through Brooklyn.

Read More: *Romance Novels Are Literature* by Casey McQuiston

---

Ever since *Conversations With Friends* became a word-of-mouth hit, publishers have been trying to harness "the Sally Rooney audience" for other authors. "There was so much excitement

around finding people who were doing what she was doing, and it encouraged a more literary moment in many ways," says an agent who requested anonymity for fear of retribution from her employer. Editors began acquiring "internal books written by dry, self-aware women" and marketing them as similar to Rooney's. Other publishers tried, with some success, to kick-start the same buzz; *Three Women* was backed by an "anti-ghosting" campaign where women asked the publisher to send free copies to men who "needed" to read it. In designing the brand identity for 831 Stories, a new publisher of romance novels, co-founder Claire Mazur says, "We were certainly thinking of the Sally Rooney reader, and of the lit-fic reader who we hope to pull into the [romance] genre if they weren't there already."

In an essay for the *New York Review of Books*, the novelist Namwali Serpell identified at least nine books published from 2020 to 2023, including *Exciting Times* by Naoise Dolan and *A Very Nice Girl* by Imogen Crimp, that felt reminiscent of Rooney's first two novels and featured similar plots and tensions. Some of those nine books were in progress long before Rooney made her mark, responding independently to the same cultural undercurrents. Nonetheless, they were relentlessly compared, which calcified the group as "a period style," Serpell wrote. She called them "remaster novels"—stories about young women in relationships with imbalanced power dynamics who create a double bind that tips the scales in their favor. Though some of those books were successful, none of them touched *Conversations'* level of cultural influence.

"What's interesting to me is how the industry for a while was chasing the next Sally Rooney, and that's mostly subsided," says the agent who requested anonymity. "She turned out to be a robust brand but was not indicative of a new industry." Authors like Hoover and Henry have solidified blocks of voracious readers with buying power in the romance space, *Twilight* sparked a wave of vampire novels, and *The Fault in Our Stars* launched "sick lit"—

but Rooney's sales haven't translated to other contemporary literary books in any traceable way. Where did her audience look next?

Literary agent Monika Woods says those readers are looking toward Jane Austen or other classic women writers. "They're reaching backwards because Sally Rooney writes such instantly classic prose. She's not straining for the contemporary," Woods says.

Regardless of where they might have turned their attention in the meantime, in the absence of a "next" Rooney-esque author, her fans are only that much more hungry for a next Rooney book. *Intermezzo* is hotly anticipated, both for readers and the industry members whose livelihoods are determined by book sales. "It is rare for a book to incite as much excitement amongst book-sellers as it does with the general public," says Mikaela Dery, director of programming at the New York City bookstore chain McNally Jackson, whose *Intermezzo* launch party will include a chess workshop and a "conversations with new friends" cocktail hour.

Even if there can be only one Rooney, her success speaks to the necessity of publishers meaningfully investing in debut voices, as Angel did. In a way, Rooney and fellow zeitgeistian Moshfegh were "risky endeavors," says Woods, "and they paid off big because readers really loved what they wrote and what they had to say."

So, if it's possible for another writer to harness the energy that has followed Rooney since the beginning, odds are it will be someone whose work looks nothing like Rooney's at all. Says Rodriguez: "The person who is actually going to inherit that—who will be 'the next Rooney'—has to capture their own moment."

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7022497

What It Means to Be a Man, According to UFC's Dana White

Sean Gregory is a senior sports correspondent at TIME. His work has been cited in the annual Best American Sports Writing anthology nine times. His stories have won awards from the U.S. Basketball Writers Association, the American Academy of Orthopaedic Surgeons, and his work was named a finalist for Deadline Club and Mirror awards for excellence in magazine writing and reporting on media, respectively.

The UFC will hold, on September 14, the first-ever live sporting event at the Sphere in Las Vegas. Thanks to Tom Brady.

When U2 opened up the Sphere, the world's largest spherical structure with a 160,000-sq.-ft. LED screen that wraps around the interior, last September with a concert residency, Brady called UFC CEO and president Dana White to ask if he wanted to join him at a show. White agreed, and while watching Bono and The Edge perform, became smitten with the state-of-the-art venue and moved to secure a UFC date there.

UFC 306, which unfolds two days before Mexican Independence day, will feature a film on the history of Mexico, played in 90-second chapters between fights on the Sphere's interior display. A bantamweight title fight, between Sean O'Malley of the U.S. and Merab Dvalishvili of Georgia, is the main event; a women's bout, between Alexandra Grasso of Mexico and Valentina Shevchenko of Kyrgyzstan, is the co-main event.

White sat down with TIME in New York City on Sept. 9, the day before his friend Donald Trump— whom White introduced at the Republican National Convention in July—debated Vice President Kamala Harris in Philadelphia, to discuss the challenges of hosting this first-in-kind sporting spectacle, masculinity in modern America, and the future of the fight business.

(This conversation has been edited and condensed for length and clarity)

What attracted you and the UFC to the Sphere in Las Vegas?

So I went to the U2 event, and halfway through the event, I go, "Man, this, this is incredible." So I literally called my head of production during the event, and said, "Hey, I don't know what you're doing next weekend, but cancel it. You and the boys are coming here. I want to do the Sphere. We've got to figure this out." I saw the possibilities of doing something unique and fun and challenging all at the same time.

What's been the biggest challenge in staging a sports production like the UFC in the Sphere?

It's all been challenging. The first was, how the f-ck do we light this thing? Every event we've ever done has a centerhung. A big lighting grid, which not only has the lights, but the camera, mikes, audio, all that stuff is in there. All that goes away. It starts with the lighting, and then we get into the creative.

A big boxing match, between superstar Canelo Álvarez of Mexico and Edgar Berlanga, is happening on the same night. That competition has put pressure on ticket prices and sales for UFC 306. Have ticket sales been as robust as you originally thought?

This is the biggest gate in UFC history. It's going to be $22, $23 million, and we have the most pre-buys on pay-per-view in the history of the company. So, yes, the Canelo fight will go on that night. And I think that there are a lot of people who are boxing fans that are going to go to Canelo fight, and there are a lot of people that want to experience this at the Sphere. Listen, I love this kind of stuff anyway. Let's let the games begin.

Given all the additional production involved in this event, do you anticipate it making a profit for the UFC?

A regular UFC event takes us to two and a half million bucks. The budget for this was $8 million because we didn't know. We're at $20 million. It's like building a house. But we did really well with sponsorship and a lot of other things. It'll be very profitable.

How do you see sports consumption changing going forward, and what will the UFC do to adjust to these changes?

A lot of interesting things happened during COVID, and one of the biggest was, we cannot live without sports. People were losing their minds. I was losing my mind without sports. Sports rights just continue to go like this. [*Points upward*.] And just when you think sports can't get any bigger, they just do. Guys that bought NBA teams for $300 million are now worth five-and-a half billion. There are a million other examples I could throw at you.

Streaming is the future. The world continues to get smaller and smaller and smaller. When you wrap your head around that, when I'm talking about streaming, when you think about the ceiling on this business, there's 8 billion people on earth. I continue to reinvest in this business and open performance institutes around the world. When you and I were growing up, your parents would put you in karate and Tae Kwon Do. This is the new martial art for children, men, and women. This is a massive business.

Power Slap is making its international debut. Why do you think that business will be successful?

Power Slap is the most successful business that I've ever been a part of in such a short amount of time. [In] 19 months, we have 17 million followers. We have some of the biggest videos in sports on social media, more sponsors than the UFC had in 10 years, and a bigger television-rights deal than the UFC had in 10 years. And what's crazy is, they're saying all the same things they said about the UFC when we started. Literally identical. How gross it is, how stupid it is. "So you can punch a guy, then jump on top of him and start pounding him?" "It's disgusting." "It's not a real sport." Literally, I heard all this sh-t before.

Here's the reality. There are 8 billion people in the world. Some people will like it, and some people won't. But when you're dealing with the number of 8 billion, there are enough that you have a real business on your hands. I used to say that the UFC

would be bigger than boxing. And everybody said that I was an idiot. This will be bigger than the UFC.

And the reason that I believe this is, first of all, the younger generation loves it. The African American community loves it. The list goes on and on. When you get into these different parts of the world, they really love this stuff. And we've always been trying to break into India. We thought we would find somebody who could become an Indian champ. This is huge in India, huge. And you don't have to train for 10 years to do this. This thing is very fun and very interesting. And again, the success of the UFC, a major part of that is the live event that we put on. Nobody walks out of the UFC live event and goes, "Yeah, I don't ever want to come to one of these again." We've done the same thing for Slap.

Why, in your mind, is Power Slap not "gross" or unsafe?

Let me put it this way. If you look at boxing, right, these guys train and spar for months leading up to a fight, then they go in there and they fight 12 rounds. You've seen the UFC fights, knock-down, drag-'em-out wars. These guys go in and take three slaps or less. And they go through all the same medical testing that professional fighters do. We spend the money. As long as you know you have two healthy athletes going in to compete, the proper medical attention is there that night, and they get the proper medical attention after, you take a huge portion of the risk out. And when you talk about me personally, who's got a better track record than I do? There's never been a death or serious injury in 30 years of the UFC. Wrap your head around that. The wars that have happened, elbows, knees, slams. Cheerleading can't say that.

But CTE diagnoses may come out later.

That's a fact. Getting punched in the head, or slapped in the head, or heading a ball, or hitting with helmets in football, it's bad for you. So as a grown adult living in America, you have the right to choose what you want to do. If you want to play soccer and head a ball, you want to play football from peewee to college and take the head blows that you do, or if you want to go out and professionally fight, there are inherent risks. What I try to do is, I make sure that I spend all the money that I possibly can to take as much risk out of it as possible for the health and safety and the life of the people who complete.

I used to box when I was younger. I went in and I did one of those brain studies. I have black spots all over my brain from what I did. I wouldn't take one back one punch. Not one. The position that I'm in right here, right now, today, I wouldn't take one punch back because I loved it that much.

And the doctors all talk about, "Somebody could die"—I got news for all the doctors. We're all gonna die. How do you want to live your life? What do you love and what are you passionate about? People always ask me, what if your daughter wanted to fight? If

she really loved it, am I going to tell her no? It's what she wants to do.

This is the first time a UFC fight night has a title sponsor – UFC 306 is the Riyadh Season Noche UFC. You've also held events in Saudi Arabia. Why are you comfortable doing business with Saudi Arabia despite the kingdom's human-rights record?

Turki [Alalshikh] reached out to me. He's a huge fan of combat sports. And he wanted to be a part of the Sphere. You know, these guys are getting into everything, boxing, golf, God knows what else. He wanted to sponsor this event, he loved it, he believed in it. And as far as doing business with Saudi Arabia, everybody's doing business with Saudi Arabia.

You interrupted a family vacation in Italy to introduce former President Donald Trump at the Republican National Convention. Looking back, are you glad you did that?

Yeah. Listen, I love the guy. I've been friends with him for many years. He is one of the best human beings I've ever met. Usually in that part of the convention, it's a family member who always introduces, and the fact that he asked me, and the fact that his family also thought it should be me is probably one of the greatest honors of all time for me.

Why do you think he asked you instead of a family member?

His family has done it the last however many times. Listen, he and I are really, really good friends. What I think, and from what his kids have told me, I am the one guy he connects with, they call it "bro out," we bro out together. He is a huge fight fan. You cannot have a conversation with him without him bringing up fights. He knows everything that's going on. Originally, venues didn't want us. We went to the Taj. He got the business. He understood it. He and I hit it off.

Every good thing that happened to me in my career, Donald Trump was the first guy to either pick up the phone and call or send something. We were on the cover of the New York *Times*, and he sent it and he wrote on it, "Congratulations, Dana. I always knew you were going to do this." Every time I talk to this guy, the first question is, "How is your family?" He's a good man.

In your introduction you read a text that Trump sent you, saying about your appearance "think of it as the biggest fight you've ever had, a fight for our country and even the world." Do you agree with that sentiment and why?

I do. America needs a strong leader, and I think the world needs a strong America. At the end of the day, I'm not a very political person. I don't attack people or dislike people who are on the other side. This country was built off hard work, ideas, thinking outside the box, debating. Many parts of me are liberal and many parts of me are conservative. When you're conservative in the right places and liberal in the right places, it's the perfect combo. The world has become way too political, and I think social media has played a big role in that. But yeah, I lean more right than I do left right now. And I just want to bring common sense back. Want some peace in the world. And I truly believe, friendship aside, that Donald Trump can fix a lot of the issues that are out there right now.

Do you believe that Kamala Harris can't be that leader?

I do. I strongly believe it. If you listen to her without a teleprompter, it's like, what? And I've never heard somebody talk so much and say nothing. That's my opinion of Kamala Harris. Do I think she's going to sit in the room with world leaders from the Middle East and Russia and Iran? No, I don't believe that.

A lot of the rhetoric around the RNC seemed to center around the idea that Donald Trump needs to save the country. What's so wrong with the country that we need Donald Trump to save us?

I'm not that guy that thinks anything needs to be saved. But you have to be honest with yourself. Let me ask you a question: Who the f-ck is running the country right now? They're saying that Biden is unfit to run. He's the f-cking President of the United States. She's the Vice President, and she's telling everybody what she's gonna do when she gets in there. You're in there. You've been there for three and a half years. What are you talking about? This makes no sense.

Trump just came to the New York fight, and Secret Service crossed each other and they said that Biden's granddaughter was at the UFC event. And I said, "Well, get her and bring her to me. I'd love to meet her." When she heard Trump was coming, she left. I wish she didn't. I would have loved to have met her. [*The White House declined to comment*.]

Guess what's gonna happen to me if Kamala Harris wins the Presidential election? I'm going to work, and do everything that I do the same as I do it. I'm an American. And whoever is sitting in that office is my President. I'm going to live my life.

Coming out of the convention, there's been a fair bit of commentary about masculinity. The RNC featured a speech from Hulk Hogan, you calling President Trump a "real American badass," Trump walking on the stage to "It's a Man's Man's Man's World" by James Brown. The DNC featured a somewhat gentler form of masculinity, highlighting things like Tim Walz's role as a high school teacher and Second Gentleman Doug Emhoff's self-effacing humor. Commentators have labeled it "toxic" vs "tonic" masculinity. Do you think our politics have offered competing visions of what it means to be a man?

It's a great question. This friend of mine was telling me, she's got a girlfriend who was saying, "You know what, I'm way more attracted to Trump's supporters. I like real men." It's funny, it's fascinating, and interesting that there is so much emphasis on, what is a real man? What's he supposed to do? I don't really know what to make of it. But I think that you are who you are. I f-cking love Kid Rock and his music. But you know what? I don't hunt. I don't kill animals. If there's f-cking a Big Rack deer in my backyard, I want to see it, not f-cking shoot it.

Everybody is different, and women are attracted to different types of men. Can't we all just get along and do our thing?

Well, what, in *your* mind, does it mean to be a man?

That I can answer. In my world, I run a company. I am the leader of that company. You lead by example. Do you really care about your employees? Do you really care about who they are and what's going on with them in their life? I would say most don't. I definitely care about my people. Every Christmas party, I would stand up and say, "I love you guys. You're the best." UFC is this rocket ship of success. Then we go into the scariest time in our lifetime. We didn't lay off one employee, we fought through COVID, we did it together. And we became a much stronger company. Number one.

Number two, I believe that, as a man, there's all this talk about men's mental health—I can't stand that sh-t. Yes, guess what? Life is hard. It's a nasty, ugly world out there. It's not perfect. And you can't afford to be a man and talk publicly about, "Oh, my mental health." We all have bad days and good days. And I believe that as a man, you suck that sh-t up. Usually, if you're a man, you have a lot of people relying on you to deliver: your wife, your kids, possibly other family members. If you run a business, every one of your employees. Yeah, there's no time for men's mental health. You're a f-cking man. Get up, put your f-cking shoes on, and get out there and be a man.

That is my take on being a man. You have a lot of people that count on you to get up and do what you do as a man. And I think that no matter how evolved we become with the man and women sh-t, and women who are executives and powerful people that do powerful things—it's a fact, this isn't me assuming, women are f-cking smarter than men, women mature earlier than men, lots of other things. But this is also a fact: Women want to feel safe and be protected, and a lot of women do want to be taken care of.

I'm the guy that, yeah, you do open the f-cking door for women. And no, you don't split the f-cking bill 50-50, ever, for any reason

whatsoever. Or the bills. I'm that guy. And that isn't political. However I became this way – I don't know how I did, but that's who I am and how I am.

You've professed an admiration for Mexico, especially for its contribution to combat sports, and during the Sept. 14 card at the Sphere you are showing films highlighting Mexican history, ahead of Mexican Independence Day (Sept. 16). But Donald Trump has said some unkind things about Mexicans.

Trump's stance on the border has been firm all along. If you look at it, Obama was one of the hardest presidents ever on the border. And Trump said, "You know, we're gonna build a wall." I don't think he's ever said anything bad about Mexican people.

What about the "rapists" comment?

He's talking about the type of people that are coming over the border, which is bad, which is specific to any human being. Not just Mexicans. And Trump says it all the time. These aren't people coming over with their kids trying to find a better life. These are gang members. Very undesirable that are coming over the border. No matter what side of the fence you sit on, you can't disagree with that.

And Trump being a racist? He's the furthest thing from a racist. Does he always say the right things? Would I love to see him get off Twitter? Yeah. But as a human being, he's a good human.

What's the biggest leadership lesson you've learned from running the UFC?

I love when I talk to people, they're like, "You know what? I want to start my own business and work for myself, because I want a lot of free time." You're not the right guy if that's what you're thinking about. I'm in the office every day by 9 o'clock. I'm usually not the

first one there, but I'm definitely the last one to leave. It was me and like two or three other people that are the last to leave that building every day. I could have stopped working in 2016. But I love what I do. I just told you, our ceiling is 8 billion people. To figure that out, to do the things we're doing requires a lot of time, effort, and energy. And if you're asking your people to work that hard, you better be working that hard, too.

What's your favorite thing to do to unwind?

Two things. I play cards, gamble, whatever. And I have a place up in Maine where my cell phone barely works, and I have motorcycles and all kinds of toys. When I just want to get away from everything, I go up to my place in Maine.

What podcasts do you listen to?

I don't listen to podcasts. I've done a million podcasts. I've never listened to a podcast in my life. I cannot be motivated by listening to somebody talk during a workout. I'm motivated by music.

Is there a dream UFC venue or market where you want to hold an event?

Africa. Haven't done an event in Africa yet. We have a champion now, world champion from South Africa, who just defended his title for the first time–

Dricus du Plessis. South Africa would be first. And then we'll hit Nigeria, or one of those places after that. I'm also looking at building a performance institute (PI) in Africa too. I just built a Performance Institute in Mexico this year. And Africa's next. We'd see a fight in Africa in '25. PI, within three or four years.

What do you think will be the ultimate takeaway from the Sphere event?

This needs to come off seamlessly with all the different things that are going on production wise. And if we nail it, we pulled off one of the most unique, amazing live sporting events, not fights, live sporting events, of all time.

What's your worry level, on a scale of 1-10?

My worry is, you have one night to try to make this happen and pull it off. Here's the other thing that's a reality. Seems like a great idea. Maybe it's not. Maybe a live sporting event in the Sphere is not a great idea. We'll know that that night too. These are all things that we don't know. And I love the challenge of that.

This article was downloaded by **calibre** from
https://time.com/7020074