high 55. Tonight, clear, breezy, cold-

er, low 36. Tomorrow, plenty of sunshine, cool, less wind, high 50. Weather map appears on Page A16.

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 2024

\$4.00 Prices in Canada may be higher

MANY DEMOCRATS

SAT OUT ELECTION,

AT COST TO HARRIS

TURNOUT SLID FROM '20

Drop-Off Affected Key

Cities and Cut Across

Demographics

By MICHAEL C. BENDER

Detailing How Israeli Visitors Were Attacked

A Mirror of the Mideast in Amsterdam Strife

By JIM TANKERSLEY

AMSTERDAM — Early Thursday morning, taxi drivers gathered en masse outside Amsterdam's Holland Casino. Hours before, Israeli soccer fans had stolen and burned a Palestinian flag, while others attacked a cab — and the drivers, the police said, were heeding an online call to "mobi-

Inside the casino, hundreds of Israeli fans waited for the local police to bring them back to their hotels. There had been confrontations nearby, the authorities said.

An Israeli fan who would agree to be identified only by his first name, Barak, said he encountered a young man in the casino with cuts on his hand and face, who had described being ambushed by men on scooters. "All his face was blood," Barak said in an interview on Friday.

The casino said it had fired a security guard after learning of posts he sent later that evening to a chat group. In a screenshot of the exchange posted online, the guard promises to alert others on the thread if Israeli fans "show up again."

"Tomorrow after the game in the night," someone replies, "part two of Jew hunt."

The attacks near the casino were among the first in a series of assaults on visiting Israeli fans surrounding the Europa League match last week between an Israeli team, Maccabi Tel Aviv, and an Amsterdam-based opponent, Ajax. The Amsterdam authorities are still sorting through what, exactly, happened across the city over that two-day period, including what they have called antisemitic attacks, as well as inflammatory actions by Israeli fans.

The events rattled Amsterdam's Jewish and Muslim communities and drew an international outcry, including from President Biden and the leaders of Israel and the Netherlands. The police are scheduled to present a more detailed account ahead of a hastily called debate in the City Council over antisemitism.

Glimpses of the vitriol and violence have offered fodder for competing narratives about what happened and why. Those include shaky videos posted on social media, which quickly made their way around the world. They also include screenshots of what purported to be group chats, which The New York Times has not been

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Salute to Those Who Served

President Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris taking part in a Veterans Day ceremony Monday at Arlington National Cemetery.

Economic Fear Haunts Europe Since U.S. Vote

By PATRICIA COHEN

LONDON - The outlook for Europe's economy has been disappointing.

Last week - after Donald J. Trump's victory in the presidential election — it got worse.

Deep uncertainty about the Trump administration's policies on trade, technology, Ukraine, climate change and more is expected to chill investment and hamstring growth. The launch of a possible tariff war by the United States, the biggest trading partner and closest ally of the European Union and Britain, would hammer major industries like automobiles, pharmaceuticals and machinery.

And the need to raise military spending because of doubts about America's guarantees in Europe would further strain national budgets and increase deficits.

In addition, Mr. Trump's more confrontational attitude toward China could pressure Europe to pick sides or face retribution.

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Plodding California Count Delays House Results

This article is by Soumya Karlamangla, Orlando Mayorquín and Coral Murphy Marcos.

SAN FRANCISCO - The nation is again waiting on California to finish tallying votes almost a week after Election Day. The state has most of the re-

maining undecided races that will determine the balance of power in the House, and its slow votecounting process has drawn – and some greater scrutiny scorn — as each day goes by.

While many states tallied the bulk of their ballots within hours of polls' closing on Tuesday, California still had nearly five million to count going into the holiday weekend, just under a third of all

Control Over Chamber Hangs in Balance as Votes Are Verified

of the ballots that were cast there. Leaders in California, the nation's most populous state, defend the deliberate process as necessary to ensure that the tallies are accurate and that as many voters participate as possible. They say their generous provisions for voters give the public greater confi-

The delay in full results has left Americans wondering why the balance of power in the House is

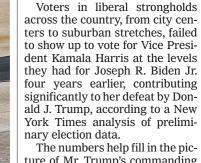
yet to be known. It has also opened avenues for disinformation, with Democrats and Republicans seizing upon the incomplete results as evidence of voter fraud

Counting votes in California is not as simple as running ballots through a machine.

The state is one of a handful nationwide where every registered, active voter is mailed a ballot. Mail-in ballots take longer to process than those cast in person.

Election offices must verify that the signature on each envelope matches the voter's signature on file. Instead of throwing out ballots that were filled out improperly, election workers in California

Continued on Page A13



ture of Mr. Trump's commanding victory, showing it may not represent the resounding endorsement of his agenda that the final Electoral College vote suggests. Mr. Trump won the White House not only because he turned out his supporters and persuaded skeptics, but also because many Democrats sat this election out, presumably turned off by both candi-

Counties with the biggest Democratic victories in 2020 delivered 1.9 million fewer votes for Ms. Harris than they had for Mr. Biden. The nation's most Republican-heavy counties turned out an additional 1.2 million votes for Mr. Trump this year, according to the analysis of the 47 states where the vote count is largely complete.

The drop-off spanned demographics and economics. It was clear in counties with the highest job growth rates, counties with the most job losses and counties with the highest percentage of collegeeducated voters. Turnout was down, too, across groups that are traditionally strong for Democrats, including areas with large numbers of Black Christians and Jewish voters.

The decline in key cities, including Detroit and Philadelphia, made it exceptionally difficult for Ms. Harris to win the battlegrounds of Michigan and Pennsyl-

The drop-off is an extraordinary shift for Democrats, who, motivated by Mr. Trump's surprise victory in 2016, had turned out in eye-popping numbers for the three subsequent elections. They clipped his power in Washington in 2018, removed him from office in 2020 and defeated many of his handpicked candidates for battleground races in 2022.

Democrats said they need a new way to re-engage voters who are fatigued by the anti-Trump message and distrustful of both parties.

The reasons behind the drop-off are varied. For one, some backsliding could be expected after the record turnout in 2020, which was aided by pandemic rule changes that increased mail voting.

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ADVISING TRUMP Stephen Miller is expected to step into the role of deputy chief of staff. PAGE A14

'Recycling Influencer' Creates A Window on Colombia's Poor

By GENEVIEVE GLATSKY

BOGOTÁ, Colombia — In an enormous warehouse filled floor to ceiling with plastic, glass and newspapers, Sara Samaniego lipsyncs to a rap song, dressed in her trademark blue jumpsuit and

Ms. Samaniego, 32, is filming a video for the hundreds of thou-



Sara Samaniego plays Marce the Recycler on social media.

sands of followers she has amassed across Instagram, Tik-Tok and YouTube. She has won international awards, collaborated with celebrities and regularly gets stopped on the streets for photographs. The topic that has earned her so

much popularity? Recycling.

Through her colorful aesthetic and peppy persona, Ms. Samaniego brands herself as Latin America's first recycling influencer, attracting a passionate fan base in Colombia's capital, Bogotá, by educating followers on how to clean and sort their garbage through her character, Marce the Recycler.

Her work has also drawn attention to the often-overlooked community of informal recyclers who eke out a living redeeming recy-

Bogotá, like many cities in the developing world, has no government service for collecting items Continued on Page A5

Sunset Years in Silent Houses: The Despair of No Grandchildren

By CATHERINE PEARSON Lydia Birk, 56, has held on to her favorite copy of "The Velveteen Rabbit" since her three children - now in their 20s and 30s were young.

She loved being a stay-at-home mother, and filled her family's home with books. (All of her children could read before they started school, Ms. Birk recalled with pride.) She hoped one day to be a "cool" grandma who would share her favorite stories with a

But none of her children want to have kids. And though that decision is "right for them," Ms. Birk said, it still breaks her heart. "I don't have young children anymore, and now I'm not going to have grandchildren," she said. "So that part of my life is just over."

Every registered, active California voter is mailed a ballot. Mail-in ballots take longer to process.

Like Ms. Birk, a growing number of Gen X-ers and baby boomers are facing the sometimes painful fact that they are never going to become grandparents. A little more than half of adults 50 and

A Cultural Shift Leaves Many Struggling

MARK ABRAMSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

older had at least one grandchild in 2021, down from nearly 60 percent in 2014. Amid falling birthrates, more U.S. adults say they're unlikely to ever have children for a variety of reasons, chief among them: They just don't want to.

'That is a best and worst thing about having kids," said Ms. Birk's husband, John Birk Jr., 55. "You watch them make their own deci-

sions, different from your own." Still, would-be grandparents like the Birks may experience a deep sense of longing and loss when their children opt out of parenthood, even if they understand at an intellectual level that their children do not "owe" them a family legacy, said Claire Bidwell Smith, a therapist based in Los Angeles and the author of "Conscious Grieving." It doesn't help

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Syrians Caught Between Wars

For hundreds of thousands of refugees, returning to their shattered country has become the safer option as they flee a growing conflict in Lebanon.

Iran Debates Its Next Move

Some in Iran's more moderate government think the result of the U.S. election offers an opportunity to make a lasting deal with the Americans.

Night Riders Hassled in China

Like a flash mob on wheels, young people bicycled for hours between two cities. But the authorities shut it down when their numbers swelled. PAGE A6 ARTS C1-6

Blowing Satchmo's Horn

Louis Armstrong gets the old jukebox treatment in a Broadway musical starring James Monroe Iglehart.

She Knows Her Worth

Allison Tolman, who broke out in "Fargo," now stars in "St. Denis Medical," a hospital mockumentary. PAGE C1



NATIONAL A12-17

Thomas Donlon wants the job of police commissioner permanently, and he's been acting as if he has it as he navigates uncertainty. PAGE A15

Adams's Third N.Y.P.D. Boss

Protecting Climate Policies

President Biden and environmental groups are racing to deliver funds for clean energy before Jan. 20.

SPORTS B7-10

Saudis Open Up Their Wallets

The kingdom hosted the WTA Finals in its latest effort to use sports to mask its human rights record.

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Exhale Through the Gift Shop

Museums are adding scents as a tool for communicating information about science in their exhibits.

Navigating a Dangerous Ocean

Prospects for North American right whales are tenuous. Below, a tangle of rope was deadly for this whale. PAGE D1



BUSINESS B1-6

Rural Town Fights Big Tech

Residents of Peculiar, Mo., battled developers and local officials to keep a giant data center out.

What's Next for Mortgages?

Many would-be home buyers are still hoping for rates to come down as the Federal Reserve makes cuts.

OPINION A18-19

Paul Krugman

