

**User Name: =**

**Date and Time: = 2025-05-09**

**Job Number: = 252500969**

**Documents (500)**

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "working class"

**Search Type:** NaturalAnd

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Content Type** | **Narrowed by** |
| news | Source Name: The New York Times Exclusions: Exclude Obituaries Timeline: 01 Jan, 1980 to 31 Dec, 2024 Source Language: English |

1. [**‘He’s a Hint of the Future’: Our Writers on Vivek Ramaswamy Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_1)

2. [**Move to Reassure Voters Has the Opposite Effect For the Leader of Britain**](#Bookmark_2)

3. [**Shared Connections for Two Men Late to the Top**](#Bookmark_3)

4. [**DeSantis Sets Sights on Wisconsin , a 2024 Battleground**](#Bookmark_4)

5. [**A War Abroad, A Clash at Home**](#Bookmark_5)

6. [**For a President and a King, the View From the Top Is Curiously Similar**](#Bookmark_6)

7. [**Mapping Out Anger, in Different Directions**](#Bookmark_7)

8. [**Democrats Lost the Most in Midwestern ‘Factory Towns,’ Report Says**](#Bookmark_8)

9. [**Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Rhaina Cohen The Ezra Klein Show**](#Bookmark_9)

10. [**Read Your Way Through Appalachia**](#Bookmark_10)

11. [**Walker and Warnock Lean Into the Final Stretch**](#Bookmark_11)

12. [**Focus on Class, Not Race**](#Bookmark_12)

13. [**‘Beef’ Review: Mad in America Critic’s Pick**](#Bookmark_13)

14. [**A Lasting Impact**](#Bookmark_14)

15. [**Warnock and Walker, at Finish Line in Georgia , Stick to Their Strategies**](#Bookmark_15)

16. [**The War in Gaza Is Splintering the Democratic Party Michelle Goldberg**](#Bookmark_16)

17. [**Can an Unpopular Populist Still Damage Democracy? Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_17)

18. [**Flooded With Email: What Should You Do?**](#Bookmark_18)

19. [**Letters**](#Bookmark_19)

20. [**Barbra Streisand Is Ready to Tell All. Pull Up a Seat.**](#Bookmark_20)

21. [**Michelle Wu is elected mayor of Boston.**](#Bookmark_21)

22. [**Letters to the Editor**](#Bookmark_22)

23. [**Help, I’m Flooded With Email! What Should I Do? letters**](#Bookmark_23)

24. [**Grief, Pain and the Lingering Impact of Trauma on Black Women’s Bodies Fiction**](#Bookmark_24)

25. [**New York 's Superstar Progressive**](#Bookmark_25)

26. [**Why Do Trump Supporters Support Trump?**](#Bookmark_26)

27. [**New York ’s Superstar Progressive Isn’t A.O.C. Bret Stephens**](#Bookmark_27)

28. [**Literary Destinations / Read Your Way Through London**](#Bookmark_28)

29. [**In England, Morris Dancing Is Loved, Mocked and Getting a Makeover**](#Bookmark_29)

30. [**Wonking Out: Are Billionaires Making Out Like Bandits? Paul Krugman**](#Bookmark_30)

31. [**Oh, That Old Ax? It's Just a Prank.**](#Bookmark_31)

32. [**Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Kristen Soltis Anderson The Ezra Klein Show**](#Bookmark_32)

33. [**After Law Schools Boycott, U.S. News Will Change Its Influential Ranking System**](#Bookmark_33)

34. [**Trump Won't Let America Go**](#Bookmark_34)

35. [**The Gay Rights Movement Before the Gay Rights Movement Fiction**](#Bookmark_35)

36. [**The Right Don't Need No Education**](#Bookmark_36)

37. [**Good Friend, Bad Marriage And Laughs**](#Bookmark_37)

38. [**Texas Democratic Stronghold Narrowly Favors Republican**](#Bookmark_38)

39. [**After Boycott from Law Schools, U.S. News &amp; World Report Changes Ranking System**](#Bookmark_39)

40. [**The Right Don’t Need No Education Paul Krugman**](#Bookmark_40)

41. [**How Quebec 's Love for Celine Dion Grew**](#Bookmark_41)

42. [**Poetry Gleaned From Darkness And Lots of Fur**](#Bookmark_42)

43. [**She Makes The Case, And Finds It Difficult**](#Bookmark_43)

44. [**Trump Won’t Let America Go. Can Democrats Pry It Away? Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_44)

45. [**25 Years After ‘Titanic,’ Quebec ’s Love for Celine Dion Will Go On**](#Bookmark_45)

46. [**A Poet of the Night Whose Muses Have 9 Lives The Saturday Profile**](#Bookmark_46)

47. [**Is There Still Room in the G.O.P. for Mitch Daniels?**](#Bookmark_47)

48. [**Review: Jodie Comer Makes the Case in ‘Prima Facie’**](#Bookmark_48)

49. [**What the HBO Show ‘South Side’ Teaches Us John McWhorter**](#Bookmark_49)

50. [**An Artist's Wounded Heart**](#Bookmark_50)

51. [**Larry Hogan: I’m Not Seeking the Republican Nomination for President Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_51)

52. [**Milestone Vote In Philadelphia**](#Bookmark_52)

53. [**Where Trump Stands With These 6 Kinds of Republican Voters**](#Bookmark_53)

54. [**Where Trump Stands With These 6 Kinds of Republican Voters**](#Bookmark_54)

55. [**The Artist’s Wounded Heart Critic’s Pick**](#Bookmark_55)

56. [**The Bronx vs. Manhattan**](#Bookmark_56)

57. [**Day Care for Less Than $10: How Canada Is Easing the Burden for Parents**](#Bookmark_57)

58. [**The Vaccine Class Gap The Morning Newsletter**](#Bookmark_58)

59. [**Finding TV Inspiration in Internet Forums and Old Friends**](#Bookmark_59)

60. [**A Tough Life in Emotional Technicolor**](#Bookmark_60)

61. [**How 'Goon Squad' of Deputies Terrorized a Mississippi County**](#Bookmark_61)

62. [**From Pain, Perspective**](#Bookmark_62)

63. [**Contentious but Popular, Arizona 's Private School Voucher Plan Grows Fast**](#Bookmark_63)

64. [**As Stumping Starts, It's Beginning to Look Like 2024**](#Bookmark_64)

65. [**A Surprisingly Tight Race**](#Bookmark_65)

66. [**She Redefined Trauma. Then Trauma Redefined Her.**](#Bookmark_66)

67. [**It’s Beginning to Look a Lot Like 2024**](#Bookmark_67)

68. [**$7,200 for Every Student: Arizona ’s Ultimate Experiment in School Choice**](#Bookmark_68)

69. [**Read Your Way Through Los Angeles**](#Bookmark_69)

70. [**Russell Brand's Alternate Reality**](#Bookmark_70)

71. [**How a ‘Goon Squad’ of Deputies Got Away With Years of Brutality**](#Bookmark_71)

72. [**The ‘Hard Hat Riot’ Was a Preview of Today’s Political Divisions**](#Bookmark_72)

73. [**The Landlord’s Worst Nightmare Is a Basic Human Right**](#Bookmark_73)

74. [**Adams's Lively Stories Don't Always Check Out**](#Bookmark_74)

75. [**33 Nonfiction Books to Read This Fall Fall Preview**](#Bookmark_75)

76. [**‘A Perfect Storm for the Ambitious, Extreme Ideologue’ Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_76)

77. [**Why Does New Hampshire Go First?**](#Bookmark_77)

78. [**‘Lingua Franca’ Review: Lives Under Stress**](#Bookmark_78)

79. [**When Celebrities Sling Mud, It's Fertile Soil for Drama**](#Bookmark_79)

80. [**Not All Democrats Are Embracing Biden's Student Loan Forgiveness**](#Bookmark_80)

81. [**Biden’s Student Loan Forgiveness Plan Divides Democrats**](#Bookmark_81)

82. [**Interpreting the Week’s Most Important Stories The Interpreter Newsletter**](#Bookmark_82)

83. [**Confessions of a Liberal Heretic The On Politics Newsletter**](#Bookmark_83)

84. [**DeSantis to Visit Wisconsin , a 2024 Battleground, as He Circles Trump**](#Bookmark_84)

85. [**The Elites' Misguided G.D.P. Fetish**](#Bookmark_85)

86. [**European-Style Welfare State Built By the U.S. for Covid Is Largely Gone**](#Bookmark_86)

87. [**European-Style Welfare State Built By the U.S. for Covid Is Largely Gone**](#Bookmark_87)

88. [**Truss Tried to Reassure Britons With Media Blitz. Her Woes Multiplied.**](#Bookmark_88)

89. [**Republicans Say, 'Let Them Eat Hate'**](#Bookmark_89)

90. [**Republicans Say, ‘Let Them Eat Hate’ Paul Krugman**](#Bookmark_90)

91. [**Russell Brand’s Alternate Reality**](#Bookmark_91)

92. [**Schools Like This One Need to Stay Open**](#Bookmark_92)

93. [**Plan to Dismantle Bridge in Rotterdam for a Superyacht Is on Hold**](#Bookmark_93)

94. [**‘All My Friends Hate Me’ Review: Party Animals Critic’s Pick**](#Bookmark_94)

95. [**The Closing of This School Is Bad News for America Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_95)

96. [**Israelis Feeling Pain of Discord In Daily Lives**](#Bookmark_96)

97. [**Here Are the Most Anticipated Films of the Holiday Season**](#Bookmark_97)

98. [**Long-Suffering Town In Wales Finally Gets Its Hollywood Ending**](#Bookmark_98)

99. [**Is DeSantis Now the 2024 G.O.P. Front-Runner?**](#Bookmark_99)

100. [**Institute Members Want Answers on Sacklers' Funds**](#Bookmark_100)

101. [**Under the Hollywood Spotlight, a Fading Welsh Town Is Reborn**](#Bookmark_101)

102. [**National Academies Members Demand Answers About Sacklers' Donations**](#Bookmark_102)

103. [**In Tokyo, Seeing Some Old Familiar Places**](#Bookmark_103)

104. [**A Conservative’s View on Democrats’ Biggest Weakness**](#Bookmark_104)

105. [**‘Wounds Will Need to Be Healed’: Collisions in a Fractured Israel**](#Bookmark_105)

106. [**National Academies Members Demand Answers About Sacklers’ Donations**](#Bookmark_106)

107. [**Jelly Roll Reinvents Himself In Nashville**](#Bookmark_107)

108. [**A Republican narrowly flipped a State House seat in San Antonio.**](#Bookmark_108)

109. [**Meet Jelly Roll, the Rapper Turned Country Singer Rousing Nashville**](#Bookmark_109)

110. [**Bath, England**](#Bookmark_110)

111. [**Hot Books for Cold Days**](#Bookmark_111)

112. [**The Tucker Realignment Ross Douthat**](#Bookmark_112)

113. [**After Historic Primary in Philadelphia, a New Mayor Will Face Old Problems**](#Bookmark_113)

114. [**Looking Back, Was the Iraq War Justified?**](#Bookmark_114)

115. [**Sizzling Hot Books for Cold Winter Days Romance**](#Bookmark_115)

116. [**Looking Back, Was the Iraq War Justified? letters**](#Bookmark_116)

117. [**Rodeo Is Turning America ’s Whitest Big City Black Tressie McMillan Cottom**](#Bookmark_117)

118. [**In Turkey Vote, Erdogan Fails To Get Majority**](#Bookmark_118)

119. [**Runoff in South Texas Becomes Test of Abortion Politics**](#Bookmark_119)

120. [**Some voters in a wealthy Paris suburb consider backing Le Pen.**](#Bookmark_120)

121. [**Iran 's Campaign Against Dissent Can't Silence a Jailed Rapper's Message**](#Bookmark_121)

122. [**Nail-Biter Turkish Election Heads for Round 2 as Majority Eludes Erdogan**](#Bookmark_122)

123. [**Can Dems Dodge Doomsday?**](#Bookmark_123)

124. [**Can Dems Dodge Doomsday? Maureen Dowd**](#Bookmark_124)

125. [**Labor’s election strategy is to minimize what opponents can attack.**](#Bookmark_125)

126. [**Inclusive or Alienating? The Language Wars Go On**](#Bookmark_126)

127. [**Mayor Adams Loves a Good Tale. Some of Them May Be Tall.**](#Bookmark_127)

128. [**Inclusive or Alienating? The Language Wars Go On Nicholas Kristof**](#Bookmark_128)

129. [**The G.O.P.'s Fiscal Hawks Fly Far Away From Deficit Fights**](#Bookmark_129)

130. [**A Rapper’s Detention Shows Iran ’s Crackdown Is Failing Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_130)

131. [**Offering No Apologies, Macron Weathers Pension Crisis**](#Bookmark_131)

132. [**The G.O.P.’s Fiscal Hawks Fly Far Away From Deficit Fights Political Memo**](#Bookmark_132)

133. [**A King of Lager Delivery**](#Bookmark_133)

134. [**Who Owns the American West?**](#Bookmark_134)

135. [**‘The Greatest Beer Run Ever’ Review: Vietnam on the Rocks**](#Bookmark_135)

136. [**Brexit: What Were We Thinking?! Turning Points**](#Bookmark_136)

137. [**In Tokyo, Skipping the Hot and New for Enduring Haunts**](#Bookmark_137)

138. [**The Thing**](#Bookmark_138)

139. [**Argentine Politics Jolted By Assassination Attempt**](#Bookmark_139)

140. [**Aiming for an Ivy and Trying to Seem 'Less Asian'**](#Bookmark_140)

141. [**Argentina Reels From Assassination Attempt on Its Powerful Vice President**](#Bookmark_141)

142. [**Applying to College, and Trying to Appear ‘Less Asian’**](#Bookmark_142)

143. [**In India , Desperation As Best Jobs Draw Horde**](#Bookmark_143)

144. [**A Farewell to Readers Jay Caspian Kang**](#Bookmark_144)

145. [**The Forces Tearing Us Apart Are Not Quite What They Seem Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_145)

146. [**Want One of India ’s Best Jobs? You and 1,800 Other Applicants.**](#Bookmark_146)

147. [**In West Belfast, Two Sides United in Hardship**](#Bookmark_147)

148. [**After 25 Years of Peace in Northern Ireland , Some Still Wait for Prosperity**](#Bookmark_148)

149. [**After 25 Years of Peace in Northern Ireland , Some Still Wait for Prosperity**](#Bookmark_149)

150. [**We're Going to Miss Greed and Cynicism**](#Bookmark_150)

151. [**‘Out-of-Reach Dreams’ in a Sickly Economy Provoke the Rage in Iran**](#Bookmark_151)

152. [**Lament in a Restive Iran : 'We Are Breaking Under Financial Pressure'**](#Bookmark_152)

153. [**Dolly Parton and Those Who Love Her**](#Bookmark_153)

154. [**Hollywood’s Newest Stars? Nike, BlackBerry and Cheetos. Screenland**](#Bookmark_154)

155. [**A State Budget's Effect on New Yorkers' Lives**](#Bookmark_155)

156. [**How the Pandemic Is Imperiling a Working-Class College**](#Bookmark_156)

157. [**We’re Going to Miss Greed and Cynicism Paul Krugman**](#Bookmark_157)

158. [**Rotterdam May Dismantle Part of Bridge for Jeff Bezos’ Superyacht**](#Bookmark_158)

159. [**Could Haley Be Our Next President?**](#Bookmark_159)

160. [**Taking On Fast Fashion by Taking It Down**](#Bookmark_160)

161. [**How New Yorkers’ Lives Will Be Altered by the $229 Billion State Budget**](#Bookmark_161)

162. [**This Holiday Season, the Poor Buckle Under Inflation as the Rich Spend**](#Bookmark_162)

163. [**Why So Many Americans Are Feeling More Pain**](#Bookmark_163)

164. [**The Elite Needs to Give Up Its G.D.P. Fetish**](#Bookmark_164)

165. [**Bid to Redraw Council's Map Got Ugly Fast**](#Bookmark_165)

166. [**Dolly Parton and the Women Who Love Her 5 Things About Your Book**](#Bookmark_166)

167. [**A Measure of Character Turning Points: Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_167)

168. [**‘Nikki Haley Will Not Be the Next President’: Our Columnists Weigh In Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_168)

169. [**Did Ron DeSantis Just Become the 2024 Republican Front-Runner? Ross Douthat**](#Bookmark_169)

170. [**The Plutocrats**](#Bookmark_170)

171. [**The Enduring Appeal of ‘Wagatha,’ Now on Stage and Screen**](#Bookmark_171)

172. [**Younger Voters Are Turning Out More Than Ever, and They're Leaning Left**](#Bookmark_172)

173. [**The Party of Family Values Should Truly Value Families**](#Bookmark_173)

174. [**Millennials Just Keep Voting**](#Bookmark_174)

175. [**A Good Walk, Filmed New York Today**](#Bookmark_175)

176. [**Why Americans Feel More Pain Nicholas Kristof**](#Bookmark_176)

177. [**Two Men Arrested in Execution-Style Killings of a Family in California**](#Bookmark_177)

178. [**What Is ‘Cop City’? The Atlanta Police Center Protests, Explained**](#Bookmark_178)

179. [**Encounters With Ordinary Lives**](#Bookmark_179)

180. [**Biden Directs Education Funding to Community Colleges, a Key Lifeline**](#Bookmark_180)

181. [**I Prepped Elite College Applicants. Here's How the Race Game Is Played.**](#Bookmark_181)

182. [**What Is 'Cop City'? The Atlanta Police Center Protests, Explained**](#Bookmark_182)

183. [**Miuccia Prada**](#Bookmark_183)

184. [**What Republican Parents Really Want Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_184)

185. [**How Much of a Democrat Is Eric Adams? New York Today**](#Bookmark_185)

186. [**Remembering a Revolution That So Many Forget**](#Bookmark_186)

187. [**National Book Award Finalists Are Chosen**](#Bookmark_187)

188. [**‘Swimming Wasn’t for Us’**](#Bookmark_188)

189. [**Is It Too Late for Ron DeSantis?**](#Bookmark_189)

190. [**Nevada 's Economic Turmoil Threatens a Democratic Stronghold**](#Bookmark_190)

191. [**A Warning for New Victims of Environmental Catastrophe**](#Bookmark_191)

192. [**The Rift Between A.O.C. and Eric Adams: When Democratic Stars Collide**](#Bookmark_192)

193. [**The Trains Are Stopped. Some Brits Are Moved.**](#Bookmark_193)

194. [**How a New City Council Map of L.A. Turned Into a Political Brawl**](#Bookmark_194)

195. [**The Past Returns, Looking To Fight**](#Bookmark_195)

196. [**For South Texas Democrats, an Intraparty Test of Abortion Politics**](#Bookmark_196)

197. [**Democrats Worry That What Happens in Nevada Won’t Stay in Nevada**](#Bookmark_197)

198. [**A Warning for the Newest Victims of Federal Neglect and Corporate Greed in Ohio Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_198)

199. [**His Union Went on Strike. His Interviews Went Viral.**](#Bookmark_199)

200. [**A Former Enforcer Searches For Some Answers on C.T.E**](#Bookmark_200)

201. [**Comparing Trump's $750 Tax Bill With What Average Workers Pay**](#Bookmark_201)

202. [**‘Creed III’ Review: A Franchise Finds New Fertile Ground**](#Bookmark_202)

203. [**G.O.P. Already Pressing Immigration as Core Issue of 2024 Election**](#Bookmark_203)

204. [**To Turn Around Twitter, Musk Looks to an Advertising Expert**](#Bookmark_204)

205. [**In L.A., They're Singing a New Song**](#Bookmark_205)

206. [**I Teach at an Elite College. Here’s a Look Inside the Racial Gaming of Admissions. Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_206)

207. [**Erdogan's Fierce Power Leaves Him Vulnerable**](#Bookmark_207)

208. [**Elon Musk Appoints Linda Yaccarino Twitter’s New Chief**](#Bookmark_208)

209. [**New York 's Ascendant Left Sets Sights on Longtime Representative**](#Bookmark_209)

210. [**The Party's Over for Us. Where Do We Go Now?**](#Bookmark_210)

211. [**Immigration Politics Return to the Forefront as the 2024 Race Picks Up Pace**](#Bookmark_211)

212. [**He Was a Revolutionary at the Birth of a Nation. Does Anyone Care?**](#Bookmark_212)

213. [**The Los Angeles Opera, Post-Plácido Domingo**](#Bookmark_213)

214. [**New Target for New York ’s Ascendant Left: Rep. Carolyn Maloney**](#Bookmark_214)

215. [**A Few More Songs Before He Goes**](#Bookmark_215)

216. [**Why Can't Republicans Be Populists?**](#Bookmark_216)

217. [**Why Can’t Republicans Be Populists?**](#Bookmark_217)

218. [**When Schwarzenegger Shows Up, You Know The Potholes Are Bad**](#Bookmark_218)

219. [**Taking On Fast Fashion by Taking It Down Visionaries | Fashion Industry**](#Bookmark_219)

220. [**Graham Nash Has a Few More Songs Before He Goes**](#Bookmark_220)

221. [**California Has So Many Potholes, Arnold Schwarzenegger and Bikers Are Trying to Fill Them**](#Bookmark_221)

222. [**A Former Hockey Enforcer Searches for Answers on C.T.E. Before It’s Too Late**](#Bookmark_222)

223. [**Luzzu**](#Bookmark_223)

224. [**Sanders makes his electability case.**](#Bookmark_224)

225. [**The Party’s Over for Us. Where Do We Go Now? The Conversation**](#Bookmark_225)

226. [**‘The Pictures Are Miracles’: How Judith Joy Ross Finds Pain and Nobility in Portraits Critic’s Notebook**](#Bookmark_226)

227. [**Looming Rent Increase of Up to 9% Tests Adams's Housing Priorities**](#Bookmark_227)

228. [**A ‘Sir’ With Blue-Collar Roots: Britain ’s Labour Race Has an Unlikely Leader**](#Bookmark_228)

229. [**6 Paris Bistros to Try Now**](#Bookmark_229)

230. [**Tim Ryan will be the Democrats’ nominee for Senate in Ohio .**](#Bookmark_230)

231. [**In Israel , Netanyahu Delays Firing Minister**](#Bookmark_231)

232. [**Primaries in Indiana And Ohio Will Point To Direction of G.O.P.**](#Bookmark_232)

233. [**Israel ’s Judicial Standoff Deepens as Netanyahu Delays Firing Minister**](#Bookmark_233)

234. [**The Mystery That Haunts A World Cup**](#Bookmark_234)

235. [**Jam or Cream First? Notes From One Woman’s Decade of Eating Scones.**](#Bookmark_235)

236. [**Unbowed, Macron Appears Ready to Tough Out Pension Crisis**](#Bookmark_236)

237. [**Good Night, Sweet Prince An Appraisal**](#Bookmark_237)

238. [**Eric Adams, Once a Political Outsider, Conquers the Inside Game**](#Bookmark_238)

239. [**‘He Is Seriously Not Going to Be President.’ Our Columnists and Writers Discuss Mike Pence.**](#Bookmark_239)

240. [**On ‘Yellowstone’ and in Montana , the Same Question: Who Owns the West? Ross Douthat**](#Bookmark_240)

241. [**La Soga: Salvation**](#Bookmark_241)

242. [**Poor in Texas , And Helpless Against Heat**](#Bookmark_242)

243. [**A Seething Campaign Rally Not Unlike Trump's, but This Time in France**](#Bookmark_243)

244. [**‘La Soga Salvation’ Review: A Very Inferior Set of Thrills**](#Bookmark_244)

245. [**In San Antonio, the Poor Live on Their Own Islands of Heat**](#Bookmark_245)

246. [**Echoes of Trump at a Rally for France ’s Far-Right Upstart**](#Bookmark_246)

247. [**Anthony Albanese, the challenger, pitches ‘safe change.’**](#Bookmark_247)

248. [**Anthony Albanese, the challenger, pitches 'safe change.'**](#Bookmark_248)

249. [**India ’s Economy Is Growing Quickly. Why Can’t It Produce Enough Jobs?**](#Bookmark_249)

250. [**The Mystery That Ended Two Women’s World Cup Dreams**](#Bookmark_250)

251. [**India 's Robust Economy Isn't Churning Out Jobs**](#Bookmark_251)

252. [**Trying to Finish a Journey From Brazil 's Presidency to Prison and Back**](#Bookmark_252)

253. [**Brazil ’s Favorite Leftist Is Back From Prison and Trying to Defeat Bolsonaro**](#Bookmark_253)

254. [**The Royal Treatment**](#Bookmark_254)

255. [**In Relentless Storms, California 's Aging Levees Are Failing**](#Bookmark_255)

256. [**Read Your Way Through Los Angeles**](#Bookmark_256)

257. [**Racism as Narrative, Not an Issue, for G.O.P. Candidates of Color**](#Bookmark_257)

258. [**Low Turnout of Black Voters in Midterms Raises Questions for Democrats**](#Bookmark_258)

259. [**The Ascension of Bernie Sanders Maureen Dowd**](#Bookmark_259)

260. [**California Levee Failures Mount as Storms Continue Relentless Drive**](#Bookmark_260)

261. [**Talk of Racism Proves Thorny for G.O.P. Candidates of Color**](#Bookmark_261)

262. [**Galleries**](#Bookmark_262)

263. [**Black Turnout in Midterms Was One of the Low Points for Democrats**](#Bookmark_263)

264. [**Are New York 's Democratic Leaders Listening to Voters?**](#Bookmark_264)

265. [**Insecurity's Insidious And Overwhelming Power Over All of Us**](#Bookmark_265)

266. [**Will Democrats Be Locked Out?**](#Bookmark_266)

267. [**The Best Genre Movies of 2022**](#Bookmark_267)

268. [**Voting is over and a winner is expected tonight in the New York City mayor’s race.**](#Bookmark_268)

269. [**22 Mummies Stop Traffic in Egypt**](#Bookmark_269)

270. [**Politics and Pozole in a Battle for Sunset Park**](#Bookmark_270)

271. [**Letter to a Young Republican**](#Bookmark_271)

272. [**Will Democrats Soon Be Locked Out of Power? Ross Douthat**](#Bookmark_272)

273. [**Letter to a Young Republican**](#Bookmark_273)

274. [**Reaching for Ohio 's Exhausted Majority**](#Bookmark_274)

275. [**The Anti-C.R.T. Movement and a Vision For a New Right Wing Jay caspian Kang**](#Bookmark_275)

276. [**New York Voters Put Democrats on Notice. Was the Message Received? mara gay**](#Bookmark_276)

277. [**Why Does Everyone Feel So Insecure All the Time? Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_277)

278. [**Valentine's Day Movies for All Inclinations**](#Bookmark_278)

279. [**From Northern Ireland , Dance as a ‘Physical Prayer’**](#Bookmark_279)

280. [**Where Dance Is Physical Prayer**](#Bookmark_280)

281. [**Turkey ’s President Amassed Power. He Could Still Lose This Election.**](#Bookmark_281)

282. [**The MAGA Transformation of Elise Stefanik**](#Bookmark_282)

283. [**Urgency Can't Be Optional**](#Bookmark_283)

284. [**Hell to All That**](#Bookmark_284)

285. [**Times/Siena Polls in Four House Races Offer Democrats Some Hope**](#Bookmark_285)

286. [**Credit Card Points Are Being Paid For by the Poor**](#Bookmark_286)

287. [**European Cinema Has Still Got It**](#Bookmark_287)

288. [**Gretchen Whitmer Rejected False Choices. All Democrats Should. Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_288)

289. [**Class Divide**](#Bookmark_289)

290. [**A New Vision for a Tragedy Rooted in Race**](#Bookmark_290)

291. [**Dina Titus overcomes a challenge from the left in her re-election bid for a key Nevada House district.**](#Bookmark_291)

292. [**A Right-Wing Pundit Inspired by Trump Eyes the Presidency in France**](#Bookmark_292)

293. [**Struggling to Understand A Shooting in Kansas City**](#Bookmark_293)

294. [**Amazon Tried One of the Oldest Tricks in the Book, and It Backfired Jamelle Bouie**](#Bookmark_294)

295. [**Detroit Success, by Way of Burundi**](#Bookmark_295)

296. [**‘Extrapolations’ and the Peril of Climate Cringe Critic’s Notebook**](#Bookmark_296)

297. [**What Do We Want From Our Next New York ?**](#Bookmark_297)

298. [**The Dirty Little Secret of Credit Card Rewards Programs Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_298)

299. [**Shooting of Teen Who Rang Doorbell at Wrong House Unsettles Kansas City**](#Bookmark_299)

300. [**Read Your Way Through London**](#Bookmark_300)

301. [**This 'Oliver!' Owns the Harsh Life**](#Bookmark_301)

302. [**Crist Picks Educator To Join Him In Election**](#Bookmark_302)

303. [**The Crisis in Israel Has a Distinctly American Flavor**](#Bookmark_303)

304. [**From TV to the French Presidency? A Right-Wing Star Is Inspired by Trump**](#Bookmark_304)

305. [**Best Places to Enjoy Art in California California Today**](#Bookmark_305)

306. [**As the Suburbs Go, So Goes America Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_306)

307. [**Global Nomads Have Once Again Arrived in Brooklyn**](#Bookmark_307)

308. [**‘Luzzu’ Review: Capturing Culture on the Coasts of Malta**](#Bookmark_308)

309. [**Word of the Day: luminous Word of the day**](#Bookmark_309)

310. [**In Boston, a Push for Big Changes Faces Major Pushback**](#Bookmark_310)

311. [**Democrats’ Bill Would Deny For-Profit College Students Extra Aid**](#Bookmark_311)

312. [**The Best Genre Movies of 2022, All Ready to Stream**](#Bookmark_312)

313. [**Israel’s Crisis Has a Distinctly American Flavor Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_313)

314. [**Capturing the Anarchy**](#Bookmark_314)

315. [**‘We’ve Experienced the Stories We’re Telling’: ‘The Jungle’ Is Back.**](#Bookmark_315)

316. [**Capturing the Anarchy in the Sex Pistols**](#Bookmark_316)

317. [**European Cinema Has Still Got It Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_317)

318. [**The DeSantis Model**](#Bookmark_318)

319. [**Fifty Years and the Mood Still Hasn't Lifted**](#Bookmark_319)

320. [**A House in hiding**](#Bookmark_320)

321. [**Trump Is Finally Finished**](#Bookmark_321)

322. [**Blood, Sweat and Fears on the Factory Floor**](#Bookmark_322)

323. [**As Boston’s New Mayor Seeks Big Changes, Old Power Brokers Push Back**](#Bookmark_323)

324. [**In Paul Schrader’s ‘Blue Collar,’ the Factory Floor Is Brutal Rewind**](#Bookmark_324)

325. [**Le Pen’s message found a strong audience in the north.**](#Bookmark_325)

326. [**Trump Voters Can See Right Through DeSantis Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_326)

327. [**How Not to Panic About Social Security Paul Krugman**](#Bookmark_327)

328. [**Donald Trump Is Finally Finished Bret Stephens**](#Bookmark_328)

329. [**After Half a Century, ‘The Dark Side of the Moon’ Still Reverberates**](#Bookmark_329)

330. [**McCarthy Officially Backs Stefanik to Replace Cheney in House Leadership**](#Bookmark_330)

331. [**Night Moves**](#Bookmark_331)

332. [**McCarthy Endorses Bid to Replace Cheney**](#Bookmark_332)

333. [**What Does All This Rain Mean for California ’s Drought? California today**](#Bookmark_333)

334. [**‘Oliver!’ Returns, With Darker Twists Intact**](#Bookmark_334)

335. [**Bloomberg's New $5 Million Cause: Helping Hochul's Budget Goals**](#Bookmark_335)

336. [**Michael Bloomberg Has Found a New $5 Million Cause: Helping Hochul**](#Bookmark_336)

337. [**Falling for Figaro**](#Bookmark_337)

338. [**Your Friday Evening Briefing**](#Bookmark_338)

339. [**If You Don’t Use Your Land, These Marxists May Take It**](#Bookmark_339)

340. [**Brazilian Group Occupies Land Unused by Rich**](#Bookmark_340)

341. [**The Waffle House Brawl Belongs in a Museum Screenland**](#Bookmark_341)

342. [**‘The Royal Treatment’ Review: Heavy is the Head (and Shoulders)**](#Bookmark_342)

343. [**Polls in Swing Districts Offer Deeper Insights On Direction of House**](#Bookmark_343)

344. [**No New Trial in 1991 Murder Mystery That Gripped France , Appeals Court Rules**](#Bookmark_344)

345. [**Adams Says He's a Progressive. New York 's Left Begs to Differ.**](#Bookmark_345)

346. [**Elvis Broke Fashion Boundaries, Too**](#Bookmark_346)

347. [**There Was a Loser Last Night. It Was America .**](#Bookmark_347)

348. [**Even Before a Winner, America Was the Loser**](#Bookmark_348)

349. [**The One Thing Trump Has That DeSantis Never Will Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_349)

350. [**The 2022 Race for the House, in Four Districts, and Four Polls**](#Bookmark_350)

351. [**Eric Adams Says He’s a Progressive. Democrats Beg to Differ.**](#Bookmark_351)

352. [**The Best Genre Movies of 2022**](#Bookmark_352)

353. [**Politics, Police, Pozole: The Battle for Sunset Park**](#Bookmark_353)

354. [**Where Do Republicans Go From Here?**](#Bookmark_354)

355. [**Largest Black City in U.S. Unlikely to Elect Black Representative**](#Bookmark_355)

356. [**The Plot Against Medicare**](#Bookmark_356)

357. [**Cruel Intentions**](#Bookmark_357)

358. [**Eric Adams Leads in the Mayor’s Race. Here’s What to Know About Him.**](#Bookmark_358)

359. [**Where Do Republicans Go From Here?**](#Bookmark_359)

360. [**Why a Black Democratic City Won’t Have a Black Democrat in the House**](#Bookmark_360)

361. [**Republicans Now Have Two Ways to Threaten Elections Jamelle Bouie**](#Bookmark_361)

362. [**Republicans Now Threaten Elections in Two Ways**](#Bookmark_362)

363. [**French voters cast ballots with one eye already on the runoff.**](#Bookmark_363)

364. [**Voter turnout slips, but not as much as experts had feared.**](#Bookmark_364)

365. [**Erin Doherty Shape Shifts in ‘Chloe’**](#Bookmark_365)

366. [**Reorienting Turkey 's Culture for His Own Ends**](#Bookmark_366)

367. [**Looming Rent Increase of Up to 9 Percent Tests Adams’s Housing Priorities**](#Bookmark_367)

368. [**Macron's Plan Leads Garbage Workers (and Others) to Raise a Stink**](#Bookmark_368)

369. [**So You Lost the Election. We Had Nothing to Do With It. Jamelle Bouie**](#Bookmark_369)

370. [**The G.O.P. Plot Against Medicare and Social Security Paul Krugman**](#Bookmark_370)

371. [**In Cairo, a Mansion Where the Layers of History Show Through**](#Bookmark_371)

372. [**What we’re watching in Tuesday’s primary elections in Ohio and Indiana .**](#Bookmark_372)

373. [**How Erdogan Reoriented Turkish Culture to Maintain His Power Critic’s Notebook**](#Bookmark_373)

374. [**Hot Mic, Dead Air And Eventually, DeSantis Speaks**](#Bookmark_374)

375. [**The Cruelty Is Coming From Inside the House Fiction**](#Bookmark_375)

376. [**Women Is Losers**](#Bookmark_376)

377. [**Dance Performances, Festivals and More Coming This Fall Fall Preview**](#Bookmark_377)

378. [**Skipped the first debate? Here’s what you missed.**](#Bookmark_378)

379. [**Why Spending Too Little Could Backfire on Democrats**](#Bookmark_379)

380. [**Gyrating Just to Stay Afloat**](#Bookmark_380)

381. [**Sanders shifts focus to turnout.**](#Bookmark_381)

382. [**Little Spain Is All but Gone**](#Bookmark_382)

383. [**Mill Fire in Northern California Killed at Least 2, Officials Say**](#Bookmark_383)

384. [**What Is Wrong With This Picture?**](#Bookmark_384)

385. [**Fetterman vs. Oz: The Debate Aftermath**](#Bookmark_385)

386. [**The Slow, Inevitable Death of Middle-Class Housing Big CITY**](#Bookmark_386)

387. [**Book Listings**](#Bookmark_387)

388. [**Philadelphia**](#Bookmark_388)

389. [**Democrats Weigh a Comeback Strategy in Factory Towns**](#Bookmark_389)

390. [**What Tucker Carlson Really Thinks David French**](#Bookmark_390)

391. [**The 25 Essential Dishes to Eat in Mexico City**](#Bookmark_391)

392. [**Little Spain Is All but Gone. Will Our Lady of Guadalupe Be Next? streetscapes**](#Bookmark_392)

393. [**New York ’s Lesson for Democrats The Morning Newsletter**](#Bookmark_393)

394. [**22 Mummies Are Moved in a Glittering Display in Cairo**](#Bookmark_394)

395. [**‘ New York City Is a World Unto Itself.’ But It May Tell Us Where Democrats Are Headed. Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_395)

396. [**Magic Mike Is Just Trying to Pay the Bills Critic’s Notebook**](#Bookmark_396)

397. [**Can Affluence and Affordable Housing Coexist?**](#Bookmark_397)

398. [**Fetterman's Heart Issues Add Wild Card to Pennsylvania Senate Race**](#Bookmark_398)

399. [**Four Stark Lessons From a Democratic Upset**](#Bookmark_399)

400. [**Fetterman’s Heart Issues Add Wild Card to Key Pennsylvania Senate Race**](#Bookmark_400)

401. [**I Did Not Feel the Need to See People Like Me on TV or in Books John McWhorter**](#Bookmark_401)

402. [**Four Stark Lessons From a Democratic Upset Michelle Goldberg**](#Bookmark_402)

403. [**When Ron DeSantis Takes On 'Woke Capitalism'**](#Bookmark_403)

404. [**The Hard-Fought Journey From East Africa to an Award-Winning Detroit Restaurant Making it work**](#Bookmark_404)

405. [**Time for a Bigger Role and a Deep Breath**](#Bookmark_405)

406. [**The Hard Question of Affirmative Action and Slavery**](#Bookmark_406)

407. [**As DeSantis Campaigns on Education, Crist Picks Teacher as Running Mate**](#Bookmark_407)

408. [**The Real Reason for the Postwar Boom**](#Bookmark_408)

409. [**Before He Takes On ‘Woke Capitalism,’ Ron DeSantis Should Read His Karl Marx Jamelle Bouie**](#Bookmark_409)

410. [**Can Affluence and Affordable Housing Coexist in Colorado ’s Rockies?**](#Bookmark_410)

411. [**The Fever Is Breaking**](#Bookmark_411)

412. [**The Real Reason the American Economy Boomed After World War II NEWS ANALYSIS**](#Bookmark_412)

413. [**Where the Cool Kids No Longer Go**](#Bookmark_413)

414. [**Erika L. Sánchez Wishes More Authors Would Write About Money By the Book**](#Bookmark_414)

415. [**Why Aren’t You Voting in Your Financial Self-Interest? Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_415)

416. [**The Fever Is Breaking David Brooks**](#Bookmark_416)

417. [**France ’s Fault Lines Are Exposed in an American Film Showcase Critic’s Notebook**](#Bookmark_417)

418. [**Chris Chalk of ‘Perry Mason’ Takes a Deep Breath**](#Bookmark_418)

419. [**Unity Proves Elusive in Democrats’ Fight for $15 On Politics**](#Bookmark_419)

420. [**Cost of Fish and Chips Rises in War Economy, And U.K. Feels the Bite**](#Bookmark_420)

421. [**Page 76**](#Bookmark_421)

422. [**‘Cusp’ Review: Teenage Girls, Stuck With Shrugging Off Harm**](#Bookmark_422)

423. [**Are the Hamptons Still Hip?**](#Bookmark_423)

424. [**Cusp**](#Bookmark_424)

425. [**Saying No to College**](#Bookmark_425)

426. [**The MAGA Transformation of Elise Stefanik letters**](#Bookmark_426)

427. [**The Contradictions of Climate Activism Ross Douthat**](#Bookmark_427)

428. [**Why Are All Those People Outside H&amp;M, Again?**](#Bookmark_428)

429. [**‘Falling for Figaro’ Review: When the Overtures Are Operatic**](#Bookmark_429)

430. [**H&M Makes Collaborations Work**](#Bookmark_430)

431. [**In Shaky Start, Ron DeSantis Joins 2024 Race, Hoping to Topple Trump**](#Bookmark_431)

432. [**No New Trial in Murder Mystery That Gripped France , Court Rules**](#Bookmark_432)

433. [**What the Democrats Need to Do**](#Bookmark_433)

434. [**The Meter Eats First**](#Bookmark_434)

435. [**The Forgotten Americans, Now Under Trump**](#Bookmark_435)

436. [**In Tim Ryan’s Ohio Senate Race, the D Is Often Silent**](#Bookmark_436)

437. [**The Selfless Art of Michael K. Williams**](#Bookmark_437)

438. [**Democrats Used to Be Able to Get Things Done. What Happened? Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_438)

439. [**The Monster in My Home Was a Meter, and It Decided Whether I Ate and Slept Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_439)

440. [**Literary Destinations / Read Your Way Through São Paulo**](#Bookmark_440)

441. [**The Meter Eats First**](#Bookmark_441)

442. [**Assault at Pool Is Flashback to Apartheid**](#Bookmark_442)

443. [**What Happens on Page 76 of This Season’s Books? Page 76**](#Bookmark_443)

444. [**The Question Michael K. Williams Asked Me Before Every Season of ‘The Wire’ Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_444)

445. [**Crisis for Ohio . A Parade Route For Politicians.**](#Bookmark_445)

446. [**Can Trump Squeeze More From His White Base in Pennsylvania and Beyond?**](#Bookmark_446)

447. [**Why Cancel Student Debt Now? Things Really Are Tougher.**](#Bookmark_447)

448. [**The Tracks of Killer Mike's Tears**](#Bookmark_448)

449. [**In Fog of East Palestine ’s Crisis, Politicians Write Their Own Stories Political Memo**](#Bookmark_449)

450. [**What Makes Trump Different From DeSantis and Other Republicans Guest Essay**](#Bookmark_450)

451. [**A Poorer Generation**](#Bookmark_451)

452. [**Writer and Filmmaker Radha Blank**](#Bookmark_452)

453. [**A Theme of Hope in Anacostia**](#Bookmark_453)

454. [**White Men Charged in Attack on Black Teenagers at Pool in South Africa**](#Bookmark_454)

455. [**A Role Taken In Desperation Is His Big Break**](#Bookmark_455)

456. [**Americans Are Losing Faith in the Value of College. Whose Fault Is That?**](#Bookmark_456)

457. [**Garbage Mounts in Odorous Last Stand Against France ’s Pension Change**](#Bookmark_457)

458. [**Chase Stokes Turned Down ‘ Outer Banks .’ He’s Glad He Reconsidered.**](#Bookmark_458)

459. [**‘Scheme Birds’ Review: Soft Gaze for a Hard Life**](#Bookmark_459)

460. [**Seeing a Tough Life Through a Soft Gaze**](#Bookmark_460)

461. [**Killer Mike, Atlanta’s Rap Journeyman, Is at the Peak of His Powers**](#Bookmark_461)

462. [**For Radha Blank, a Park Bench Can Be the Best Seat in the House**](#Bookmark_462)

463. [**Film Listings**](#Bookmark_463)

464. [**Tim Ryan, a Top Democrat in Ohio , Is Said to Be Planning a Senate Bid**](#Bookmark_464)

465. [**Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Michael Podhorzer The Ezra Klein Show**](#Bookmark_465)

466. [**Tim Ryan, a Top Democrat in Ohio , Is Said to Plan Senate Bid**](#Bookmark_466)

467. [**Turmoil Engulfs BBC After Soccer Icon Meets a Political Divide**](#Bookmark_467)

468. [**Israeli Top Minister Fired After Court Ruling**](#Bookmark_468)

469. [**Spiraling Dispute With Star Host Puts BBC’s Reputation on the Line**](#Bookmark_469)

470. [**‘Cost of Living’ Review: Worth Its Weight in Gold Critic’s Pick**](#Bookmark_470)

471. [**Fathers Gained Family Time in the Pandemic. Many Don’t Want to Give It Back.**](#Bookmark_471)

472. [**Imani Perry Wins National Book Award for ‘South to America ’**](#Bookmark_472)

473. [**America Is Using Up Its Groundwater**](#Bookmark_473)

474. [**How Doctors View Patients With Disabilities**](#Bookmark_474)

475. [**A Political Outsider Mastered the Inside Game**](#Bookmark_475)

476. [**Netanyahu Fires a Top Minister to Comply With a Supreme Court Ruling**](#Bookmark_476)

477. [**The Biggest Battle in Ukraine**](#Bookmark_477)

478. [**In Her First Stage Role, Flying Solo**](#Bookmark_478)

479. [**‘Women Is Losers’ Review: A Woman Beaten but Not Defeated**](#Bookmark_479)

480. [**Mill Fire in Northern California Has Killed at Least Two People, Officials Say**](#Bookmark_480)

481. [**Our Town**](#Bookmark_481)

482. [**Macron's Pension Plan Fuels Anger in Streets**](#Bookmark_482)

483. [**A New Voice for Winning Back Lost Democratic Voters David Firestone**](#Bookmark_483)

484. [**Fault Lines**](#Bookmark_484)

485. [**‘The Justins’ Follow a Legacy of Resistance in Tennessee**](#Bookmark_485)

486. [**How Racism Is Destroying America nonfiction**](#Bookmark_486)

487. [**Why Union Drives Are Succeeding**](#Bookmark_487)

488. [**Unlikely Favorite to Win Top Labour Post: A Knighted Oxford Alumnus**](#Bookmark_488)

489. [**Over a Million Protest Macron’s Pension Plan in the Streets of France**](#Bookmark_489)

490. [**Following a Legacy of Resistance in Tennessee**](#Bookmark_490)

491. [**Who Should Run in 2024? We Asked Our Readers.**](#Bookmark_491)

492. [**New York City Will Offer Paxlovid at Mobile Testing Sites, a First in the U.S.**](#Bookmark_492)

493. [**Republicans’ Fake War Against ‘Woke Capital’**](#Bookmark_493)

494. [**Why Union Drives Are Succeeding**](#Bookmark_494)

495. [**Is It the Gas Prices, Stupid?**](#Bookmark_495)

496. [**The Fight Over Fox Hunting: A Cold War on England’s Muddy Fields England Dispatch**](#Bookmark_496)

497. [**How Democrats Can Save Themselves Ross Douthat**](#Bookmark_497)

498. [**A Cold War Over Fox Hunting Heats Up in the Countryside**](#Bookmark_498)

499. [**Making His Mark**](#Bookmark_499)

500. [**How to Hand Out Billions in Climate Subsidies? Podesta Aims to Tread Very Carefully.**](#Bookmark_500)



# [***‘He’s a Hint of the Future’: Our Writers on Vivek Ramaswamy; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68HW-K6B1-DXY4-X231-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 23, 2023 Friday 15:36 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1464 words

**Byline:** New York Times Opinion

**Highlight:** A weak candidacy but serious ideological development on the right.

**Body**

As Republican candidates enter the race for their party’s 2024 presidential nomination, Times columnists, Opinion writers and others will assess their strengths and weaknesses with a scorecard. We rate the candidates on a scale of 1 to 10: 1 means the candidate will probably drop out before any caucus or primary voting; 10 means the candidate has a very strong chance of receiving the party’s nomination next summer. This entry assesses Vivek Ramaswamy, a hedge fund analyst turned biotech executive.

How seriously should we take Vivek Ramaswamy’s candidacy?

Frank Bruni In terms of the likelihood of his success, about as seriously as you fear a zombie apocalypse interrupting voting on Election Day. As a parable of unbound ego, it’s a doozy: I’m 37! I have no political experience! Resolute Desk, here I come!

Jane Coaston We should take him seriously, his candidacy, less so.

Michelle Cottle Feel free to enjoy the show, but he’s got a strong flash-then-fizzle vibe.

Ross Douthat Quite seriously as an ideological development: His two personae — as the son of immigrants defending capitalism and meritocracy and the policy entrepreneur promising that you can defeat wokeness by remaking the federal civil rights bureaucracy — indicate the ground where an important part of the right wants to fight its battles. But not seriously as a real presidential contender. He thinks he’s running to be Donald Trump’s vice president; he’s probably actually running to be the next Pete Buttigieg, a second-tier cabinet official with a strong TV presence and a somewhat thankless portfolio.

David French As an [*eloquent and passionate defender of Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/13/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-trump-pardon.html#:~:text=the%20main%20story-,Vivek%20Ramaswamy%20Wants%20Other%202024%20Candidates%20to%20Promise%20Trump%20a,candidates%20about%20such%20a%20pledge.), quite seriously. As a potential Trump vice president, moderately seriously. As an actual candidate for the Oval Office, not seriously at all.

Michelle Goldberg He’s running a serious campaign to build a right-wing media brand.

Katherine Mangu-Ward If he’s hard-working and lucky, he may someday rival the electoral success of Andrew Yang.

Daniel McCarthy He may not win, but he’s a little like Ron Paul as a candidate who effectively gets a message out.

What matters most about him as a presidential candidate?

Bruni He’s a dependable type in presidential races Republican and Democratic, from Herman Cain to Marianne Williamson: the fresh-faced outsider hoping for the protest vote. If he qualifies for debates — and it appears that he will — he’ll have one big moment and a subsequent week of rapt media attention. But really, this bid is a profile-boosting trial run for the future.

Coaston He appears to be running a facsimile of a presidential campaign. But does Vivek Ramaswamy really, actually, truly wish to be president of the United States? Or does Vivek Ramaswamy simply want to be a person whose name other people know?

Cottle Pretty much every presidential cycle features a fresh face who has figured out how to put a jazzy new spin on an old issue. (Remember Herman Cain’s [*9-9-9 plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/13/us/politics/herman-cains-tax-plan-changes-gop-primary-math.html)?) Ramaswamy’s crusade against “woke capitalism” gives culture warring a hard economic edge. It tells middle- and ***working-class*** America: The reason you can’t get ahead isn’t corporate greed or public policy that caters to the rich; it’s because corporate America has been co-opted by the radical left. Very slick.

Douthat In the long run, what his ideological profile says about the future of the right; in the short run, how his effort to simultaneously build his own brand and curry favor with Trump will affect the dynamics between the front-runner and his more serious challengers.

French In the age of the anti-woke tech bro, it was predictable that one would make a run for the White House.

Goldberg Ramaswamy is a decent example of what the political scientist Richard Hanania called the [*tech right*](https://www.richardhanania.com/p/understanding-the-tech-right), a movement that combines a hatred of egalitarianism with enthusiasm for rapid technological change.

Mangu-Ward Ramaswamy genuinely appears to like Trump, and more important, the feeling seems to be mutual. He won’t be president, but as Trump’s V.P., Ramaswamy would encourage some of his worst culture-war impulses. He has also already made clear he would pardon Trump if or when he ends up in a position to do so.

McCarthy He’s a hint of the future. Without any political experience, Ramaswamy is outpolling several governors and sometimes a former vice president. His popularity comes from a well-articulated populist, Trump-like ideology.

What do you find most inspiring — or unsettling — about his vision for America?

Bruni I’m going to be positive. I’m going to do “inspiring.” In an age of such profound pessimism, he articulates and, to some degree, represents American possibility. It’s just that his version of that possibility isn’t as inclusive as it could be.

Coaston He seems to think America is primarily concerned with elite culture war, not, say, health care costs. [*Suggesting*](https://twitter.com/VivekGRamaswamy/status/1647223405391872001?lang=en) that we arm every family of Taiwan with an AR-15 and “raise the voting age” are the kind of ideas you produce when you have no real need to produce actual ideas. This is less a presidential campaign than a corporate brainstorming session.

Cottle The last thing this country needs is another demagogue eager to [*undermine public faith in the justice system and rule of law*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/17/us/politics/trump-ramaswamy-indictment.html) in the service of his personal political ambitions. Any policy concerns are secondary when compared with this antidemocratic, Trumpian behavior.

Douthat His style of aspirational, colorblind conservatism can seem inspiring in one moment and cynical the next. He’s delicately balanced between the sincerity of a figure like Tim Scott and the on-the-make hypemanship of a frequent cable-news guest.

French His [*stance on Ukraine*](https://www.politico.com/newsletters/national-security-daily/2023/06/08/we-get-some-specifics-on-ramaswamys-ukraine-plan-00100987) — which would place U.S. aid to Ukraine at profound risk and seek to mandate major concessions to Russia — disqualifies him. He gets the most important foreign policy challenge facing the United States profoundly wrong.

Goldberg Plenty of anti-woke Republicans don’t want young people to vote, but Ramaswamy is actually running on disenfranchising them, with his [*proposal*](https://www.politico.com/news/2023/05/10/ramaswamy-raise-voting-age-00096266#:~:text=Ramaswamy%2C%20the%20millennial%2037%2Dyear,older%20is%20enrolled%20in%20the) to raise the voting age to 25 for everyone except those who serve in the military, work as first responders or pass a civics test.

Mangu-Ward I feel about Ramaswamy the way I imagine many liberals and conservatives feel about libertarians: I find his habit of sandwiching reasonable proposals between obviously disastrous ideas disorienting. Prioritize economic growth? Yep. “Use our military to [*annihilate the Mexican drug cartels*](https://www.foxnews.com/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-campaigns-iowa-suggests-military-used-annihilate-mexican-drug-cartels) south of our own border”? Absolutely not. Push back on some of the excesses of the environmental, social and governance movement? Sure. “[*Stop measuring*](https://twitter.com/VivekGRamaswamy/status/1662902410463916033) CO2 emissions”? What? Why?

McCarthy It’s inspiring to think Ramaswamy might help end two of the most divisive forces in American public life: the racial scoring known as affirmative action and the F.B.I. What’s unsettling is that a replacement for the F.B.I. might be just as abusive.

Imagine you’re a G.O.P. operative or campaign manager. What’s your elevator pitch for a Ramaswamy candidacy?

Bruni If anti-wokeness is general election gold, he sells it with more eloquence, verve and charisma than Ron DeSantis.

Coaston When has a graduate of St. Xavier High School ever gone wrong?

Cottle He’s great on TV and knows how to make grievancemongering fun.

Douthat He can make 16 arguments in the time it takes Joe Biden to wander through a sentence and Kamala Harris to butcher a paragraph.

French Elon Musk isn’t eligible for the presidency, but Vivek Ramaswamy is!

Goldberg If you’re a G.O.P. operative working for Trump, it’s that Ramaswamy might be able to peel off some of the anti-critical-race-theory, anti-diversity-equity-inclusion, [*anti-environmental-social-governance*](https://www.axios.com/2023/02/03/right-anti-esg-crusader) vote from DeSantis.

Mangu-Ward He’s the millennial variant of the Make America Great Again virus.

McCarthy Vivek Ramaswamy combines the rigorous anti-woke conservatism of DeSantis with the anti-establishment appeal of Trump. He’s smart, young, rich and right.

Ross Douthat, David French and Michelle Goldberg are Times columnists.

Frank Bruni is a professor of journalism and public policy at Duke University, the author of the book “The Beauty of Dusk” and a contributing Opinion writer.

Michelle Cottle ([*@mcottle*](https://twitter.com/mcottle)) is a member of the Times’s editorial board.

Jane Coaston is a Times Opinion writer.

Katherine Mangu-Ward ([*@kmanguward*](https://twitter.com/kmanguward)) is the editor in chief of Reason magazine.

Daniel McCarthy is the editor of “Modern Age: A Conservative Review.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; photograph by Scott Olson/Getty FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 24, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Move to Reassure Voters Has the Opposite Effect For the Leader of Britain***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66HC-07D1-JBG3-61T2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 1, 2022 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1342 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler

**Body**

In a round of interviews, the prime minister showed little sympathy for the pain that high interest rates could inflict on mortgage holders, critics said.

LONDON -- For Prime Minister Liz Truss, it was a chance to steady the waters after days of turmoil in the financial markets over her new fiscal plan: eight rapid-fire interviews with local BBC radio stations from Leeds to Nottingham.

By the time Ms. Truss signed off from the last one on Thursday morning, her political woes had multiplied, leaving her new government in a state of disarray almost without precedent in recent British politics.

She was, critics said, robotic in defending a tax-cut plan that had been eviscerated by the markets, and showed little sympathy for the pain that high interest rates could inflict on mortgage holders. One host described her as a ''reverse Robin Hood.'' A listener on another station asked, ''Are you ashamed of what you've done?''

Barely three weeks into her job, Ms. Truss has suffered a dizzying loss of public support. Her Conservative Party now trails the opposition Labour Party by 33 percentage points, according to a new poll by the market research firm YouGov. That is the largest Labour lead since Tony Blair's early days as prime minister in 1998, and the kind of gap that usually results in a landslide election defeat.

Her plunging poll numbers have badly damaged Ms. Truss's standing in her party, which is gathering on Sunday in Birmingham for what promises to be an anxious annual conference. Some speak openly of the party ousting her before the next election, though the mechanics for doing that remain complicated.

''This is by far the biggest and swiftest hit to a party's opinion poll rating that British politics has ever seen,'' said Tim Bale, a professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London. ''For Tory MPs, this is like realizing on your wedding night that you've made a truly terrible mistake.''

Matthew Goodwin, a politics professor at Kent University and an expert on the Tory Party, said, ''I can't think in my lifetime of any British prime minister who has mismanaged her first few weeks in office like Liz Truss.''

What makes Ms. Truss's predicament so difficult is that none of the escape hatches are appealing. Reversing some of her tax cuts -- particularly the one for the top income bracket of people earning more than 150,000 pounds, or about $164,000, a year -- would mollify the markets and probably some voters.

But it would be a heavy psychological blow for a leader who ran her campaign, and has built her government, on the conviction that tax cuts and supply-side policies will reignite growth. Giving that up, Professor Bale said, would vitiate the ideological rationale of her government and potentially turn her into a lame-duck leader until the next election, which she will have to call by early 2025.

Sticking to her guns, which has been Ms. Truss's response so far, leaves open the chance that Britain's economy will pick up by the time she faces voters. But the stubborn threat of inflation all but guarantees that the Bank of England, Britain's central bank, will keep raising interest rates. That will hurt people who need to refinance home mortgages and likely throw the broader economy into a recession.

When she was asked by BBC Radio Stoke about her fiscal plan's impact on the housing market, Ms. Truss paused before saying, ''Interest rates are a matter for the independent Bank of England.'' She added that ''interest rates have been rising around the world'' and blamed much of the crisis on Russia's war in Ukraine.

For the last few days, the bank has actually helped Ms. Truss by intervening in the market to buy British government bonds. That brought down interest rates and strengthened the pound, which had tumbled to its lowest level against the dollar since 1985. On Friday, the pound traded up to $1.11.

But the intervention, which was driven by fears of the damage done to British pension funds by the turbulent market, has put the Bank of England in an awkward position, economists said. It runs counter to the bank's monetary policy of raising interest rates to cool inflationary pressures.

''The bank has had to reverse course on its objectives practically overnight,'' said Eswar Prasad, a professor of economics at Cornell University. ''It looks like the bank is being forced to clean up the adverse consequences of the U.K. Treasury's actions.''

''This could have some longer-term implications for the bank's independence, credibility, and effectiveness,'' Professor Prasad continued. ''That really hampers it in its ability to fulfill its objectives.''

Once the Bank of England completes its bond-buying program on Oct. 14, economists said they expected it to revert to its tighter monetary policy, which would suggest another increase in interest rates at its November meeting. The only government action that could forestall, or even moderate a sharp spike in rates, economists said, would be if the government reversed one of more of its tax cuts.

''Absent that U-turn, the bank is going to have to raise interest rates a lot,'' said Adam S. Posen, who served on the Bank of England's monetary policy committee. He said the bank needed to curb both the inflation from an expansionary fiscal budget and the additional inflation caused by a devalued pound.

Beyond the tug-of-war between fiscal and monetary policy, critics say Ms. Truss faces a more elemental problem: her chancellor of the Exchequer, Kwasi Kwarteng, has lost the faith of the markets in his economic stewardship.

That is partly because when Mr. Kwarteng announced the tax cuts last week, he did not submit the package to the scrutiny that a government budget normally receives. That fed fears that the tax cuts were ''unfunded,'' meaning that they would not be matched with cuts in spending and so would require massive borrowing.

On Friday, Mr. Kwarteng and Ms. Truss met at Downing Street with officials from the government's forecasting agency, the Office of Budget Responsibility -- a move designed to signal they now welcomed the scrutiny. The office will submit its projections for the cost of the fiscal program and its effect on Britain's growth on Oct. 7, but the government will not publish the numbers until Nov. 23.

For Ms. Truss, the political fallout from her program's botched rollout has been profound. Political analysts point out that she won the support of only a third of Conservative Party lawmakers in the first stage of the leadership contest. Now, the collapsing polls have left the lawmakers angry, fearful, and divided.

Unless the trends are reversed, many of the party's members in Parliament will be swept out of their seats in the next election, particularly in the ''red wall'' districts of the Midlands and the North, where Ms. Truss's predecessor, Boris Johnson, lured traditional Labour voters to switch to the Tories with his promise to ''Get Brexit done.''

That realignment of British politics is in jeopardy. Professor Goodwin, of the University of Kent, said these voters did not want Ms. Truss's low-tax, neoliberal economic policies. Adding to the alienation, he said, she was determined to relax immigration laws, another core issue for ***working-class*** voters.

''We're seeing the complete implosion of the Conservative vote,'' Professor Goodwin said. ''They're losing middle-class voters who are alienated by Brexit, and ***working-class*** voters who are alienated by their economic policy.''

For all the hand-wringing, it is not immediately clear what the Tories can do about it. Three months after evicting Mr. Johnson from Downing Street, few people want to go through with another protracted, divisive leadership contest.

Professor Bale said another option would be for the party to settle on a consensus alternative to Ms. Truss and then pressure her to step down, so the new leader could be crowned without any delay. The problem with this scenario, he said, is a lack of obvious candidates to step into the role of the party's savior.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/30/world/europe/truss-bbc-interviews-tax-cuts.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/30/world/europe/truss-bbc-interviews-tax-cuts.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Liz Truss hoped a series of radio appearances would build support for her fiscal plan, but they instead exposed her to fresh criticism. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ROB PINNEY/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** October 1, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Shared Connections for Two Men Late to the Top***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68NP-P571-JBG3-60F3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 11, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1536 words

**Byline:** By Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Mark Landler

**Body**

Despite hints of tension between Washington and London, President Biden and King Charles III share interests and have faced comparable challenges, which might have helped smooth their meeting.

The two men -- the American president and the British king -- waited decades for their dream jobs, projecting a sense of normalcy and unity when they finally reached their thrones. They both prefer to ditch executive palaces for their respective retreats. And they share a passion for confronting threats to the environment.

The men, the 80-year-old President Biden and the 74-year-old King Charles III, are also united by their challenges. They both face a public increasingly dubious of their institutions. And they both battle skepticism over whether they are the right people to lead the increasingly diverse groups over which they preside.

''As older men in the pinnacle of their careers, they need to redefine what it means to be an older person,'' said Arianne Chernock, a professor of history at Boston University and scholar of modern Britain, adding, ''They need to find new ways to connect with a younger multicultural generation.''

That common ground served as the backdrop for the meeting between the president and the king on Monday at Windsor Castle, near London, where the two underscored the strength of the relationship between the two countries and discussed clean-energy investment and efforts to combat climate change in developing nations. The two leaders also discussed China and shared stories from the past, according to Jake Sullivan, Mr. Biden's national security adviser, who spoke with reporters after the meeting.

Climate is a unifying issue for both. Charles has been warning about it since the 1970s and Mr. Biden has made it a central focus of his presidency. After their meeting, they met with a group of philanthropists and investors ''focused on mobilizing finance to address the climate crisis,'' according to the White House.

Charles rallied leaders in Glasgow in 2021 to address climate change, warning them that ''time has run out.'' Mr. Biden has proclaimed the tax, energy and health bill that he signed into law last year as the ''the biggest step forward on climate ever.''

Sally Bedell Smith, who has written numerous biographies about the British royal family, said those points of mutual interest could be useful. ''Biden, I would guess, would have a lot of respect for what Charles has done and said'' on the topic, she noted.

Both are also using the issue to connect more broadly with the public and, in Mr. Biden's case, to galvanize voters.

Mr. Biden has struggled for most of his presidency with low approval numbers. A recent Reuters poll showed he had 41 percent approval, a marginal increase from the lowest level of his presidency but an indicator that voters remain unconvinced, particularly about his economic record.

Charles's approval ratings have improved since he became king. He was viewed favorably by 55 percent of respondents in a recent poll by the market research firm YouGov. But that makes him only the fourth-most popular member of the royal family, trailing his son and heir, Prince William; his sister, Princess Anne; and his daughter-in-law, Catherine, Princess of Wales.

Mr. Biden and Charles have spent decades under the unforgiving glare of the public eye, finding respite in the familiar.

Mr. Biden flees the White House most weekends for one of his houses, in the beachside town of Rehoboth Beach, Del. The king is said not to be particularly fond of Buckingham Palace. He and Queen Camilla live in the cozier Clarence House when they are in London and spend weekends at Highgrove, his countryside retreat in Gloucestershire.

They have a shared connection in struggle. Mr. Biden, who has navigated a stutter since his childhood, has said he was inspired by the film ''The King's Speech,'' which depicted the efforts of Charles's grandfather, King George VI, to overcome similar speech problems.

Charles and the president have also faced heightened scrutiny over their complex relationships with their younger sons. Mr. Biden's adversaries have seized on Hunter Biden's plea deal on two misdemeanor tax crimes to attack the president. The king's relationship with Prince Harry has been in the spotlight since Harry and his wife, Meghan, withdrew from royal duties in 2020.

''They need to perform that job of being a father in an often public and glaring light,'' Ms. Chernock, the history professor, said.

The president and the king are prone to break away from their prepared messaging. Mr. Biden recently called Xi Jinping, the top leader in China, a ''dictator'' even as his secretary of state, Antony J. Blinken, traveled to the country to try to smooth over strained relations with Beijing.

While royals are expected to steer clear of politics, the king's political opinions have occasionally gotten him into trouble. After Charles attended the handover of Hong Kong in 1997, a London newspaper published extracts of a diary in which the king had written about goose-stepping Chinese soldiers and described the Chinese officials at the ceremony as ''appalling waxworks.''

But the two men are also different in important respects.

The president is garrulous and extroverted, while the king is more contemplative and reserved. In his younger days, Charles was awkward and shy, seemingly ill-suited to a life in public. After decades of royal tours and receiving lines, he has become skilled in the art of small talk, though he is not the natural glad-hander that Mr. Biden is.

Charles's intellectual pursuits can sometimes seem offbeat. A voracious reader and autodidact, Charles has burrowed into subjects like architecture, organic farming and conservation. He once proudly revealed that his Aston Martin sports car ran on a biofuel made from surplus white wine and cheese waste.

In contrast, Mr. Biden has a 1967 Corvette that runs on gas and often tries to relate to the ***working class*** by recalling his days commuting to Washington on the Amtrak.

The king is expected to abide by the traditions of the British monarchy that Mr. Biden has on multiple occasions refused to follow. Mr. Biden twice declined to bow to the king's mother, Queen Elizabeth II, on the advice of his mother. ''Don't you bow down to her,'' she told him, according to his memoir ''Promises to Keep.'' (There is no requirement that one must bow to the monarch -- though many people follow the tradition as courtesy.)

On Monday, Mr. Biden appeared intent to show affection for the king, shaking his hand after arriving at Windsor Castle and then putting a hand on Charles's back as they prepared to inspect an honor guard.

But during Mr. Biden's four visits to the United Kingdom since becoming president, there has often been an undercurrent of tension.

In March, Mr. Biden made a brief stop in Northern Ireland to mark the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement before going to the Republic of Ireland for a much more leisurely tour of his ancestral roots. (As the London papers grumbled, Mr. Biden also has English roots.)

Mr. Biden did not attend the coronation of Charles in May, sending his wife, Jill, and their granddaughter Finnegan. When he called the king to send his regrets and offer congratulations, Charles invited the president to visit Britain, setting the stage for the Monday meeting that American officials are calling a ''mini state visit.''

Even the logistics for this trip have not been without some static. The White House initially questioned the need for a stop at 10 Downing Street with Prime Minister Rishi Sunak, according to an official familiar with the planning, since the two men would meet at the NATO summit in Lithuania a day later. For Mr. Sunak, however, a handshake with the president in front of his residence is politically valuable, and the White House ultimately agreed to it.

After about a 45-minute meeting at 10 Downing on Monday, Mr. Biden said the two leaders were ''moving along in a way that's positive,'' adding, ''Our relationship is rock solid.''

The White House also yielded to the king's request to welcome Mr. Biden at Windsor Castle, west of London, rather than at the more conveniently located Buckingham Palace. The palace is undergoing a multiyear renovation, and the official told The New York Times that the king did not want Mr. Biden to see a construction site.

Asked about Mr. Biden's skipping the coronation, Karine Jean-Pierre, the White House press secretary, last week rejected any notion that there was tension between the United States and Britain. (Historians point out that Dwight D. Eisenhower did not attend the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth.)

''It's important that the president is going to go out there, and he's going to have a meeting with not just the king, but also the prime minister,'' Ms. Jean-Pierre said. ''That's what you're going to see: continuing a partnership with the United Kingdom.''

Those who have observed the relationship between the White House and the Royal family said the common ground shared by Charles and Mr. Biden would probably ensure a cordial meeting.

''They've both been to this rodeo many times,'' Ms. Bedell Smith said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/10/us/politics/biden-king-charles.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/10/us/politics/biden-king-charles.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: King Charles III and President Biden on Monday at Windsor Castle near London. Global warming is one mutual concern. (A1)

President Biden, left, with King Charles III on Monday in what U.S. officials called a ''mini state visit.'' Both have spent decades in the public eye, with the prestige and challenges scrutiny brings. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A9) This article appeared in print on page A1, A9.

**Load-Date:** July 11, 2023

**End of Document**



[***DeSantis Sets Sights on Wisconsin, a 2024 Battleground***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:685M-M2R1-DXY4-X0WH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 6, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1220 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Nehamas and Alexandra Glorioso

**Body**

The Florida governor, who has slipped in polls as his expected entrance to the presidential race nears, is moving beyond early nominating states like Iowa and New Hampshire.

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida is expanding his political travel as his poll numbers slip ahead of an expected presidential campaign, visiting rural north-central Wisconsin on Saturday in a sign of his intent to compete for voters beyond early nominating states like Iowa.

Declared candidates, including former President Donald J. Trump, have largely focused on making appearances in Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina, three of the first states on the Republican nominating calendar next year.

But Mr. DeSantis's visit to a convention center outside the small city of Wausau, an area roughly 90 minutes west of Green Bay that voted heavily for Mr. Trump in the last two elections, suggests that the governor is preparing to challenge the former president more directly in a crucial battleground state.

''It's a smart move by DeSantis,'' said Brandon Scholz, a lobbyist and former executive director of the Wisconsin Republican Party. ''You don't go to Wausau, Wisconsin, to get cheese curds. You go to get the grass roots talking. You go to get on local TV. It shows that DeSantis is thinking about his strategy beyond the early states, and that he's picking his spots well.''

For Mr. DeSantis, who is expected to announce his 2024 bid in the coming weeks, the trip to the Midwest offers a chance for a reset. A trade mission abroad late last month -- meant to elevate his foreign policy credentials -- received only a lukewarm response. And his poll numbers against Mr. Trump have consistently dipped.

On Friday, Mr. DeSantis dismissed concerns by some fellow Republicans that he was taking too long to announce a campaign.

''That's chatter,'' he said at a news conference at the Florida Capitol. ''The chatter is just not something that I worry about. I don't bother.''

At another point, he said of his political ambitions, ''We'll get on that relatively soon,'' adding, ''You either got to put up or shut up on that.''

Mr. DeSantis can point to a busy two-month legislative session in Tallahassee that ended on Friday and allowed him to notch conservative victories on abortion, immigration and education, among other issues dear to his party's base. With legislators returning home, he is expected to pick up his out-of-state travel schedule, which includes stops in Illinois and Iowa next week.

After helping vault Mr. Trump to the presidency in 2016, Wisconsin swung to Joseph R. Biden Jr. four years later. Republicans there have continued to take losses, including the re-election of Gov. Tony Evers, a Democrat, in November and a bruising loss last month in a consequential State Supreme Court race.

The Saturday event for Mr. DeSantis, an evening fund-raiser for the Republican Party of Marathon County where he will speak about his memoir, is sold out with more than 560 attendees, according to organizers.

''It's not just Marathon County,'' said Kevin Hermening, the county party's chairman. ''We have people traveling in from Chicago, Minneapolis, Madison, Milwaukee and Green Bay,'' he said. ''There is a real interest in listening to somebody who represents the next generation of conservative thought.''

Mr. DeSantis may use the Wisconsin dinner to highlight his family's Midwestern roots: His mother is from Youngstown, Ohio, and his wife, Casey DeSantis, is also from Ohio. His father was raised in western Pennsylvania.

Mr. DeSantis, who has spent most of his life in Florida, recently started to emphasize his ties outside the state.

''I was geographically raised in Tampa Bay, but culturally my upbringing reflected the ***working-class*** communities in western Pennsylvania and northeast Ohio -- from weekly church attendance to the expectation that one would earn his keep,'' Mr. DeSantis says in his memoir, ''The Courage to Be Free,'' which he is promoting nationwide. ''This made me God-fearing, hard-working and America-loving.''

Saturday's fund-raiser is not a high-dollar affair, allowing Mr. DeSantis to talk directly to his party's base. Individual tickets cost $75. A table of eight went for $1,000. Representative Tom Tiffany, a Republican who represents the area in Congress and has not made a presidential endorsement, will introduce Mr. DeSantis.

Mr. DeSantis's visit to Wisconsin could also invite further comparisons between him and Scott Walker, the state's former governor and onetime front-runner in the 2016 Republican presidential primary, who ended his campaign after only two months. Like Mr. DeSantis, Mr. Walker was a young, popular governor. But he stumbled early on the campaign trail and saw his star quickly dim as Mr. Trump outshone his establishment rivals.

In Wisconsin -- which will also host the Republican Party's 2024 convention, in Milwaukee -- Mr. DeSantis will be walking straight into the heart of Trump country.

The former president held several rallies in the state's rural north during previous campaigns, and handily beat both Hillary Clinton and Mr. Biden there. Mr. DeSantis has so far largely avoided mentioning Mr. Trump by name, although a super PAC backing the governor's campaign is stepping up its attacks.

''The die-hard people up here still love Trump,'' said Linda Prehn, a Republican who helped organize the Saturday event. ''But I know a lot of people who voted for him two times and do not want to vote for him a third time'' in a primary.

Ms. Prehn said she did not know much about Mr. DeSantis, although her friends in Florida had praised how he handled the coronavirus pandemic and a recent devastating hurricane.

''People want to get a look at him,'' she said.

In a recent survey of Wisconsin voters, Mr. DeSantis performed better in a head-to-head matchup against Mr. Biden than Mr. Trump did, according to the Republican polling firm Public Opinion Strategies.

Still, pro-Trump forces are mobilizing to challenge Mr. DeSantis in Wisconsin. On its Facebook page, the Republican Party in nearby Waupaca County posted an invitation calling for a rally in support of Mr. Trump outside the dinner where Mr. DeSantis will speak.

''Please gather with us,'' the post said, ''for a patriotic rally showing that Wisconsin is Trump Country!'' The post was earlier reported by NBC News.

On Saturday, Mr. DeSantis is likely to make his case to party activists by extolling the results of Florida's legislative session.

''I think we got probably 99 percent'' of his agenda, he told reporters on Friday. He acknowledged, however, the failure of high-profile defamation bills that would have made it easier for private citizens to sue news outlets for libel, measures that some right-wing outlets had opposed.

''Look, the defamation, it's a thorny issue,'' Mr. DeSantis said. ''Clearly I don't want to incentivize frivolous lawsuits. That is totally unacceptable.''

As Mr. DeSantis makes the positive case for his candidacy, the main super PAC supporting his candidacy, Never Back Down, is attacking Mr. Trump.

The group released an ad this past week that features an actor putting a fresh bumper sticker on his truck.

The new sticker reads ''DeSantis for President.''

The man places it directly over a tattered decal for Mr. Trump's 2016 campaign.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/06/us/politics/desantis-wisconsin-2024-president.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/06/us/politics/desantis-wisconsin-2024-president.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gov. Ron DeSantis is expected to speak on Saturday evening at a sold-out Republican fund-raising event outside of Wausau, Wis. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** May 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A War Abroad, A Clash at Home***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69NN-XRR1-DXY4-X046-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 19, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 6; MICHELLE GOLDBERG

**Length:** 3589 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Goldberg

**Body**

Representative Jamaal Bowman, whose district encompasses several affluent Westchester County suburbs as well as a small part of the Bronx, last week planned a ''healing breakfast'' with Jewish constituents pained by his pro-Palestinian politics. A member of the informal alliance of a half-dozen or so young Black and brown left-wing representatives known as the Squad, Bowman won a primary against the district's staunchly pro-Israel incumbent in 2020, fueled largely by the energy of that summer's racial justice protests. But now, with the conflict in the Middle East inflaming American politics, he seemed likely to face his own primary challenge in June, one that will test the coalition between liberal Jews and people of color that is key to the progressive movement both in his district and in the country more broadly.

Bowman didn't get into politics to work on Israel and Palestine. A brash, impassioned and sometimes impetuous former middle school principal, he was motivated by education and criminal justice reform. But like other members of the Squad, Bowman has developed a sympathy with the Palestinian cause that makes him an outlier in a Congress where deference to Israel is the norm.

He was one of nine Democrats to vote last month against a resolution expressing support for Israel and condemning Hamas, because, he said, it didn't call for a two-state solution or for military de-escalation. Speaking at a rally held by Rabbis for Ceasefire this week, he said, rather presumptuously, ''By me calling for a cease-fire with my colleagues and centering humanity, I am uplifting deeply what it actually means to be Jewish.''

Plenty of Jews in his district, including some who loathe Israel's right-wing government, disagree, and have grown alienated from their congressman and the strain of progressive politics he represents. ''People like me are not being given much to work with when we go to some of our beleaguered, anxious and frightened Jewish friends, and they are saying that the left is so infested with antisemitism that they can no longer be part of it,'' said Lisa Genn, a local progressive activist who is part of a group called Jews for Jamaal.

With tensions in the district high, Bowman organized the breakfast so the community could talk things out in person. ''Nobody's going,'' the head of the Westchester Board of Rabbis told New York Jewish Week, adding, ''The relationship with the congressman has hit rock bottom, and he knows it, we know it.'' Nevertheless, so many people R.S.V.P.ed that the meeting was moved from Bowman's office in White Plains to the nearby Calvary Baptist Church.

When I arrived at the church that morning, a small group of protesters stood outside clutching signs. ''Jews are not idiots. We know this is a P.R. stunt!'' said one, held by a woman in a blue ''Zioness'' sweatshirt. ''Bowman does not protect our Jewish students,'' said another, held by Nancy Weinberger, a Democrat who has two children studying in Israel, and who was particularly incensed by Bowman's recent vote against a House resolution condemning ''the support of Hamas, Hezbollah and other terrorist organizations'' on college campuses. ''Can't he give us one win?'' she asked. ''Can't he vote in our interest at all?''

Soon the pastor of the church showed up, saw the demonstrators, and appeared to grow worried that Calvary Baptist would be seen as anti-Zionist. He abruptly canceled the event and called the police to clear everyone out. As Bowman's staff tried to find a new location, Guy Baron, a protester wrapped in an Israeli flag, confronted the congressman in the church parking lot. ''Your actions as our representative in Washington, D.C., are so painful to our community,'' he said. ''You have no idea. You are so out of touch with the Jewish members of your community.''

Baron inveighed against a slogan defended by Rashida Tlaib, another member of the Squad and the only Palestinian in Congress: ''From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.'' The slogan was a major reason Tlaib was censured by the House last week, with 22 Democrats joining almost all but a few members of the Republican caucus.

''That is a call to genocide,'' said Baron, ''and you're on their team.''

Bowman listened, his hands folded, then thanked Baron for sharing his feelings. ''We are horrified by the rise of antisemitism that is happening all over the world, right here in our country, and right here in our community,'' he said. ''That is why we're having this meeting and conversation today. Because we know and we acknowledge the trauma and the pain and the fear.''

Eventually, the meeting was moved back to Bowman's office. About 40 people, including several of the protesters, gathered in a crowded semicircle in a low-ceilinged, fluorescent-lit room. Trays of bagels, scrambled eggs and pastrami sandwiches were brought in, but they went mostly untouched. Emotions were intense -- there were repeated invocations of the Holocaust -- but by absorbing his constituents' outrage and grief, Bowman was able to keep the conversation civil.

''I am deeply concerned that the people that I've spent my life marching with are not marching with me,'' Bill Giddins, a retiree from Bronxville, said to applause. ''I am deeply concerned that when a Black person is damaged in America, I want to protect that person. I don't feel the same from you and your office.'' A few days before, a man had been arrested near the site of a local rally for the victims of Oct. 7 on charges of illegally carrying a semiautomatic weapon; his car was flying a Palestinian flag and had a swastika intertwined with a Jewish star scrawled on the side.

Bowman's Jewish constituents tried to convey how an ancestral terror of annihilation had been newly awakened. ''This is Westchester!'' said one mother of young children. ''How can we be feeling unsafe as Jews?''

''I myself can't keep you safe,'' said Bowman. ''We, in this room, in this community, and me and my colleagues in elected office can do so. Not just with words, or political pandering, or virtue signaling,'' but ''sleeves up, in the room, figuring it out.''

Whether Bowman can figure out how to heal the rifts in his district will have implications beyond his slice of New York. Ahead of the existentially important 2024 election -- which could bring Donald Trump, increasingly unabashed in his embrace of vengeful authoritarianism, back to power -- some polls show Joe Biden's support among young people and Arab Americans collapsing, likely because of the president's backing of Israel's war in Gaza. ''People tell me they're not voting Democrat, without me asking,'' Bowman told me.

A series of ugly primary campaigns fought over Israel will only widen the progressive political divide. But with horror at conditions in Gaza and Jewish fear both ratcheting up, an intraparty clash over the future of the Squad now looks inevitable.

As the left-leaning journalist Ryan Grim points out in his forthcoming book, ''The Squad: AOC and the Hope of a Political Revolution,'' the politics of Israel and Palestine have bedeviled the group ever since its first members burst onto the political scene in 2018.

The most famous figure in the Squad, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, rarely spoke about the Middle East in 2018, during her first congressional campaign, which was centered on the same economic issues that powered the Bernie Sanders movement. But that May, she'd tweeted about the Israeli military's shooting of protesters in Gaza, calling it a ''massacre.'' After her primary victory, she was questioned about that tweet, and her stance on Israel, on the TV show ''Firing Line.'' She grew visibly flustered, and afterward decided to stop doing national interviews for a while.

''At the time, she betrayed a visceral sense of just how treacherous the issue could be for her, but she could never have guessed how significantly she had underestimated it,'' wrote Grim.

It was even more treacherous for Tlaib and Ilhan Omar, the first two Muslim women in Congress, who've both voiced support for the boycott, divestment and sanctions movement against Israel. Both spoke for many left-wing voters, especially young ones, who see in the Palestinian struggle a reflection of their own battles against various forms of oppression. Both also, occasionally, invoked what many Jews see as antisemitic tropes about Jewish power and dual loyalty. Less than a week into her first term, for example, Tlaib tweeted that Senate supporters of an anti-B.D.S. bill ''forgot what country they represent.'' Not long after, Omar tweeted that fealty to Israel by U.S. political leaders was ''all about the Benjamins.'' Some of the early weeks of the new congressional session were consumed by an attempt, eventually watered down, to officially rebuke her.

Soon after the original members of the Squad were sworn in in 2019, Mark Mellman, a Democratic pollster who once did work for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, or AIPAC, started a group called the Democratic Majority for Israel aimed in part at stopping their influence from growing. ''Most Democrats are strongly pro-Israel and we want to keep it that way,'' Mellman told The Times. ''There are a few discordant voices, but we want to make sure that what's a very small problem doesn't metastasize into a bigger problem.''

To that end, the Democratic Majority for Israel tried hard to thwart Bowman when he ran against Eliot Engel in 2020. The group spent almost $2 million in the race, much of it on ads slamming Bowman for unpaid taxes. As Grim noted, hitting ''a ***working-class*** Black man for financial troubles before he'd risen to become a successful principal in the area would have been considered tone-deaf in a New York Democratic primary in any recent cycle,'' but especially amid the summer's protests over the killing of George Floyd. The attack failed; Bowman ended up winning a blowout 15-point victory.

The district, whose contours have changed with redistricting and could change again before the primary, is about 50 percent Black and Latino, and voters of color were Bowman's base. But they were joined by some Jews, who are thought to make up about 10 percent of the district's population. ''It was the time,'' said Giddins, the Bronxville retiree, who backed Bowman in the past. ''We have to coalesce and give Black people power. They're entitled to it.''

But despite Bowman's popularity, growing disaffection among Jews -- who, according to The New York Times, probably make up 20 percent to 30 percent of the Democratic primary electorate in his district -- could make him vulnerable. He's one of several Squad members facing potentially formidable primary challenges over their stances on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Omar is going to have a rematch against a former Minneapolis City Council member, Don Samuels, who lost to her by about two points in the 2022 primary. Cori Bush, a Missouri Democrat who emerged from the Black Lives Matter movement, is facing a primary challenge from a former political ally, the St. Louis County prosecutor Wesley Bell. Summer Lee, a Pittsburgh Democrat whose district includes the Tree of Life synagogue, the site of an antisemitic mass murder in 2018, is being challenged by Bhavini Patel.

Bowman doesn't have a strong opponent yet, but last month 26 rabbis in his district wrote a letter to Westchester's popular county executive, George Latimer, imploring him to get into the race. Last week, a local TV station reported that Latimer had indeed decided to jump in, though he told me he still hadn't made a formal decision and wouldn't until he returned from a solidarity trip to Israel.

Should a few members of the Squad lose their primaries, the blow to Democratic unity could be severe. ''Many of the young people or people of color, Muslim and Arab Democrats who support the Squad will feel like the party is not a place for them,'' said Waleed Shahid, former communications director of the Justice Democrats, the group that recruited Ocasio-Cortez to run for office, and a senior adviser on Bowman's 2020 campaign. ''And they'll either stay at home or they'll go to a third party.''

Already, there are signs that the party is fracturing over Israel. According to a recent Reuters/Ipsos poll, about three-quarters of Democrats want a cease-fire, but few in the Democratic establishment share their views. Last week, in a rare gesture of defiance, more than 100 congressional staffers walked out to demand that their bosses back a cease-fire. More than 500 alumni of Biden's 2020 presidential campaign and Democratic Party staff members have signed a letter imploring Biden to call for a cease-fire, saying, ''If you fail to act swiftly, your legacy will be complicity in the face of genocide.''

If the conflict in Israel cools down in a few months, it might recede from the center of American politics. But the wounds it's torn open will be hard to mend, because so many people are feeling betrayed. Many liberal Jews, mourning the mass murder in Israel and shaken by the upsurge of antisemitism at home, believe they've been abandoned by their allies. Advocates for the freedom and safety of Palestinians, horror-struck by more than 10,000 civilian deaths in Gaza, believe that the Democratic Party is giving its approval to atrocities. Bowman's attempt to transcend this split in his own district, knowing how much ire would be directed at him, struck me as decent and brave. But when people discover that they see the world so radically differently, better communication alone might not be enough to bring them back together.

From the time he was elected, Bowman has had to traverse a minefield on the Middle East, facing pressure from both his pro-Israel Jewish constituents and from some of the left-wing groups that backed him. He's mostly refused to tiptoe. Coming into office, Bowman was a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, but he angered the organization when he voted to fund Israel's Iron Dome defense system. After he traveled to Israel and the West Bank with the left-leaning pro-Israel group J Street in 2021, some in the Democratic Socialists, which has a policy of boycotting Israel, moved to expel him. He ended up dropping his membership.

For all the blowback from the left, however, the trip solidified his abhorrence of the occupation of Palestine. ''I got to see the giant wall built around the West Bank,'' Bowman told me. He described being turned away from a checkpoint in the West Bank city of Hebron, where Palestinian movement is curtailed to accommodate a few hundred fanatical settlers, because he wasn't Jewish. ''And I thought that was ironic, because I'm literally a sitting member of Congress voting to support funding for the state of Israel,'' he said.

He saw firsthand the way settlement expansion is making a contiguous Palestinian state nearly impossible. ''I left feeling pretty overwhelmed and pretty dejected,'' Bowman said, adding, ''The rhetoric at home didn't match the reality on the ground there, and specifically, the rhetoric around a two-state solution.'' Bowman still believes in two states, but said, ''The policies of the Israeli government haven't gotten us there, and the U.S. hasn't held Israel accountable towards helping us to get there.''

''At Jamaal's core, he's someone who believes in racial and social justice,'' said Shahid, his former adviser. ''And I think that a lot of the ways he thinks about the world were confirmed'' by his trip to Israel. Shahid compared Bowman's experience to that of the writer Ta-Nehisi Coates, who, speaking on the left-wing broadcast ''Democracy Now,'' described his own shocking encounter with the brutal segregation in Hebron. ''I was in a territory where your mobility is inhibited,'' said Coates. ''Where your voting rights are inhibited. Where your right to the water is inhibited. Where your right to housing is inhibited, and it's all inhibited based on ethnicity. And that sounded extremely, extremely familiar to me.''

It was familiar to Bowman, too. Given the congressman's ''experience as a racially conscious Black person,'' said Shahid, ''it's hard not to see the parallels.''

Before going to Israel and Palestine, Bowman had co-sponsored legislation encouraging Arab states to normalize their relations with Israel. When he returned, he withdrew his sponsorship and announced he'd vote against the bill because, among other things, it didn't take Palestinian interests into account. The move appalled rabbis in his district. Later, Bowman angered many Jewish constituents by co-sponsoring Tlaib's resolution commemorating what Palestinians call the nakba, or catastrophe, referring to their expulsion from Israel during the country's founding. He angered them further by boycotting the speech by Israel's president, Isaac Herzog, to Congress in July.

Oct. 7 brought an already simmering discontent to a raging boil. A few days after the attacks, Bowman wanted to attend an Israeli solidarity rally held by the Westchester Jewish Council, but organizers advised him to stay away because he'd be received poorly. He has spoken out repeatedly against antisemitism, denouncing, for example, an Oct. 8 demonstration in Manhattan, promoted by the New York Democratic Socialists of America, where Hamas's attacks were celebrated. But he hasn't backed away from his fundamental view of the conflict, leaving the mainstream Jewish community feeling as if he's run roughshod over their interests and sensitivities. ''Actions against Israel affect the safety of the Jewish people everywhere,'' said Weinberger, the woman with two children in Israel, adding, ''We feel so helpless in Congress because of him. He's taken our voice away.''

In 2022, despite mounting unhappiness with Bowman among some local Jewish leaders, national pro-Israel groups sat out his primary, determining, as Jewish Insider reported, that he ''was likely unbeatable.'' (He ended up winning about 57 percent of the vote in a four-way race.) But pro-Israel groups -- one of which received funds from the disgraced crypto king Sam Bankman-Fried -- poured an unprecedented amount of money into other primaries that year, a foretaste of the resources we could soon see mobilized against Bowman.

As Politico reported, the Democratic Majority for Israel spent $2 million to defeat the Bernie Sanders-backed Democrat Nina Turner in a 2022 Ohio primary. In Michigan, the United Democracy Project, a super PAC tied to AIPAC, spent a staggering $4.3 million to help beat Representative Andy Levin, a Jewish Democrat who had been outspoken in his criticism of Israel's occupation. Some funding for the United Democracy Project came from Republican megadonors, including the Home Depot co-founder Bernie Marcus, a Trump supporter. These are not, needless to say, people who are averse to creating lasting ill will among Democrats.

''I've been in politics for 30 years, local, state and federal,'' said Mark Pocan, a Wisconsin Democrat and former co-chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus. ''But last cycle was the first time I saw a really disturbing new phenomenon, which was two groups -- cryptocurrency folks and AIPAC -- getting involved in Democratic primaries with huge amounts of money,'' often more than the candidates were spending themselves. We can expect to see even more outside money from groups supporting Israel deployed against the Squad in 2024. ''The level of concern and engagement on the part of the pro-Israel community is at an extraordinarily high level,'' Mellman, of Democratic Majority for Israel, told me.

These big-footed donors, who are overwhelmingly targeting representatives of color, are going to exacerbate the fissures in the Democratic Party. But they did not create them. Talking to some of the disenchanted voters at Bowman's event, I was struck most not by their anger but by their heartbreak.

Diana Lovett, a Democratic Party district leader who held a fund-raiser for Bowman last year, said polarization over the congressman was tearing apart local Democrats. Leaving the event, she told me, with great sadness, that she didn't feel she could back him anymore. ''I love him personally,'' she said. She'd spoken to him in October about their disagreement over Israel. ''He was lovely, and he's amazing, and he was the same warm and openhearted person that he was today,'' she said.

But Lovett, who'd recently been hanging posters of kidnapped Israelis around town only to see them being torn down, had come to believe that their views on the Middle East are irreconcilable. ''I think he sees what he believes to be an injustice, a grave injustice,'' and that his votes are coming from a deep ''moral consciousness,'' she said. ''And I think the pain and suffering he is causing to his constituents is some kind of collateral damage to that higher principle.''

If Bowman were a more transactional politician, he might have compromised on an issue so fraught in his community. But he is, for better or worse, very sincere. Lovett was dreading ''an insanely divisive primary,'' but didn't see any way around it. ''He's not going to convince us, and we're not going to convince him,'' she said.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/17/opinion/israel-democratic-party-jamaal-bowman.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/17/opinion/israel-democratic-party-jamaal-bowman.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Below, Representative Jamaal Bowman in Yonkers, N.Y. Opposite, at top right, Representatives Cori Bush, Ayanna Pressley, Ilhan Omar and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez at a gathering calling for a cease-fire in Gaza

bottom right, the crowd at an event called the Westchester Stands With Israel Rally, held in October at Temple Israel Center in White Plains, N.Y (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KHOLOOD EID FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MANDEL NGAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES

MARK VERGARI/THE JOURNAL NEWS-USA TODAY NETWORK) (SR6-SR7) This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

**Load-Date:** November 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***For a President and a King, the View From the Top Is Curiously Similar***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68NG-8BC1-JBG3-62PJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 10, 2023 Monday 11:27 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1590 words

**Byline:** Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Mark Landler

**Highlight:** Despite hints of tension between Washington and London, President Biden and King Charles III share interests and have faced comparable challenges, which might have helped smooth their meeting.

**Body**

Despite hints of tension between Washington and London, President Biden and King Charles III share interests and have faced comparable challenges, which might have helped smooth their meeting.

The two men — the American president and the British king — waited decades for their dream jobs, projecting a sense of normalcy and unity when they finally reached their thrones. They both prefer to ditch executive palaces for their respective retreats. And they share a passion for confronting threats to the environment.

The men, the 80-year-old President Biden and the 74-year-old King Charles III, are also united by their challenges. They both face a public increasingly dubious of their institutions. And they both battle skepticism over whether they are the right people to lead the increasingly diverse groups over which they preside.

“As older men in the pinnacle of their careers, they need to redefine what it means to be an older person,” said Arianne Chernock, a professor of history at Boston University and scholar of modern Britain, adding, “They need to find new ways to connect with a younger multicultural generation.”

That common ground served as the backdrop for the meeting between the president and the king on Monday at Windsor Castle, near London, where the two underscored the strength of the relationship between the two countries and discussed clean-energy investment and efforts to combat climate change in developing nations. The two leaders also discussed China and shared stories from the past, according to Jake Sullivan, Mr. Biden’s national security adviser, who spoke with reporters after the meeting.

Climate is a unifying issue for both. Charles has been warning about it since the 1970s and Mr. Biden has made it a central focus of his presidency. After their meeting, they met with a group of philanthropists and investors “focused on mobilizing finance to address the climate crisis,” according to the White House.

Charles rallied leaders in Glasgow in 2021 to address climate change, warning them that [*“time has run out.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/13/climate/king-charles-climate.html) Mr. Biden has proclaimed the tax, energy and health bill that he signed into law last year as the [*“the biggest step forward on climate ever.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/16/us/politics/biden-climate-health-bill.html)

Sally Bedell Smith, who has written numerous biographies about the British royal family, said those points of mutual interest could be useful. “Biden, I would guess, would have a lot of respect for what Charles has done and said” on the topic, she noted.

Both are also using the issue to connect more broadly with the public and, in Mr. Biden’s case, to galvanize voters.

Mr. Biden has struggled for most of his presidency with low approval numbers. A recent [*Reuters poll*](https://www.reuters.com/graphics/USA-BIDEN/POLL/nmopagnqapa/) showed he had 41 percent approval, a marginal increase from the lowest level of his presidency but an indicator that voters remain unconvinced, particularly about his economic record.

Charles’s approval ratings have improved since he became king. He was viewed favorably by 55 percent of respondents in a recent poll by the market research firm YouGov. But that makes him only the fourth-most popular member of the royal family, trailing his son and heir, Prince William; his sister, Princess Anne; and his daughter-in-law, Catherine, Princess of Wales.

Mr. Biden and Charles have spent decades under the unforgiving glare of the public eye, finding respite in the familiar.

Mr. Biden flees the White House most weekends for one of his houses, in the beachside town of Rehoboth Beach, Del. The king is said not to be particularly fond of Buckingham Palace. He and Queen Camilla live in the cozier Clarence House when they are in London and spend weekends at Highgrove, his countryside retreat in Gloucestershire.

They have a shared connection in struggle. Mr. Biden, who has [*navigated a stutter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/06/us/politics/biden-state-of-the-union-preparation.html) since his childhood, has said he was [*inspired by the film*](https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2020/01/joe-biden-stutter-profile/602401/) “The King’s Speech,” which depicted the efforts of Charles’s grandfather, King George VI, to overcome similar speech problems.

Charles and the president have also faced heightened scrutiny over their complex relationships with their younger sons. Mr. Biden’s adversaries have seized on [*Hunter Biden’s plea deal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/20/us/politics/hunter-biden-plea-deal-tax-charges.html) on two misdemeanor tax crimes to attack the president. The king’s relationship with Prince Harry has been [*in the spotlight*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/09/world/europe/prince-harry-memoir.html) since Harry and his wife, Meghan, withdrew from royal duties in 2020.

“They need to perform that job of being a father in an often public and glaring light,” Ms. Chernock, the history professor, said.

The president and the king are prone to break away from their prepared messaging. Mr. Biden recently called Xi Jinping, the top leader in China, a “dictator” even as his secretary of state, Antony J. Blinken, traveled to the country to try to smooth over strained relations with Beijing.

While royals are expected to steer clear of politics, the king’s political opinions have occasionally gotten him into trouble. After Charles attended the handover of Hong Kong in 1997, a London newspaper [*published extracts of a diary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/23/world/europe/the-dissident-prince-public-prickly-and-very-political.html) in which the king had written about goose-stepping Chinese soldiers and described the Chinese officials at the ceremony as “appalling waxworks.”

But the two men are also different in important respects.

The president is garrulous and extroverted, while the king is more contemplative and reserved. In his younger days, Charles was awkward and shy, seemingly ill-suited to a life in public. After decades of royal tours and receiving lines, he has become skilled in the art of small talk, though he is not the natural glad-hander that Mr. Biden is.

Charles’s intellectual pursuits can sometimes seem offbeat. A voracious reader and autodidact, Charles has burrowed into subjects like architecture, organic farming and conservation. He once proudly revealed that his Aston Martin sports car ran on [*a biofuel made from surplus white wine and cheese waste*](https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/prince-charles-50-year-old-25186662).

In contrast, Mr. Biden has a 1967 Corvette that runs on gas and often tries to relate to the ***working class*** by recalling his days [*commuting to Washington on the Amtrak*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/30/us/politics/biden-amtrak-infrastructure.html).

The king is expected to abide by the traditions of the British monarchy that Mr. Biden [*has on multiple occasions refused to follow*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/18/world/europe/queen-elizabeth-biden.html). Mr. Biden twice declined to bow to the king’s mother, Queen Elizabeth II, on the advice of his mother. “Don’t you bow down to her,” she told him, according to his memoir “Promises to Keep.” (There is [*no requirement*](https://www.royal.uk/greeting-member-royal-family#:~:text=There%20are%20no%20obligatory%20codes,hands%20in%20the%20usual%20way.) that one must bow to the monarch — though many people follow the tradition as courtesy.)

On Monday, Mr. Biden appeared intent to show affection for the king, shaking his hand after arriving at Windsor Castle and then putting a hand on Charles’s back as they prepared to inspect an honor guard.

But during Mr. Biden’s four visits to the United Kingdom since becoming president, there has often been [*an undercurrent of tension*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/27/world/europe/biden-ireland-trip-king-charles.html).

In March, Mr. Biden made a brief stop in Northern Ireland to mark the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement before going to the Republic of Ireland for a much more leisurely [*tour of his ancestral roots*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/14/world/europe/biden-ireland-ancestry.html). (As the London papers grumbled, Mr. Biden also has English roots.)

Mr. Biden did not attend the coronation of Charles in May, [*sending his wife, Jill, and their granddaughter Finnegan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/05/world/europe/jill-biden-uk-king-charles-coronation.html). When he called the king to send his regrets and offer congratulations, Charles invited the president to visit Britain, setting the stage for the Monday meeting that American officials are calling a “mini state visit.”

Even the logistics for this trip have not been without some static. The White House initially questioned the need for a stop at 10 Downing Street with Prime Minister Rishi Sunak, according to an official familiar with the planning, since the two men would meet at the NATO summit in Lithuania a day later. For Mr. Sunak, however, a handshake with the president in front of his residence is politically valuable, and the White House ultimately agreed to it.

After about a 45-minute meeting at 10 Downing on Monday, Mr. Biden said the two leaders were “moving along in a way that’s positive,” adding, “Our relationship is rock solid.”

The White House also yielded to the king’s request to welcome Mr. Biden at Windsor Castle, west of London, rather than at the more conveniently located Buckingham Palace. The palace is undergoing a multiyear renovation, and the official told The New York Times that the king did not want Mr. Biden to see a construction site.

Asked about Mr. Biden’s skipping the coronation, Karine Jean-Pierre, the White House press secretary, last week rejected any notion that there was tension between the United States and Britain. (Historians point out that Dwight D. Eisenhower did not attend the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth.)

“It’s important that the president is going to go out there, and he’s going to have a meeting with not just the king, but also the prime minister,” Ms. Jean-Pierre said. “That’s what you’re going to see: continuing a partnership with the United Kingdom.”

Those who have observed the relationship between the White House and the Royal family said the common ground shared by Charles and Mr. Biden would probably ensure a cordial meeting.

“They’ve both been to this rodeo many times,” Ms. Bedell Smith said.

PHOTOS: King Charles III and President Biden on Monday at Windsor Castle near London. Global warming is one mutual concern. (A1); President Biden, left, with King Charles III on Monday in what U.S. officials called a “mini state visit.” Both have spent decades in the public eye, with the prestige and challenges scrutiny brings. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A9) This article appeared in print on page A1, A9.

**Load-Date:** July 11, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Mapping Out Anger, in Different Directions***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67Y7-GHP1-DXY4-X1K1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 6, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3; CRITIC'S PICK

**Length:** 994 words

**Byline:** By James Poniewozik

**Body**

A thrilling dark comedy explores the complexity of anger, through a road-rage feud between two drivers who are more alike than it seems.

''I'm so sick of smiling,'' says Danny Cho (Steven Yeun) in the first episode of Netflix's ''Beef.'' You may have noticed that he's not alone in this. Blame it on the pandemic, the culture, the economy, but people are mad right now, on planes and on trains and -- like Danny and his car-crossed antagonist, Amy Lau (Ali Wong) -- in automobiles.

''Beef,'' a dark comedy about a road-rage incident that careers disastrously off-road, has good timing, but that's not enough to make a great TV series. What makes this one of the most invigorating, surprising and insightful debuts of the past year is how personally and culturally specific its study of anger is. Every unhappy person in it is unhappy in a different and fascinating way.

Amy and Danny's high-speed chase through suburban Los Angeles, following a run-in at a big-box-store parking lot, sets the tone for all 10 episodes (which arrive on Thursday). The show floors the accelerator with heedless gusto, racing a course of revenge, subterfuge and terrible decisions.

But what gives ''Beef'' its interest is its attention to the motivations that brought the pair to that parking lot in the first place.

Danny, a hard-working, hapless contractor saving to build a house for his Korean parents, is trying to return merchandise while fretting over his family and finances. Amy, an entrepreneur who married into art-world money, is trying to sell her small business to the big store's owner, a deal she hopes will finally allow her to exhale after years of pressure. Each is this close to breaking, and each, after their near fender-bender, ends up being the other's last straw.

It is easy to see how this could have become a cynical class-war story: His ***working-class*** struggle vs. her upscale ennui, his pickup vs. her Mercedes. Instead the creator, Lee Sung Jin (''Dave''), couples a raucous story with a generous spin on the truism that the biggest jerk you meet is fighting battles you know nothing about.

Danny's problems are more existential and dire: He is the hard-working son who has taken his family on his back, including not only his parents but also his crypto-bro younger brother (Young Mazino) and his ex-convict cousin (a volatile David Choe), who become dangerously entangled in his payback schemes. It's not just cash that he lacks; he feels an emptiness, which he tries to fill by stress-eating Burger King chicken sandwiches and by joining a rock-gospel church, an intriguing if underdeveloped subplot.

Amy has a cushier living situation, but her stressors are not so different. She smiles through endless microaggressions from Jordan (Maria Bello), her business's rich white potential buyer, and the intrusions of her wealthy mother-in law (Patti Yasutake). Her husband, George (Joseph Lee), has the sweet but irritating chill of privilege. She keeps a gun (paging Mr. Chekhov) in a home safe, a seeming symbol of Amy herself -- a sleek container that keeps something dangerous locked away.

As their battle escalates, Amy and Danny become enmeshed in each other's lives, and their similarities become clearer. ''Beef'' develops into something of a love story, except about hate. You'd expect Yeun (''Minari,'' ''The Walking Dead'') to excel in the show's drama and the comedian Wong (''Tuca & Bertie'') to nail the humor, but they do the reverse just as well. Wong especially taps the tension behind Amy's exquisite octagonal glasses, the pressure to provide and be perfect -- she's like Rachel Fleishman with a gun instead of yoga.

That nearly all of the major characters in ''Beef'' are Asian is both a casual fact of the setting and integral to its themes. These are characters given less social permission for anger in America, in part because of ''model minority'' stereotypes of docility. (''You have this serene Zen Buddhist thing going on,'' Jordan tells Amy.)

But they're also shaped by their family and upbringing. Amy describes learning to repress her emotions from her father -- ''Chinese guy from the Midwest, I mean, communication wasn't his forte'' -- and her mother, a Vietnamese immigrant who ''thought talking about your feelings was the same thing as complaining.''

As philosophy, self-help and ''Star Wars'' have taught us, anger is a destructive emotion. ''Beef'' provides ample evidence of this, in the cascade of escalations that builds to a climax so weird and explosive that it defies spoiling. And the personal war brings out the best in neither Amy, who insults Danny as ''poor,'' nor Danny, who calls Amy ''some rich bitch from Calabasas.''

But ''Beef'' also pushes past easy cant to explore the idea that anger -- even petty, stupid anger -- can be liberating. At the end of the first episode, Amy and Danny meet face to face, and it does not end well; she winds up chasing him down the street on foot. He, despite having bought himself trouble he can't afford, wears a wide, childlike smile. She, planning her next countermove, relaxes into a tiny grin.

It's the first lightness you see on either of their faces. Their dispute will prove to be the worst thing that has happened to either of them, but in the moment, it is also the best. They fight not just out of pride but also out of their seeming belief that their rage might somehow make everything right.

Among the motifs that Lee Sung Jin weaves through ''Beef'' is hunger. Danny has his Burger King addiction -- he eats like it's his job, straining and puffing -- while Amy has a sweet tooth, a legacy of her depressed childhood, that she has passed on to her daughter. Which brings us back to this weird, remarkable show's title.

Colloquially, ''Beef'' means ''feud.'' But this series shows you how anger can also, for some people, be meat. It fills an emptiness, it sustains, it momentarily satisfies -- even if, in excess, it's terrible for your heart.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/05/arts/television/beef-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/05/arts/television/beef-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: In ''Beef,'' Steven Yeun and Ali Wong play strangers who become embroiled in a bitter and accelerating feud. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NETFLIX) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** April 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Lost the Most in Midwestern ‘Factory Towns,’ Report Says***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63SF-WJN1-DXY4-X1WV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 5, 2021 Tuesday 13:46 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 964 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Martin

**Highlight:** The party’s struggles in communities that saw declines in manufacturing and union jobs, and health care, could more than offset its gains in metropolitan areas.

**Body**

The party’s struggles in communities that saw declines in manufacturing and union jobs, and health care, could more than offset its gains in metropolitan areas.

WASHINGTON — The share of the Democratic presidential vote in the Midwest declined most precipitously between 2012 and 2020 in counties that experienced the steepest losses in manufacturing and union jobs and saw declines in health care, according to a new report to be released this month.

The party’s worsening performance in the region’s midsize communities — often overlooked places like Chippewa Falls, Wis., and Bay City, Mich. — poses a dire threat to [*Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/06/us/rural-vote-democrats-virginia.html), the report warns.

Nationally and in the Midwest, Democratic gains in large metropolitan areas have offset their losses in rural areas. And while the party’s struggles in the industrial Midwest have been well-chronicled, the 82-page report explicitly links Democratic decline in the region that elected Donald J. Trump in 2016 to the sort of deindustrialization that has weakened liberal parties [*around the world*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/25/world/europe/uk-election-conservatives-labour.html).

“We cannot elect Democrats up and down the ballot, let alone protect our governing majorities, if we don’t address those losses,” wrote Richard J. Martin, an Iowa-based market researcher and Democratic campaign veteran, in the report titled “Factory Towns.”

Mr. Martin wrote the report in conjunction with Mike Lux and David Wilhelm, fellow Democratic strategists who, like him, also have roots in the region and worked together on President Biden’s 1988 presidential campaign.

For all the arresting data, vivid graphs and deepening red maps presented, Mr. Martin offers little guidance on how to reverse the trends. He does, however, offer a warning, one that Midwestern Democrats have been issuing since Mr. Trump’s victory five years ago.

“If things continue to get worse for us in small and midsize, ***working-class*** counties, we can give up any hope of winning the battleground states of the industrial heartland,” writes Mr. Martin.

Surveying ten states — the Great Lakes region as well as Missouri and Iowa — Mr. Martin laid out a set of stark figures.

Comparing Barack Obama’s re-election to President Biden’s election last year, he notes that Democrats gained about 1.55 million votes in the big cities and suburbs of the region surveyed. In the same period, they lost about 557,000 votes in heavily rural counties.

But in midsize and small counties, Democrats lost over 2.63 million votes between the two elections. Dubbing these communities “factory towns,” Mr. Martin separates them by midsize counties anchored around cities with a population of 35,000 or more and smaller counties that lean on manufacturing but do not have such sizable cities.

Taken together, the changes illustrate the degree to which Mr. Obama relied upon the votes of ***working-class*** white voters to propel his re-election — and how much Mr. Biden leaned on suburbanites to offset his losses in ***working-class*** communities that had once been a pillar of the Democratic coalition.

What alarms Mr. Martin, and many Democratic officials, is whether the party can sustain those gains in metropolitan areas. It’s uncertain, as he puts it, “if moderate suburban Republicans will continue to vote for Democrats when Trump is not on the ballot.”

Democratic gains up and down the ballot in fast-growing Sun Belt states like Arizona and Georgia garnered significant attention last year. Yet Mr. Biden wouldn’t have won the presidency and Democrats couldn’t have flipped the Senate without victories in 2020 across the Great Lakes region.

However, those wins proved more difficult than many pre-election polls concluded because of the G.O.P.’s continued strength in manufacturing communities. And, the report noted, these communities made up a significant portion of the region’s vote share. In Wisconsin, midsize and small manufacturing counties make up 58 percent of the statewide vote. In Michigan, half of the voting population is in these communities.

This is where the decline in manufacturing has been most damaging to Democrats. The ten states included in the survey have lost 1.3 million manufacturing jobs since the beginning of this century.

In the small to midsize “factory town” counties in those states, where support for the Republican presidential nominee grew between 2012 and 2020, the losses were acute: More than 70 percent suffered declines in manufacturing jobs.

The elimination of those jobs also led to declines in health care, according to data from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the University of Wisconsin Population Health Institute.

In the counties that suffered manufacturing losses and health care declines, Republicans surged between 2012 and 2020. Nearly half of the party’s gains in these states came in communities where there were both manufacturing cuts and worsening health care.

Republicans also prospered in communities hit hard by the decline in manufacturing that were predominantly white. With fewer well-paying industry jobs, the power of local unions declined as well, silencing what was always the beating heart of Democratic political organizing in these areas. In 154 such counties, Democrats suffered a net loss of over 613,000 votes between the elections in 2016 and 2020.

Perhaps most striking was the decline in union membership across the region.

Nine of the 10 states included in the survey have accounted for 93 percent of the loss of union members nationwide in the last two decades. And just in the last 10 years, these states have lost 10 percent of their union membership — an average that is three times greater than nationally.

PHOTO: Half of Michigan’s voting population lives in the type of midsize and small manufacturing communities that the report focused on. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Spencer Platt/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Rhaina Cohen; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6B8J-W171-DXY4-X024-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 6, 2024 Tuesday 12:07 EST

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** PODCASTS

**Length:** 10137 words

**Highlight:** The Feb. 6, 2024, episode of “The Ezra Klein Show.”

**Body**

Every Tuesday and Friday, Ezra Klein invites you into a conversation about something that matters, like today’s episode with Rhaina Cohen. Listen [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html).

Transcripts of our episodes are made available as soon as possible. They are not fully edited for grammar or spelling.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: From New York Times Opinion, this is “The Ezra Klein Show.”

[MUSIC PLAYING]

One of my preoccupations in the past couple of years — and this comes out of issues of my own life; it comes out of being a parent; it comes out of these larger social conversations about loneliness epidemics and friendship recessions — is, I think uniting a lot of difficulties in the communal life of Americans, at least, is what I think of as the post-extended family era — that, for a huge amount of time in human history, who we married, how we raised children, who was around us was structured — for worse sometimes but also often for better or just for reliability — by the extended family, by a kin network.

There were always people, people you could make asks of, people who would make asks of you. Who parents aged around was decided. Who would lend a helping hands with kids was known. Who would help somebody find a romantic partner, that was a solved problem. Again, not for everybody, but we had a structure.

And we’re living through this wild experiment now. We’re living through the end of the age, after the end of the age of the nuclear family. As my colleague David Brooks has written, the nuclear family was actually a pretty punctuated period of time when most people lived in that. Now, the share of Americans between the ages of 25 and 54 who are married has dwindled from two-thirds of the population in 1990 to barely half today. Today, about 40 percent of children are born to unmarried parents.

And what we’re doing, in my estimation, is not working. People are lonely. They don’t have enough friends. It’s incredibly hard to be a two-parent, two-job family raising children. It is unimaginably hard to be a single parent with a job, raising children. You have a lot of people aging alone.

And I don’t think we look at this expansively enough. There’s been a bunch of coverage recently of polyamory, which is like a wonderful thing to discuss. But polyamory doesn’t solve aging. It doesn’t necessarily solve or even have that much to say about parenting. And it doesn’t say that much about relationships that are nonromantic.

And so I feel like I was the perfect audience for Rhaina Cohen’s forthcoming book “The Other Significant Others: Reimagining Life With Friendship at the Center,” partially because I have one of these very intense friendships near the center of my life. And that’s important to me, and it was part of why I’m moving across the country for me was a hard and difficult thing. But also just because I think it is asking the right question, which is, how do we open the relational apertures of our lives?

How do we imagine many other possibilities for parenting, for aging, for intimacy, for friendship, for romance than what we have right now? Because the idea that what we have right now is a working norm and everything else should be understood as some deviation is wrong. It is factually untrue.

It is not a norm. It is a wild experiment in the history of human existence. We have never done this before for any period of time. It’s not how we raised children. It is not how we have met each other. It is not how we have lived together.

And it’s not working for a lot of people. So this is an experiment, and we should be trying more. And what Cohen’s book is about is these experiments, is looking at things people are already doing, and, in a sense, making clear that there are more relationships happening right now in the world around you, more forms of relationship, than you could possibly imagine. As always, my email, [*ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com*](mailto:ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com)

[MUSIC PLAYING]

Rhaina Cohen, welcome to the show.

RHAINA COHEN: Could not be happier to be here.

EZRA KLEIN: So there’s been this burst of coverage of polyamory recently. There was this New York Magazine cover. There’s this memoir. There was a Times piece, a New Yorker piece. A Wall Street Journal had this piece about how nobody on dating apps can find enough monogamous profiles.

What do you make of all this, as somebody who covers relationships? Why this? Why now?

RHAINA COHEN: I think there’s a growing recognition that the way people have been approaching their romantic relationships is not working that well. I can’t tell you the number of people I’ve had repeat back to me this now famous line from the psychotherapist Esther Perel that we now expect of one person what we used to expect of an entire village. And as people are understanding that maybe it doesn’t make sense to put everything on one person because you’re going to compromise the stability of that relationship, then it opens the door to be thinking about, well, if it’s not one person, then can you have multiple people? And I think it’s becoming less taboo than it has been for a long time to think about the possibility of having multiple romantic partners.

EZRA KLEIN: I find the conversation around this, and particularly the emphasis on the multiple romantic partners — it sounds weird to say this about polyamory, but I find it weirdly conservative. People often frame this, I think, as just all about who you get to have sex with. But people open up their marriages — people who particularly do so polyamorously, which is what makes it different than just kinds of nonmonogamy, they’re often looking for something more than sex. What else do you think they’re looking for?

RHAINA COHEN: I think people are looking for connection. I just think even of the term an “emotional affair,” which is an indication that —

EZRA KLEIN: Such a good term, so interesting.

RHAINA COHEN: Yeah. So that means that there have been no physical lines crossed, and yet there’s still a sense that someone is seeking something from another person that they’re not getting in their partner and that there is a breach of trust that happened by being that close to another person. So the existence of this term shows that people are not just looking for sex and physical connection. They maybe want to be understood.

Maybe they don’t share some of the same interests and hobbies with somebody that they met 20 years ago or just simply have more facets to them than one person can answer.

And I don’t know that I would say that it’s conservative that people are focusing on the sex piece. But it feels like less imaginative, maybe, and that there is this real narrow attention on the role that a sexual partner can play when we really look for different things from so many people in our lives beyond a physical connection of that kind.

EZRA KLEIN: Well, this is my somewhat canned way of getting to your book because I found your book much more radical than a lot of where this conversation goes because I think we’re used to the idea that we can love and be dependent on people we have a romantic attachment to. In a way, that’s why polyamory is so threatening in a way that people often, I think, don’t find friendships threatening. But this book is all about how we can love and be dependent on people we don’t have romantic attachments to. So tell me a bit about why you got interested in that.

RHAINA COHEN: I think of the social scientist term of “me-search”. I kind of got here from a personal place, which is I have a friendship where, particularly in the first couple of years of our friendship, it felt like it really scrambled the definition of what friendship could be because of the level of closeness that we had. For the first couple of years, we lived a five-minute walk from each other, so most days of the week became really integrated into each other’s lives. We would BCC each other on emails to colleagues in all sorts of people.

EZRA KLEIN: Every ti — when you wrote about that, I found that terrifying.

RHAINA COHEN: [LAUGHS]: They were never like that.

EZRA KLEIN: You’re writing a work email, and maybe you get the BCC field wrong.

RHAINA COHEN: Yeah, no, they’re just dangerous. But anyway, we were very integrated into each other’s lives to the point where the term best friend didn’t feel like it cut it, not just that it didn’t rise to the level of what the relationship was but also that it had a juvenile form to it. And it opened up so many questions for me like, if this is such a significant relationship in my life, why is there a no term for it? Are there other people like us out there? What would it mean if we saw the possibility that friendship could be this close? So it was catalyzed — this whole project was catalyzed from a personal place of discovering a friendship that went beyond what I was told a friendship could be.

EZRA KLEIN: I was interested in your focus in the book on the lack of language for relationships like this because, similarly to why you wrote the book, one of my interests in the book is I have a relationship like this. I have a best friend. I’ve been friends with him since I was 16. And it’s very much a kind of life partnership.

When I moved from S.F., where he lives, to New York, where I live now, one of the great griefs of that move was being separated from him and his family. And it was hard to talk about with people, because, if I said I was moving away from my wife, that something had happened and now we had to be across the country from each other because of our work or whatever, I think the misery of that would be legible. People would really come to me, I think, with a lot of sympathy.

But moving away from this other important partnership, like, oh, that’s sad, but you don’t make decisions about where you live based on your friends or your best friends. And it was interesting to me how difficult that experience was to convey. It made me think a lot about how few gradations we have in the language for people we love.

We have spouses, and partners, and friends, and best friends. It’s like four categories. [LAUGHS] And there’s a lot of human experience not captured in that.

RHAINA COHEN: When you were telling people about moving away, what was the language that you used?

EZRA KLEIN: I still use best friend. Now sometimes I’ll say that there’s a platonic life-partnership dimension to that. I don’t really love that term. It’s just very clinical. And also I don’t think people want to be assaulted by your endless rhapsodizing or description of your own interior relationships. So you kind of just move on.

RHAINA COHEN: Yeah. The kind of language issue came up again and again, where people would come up with a term, like platonic life partner or platonic soul mate to nonromantic life partner, whatever, and it would maybe be accurate. But people didn’t get what it was, so was the language really doing anything?

And then on the flip side, there were situations that I write about in the book, where people are in the hospital. And then they refer to their friend as their sister or as their wife because they’re like, well, the thing that matters is that people get the connotation right even if the particularities aren’t right. And I think that’s a terrible thing to not be able to communicate what one of the most important people in your life means to you and to have to hang on language that really might not do justice to the relationship or give people the wrong impression about it. So it feels like a big gap to fill in right now.

EZRA KLEIN: To use a nerdy term for this, there’s a kind of countercyclical dimension to this book because you’re talking about these unusually deep friendships, these unusually deep partnerships at the same time that the dominant discourse is about a loneliness epidemic, is about what gets called a friendship recession. So I want to open into some of that, too. What is the thing that people call the friendship recession?

RHAINA COHEN: So this came out of work by a survey researcher named Daniel Cox, who has done some of the, I think, best work on friendship recently, where he ended up tracking, in a survey from 2021, just this precipitous decline in the number of close friends that Americans have. And this is quite connected to loneliness.

He found that Americans who had three or fewer close friends are much more likely to say that they were lonely in the last week than people who have 10 or more close friends. So the loneliness epidemic is this term that has, I think, become ubiquitous because of the surgeon general. And what this research on the decline in friendship shows is that the withdrawal that a lot of people have had from their friendships, particularly American men, has really harmed people’s emotional lives and their sense of connectedness writ large.

EZRA KLEIN: I want to Zoom in on that question of American men because we seem to be doing particularly badly on this. So another stat that’s in your book that caught my eye is that, in 1990, more than half of men reported having at least six close friends. In 2021, only about a quarter of men could say the same. 15 percent of men report having no close friendships, a five-fold increase in the number saying that from 1990.

So 1990 to 2020, we’re talking about 30 years here. It’s not 300 years. It’s not 3,000 years. And there’s been a pretty precipitous drop in the quantity and depth of male friendship. Why do we suck at this?

RHAINA COHEN: One of the things that actually comes up in this survey and in other research is how men really expect to get their emotional needs fulfilled from their female partners, but they’re not necessarily expecting to go to their male friends. And I think some of the things that I’ve heard from men is like they’re not developing these skills, essentially, and that they’re waiting to the point at which they’re dating to develop the kind of communication and emotional skills and are not necessarily applying that to their friendships.

But some of this goes to Robert Putnam “Bowling Alone”, things around the ways that men, especially, might have communed previously in larger group settings have fallen away. And they might end up fearing being perceived as gay if they have close relationships, and we have a less homophobic society than we did previously but not so much that people don’t fear that they’re going to be misread if they have that kind of intimacy with another man.

EZRA KLEIN: I am not pretending my personal life is representative sample. But my gay male friends are so much better at friendship and have such a delightful, deep friendship community compared to virtually anybody else I know but particularly the straight men I know. It’s really striking to me.

There is a — I can imagine reasons it might be, but the emphasis placed on friendship there seems really quite different than what I see elsewhere.

RHAINA COHEN: Well, I would think, particularly in queer communities, there is so much emphasis on friendship partly because people can’t necessarily rely on their families of origin to be the people who are going to ride through life with them because they might have rejected them because of their sexuality. So there’s this long history of friends being chosen family. So it really makes sense in the context of gay men.

But I even think about, as a kid, the way that girls treated friendships as these entities to celebrate and to talk about — we would exchange friendship bracelets. We would honor the friendship. And that’s the thing that can kind of fall away, to some extent, I think, in adulthood.

In general, we don’t treat friendship as this thing that we are supposed to work toward getting better at or achieving or that it’s a mark of a successful adulthood. But I think, for men, there’s even less emphasis than there is for women on having that as a big piece of their life.

EZRA KLEIN: Tell me a bit about the story of Art and Nick.

RHAINA COHEN: Yeah. Art and Nick are pretty remarkable guys. They met in a Christian college together, training to be youth pastors, both raised to be in conservative congregations. And over time, Art fully came to terms with the fact that he’s gay, which created a real conflict for him because, in his reading of the Bible, which he literally sat down and read to try to interpret what it was saying, he did not believe it was OK for him to engage in same-sex sex, same-sex romantic relationships.

So he decided that in order to reconcile his faith, which was so important to him and his sexuality, that he was going to be celibate. And he said that celibacy was the worst thing he could possibly imagine, not because of the giving up sex part but because of not having a person to come home to at the end of the day, someone to hand him a warm mug of tea. And he had this friend Nick from college, who was his best friend who was a straight man, and came from this conservative background, where he’s very concerned with doing what everybody else does.

But he was like, this is not your problem. This is our problem. I want to help you figure out how to make this work, and suggested that they live together. They’d already talked about each other as being brothers to each other, that that’s how they conceived of each other, and wanted to live as a family, and that Nick expected to get married to a woman at some point, and that Art would be part of that family, that he would either live next door or with them.

So they’ve had extraordinarily explicit conversations about the role that they are playing in each other’s lives and as it’s evolved. And at this point, they live together. They recently moved to be closer to Nick’s girlfriend. They’re very serious. And it’s a very unconventional relationship that they have had to navigate all on their own.

EZRA KLEIN: What was so striking about their story to me is that there felt, to me, to be multiple pieces of having to fight against both expectations and interpretations that would be put on you. These are two men in Christian pastoral circles. And for Art, he’s already in a certain amount of conflict with a lot of the world of his faith. For Nick, to be living now with a professed gay man, that, I’m sure, creates a certain amount of friction to be meeting women and saying that, if you’re going to be in relationship with me, in a way, you’re also going to be in relationship with Art. How did they navigate that pressure?

RHAINA COHEN: They’ve run into a lot of misinterpretations and have faced really concrete consequences for people’s misunderstanding of their relationship and judgment of it. Nick has tried dating women before the woman he’s with now who have been concerned that it is actually a sexual relationship or that there’s too much room for flirtation and also want more of Nick’s presence in their life. Nick also grew up in an environment where even having any kind of physical or emotional intimacy with another man was out of bounds for him.

And in fact, there was a point where he wondered if he was gay because he liked to hug art and missed him. And he had to go on his kind of own process to figure out, OK, if I’m not comfortable with Art putting his arm on my shoulder, is that because I actually don’t like it? Or is it because I’ve been programmed to believe that this is not acceptable? And am I just afraid that people are going to assume that I’m gay?

So there is a lot of deprogramming that Nick had to do and that Art helped through the process because he comes from such a different vantage point. There have been professional consequences to their relationship because some people cannot seem to believe that it is a friendship. They’ve just determined over time that it’s worth making the sacrifices of maybe Nick not finding a romantic partner, though it seems like it has now worked out, and Art having to change professions, really, because of the way that people on the internet and the evangelical internet, people in his denomination found it unacceptable that two men, one of whom is gay, would live together.

EZRA KLEIN: I understand how friendships that start early in your life escalate to this very high level. You just have so much shared history. And it was so much easier to become really close to somebody when, at least for me, when I was young. And you could spend this atmospheric time playing Tony Hawk after school and just like wandering around.

But if you’re somebody who does want deeper, closer friendships — put aside these platonic life-partner friendships. Just you want to be on the relationship escalator with friendships, romantic relationships have this very structured way of doing it.

There’s this question eventually of, do we move in together? Do we get married? Do you leave a toothbrush at my house? And there’s also a lot of space for having that conversation, the “what are we” conversation, what are we doing here.

How do people escalate a friendship? If you want to turn something that’s warm and close and has some chemistry to it to something more central, I think that’s mysterious to people. What have you learned about that?

RHAINA COHEN: So I talked to a researcher named Lisa Diamond, who’s a psychologist, and one of the things that she told me is that, for any kind of attachment relationship — it doesn’t have to be romantic — that there are three magic ingredients. And those are time, togetherness and touch.

So what you’re describing there of spending boundless time playing Tony Hawk or whatever and maybe there’s some kind of roughhousing or that as kids are in these environments, like summer camp or in dorms, we are really naturally getting those ingredients to become really close to another person.

So I think I would start from a place of figuring out, how do you get more of each of those things? And one way to do it is to change your environment, and that could be a bigger project like with the sort of co-living setup or living within a neighborhood with friends where it’s very easy to come by time and togetherness with another person.

The other thing that comes to mind comes from somebody that I interviewed, Art, who said that this really close friendship that he has with Nick made him start to think about what his other friendships could be.

And he would ask himself, what is the fullest version of this friendship? And for any given friendship, that did not mean that he wanted to have a partnership-level friendship. Love is infinite, and time is not, as the saying goes. That wasn’t going to be possible.

But he would think about and talk with the friends about, in a given friendship, what would make it a richer friendship. And in one case, he decided with this couple that he was friends with that they were going to cowork once a week. And that meant he would be in their space, and he was seeing how they interact more and with their kid. And if we could ask ourselves that kind of question and really approach friendships with more curiosity rather than these sort of hardened limits on what they can be, I think it is possible to move toward closer relationships.

EZRA KLEIN: When you offer those three ingredients, touch, made me wonder if this isn’t one of the difficulties for men, at least in the United States and peer countries. I’m pretty far out on the bell curve of intense close male friendships, and I am not particularly comfortable with touch within those relationships. And I always think of this moment in my childhood when I was pretty friendless when I was young. And this kid had moved to town, and we became very close friends. It was third grade, I think.

And I remember my mom was taking us for ice cream, and I held this kid’s hand. And she was like, oh, boys don’t do that.

RHAINA COHEN: Oh, God.

EZRA KLEIN: And my mom was not — she was right, right? They don’t do that here. And as a kid who got teased all the time and bullied all the time, trying to hold boys’ hands at school would not have helped the situation.

But that has always stuck with me. And not that many male relationships I know feature much touch whereas a lot of the female friendships I know, touch is very normal. They’ll cuddle together, watching a movie on the couch. If that is so important — and I’d not heard that in terms of friendship before — that does strike me as a genuine disadvantage that men have in forming close relationships in this society where we’ve been socialized intensely against touch within these relationships.

RHAINA COHEN: Your mom is just channeling the culture in —

EZRA KLEIN: Yes.

RHAINA COHEN: — trying to protect you, probably. I’m a very physically affectionate person, so the idea of being raised as a man in this culture is like — I don’t know who I would be if that were a form of communication that was cut off for me. Men are physical, and they cuddle with their — straight men cuddle with their female partners. And yeah, it does feel like a disadvantage.

I think what is so moving to me about Nick’s story is he undergoes this transformation because of his friendship with Art who not only is gay and has different expectations around like physical intimacy because of that. But he’s also Brazilian American, so a lot of his norms are shaped by what he experienced in Brazil or among his friends from that part of the world, where men kiss each other. They are much more physically affectionate.

And this real linkage between masculinity, and kind of stoicism, and keeping space is not there. I remember Nick told me that he noticed that his dad wouldn’t even sit like next to him on the couch. He needed to leave room, and he couldn’t remember the last time his dad hugged him.

So there are just like real cultural norms that you have to swim upstream for. And my hope is that reading some of the history and realizing that this is so culturally and historically contingent, the way that men interact with each other, and are very cut off, and just like seeing examples of men doing things differently, at least can maybe open conversations. Because I suspect that, if three men were sitting in a row the way that I was with my two female friends, that maybe some of them like would be interested on some level in physical affection but are like, no. But they’re not, so I’m not going to make an overture.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: So we trekked back to 1990 a minute ago, but your book throws the ball backwards further in a way I appreciate because it’s always on my mind, as somebody who ends up, for political reasons, reading a lot of history from the 16th and 17th and 18th centuries. And you’ll have these male legislators professing their unbelievably ardent undying love to each other in completely banal letters. There’ll be a bunch of things about how the farm is going that year, and it’s like, ‘And as a person who keeps the other half of my soul, know that I think about you’ — it’s just really — Jefferson and Madison, they really have a deep romance going on. And you talk about this going back. You talk about how, in Rome, people talked about their friends in ways we now talk about spouses. They would call them the better half of my soul, the better part of my soul, the letters you read.

What happened to drain. So much of the ardor out of friendship? Male friendship and female friendship alike but I think even more male friendship. I think it’s still quite common for female friends to profess a kind of love to each other. It’s not that common for male friends.

RHAINA COHEN: Yeah. I think seeing some of this history is astonishing to a lot of people and often requires a whole string of context and caveats because it is so unfamiliar to our eyes and ears. One of the letters that I cite here as from the 1700s, where this man was talking about his heart, like his physical heart, which was not in good condition. And he was like, however, soon soever my feeble heart shall stop. Its last pulsation shall vibrate for you. That sounds like a love letter to a lot of us now, but I don’t actually think, contextually, we have any reason to believe that was necessarily about romantic or sexual love.

And, as different historians have put it, it was not understood in the past that in order to love someone you also had to lust after them. And big factor that matters here is that there were not these categories of homosexuality and heterosexuality as we understand it now, as these fixed identities, homosexuality being stigmatized. So it was very possible for men to say and do all sorts of things that we now code as sexual, and it was seen as totally innocent. So when people speculate, for instance, about Lincoln being gay because he shared a bed with a man, it was very common for men to share beds for practical reasons. That in and of itself is not necessarily an indication of someone’s desire.

So it really has to do with the introduction of the stigmatized identity of homosexuality and concerns about sodomy that took away the innocence of what had been totally normal behavior among men.

EZRA KLEIN: How much of it is also about the rise of marriages that are for love and not just for love but what, I guess, the sociologist now called assortative?

It used to be, in a lot of cultures still is, that you married people who your family found for you, approve for you. There’s, obviously, arranged marriages, but there’s also just the you married the person down the block. You married somebody who made sense. You married the first person that you wanted to sleep with when you were of age for that kind of thing. You married somebody who your family could use, the union with their family.

And so it wasn’t expected that the person you married would always be your deepest intellectual partner, the person with whom your soul would vibrate. And so there was a reason, an obvious reason, that you would look for that externally and that, as marriage became the site of love, these friendships became competitive with it. You’re supposed to have one soul mate. So how much is that a dynamic here?

RHAINA COHEN: Yeah, I think you’re describing the other part of the twin trends here. So you have the decline of friendship but also these changing expectations of what a good marriage was supposed to be. And we went from marriage really being this pragmatic union that was very much about joining families to one where love was supposed to be the basis and then, more recently, what Eli Finkel, who’s a psychologist at Northwestern, has called the self-expressive marriage.

So he says basically like, we want our spouse to be the Michelangelo to our stone and unlock the best version within us. And that is very different from a time where you have tons of sex segregation, where you have inequality between the genders, where, when men own their wives, how much emotional and intellectual connection are they really going to have? It makes a lot of sense under those circumstances to find greater intimacy with your same-sex friends than you would with your partner to whom you’re not an equal.

And as you mentioned, there are still lots of people who have marriages along these lines, that are arranged. And I remember talking to a friend of mine whose mother had an arranged marriage in India. And her mother and her female friends, who had all had arranged marriages, they didn’t expect their husbands to be the most-important person who filled all these roles, to go back to your first question.

And their female friendships were so important. And I’m sure the same thing was the case for the men, too. So the marriage expectations really have crowded out the room for friendship to be as significant as it once was.

EZRA KLEIN: So it feels like that would all be fine if we all had these super successful self-expressive soul-mate-level marriages. But the stats here are rough. The divorce rate for first marriages, it keeps hovering around 50 percent. The rate for second and third marriages is even higher than that.

The average divorced marriage lasts eight years for first marriages. 40 percent of kids are born to unmarried people. I’m a child of parents who eventually got divorced. It doesn’t seem to be working exactly.

You just had this big book by Melissa Kearney, who’s an economist, making the point that stable marriages are really good for kids. But I think the weakness of that book, because I buy the data in it, is that she doesn’t have and nobody else has a theory or a program that seems effective for what to do about this. Even if you believe the marriage should be the central unit of society, what to do about the fact that they seem to keep breaking up really feels, to me, like a deeply unsolved problem.

You have this lovely line in the book, where you say, we both hold dual citizenship in the kingdom of the single and in the kingdom of the coupled. And that reality of people’s lives, that you might put everything you have into finding the single partner, and then you get divorced, or they die, or something happens, that feels a real issue here, that marriage is a wonderful institution. But literally, on the face of everything we know about it, it doesn’t survive. It doesn’t provide everything for most people.

RHAINA COHEN: Yeah, and really, marriage is a temporary status of our adult lives. And just look at the marriage trends. People are getting married later. So let’s say you get married at 30 or 35, what do you do for 10, 15 years of your adult life? Who is your next of kin? Who’s going to make decisions on your behalf?

And then yeah, as you pointed out, how many marriages dissolve? But like let’s say it’s a great case, and your marriage survives until one spouse passes away. And if you’re in a heterosexual relationship, it’s likely to be the woman who’s outliving the man. And the stats are pretty startling. A third of women over 65 are widowed, and almost half of women over 65 are unpartnered.

So it is OK to say that marriage is meaningful. But we also need to be thinking about these other periods of life for people outside of marriage or if they don’t get married at all, which a lot of people are not.

EZRA KLEIN: Tell me a bit about Barbara and Inez.

RHAINA COHEN: Barb and Inez are a pair of women who I profile in the book, a couple of the first people I got to talk to, who I met at a home that they share in the suburbs of Saint Louis. And they have been best friends for more than 50 years. And and in Inez’s case, she did the marriage thing in the way she was supposed to.

She got married very young back in the 1960s, had two kids by the time she was in her mid-20s, had a house in the suburbs and all of that. But her husband was not a great husband, not great to her sons. And despite it being relatively rare at that time to get divorced, she did and started a job to take care of her kids to provide for them.

And she met a woman named Barb. And Barb herself was in a place where she didn’t expect her life to go. She had moved back home to take care of her parents’ finances and she couldn’t have children biologically. And she’s an only child, had always wanted biological children so that she could see another human being who looked like her.

And her desire for marriage really waned because of that, not being able to have a child of her own. And the two of them basically became like family. Barb took care of the kids. They went on vacations together.

EZRA KLEIN: How did the two of them become family? I’m interested in that turn.

RHAINA COHEN: Well, they started doing things that friends don’t often do. And I think one key moment began with Barb being a little forward and just asking if she could join a trip that Inez was going on with her sons to Washington, DC. And Barb was like, I’ve never been. Can I come? And Inez said, yes.

So that was a two-week trip where Inez and Barb had a long road trip with these two kids, who, I think, were around preteens. And that gave them a sense that they could camp together, share space together, that the kids respected her. Barb loved kids, and she really connected to them.

And at points where maybe people would not have, I don’t know, made the decisions on behalf of a friend, they did. So Barb, as I mentioned, had only moved back to the Saint Louis area with her family for a temporary reason. She decided to go back to Phoenix, where she had been living, and offered for Inez and her kids to move, and said that they could stay here until you find a home. And that’s what Inez did. So there was some kind of leap of faith there to follow the other person.

EZRA KLEIN: I was so struck by a stat in that chapter. You write that friendships are actually more predictive or at least a little bit more predictive of mortality than marriage. At a certain point in your life, whether you still have friends tells you a little bit more about how you’re doing than whether you’re still married.

One thing I found affecting about the Inez and Barb story is there a lot of stories in your book — and we’ll get to some of them — where people are living out something that they understand to be countercultural. They have to put work in against societal expectations, sometimes against legal structures. That’s not true for the two of them. They have this real practicality about it. We did this because it made sense. Inez has children, and she has a completely useless husband in that respect.

And Barb early on becomes helpful. When you were saying Barb invites herself along on a trip to Washington, DC. As a parent of some kids, if I were taking my kids alone to Washington, DC, and anybody, no matter whether I liked them or not, was willing to come along and help, I would say yes to that offer.

And it did seem to me some of the reciprocity of their relationship was built in early co-parenting. They may not always have called it that, but that clearly seems to me to have been what it is. And this is a space where I think my interest is bigger than in any other space here because the part of life I’m going through right now.

It’s very clear to me that you’re not supposed to raise multiple kids with two full-time working parents, to say nothing of just one parent. You need a lot more help. And that ability to give and give back help, it really does bond people together. It’s bonded me closer to family who I wasn’t as close with before, but the way they’ve shown up for us and our children has meant the world to me. It’s bonded me with the friends who have been there in that way for us.

But it still feels like there should be more possibilities here. So I wanted to ask you about another of the stories, which is Natasha and Lynda. Can you tell me a bit about them?

RHAINA COHEN: So Natasha, when she was 36, decided that she was going to have a child on her own, so she had an anonymous donor sperm, was pregnant. Her friend Lynda, who she knew as a fellow law professor where they worked, wanted to be the birth coach and help her through her pregnancy. And Natasha ended up having an emergency C-section. Lynda was there, the first person to hold the baby.

She described, I think, seeing the boy Elaan as some marvelous love bomb or something. She’s just so effusive, and really fell in love with the baby immediately, and slept in the same bed as Natasha, waking up every 3.5 hours to feed Elaan, and continued to have this really important role in Elaan’s life.

But it took years to figure out that she was really acting as a co-parent, and that she wanted to have legal recognition as a parent, and ended up asking Natasha if she would go along with it, which she would. And there were some obstacles along the way that I can talk about that point to the very limited ways that we think about who can be parents. But Lynda just was there for the kid and provided support to Natasha in a way that, really, parents do and maybe we don’t necessarily expect friends to.

EZRA KLEIN: Well, I think it’s worth talking about at least some of them. I found this story so affecting. Something you didn’t mention is Elaan has significant health challenges. And you have a beautiful line in there, where he didn’t just need two parents. He needed all the parents he could get.

I see this in my own older son, who will be five around when this comes out. And the degree to which he wants other figures in his life, it’s so obvious to me. A big part of the reason we moved across the country was to be nearer to my wife’s parents, his grandparents. And he is so delighted to be near to his grandparents. It means so much to him. He loves him so much. He loves all of his grandparents so much but also just other figures, loves my best friend back in S.F. so much.

Kids feel very tuned to me to have a lot of alloparents, as they’re called, in their lives. Again, the idea there would just be two is weird. But it then gets to what I think of as the oddity of these legal obstacles. So it is one of the most common concerns in American politics that so many children grow up right now in single parent families. And single parents do amazing heroic and, to me, genuinely unimaginable work. But if they meet somebody, a stepfather or a stepmother potentially, the path there to that person becoming a recognized parent to the kid in legal ways is very smooth, very straightforward. The braiding of the romantic relationship without any biological relationship is very accepted.

Your mom has divorced your dad. Your mom has a boyfriend. The boyfriend becomes a partner. And now that’s your new stepfather. And we think, great, a two-parent family again.

That there’s no way to do, that it’s so unusual and weird to actually say, oh, my best friend or actually another family member will become part of this child’s life in a legal, factual way, again, just strikes me as a kind of poverty of imagination. We want children to have more adult figures in their life who are emotionally there, who are financially there, who are just there with time. Time matters, in many ways, more than anything else.

And yet we really only create a speedway for one kind that has to clear a sexual romantic test first, no matter whether that person is a good father or a good mother to that child. It seems strange. We’ve worked backwards from a problem but only if we can solve a secondary problem along the way.

RHAINA COHEN: Well, there’s a law professor, I think, puts this nicely named Sasha Coupet that she says that the law puts misplaced emphasis on eros, so like sexual love, and not enough on agape, so self-sacrificing love. And if it were possible for people to maybe disconnect the sexual part from the parenting, then the law and our society might recognize that there are more kinds of people who could be wonderful parental figures.

So Natasha and Lynda, who are both legal scholars, they don’t understand the emphasis on romance. Lynda said that it’s an irrational test for parenthood, that she said romance is lovely. But really, what feels like it matters is compatibility, and trust, and all of that.

And then on the flip side, there were people more on the right or the center, like Brad Wilcox, who literally has a book called “Get Married” that’s coming out. And he really is trying to prevent divorce and so on and says that, again, focusing so much on romance, from his perspective, makes relationships more fragile and that, if people focused more on the raising of the children, then that would be a stronger foundation for forming families.

These people have really different outcomes that they’re looking toward. One is trying to push toward one specific kind of family, and the other is trying to broaden them. But both have arrived at this idea that there are other kinds of characteristics that really matter when it comes to raising a child.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: I know so many people who want to have children but haven’t met the right partner. I know people who have had children, gotten divorced, then met people who are a good partner for them but not a good parent for their child. But because they need to braid those roles, they can’t be in this partnership that might be fulfilling. And I know people who have great relationships with other people in their life, and would probably be really good at raising children together, and can’t do that.

And what it also means is you can’t distribute weight. What I was thinking about when you’re bringing up Brad Wilcox’s book — and Wilcox is, I think, a very important scholar of marriage and family breakdown — is that we know that children put incredible stress on a marriage. And I see it in my own life.

The fact that we can pay for care, the fact that we can do something financially that relieves some of that stress so my wife and I can have a date night every two weeks, so that we can occasionally go away together, and we also move closer to family for, in part, for that reason, it relieves stress on our marriage. There’s an Atlantic article a couple of years ago about a couple that raises their children in a throuple with one of their best friends who’s asexual.

And I read that. That sounds wonderful. [LAUGHS] It does seem to me that, even if the only thing you really cared about in life was getting people back into stable romantic partnerships, that being more imaginative about how to take the pressure off of those partnerships and particularly to take some of the pressure of parenting off of those partnerships, which, again, richer families do with money — but you can’t do that if you’re middle class or ***working class***. It just strikes me as a place where our cultural expectations have come into conflict with the things that we now say we value.

RHAINA COHEN: I don’t know if this is a place to say that I live with a couple of my friends and their kids, so I get to experience a little bit firsthand what it looks like to have other adult figures in the picture.

EZRA KLEIN: Tell me a bit about how that began. You mentioned this at the end of the book, and I’m very curious about it.

RHAINA COHEN: Yeah. My husband and I are very interested — have been interested for a long time in living with friends. And we ended up in a conversation with a couple of our friends where the idea of living together came up. They were, to our surprise, very interested. And they did not think that we would be interested because they already had one child at the time and were planning to have more children in addition to other things like my husband and I are relatively secular. They are observant Jews, so keep a kosher kitchen, keep Shabbat, and all of that, and kind of figured we wouldn’t want to deal with all that.

But we were really excited to live with these particular friends, and we have been for about two and a half years. And I think one of the fun and apt ways I’ve heard someone else describe the relationship that my husband and I have to our friends children is as grandparents, where your pure existence just makes them attached to you. My housemate was telling me last night that, as his older son was going to bed and he said, I love you, abba, which abba is Hebrew for dad. And he was like, and I love ima, so like mom. And I love — and he’s goes talks about his brother.

And then he says and I love Coco, and I love Rhaina. Coco is the nickname that this kid has for my husband. And he, as a three and a half year old, sees us as part of this same household unit. And there are all sorts of ways that I know that my life is enriched by having access to these kids but also that my friends enjoy our presence as other adults in their kids’ lives.

And I think pressure on them is relieved. A couple weeks ago, my housemates were trying to figure out whether to take their older son to the hospital, to the E.R. And one of them went to my husband and was like, can you hold the baby for 10 minutes while we go and figure this out?

And that’s not co-parenting, holding a baby for 10 minutes, but they had somebody that they could just relieve them of responsibility while they were in this really hectic moment. It’s just like one of the many ways that just simply having more people around, even if they’re not rising to the level of being equal co-parents, can make the parenting experience so much less stressful. And I think that the kids love to have other adults who love them.

There are just so many ways that my life has been enriched that, yeah, there are toys on the floor, and there are — particularly with two kids, I feel like there is a bump up in chaos.

EZRA KLEIN: It’s also how I felt about it, yes. [LAUGHS]

RHAINA COHEN: And I just think that everything comes with the pluses and minuses and that it is so much easier to overweight the negatives of the unconventional decisions and to overlook the negatives of the conventional decision.

EZRA KLEIN: I have a friend who both lives in what I would describe as a commune — I think the modern term that gets used is intentional co-living community — and also helped set them up. And I was asking her about this once, about these trade-offs. And she said something that is always stuck with me, which is that she’s decided to choose the default in her life being the problems of community as opposed to the problems of not having community. She wants the problems of connection rather than the problems of how to find that connection. And it seems so obvious when she said it that way, but I’d never thought of it that way.

RHAINA COHEN: I think what’s interesting there is that she is saying something that people are maybe making decisions around but don’t realize that they’re making decisions around. When I have toured through my friend’s beautiful houses that are far away from all of their other friends, I sometimes wonder, I’m like, oh, you’ve got this like gorgeous kitchen. But what are you giving up to have this beautiful kitchen island and this renovated home?

And I’m not going to be obnoxious and start that conversation with a friend there. But I do think that people are creating conditions where they are disconnected but are so focused on maybe the benefits that look like the shiny forms of success, that you have this nice house that you own. And it’s your lawn that you get to mow, and you don’t hear anybody else. And privacy and control has a lot of benefits. But when the car breaks down, and you need to get your kids to day care, and you don’t know any of your neighbors in your cul-de-sac of five houses, well, you’ve given something up in the process.

EZRA KLEIN: Tell me about the idea of an invariable. I found that to be helpful language.

RHAINA COHEN: Yeah. This is from Sheila Heti’s novel “How Should a Person Be?” And she is writing about people who have this kind of really intimate, inseparable friendship, and these two women are repairing their relationship. So one of the characters tells the other, well, it’s like in life, you have the variables, and you have in variables.

And you want to use them all, but you work around the invariables. I thought you were an invariable, and then you left without saying a word. Then the other friend thinks, very deep inside, something began to vibrate. I was an invariable, an invariable. No word had ever sounded to me more like love.

I think an invariable is really the opposite of the way, that we think about friendship that friendship is peripheral, and is fungible, dispensable. You can move across the country from your friend, and you’ll make new friends. And an invariable is somebody who is going to be at the center of your life and that other things work around.

EZRA KLEIN: This, to me, is one of the tensions of the book, which is there is room, really, only for so many invariables in life. What my children need is an invariable. What my wife needs to me is an invariable.

And one of the challenges, it seems to me, is what happens when invariables clash and collide. It’s all great to talk about having more wonderful, deep, intimate, caring interdependent relationships. But they take a lot of management. They can fall into conflict with each other.

It’s like an almost inhuman level of communication. How do you think about the downside, the dark side of this? We talked earlier about control and that being a push towards small nuclear families and single-family boxes.

But there’s also just simplicity. How many people’s needs are you really balancing? How many people do you have to answer to? How many people can you really answer to with a busy life, and a job, and all the rest of it?

How do you think, I guess, about the skills and to the trade-offs here? And then what happens when it turns out somebody felt like an invariable and now they’re not? Or they are in your heart, but you’ve got to make choices. Tell me a bit about the conflict at the heart of a lot of this.

RHAINA COHEN: We are used to dealing with conflict between the needs of people that we love and that we think of as, well, absolutely, I have to meet this need. Children, spouses, aging parents, it’s not like we are freed from this conflict if we only have a romantic partner. It’s just that maybe those are different categories of people.

And I think we’re going to disappoint people in our lives. We’re not going to be able to be there for everybody at every single moment. And it would be a sad thing to proactively withdraw from relationships because you think that, at some point, there might be some conflict that’s not resolvable, where you have to make a choice.

And sometimes these things are difficult, and people have to put one person in front of the other. But I feel like the first thing I’m just trying to get people to do is realize that you can add more people as factors. You can treat more people as worth making these decisions around. Maybe you’re going to have to have hard conversations with people and develop those communication skills that we sure can use, where we are honest about what our bandwidth is or where our priority has to be for some portion of our lives.

But I’m reminded of something that Nick’s girlfriend told me, where she also has this kind of chosen family that she, last I know anyway, was living with them, had moved across the country with them. When I had brought up this question to her about, is it exhausting, basically, to negotiate all these relationships and so on? She was like, well, of course, it’s exhausting. Family is exhausting. People you love are exhausting. But the 5 percent of the time that it’s complicated and hard is so outweighed by every other moment where you’re getting so much for it.

We are making our lives unnecessarily deprived by hoping that simplicity will solve us of having to make these trade offs. And I think, for a lot of people, at the very least, they’re going to have to make trade-offs about, do they take care of their aging parents or take care of their kids? The math here is not straightforward, that sometimes having more people means that you are giving more. And other times, it means you’re getting more support.

So in the case of Art, when he had this big falling out at his workplace, it was Nick’s girlfriend who was also supporting him in addition to Nick. So I think it’s also worth paying attention to the ways that it can add to your life and not just the conflicts it creates.

EZRA KLEIN: One thing that struck me in your book was that there’s actually research on this, on marriages in the context of many friendships, survey research. What does that show?

RHAINA COHEN: That basically the same principle that applies to finances also applies to relationships, that it’s good to diversify your portfolio and have multiple people in your lives. So to name a couple of studies on this, there’s one that shows that people who have more close relationships are happier in their marriages than those who have few close relationships outside their marriage, so friendships.

And another that was, as you’re alluding to, measuring cortisol, so a stress response, and found that people who were married and were more satisfied with the level of social support they had outside their marriage had less of a cortisol spike than those who weren’t as satisfied with the relationships that they had outside of their marriage. So there’s indications besides maybe your intuition that distributing the load across multiple people and not having this one-stop-shopping approach to relationships can actually make the romantic relationship stronger.

EZRA KLEIN: It feels so intuitive to me on one level, which is that — and she’s written about this before, so I’m not speaking out of school. But my wife went through four, five years, where she was very sick and we didn’t really know what was going on, and was just exhausted, truly, clinically exhausted all the time. And that was an incredibly hard period in my life. And I’ve thought a lot about what that period would have been like if I didn’t live physically near deep support. And that also changed my feelings about a lot of this. It made it clearer to me how other important relationships end up being fortifying for a marriage.

RHAINA COHEN: Yeah. There are more people to hold your hand or more people to vent to or more people to send you food. And it is not the way that maybe we’re told to set our priorities because you’re really supposed to funnel so much energy in one person. But there’s fragility there.

A very formative experience for me was watching a relative of mine who had gone through two successive long-term relationships, like four or five years apiece, and was all consumed in them and had his confidante and lover and intellectual partner all in one. After each of those relationships ended, he really didn’t have anybody around, and it made me, even as a teenager, decide that’s not what I wanted. I wanted to have multiple people in my life, both to enjoy the richness of each of their personalities and experiences but also so that, when things are bad, you aren’t down to one person or, if things end, down to zero.

EZRA KLEIN: So then, always our final question, what are three books you would recommend to the audience?

RHAINA COHEN: So my first book is by Andrew Solomon. It’s called “Far From the Tree,” and it made a huge impact on me. It’s a nonfiction book about parents who are fundamentally different from their child on some dimension, and every chapter is about a different one like, children who have dwarfism, who are deaf, who are prodigies, who are trans.

And he’s looking at the extreme for a situation that, I think, is true of all parents, that you are raising a child who is not you, who is a different being, and that, especially with these parents and these children, that they have to learn to love their kids on their own terms. And it’s really a beautiful book.

The second is a novel called “We All Want Impossible Things” by Catherine Newman. Are you laughing because you know this —

EZRA KLEIN: No. I just love that.

RHAINA COHEN: — or you just like the title?

EZRA KLEIN: I just love the title.

RHAINA COHEN: And the cover is great, too, because it has a soda can in it. And there’s a flower in the soda can and a straw. It is a hilarious book, which you might not expect because it takes place in a hospice, and it is about one friend taking care of the other at the end of her life. And it just does this beautiful job of showing the kind of intermingling of existential dread and the pain of losing someone but also the kind of absurdity of the end of life and the mundanity of the end of life. And the writer’s hilarious.

I almost never reread books, but I reread “We All Want Impossible Things” because I was like, I want to make sure that this is the recommendation I’m going to give. And I and I just laughed my way through it. And I was like, yep, yep, yep. People should read this book.

My third book is “Thy Neighbor’s Wife” by Gay Talese, which is about 40 years old. And it’s a book that’s looking at these twin impulses in American culture to be both sex obsessed and also very puritanical. And he writes with a level of intimacy about people’s lives that is pretty astounding. And as somebody who’s obsessed with narrative journalism, it is one of the most originally structured books that I’ve read.

And woven into all of these narratives, you’re learning about utopian communes, and anti-obscenity laws, and Supreme Court cases. So there’s a lot of meat in there, too.

EZRA KLEIN: Rhaina Cohen, your book is called “The Other Significant Others”, which I loved and recommend to everybody. Thank you very much.

RHAINA COHEN: Thank you so much.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: This episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” was produced by Annie Galvin. We had fact checking by Kate Sinclair and Mary Marge Locker. Our senior engineer is Jeff Geld, with additional mixing from Efim Shapiro. Our senior editor is Claire Gordon. The show’s production team also includes Michelle Harris, Rollin Hu and Kristin Lin. We have original music by Isaac Jones. Audience strategy by Kristina Samulewski and Shannon Busta. The executive producer of New York Times Opinion Audio is Annie-Rose Strasser. And special thanks to Sonia Herrero.

**Load-Date:** February 9, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Read Your Way Through Appalachia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68WX-6TR1-DXY4-X1DM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 9, 2023 Wednesday 22:10 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1830 words

**Byline:** Barbara Kingsolver

**Highlight:** Barbara Kingsolver, whose Pulitzer-winning “Demon Copperhead” offered a variegated portrait of the region, guides readers through a literary landscape “as bracing and complex as a tumbling mountain creek.”

**Body**

Barbara Kingsolver, whose Pulitzer-winning “Demon Copperhead” offered a variegated portrait of the region, guides readers through a literary landscape “as bracing and complex as a tumbling mountain creek.”

[*Read Your Way Around the World*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/literary-guides) is a series exploring the globe through books.

Appalachia is a region and a mind-set. Our devotion to our place belies the fact that we’re hard to pin down on a map: a swath of highlands crossing parts of Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia and the coal country of Kentucky and West Virginia, plus a smidgen of Pennsylvania and points north. State lines make little sense here; we have more in common with other mountain communities than with the far ends of our states and their capitals. Appalachia has few large cities, our economies are land-based and, unless you live here, we’re probably not what you think.

For starters, outsiders call it “Appal-AY-sha,” a mispronunciation that hurts our ears. It’s “Appal-achia.” As in, “If you keep that up, I’ll throw this apple atcha.” But in fact, we won’t. We tend toward heart-blessing kindness in the way of small-town folks who rely on each other in good times and bad, and live together regardless. We love our families to death, and laugh at ourselves. As one of the nation’s last strongholds of small family farms, we’re likely to measure time by the planting seasons. We make things: gardens, quilts, music and, above all, stories, in a vernacular all our own with its lexical ties to ***working class*** Anglo-Irish and the King James Bible. It adds up to a literature as bracing and complex as a tumbling mountain creek.

What should I read before I pack my bags?

Weighing in at nearly three pounds, “Writing Appalachia: An Anthology,” edited by Katherine Ledford and Theresa Lloyd, is too big to pack but too wonderful to miss. It serves up the region’s iconic talents — James Still, Jesse Stuart and Harriette Simpson Arnow, to name a few — in appetizer sized portions to tempt a reader to go find their longer works. (And you should, especially Arnow’s “[*The Dollmaker*](https://www.nytimes.com/1971/01/24/archives/an-american-tragedy-an-american-tragedy.html).”) But the comprehensive sweep of this collection begins with Native American oral traditions, enslaved people’s narratives, and work songs, then moves through 20th-century classics into a modern chorus of queer and straight, white, Black and Indigenous voices. For any reader who needs it, this book will put away the stereotype of Appalachians as a dull monoculture.

Another good starting point is Steven Stoll’s “[*Ramp Hollow: The Ordeal of Appalachia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/20/books/review-ramp-hollow-ordeal-of-appalachia-steven-stoll.html),” a readable social history that offers a rare understanding of land-based economies, and how cultural rootedness has been penalized by global development. Stoll explains Appalachia’s poverty and “otherness” not as the failing of mountain people, but as a fate perpetrated on them by centuries of extractive industries and urban presumptions of success. A reader may be impressed by how cannily Appalachians have survived anyway.

What books or authors should I bring along with me?

If you only have room for slim books in your suitcase, bring the poets, who connect our past and present through the sound of spoken language. When I read Maurice Manning’s pointed modern debates with God (whom he calls “Boss”) in “Bucolics,” I can hear James Wright’s high school football players, four generations back, aching with empty prospects as they “gallop terribly against each other’s bodies” in “The Branch Will Not Break.” To simultaneously pray, curse and laugh at our bleak history is sublimely Appalachian, and nobody ever nailed it quite like Jim Wayne Miller; start with “The Brier Poems.”

Frank X Walker’s “Affrilachia,” published in 2000, first [*gave a name*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IlZ9qXZDi4E) to the Black Appalachian experience, a poetic tradition further enriched by [*Nikki Giovanni*](https://www.theatlantic.com/books/archive/2021/05/poem-nikki-giovanni-coal-cellar/618878/), [*bell hooks*](https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/148751/appalachian-elegy-1-6) and [*Crystal Wilkinson*](https://southernreviewofbooks.com/2021/08/11/perfect-black-crystal-wilkinson-interview/), among many others. On my shelves of Appalachian poetry, women slightly outnumber the men. To name one, George Ella Lyon has written at least three poems I’ve put on a list to be read at my funeral. So has [*Wendell Berry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/13/books/review/wendell-berry-by-the-book.html). (Somebody else will have to pare down that list.) Berry’s northern Kentucky farm is not quite in Appalachia, but [*no writer speaks better*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/20/books/review-wendell-berry-essays-library-america.html) for our agrarian spirit and character. Under the quiet surface of such novels as “Hannah Coulter” and “Jayber Crow” lies a reckoning as subversive as his “Mad Farmer” manifestoes. But since we’re still discussing poetry, read “This Day: Collected and New Sabbath Poems.”

Really, though, you should make room for fiction. It would be hard to find a better distillation of Appalachia than Silas House’s first three novels: “[*Clay’s Quilt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2001/07/15/books/books-in-brief-fiction-poetry.html),” “A Parchment of Leaves” and “The Coal Tattoo.” The prolific House is also a poet, a playwright and Kentucky’s current — and first openly gay — [*poet laureate*](https://www.thetimestribune.com/kentucky/a-conversation-with-silas-house-kentucky-s-new-poet-laureate/article_f8847d32-11f4-11ee-bc0c-7f84ffef3355.html).

My own search for a writerly voice first found purchase in the territory between Lee Smith’s mountain women in “Fair and Tender Ladies” and the [*twelve heart-stopping stories*](https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/unearthing-breece-dj-pancake) Breece D’J Pancake left us from his short life. And like every artist I know around here, I’ve been shaped by the polemics of a place where big capital runs up hard against mortal human labor. Denise Giardina’s “Storming Heaven” and Ann Pancake’s “Strange as This Weather Has Been” cover a century of that story in West Virginia’s coal camps. The Cherokee writer Annette Saunooke Clapsaddle, in “[*Even as We Breathe*](https://www.npr.org/2020/11/22/931451076/even-as-we-breathe-a-first-novel-from-a-teacher-who-writes-for-her-students),” takes a different look back at the historical collision of Indigenous communities and moneyed privilege in North Carolina. Adding to these accounts of caste and class, Rahul Mehta’s short story collection “Quarantine” layers in the complexities of growing up queer and South Asian in West Virginia. Running through all these books is a current of attachment — to family, place and impossible duty — that makes them Appalachian.

What literary pilgrimage destinations would you recommend?

[*Hindman Settlement School*](https://hindman.org/), in Hindman, Ky., was founded in 1902 as an educational experiment in a hollow that could only be reached by mule. Its work carries on to this day through readings, concerts and creative support of local arts traditions. In nearby Whitesburg, [*Appalshop’s*](https://appalshop.org/) media arts center [*holds valuable archives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/07/us/kentucky-floods-appalshop-recovery.html) and produces theater, music and spoken-word recordings, telling local stories that too often go untold by commercial media. Both Appalshop and Hindman School suffered catastrophic damage in [*last summer’s floods*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/29/us/kentucky-floods-impacts.html), and, with characteristic resilience, both have given and received enormous community support as they work to recover.

In one of Appalachia’s few cities, Asheville, N.C., you can visit Thomas Wolfe’s grave or his sprawling [*childhood home*](https://wolfememorial.com/), a boardinghouse run by his mother. Residents and neighbors who found themselves in his novel “Look Homeward, Angel” were [*sufficiently peeved*](https://www.ncpedia.org/anchor/asheville-reacts-%C2%A0look) to get it banned from local libraries. In nearly a century since, it has never gone out of print.

Not far from Asheville, lifting its 6,000-foot peak above the Pisgah National Forest, is the [*inspiration*](https://www.romanticasheville.com/coldmountain.htm) for Charles Frazier’s historical novel of exile and longing, “[*Cold Mountain*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/97/07/13/reviews/970713.13polklt.html).” Visitors can approach it on foot or via the scenic Blue Ridge Parkway.

What books give a sense of the nature of the place?

If you haven’t come here to climb a mountain, you haven’t come. The Appalachian Range runs from Alabama to Newfoundland, extending far north and south of culturally defined Appalachia. But here in the high middle, we know these ancient mountains have made us the people we are, while also providing a home to some of the richest biodiversity on the continent. The Appalachian Trail is the full immersion, but casual hikers can find plenty to explore, from the [*Great Smoky Mountains*](https://www.nps.gov/grsm/index.htm) and [*Shenandoah*](https://www.nps.gov/shen/index.htm) National Parks to [*Grandfather Mountain*](https://www.ncparks.gov/state-parks/grandfather-mountain-state-park), [*New River*](https://www.ncparks.gov/state-parks/new-river-state-park) and dozens of other state parks. Most offer trail maps and field guides to slip into your pack.

In the evening, by lamplight, Scott Weidensaul’s “Mountains of the Heart: A Natural History of the Appalachians” will help you absorb the wonders around you. Or enjoy “A Literary Field Guide to Southern Appalachia,” edited by Rose McLarney and Laura-Gray Street. Calling to mind an earlier era of naturalists, before science and poetry divorced, this guide introduces trees, birds, insects and more, each with a hand-drawn illustration and a poem written in its honor, showcasing dozens of the region’s artists. Where else are you going to find an ode to the [*Eastern Hellbender*](https://nationalzoo.si.edu/animals/hellbender)

If I can’t visit, what books could take me there instead?

Every author mentioned here will paint pictures in your mind, but these two have done the painting for you.

Depictions of farm life have a tiresome tendency to romanticize or condescend, but Arwen Donahue’s “Landings: A Crooked Creek Farm Year,” does neither. Her prose and [*ink-watercolor images*](https://arwendonahue.com/landings/) celebrate the full measure of her family’s connection to their land as they labor to make ends meet, while remembering to honor the oriole’s song and the occasional need for a swim in the cold creek.

Suzanne Stryk, a visual artist with a scientist’s eye, crossed her home state to chart Virginia’s natural and cultural ecology in “The Middle of Somewhere.” The book also includes the Coastal and Piedmont regions, but Stryk’s home and heart are in Southwest Virginia, and she celebrates our mountains as the center of their own universe.

For anyone tempted to think of this rambling rural domain as the middle of nowhere, our writers make a case that Appalachia is somewhere, all right. For plenty of us, it’s everything.

Barbara Kingsolver’s Appalachia Reading List

* “Writing Appalachia: An Anthology,” edited by Katherine Ledford and Theresa Lloyd

1. “The Dollmaker,” Harriette Simpson Arnow
2. “Ramp Hollow: The Ordeal of Appalachia,” Steven Stoll
3. “Bucolics,” Maurice Manning
4. “The Branch Will Not Break,” James Wright
5. “The Brier Poems,” Jim Wayne Miller
6. “Affrilachia,” Frank X Walker
7. Poetry by Nikki Giovanni, bell hooks, Crystal Wilkinson and George Ella Lyon
8. “Hannah Coulter,” “Jayber Crow,” “The Mad Farmer Poems” and “This Day: Collected and New Sabbath Poems,” Wendell Berry
9. “Clay’s Quilt,” “A Parchment of Leaves” and “The Coal Tattoo,” Silas House
10. “Fair and Tender Ladies,” Lee Smith
11. “The Stories of Breece D’J Pancake,” Breece D’J Pancake
12. “Storming Heaven,” Denise Giardina
13. “Strange as This Weather Has Been,” Ann Pancake
14. “Even as We Breathe,” Annette Saunooke Clapsaddle
15. “Quarantine,” Rahul Mehta
16. “Look Homeward, Angel,” Thomas Wolfe
17. “Cold Mountain,” Charles Frazier
18. “Mountains of the Heart: A Natural History of the Appalachians,” Scott Weidensaul
19. “A Literary Field Guide to Southern Appalachia,” edited by Rose McLarney and Laura-Gray Street
20. “Landings: A Crooked Creek Farm Year,” Arwen Donahue
21. “The Middle of Somewhere,” Suzanne Stryk

[*Barbara Kingsolver*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/14/books/barbara-kingsolver-demon-copperhead.html) is the author of 17 works of fiction, nonfiction and poetry. Her most recent novel, “[*Demon Copperhead*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/16/books/review/barbara-kingsolver-demon-copperhead.html),” was awarded a Pulitzer Prize. She lives on a farm in Appalachian Virginia.

PHOTO: A rural scene near Meadowview, Va. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKE BELLEME FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page BR14.

**Load-Date:** September 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Walker and Warnock Lean Into the Final Stretch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6717-6MM1-JBG3-650D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 5, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1408 words

**Byline:** By Jazmine Ulloa, Maya King and Reid J. Epstein

**Body**

Senator Raphael Warnock preached from his Atlanta church and put on rallies, while Herschel Walker held a series of low-key events.

ATLANTA -- The closely watched rematch between Senator Raphael Warnock and Herschel Walker has reached its final hours, capping an intense and turbulent campaign that has prompted debate over issues of race, class and power in a state with a pivotal role in American politics.

On Sunday morning at the historic Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, where Mr. Warnock is a senior pastor, he peppered his sermon with thinly veiled allusions to the election, reminding people multiple times to vote and joking that they had a choice between two candidates whose ''last name starts with W.''

Mr. Walker on Sunday urged his supporters to vote, on part of what his campaign has been calling an ''Evict Warnock Bus Tour.'' ''If you don't have a friend, go make a friend and get them out to vote,'' he told supporters.

More than 1.8 million Georgians have already cast ballots for Tuesday's runoff, topping early vote records in a contest that will determine whether Mr. Warnock gives Democrats a 51st vote in the Senate, an addition that would offer some procedural benefits. For Republicans, a win by Mr. Walker would reassert the state's red streak despite a blue surge two years ago.

In 2020, energized Democratic voters propelled Mr. Warnock and Jon Ossoff into the Senate, after fierce showdowns with Republican incumbents, swinging the Senate's balance of power. And for the first time in 28 years, Georgia voted for a Democrat for president.

The outcome Tuesday will also provide an early test of the impact of Donald J. Trump's nascent 2024 presidential campaign on other Republican candidates. Mr. Trump has steered clear of Georgia ahead of the runoff after his 2020 loss there and a disappointing midterm season for Republicans. Earlier this year, his chosen primary challengers to Gov. Brian Kemp and Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger were both firmly rejected.

As Mr. Warnock and Mr. Walker crisscrossed Georgia over the weekend to deliver their closing pitches, the candidates largely stuck to the distinct messages and styles that have guided their bids since the November election, when Mr. Warnock edged out Mr. Walker but fell short of the 50 percent threshold, sending the race into a runoff.

At energetic rallies filled with hundreds of chanting supporters, Mr. Warnock focused on promoting both Democrats' policy victories and his willingness to work with Republicans. And he sought to mobilize the Black, Asian, Latino and white ***working-class*** voters who two years ago propelled him and Mr. Ossoff to victories.

On Sunday, Mr. Warnock began his morning behind the pulpit at Ebenezer Baptist, presiding over a service. Hundreds packed the pews, including longtime parishioners, members of Congress and members of his fraternity, Alpha Phi Alpha. He finished the day with a pair of campaign rallies in Athens, home to the University of Georgia, including one at a student center named for Zell Miller, the last Georgia Democrat to win a Senate seat before 2021.

While Senate Democrats have already clinched control of the chamber, a Warnock victory would provide them crucial insurance during a two-year period in which two moderate colleagues -- Senators Joe Manchin of West Virginia and Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona -- will be facing re-election.

At their first Sunday evening stop in Athens, Mr. Warnock and Mr. Ossoff stressed the narrowly divided nature of the Senate and their votes for key Democratic priorities.

''These days I think about the fact that had we not stood up the way we did in 2021, there wouldn't be a woman on the Supreme Court named Ketanji Brown Jackson,'' Mr. Warnock told University of Georgia students, referring to the justice the Senate confirmed to the court in April. ''So let's keep on fighting.''

Yet when asked later about the difference in Washington between Democrats having 50 votes or 51, Mr. Warnock sought to lessen the national stakes of his race.

''I'm focused on the difference that it will mean for Georgia,'' he said. ''A senator serves for six years, and in Georgia would represent 11 million people. So this race is not just about this cycle or the next. It's a six-year proposition.''

Mr. Walker, at his more subdued events, mostly stuck to retail politics and one-on-one conversations with voters, as he and his allies have sought to tie the senator to President Biden's agenda, focusing more on cultural issues than policy points. On Saturday, Mr. Walker made a stop in Atlanta where he shook hands and took selfies with football fans at a sparsely attended tailgating party.

On Sunday, he stumped with Senators Tim Scott of South Carolina and John Kennedy of Louisiana, in Loganville, a suburb one hour east of Atlanta. His speech did not stray from its usual themes, as he recounted his biography and added a handful of rambling anecdotes about heaven and hell and ''The Star-Spangled Banner.'' His closing message, however, was a reminder to vote. ''Come rain, sun or shine,'' he said, ''we've got to get out there and let them know we're sick and tired of this.''

The closing scenes encapsulated the candidates' divergent strategies through much of the 2022 midterm cycle: While Mr. Warnock kept a packed schedule of public events and press interviews, Mr. Walker preferred a less visible approach. But Mr. Walker was expected to pick up the speed of his events on Monday, with several bus tour stops in the rural, northern reaches of the state. Mr. Warnock on Monday is planning to speak in the morning to union workers and Georgia Tech students in the afternoon, and a hold a closing rally in Atlanta.

Mr. Walker's pace in the race's closing stretch has caused consternation among his allies. Some have feared that Mr. Walker, who was endorsed by Mr. Trump, is running out of time to draw in moderate conservatives and Black voters, who make up about one-third of Georgia's electorate and appear to overwhelmingly support Mr. Warnock. But if white Republicans across the state show up for Mr. Walker, it could propel him to victory.

For these reasons, the race has stirred conversations about race, class and power. Mr. Warnock and Mr. Walker are two African American men with strong ties to the Deep South, vying in a runoff contest, a process created decades ago to thwart Black candidates.

Their matchup is making history: Georgia has never had two Black major-party nominees compete for the Senate, according to political scientists. But for many Black voters, the moment has been dampened by the political ascendancy of Mr. Walker, whom they do not view as representing the interests of Black people.

Their contest has also been remarkably personal, as the candidates have traded attacks on their family ties and qualifications and Mr. Walker has fended off accusations of violent behavior and carpetbagging.

Georgia has been under the nation's political focus since President Biden won the state in 2020, with a narrow victory that nonetheless marked the shifting politics of the South. The population in Atlanta and across the state has surged, particularly among young people and people of color. Some of Atlanta's metropolitan-area precincts, which were once Republican strongholds in the northern suburbs, in recent years have swung from red to blue to purple. On Friday, the Democratic National Committee's rules committee took a step toward making Georgia an early primary state, further cementing its status as a political player.

The demographic and political transformation in Georgia, as in other states across the country, has been at the root of far-right conspiracy theories and false allegations of fraud over the 2020 election, and many voters -- and Black voters in particular -- have seen this election as having have high stakes for the future of voting rights and elections. Lines at some polling sites in Atlanta late last week were so long that people had to make multiple attempts to vote.

On Sunday, hundreds gathered at Ebenezer Baptist Church for its Sunday service and the last Sunday that Mr. Warnock would preside over before Election Day. As a message reminding the crowd of Tuesday's election flashed across the screen behind the pulpit, the crowd erupted in applause.

''Don't ask me about Tuesday,'' he said at one point during the sermon. ''I don't know what God's going to do tomorrow.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/04/us/georgia-senate-runoff-warnock-walker.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/04/us/georgia-senate-runoff-warnock-walker.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Lines at some Atlanta polling sites have been so long that people have had to try again to vote. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DUSTIN CHAMBERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

Waiting to vote at a recreation center in Atlanta on Friday. Over 1.8 million Georgians have already cast ballots for Tuesday's Senate runoff, topping early vote records. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DUSTIN CHAMBERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Raphael Warnock, the Democratic incumbent, sought to mobilize the Black, Asian, Latino and white ***working-class*** voters. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Herschel Walker, the Republican nominee, mostly stuck to retail politics and one-on-one conversations with voters at his events. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WIN McNAMEE/GETTY IMAGES) (A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A13.

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Focus on Class, Not Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68N9-MVK1-DXY4-X4CP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 9, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1667 words

**Body**

RACE-BASED AFFIRMATIVE ACTION programs were never expected to last forever.

In the early 1960s, Whitney Young of the Urban League called for ''a decade of discrimination in favor of Negro youth.'' In the 1970s, Justice Thurgood Marshall argued for a century of race-conscious affirmative action. Last week, the U.S. Supreme Court essentially came down in the middle: Some 55 years after the advent of racial affirmative action programs in higher education, the court brought the practice to an end.

With public opinion decisively on its side, the Supreme Court's majority declared in Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard that in a multiracial democracy, government policies should favor no race. Chief Justice John Roberts wrote, ''Eliminating racial discrimination means eliminating all of it.''

While many Americans will celebrate the decision, many others will mourn it and understandably so: Any sentient being should recognize that the long and deep history of racial oppression in America leaves a powerful legacy and that race still matters in shaping opportunity in America.

Importantly, the Supreme Court did not say that the goal of racial diversity on campus is impermissible; it struck down one particular set of means. Which raises the question: What are the best paths forward that allow universities to help repair our nation's egregious history on race without employing racial preferences? Better yet, could those new strategies also recognize the rising significance of class disadvantage in American life over the past half century in a way that racial preferences never did?

I think so. Since the late 1980s, I have been researching and writing papers, books and articles about the possibility of using socioeconomic disadvantage, rather than race, as a basis for preferences in competitive college admissions. In 2014, I joined as an expert witness in the Harvard and University of North Carolina litigation, the subject of last week's decisions, and I testified that racial diversity is very important -- but that providing a leg up to economically disadvantaged students is a fairer and more legally and politically sustainable way to produce it.

The idea draws inspiration from the writings of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in the 1960s. He, like Mr. Young and Justice Marshall, believed America needed to engage in affirmative action. ''It is impossible,'' King argued, ''to create a formula for the future which does not take into account that our society has been doing something special against the Negro for hundreds of years.'' But his proposed remedy was a Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged of all races. Racial oppression left Black people disproportionately poor, so they would disproportionately benefit from a system of class preferences, he reasoned. He also recognized that racism is not the only source of disadvantage in America. ''It is a simple matter of justice,'' King said in his book ''Why We Can't Wait'' that ''the forgotten white poor'' should be included in a program of affirmative action. And he recognized that a class-based approach would bring along ***working-class*** white people as political allies, whereas a purely race-based approach would alienate them.

Today the salience of class disadvantage in predicting academic achievement is far greater than when King wrote. Sixty years ago, the academic achievement gap between white and Black students was about twice as large as the achievement gap between rich and poor. But in the intervening years, as economic inequality has skyrocketed, the income achievement gap has grown to be twice as large as the racial gap.

But existing college admissions programs have mostly ignored that new reality. At Harvard and the University of North Carolina, the admissions preference provided to Black students has been more than twice as large as the one afforded to socioeconomically disadvantaged students. At Harvard, 71 percent of Black and Hispanic students came from the top socioeconomic fifth of Black and Hispanic populations nationally. All told, both Harvard and U.N.C. had about 15 times as many wealthy as poor students on campus.

New class-based preferences could be structured to promote fairness in admissions that produces both race and class diversity. For universities, the lowest-hanging fruit are the unfair preferences for the children of alumni, professors and other staff members and for athletes in boutique sports like fencing and squash. Those preferences effectively serve as affirmative action for the rich and need to go, as should preferences for those who apply early in the admissions process, a scheme that tends to benefit wealthy students. Colleges should also admit more highly talented community college transfers, as top institutions like U.C.L.A. and Amherst currently do. They should engage in more recruitment of the nation's estimated 35,000 low-income higher achievers, a vast majority of whom do not apply to selective colleges. And flagship public colleges should accept students with the very highest grades across their state's high schools, irrespective of SAT scores, as the University of Texas, Austin, has done.

Most important, admissions officers at public and private colleges should provide a meaningful admissions lift to economically disadvantaged students who perform well despite the odds.

Skeptics say that looking at class will mostly help white students, since white people in 2021 constituted 43 percent of poor Americans. (Twenty percent of poor people were Black, 28 percent were Hispanic, and 5 percent were Asian.) Some of the early research on using economic disadvantage in admissions suggests that looking at income would not produce much racial diversity.

But research that goes beyond a simple income- and education-based definition of economic disadvantage has found that colleges can produce significant racial and class diversity by considering a more complete set of socioeconomic factors that include family wealth -- that is, net worth -- and the neighborhood and school conditions of an applicant. Low levels of family wealth make it difficult to buy a home in a neighborhood with strong public schools, and living in high-poverty neighborhoods means less opportunity and more exposure to violence, so students who have done well despite these obstacles have something special to offer.

Wealth and neighborhood poverty also both capture the history and ongoing realities of racial discrimination better than family income. Middle-income Black students typically face a more challenging set of socioeconomic obstacles than white students with the same income. Because of slavery, segregation and redlining, the median Black household wealth is just one-eighth the median white household wealth. And because of racial discrimination in the housing market, Black middle-income families typically live in more disadvantaged neighborhoods than low-income white families. Of course, some low-wealth white and Asian students living in disadvantaged neighborhoods and attending disadvantaged schools will benefit from these preferences, too, as they should.

Others worry that class-based affirmative action will face the very same legal and political opposition from conservatives as race-based affirmative action. Some conservatives are already attacking class and geography as proxies for race, though so far, they have been rebuffed by two circuit courts of appeal. The courts have long treated policies that differentiate people by economic status (like a progressive income tax) with much more deference than those that treat people differently by race. Even the most conservative justices -- including Clarence Thomas and Samuel Alito -- have voiced support for the possibility of affirmative action based on economic disadvantage. In the Harvard and U.N.C. cases, various justices in the majority reiterated the validity of giving an admissions boost to first-generation college and low-income students.

In the political arena, President Joe Biden reacted to the decisions by outlining ''a new standard where colleges take into account the adversity a student has overcome'' -- whether the student is from Appalachia or Atlanta. I don't believe that conservatives, who have little history of supporting the underprivileged, will lead the charge for class-based affirmative action, but I also think they have powerful incentives to go along with these programs. To begin with, the public, though deeply skeptical of racial preferences, supports class-based preferences by 61 to 39 percent. That fact helps explain why Republican governors in states like Texas and Florida supported new types of class-based approaches to affirmative action after the use of race was discontinued in those states in the 1990s. Today the Republican Party routinely beats Democrats by about two to one among white people without a college degree -- the very voters whose children could for the first time take advantage of this shift in approach.

Some cynics will say selective colleges like Harvard and U.N.C. have always been bastions of wealth and will never change. What this logic misses, however, is that elite universities genuinely care about racial diversity; it has become central to their identities. In the wake of this ruling, they're prepared to take drastic measures, within the bounds of the law, to maintain their progress. Focusing on class is the most obvious solution.

Universities won't achieve success immediately, because it will take hard work and the commitment of resources to transition to a new system of affirmative action based on economic disadvantage. But over the long haul, elite colleges can and do change for the better.

In the early 1960s, it was hard to believe that Harvard would one day become majority-minority and that it and other elite all-male colleges would begin admitting women. But both of those things happened. Now it is time for selective colleges to open the door a third time.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/opinion/affirmative-action-kahlenberg.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/opinion/affirmative-action-kahlenberg.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GETTY IMAGES AND LOUISE CLARKE/CELEBRITY ART COMPANY, VIA LIBRARY OF CONGRESS) (SR6-SR7) This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

**Load-Date:** July 9, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘Beef’ Review: Mad in America; Critic’s Pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67Y1-WP41-JBG3-61P8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 5, 2023 Wednesday 16:43 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1022 words

**Byline:** James Poniewozik

**Highlight:** A thrilling dark comedy explores the complexity of anger, through a road-rage feud between two drivers who are more alike than it seems.

**Body**

A thrilling dark comedy explores the complexity of anger, through a road-rage feud between two drivers who are more alike than it seems.

“I’m so sick of smiling,” says Danny Cho (Steven Yeun) in the first episode of Netflix’s “Beef.” You may have noticed that he’s not alone in this. Blame it on the pandemic, the culture, the economy, but [*people are mad*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/17/style/the-year-we-lost-it.html) right now, on planes and on trains and — like Danny and his car-crossed antagonist, Amy Lau (Ali Wong) — in automobiles.

“Beef,” a dark comedy about a road-rage incident that careers disastrously off-road, has good timing, but that’s not enough to make a great TV series. What makes this one of the most invigorating, surprising and insightful debuts of the past year is how personally and culturally specific its study of anger is. Every unhappy person in it is unhappy in a different and fascinating way.

Amy and Danny’s high-speed chase through suburban Los Angeles, following a run-in at a big-box-store parking lot, sets the tone for all 10 episodes (which arrive on Thursday). The show floors the accelerator with heedless gusto, racing a course of revenge, subterfuge and terrible decisions.

But what gives “Beef” its interest is its attention to the motivations that brought the pair to that parking lot in the first place.

Danny, a hard-working, hapless contractor saving to build a house for his Korean parents, is trying to return merchandise while fretting over his family and finances. Amy, an entrepreneur who married into art-world money, is trying to sell her small business to the big store’s owner, a deal she hopes will finally allow her to exhale after years of pressure. Each is this close to breaking, and each, after their near fender-bender, ends up being the other’s last straw.

It is easy to see how this could have become a cynical class-war story: His ***working-class*** struggle vs. her upscale ennui, his pickup vs. her Mercedes. Instead the creator, Lee Sung Jin (“Dave”), couples a raucous story with a generous spin on the truism that the biggest jerk you meet is fighting battles you know nothing about.

Danny’s problems are more existential and dire: He is the hard-working son who has taken his family on his back, including not only his parents but also his crypto-bro younger brother (Young Mazino) and his ex-convict cousin (a volatile [*David Choe*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/24/business/media/david-choe-show-artist.html)), who become dangerously entangled in his payback schemes. It’s not just cash that he lacks; he feels an emptiness, which he tries to fill by stress-eating Burger King chicken sandwiches and by joining a rock-gospel church, an intriguing if underdeveloped subplot.

Amy has a cushier living situation, but her stressors are not so different. She smiles through endless microaggressions from Jordan (Maria Bello), her business’s rich white potential buyer, and the intrusions of her wealthy mother-in law (Patti Yasutake). Her husband, George (Joseph Lee), has the sweet but irritating chill of privilege. She keeps a gun (paging Mr. Chekhov) in a home safe, a seeming symbol of Amy herself — a sleek container that keeps something dangerous locked away.

As their battle escalates, Amy and Danny become enmeshed in each other’s lives, and their similarities become clearer. “Beef” develops into something of a love story, except about hate. You’d expect Yeun (“Minari,” “The Walking Dead”) to excel in the show’s drama and the comedian Wong (“Tuca &amp; Bertie”) to nail the humor, but they do the reverse just as well. Wong especially taps the tension behind Amy’s exquisite octagonal glasses, the pressure to provide and be perfect — she’s like [*Rachel Fleishman*](https://www.thecut.com/2023/02/the-fleishman-is-in-trouble-effect.html) with a gun instead of yoga.

That nearly all of the major characters in “Beef” are Asian is both a casual fact of the setting and integral to its themes. These are characters given less social permission for anger in America, in part because of “model minority” stereotypes of docility. (“You have this serene Zen Buddhist thing going on,” Jordan tells Amy.)

But they’re also shaped by their family and upbringing. Amy describes learning to repress her emotions from her father — “Chinese guy from the Midwest, I mean, communication wasn’t his forte” — and her mother, a Vietnamese immigrant who “thought talking about your feelings was the same thing as complaining.”

As philosophy, self-help and “Star Wars” have taught us, anger is a destructive emotion. “Beef” provides ample evidence of this, in the cascade of escalations that builds to a climax so weird and explosive that it defies spoiling. And the personal war brings out the best in neither Amy, who insults Danny as “poor,” nor Danny, who calls Amy “some rich bitch from Calabasas.”

But “Beef” also pushes past easy cant to explore the idea that anger — even petty, stupid anger — can be liberating. At the end of the first episode, Amy and Danny meet face to face, and it does not end well; she winds up chasing him down the street on foot. He, despite having bought himself trouble he can’t afford, wears a wide, childlike smile. She, planning her next countermove, relaxes into a tiny grin.

It’s the first lightness you see on either of their faces. Their dispute will prove to be the worst thing that has happened to either of them, but in the moment, it is also the best. They fight not just out of pride but also out of their seeming belief that their rage might somehow make everything right.

Among the motifs that Lee Sung Jin weaves through “Beef” is hunger. Danny has his Burger King addiction — he eats like it’s his job, straining and puffing — while Amy has a sweet tooth, a legacy of her depressed childhood, that she has passed on to her daughter. Which brings us back to this weird, remarkable show’s title.

Colloquially, “Beef” means “feud.” But this series shows you how anger can also, for some people, be meat. It fills an emptiness, it sustains, it momentarily satisfies — even if, in excess, it’s terrible for your heart.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

PHOTO: In “Beef,” Steven Yeun and Ali Wong play strangers who become embroiled in a bitter and accelerating feud. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NETFLIX) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** May 16, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A Lasting Impact***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67DB-9FX1-JBG3-61HY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 26, 2023 Thursday 07:02 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1724 words

**Byline:** German Lopez

**Highlight:** “The 1619 Project” continues to provoke national debate about race and history.

**Body**

“The 1619 Project” continues to provoke national debate about race and history.

Three and a half years ago, The New York Times Magazine [*published The 1619 Project*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/1619-america-slavery.html). It argued that 1619, the year the first slave ship is widely believed to have arrived in what is now the U.S., was as foundational to America as the year 1776, and that the legacy of chattel slavery still shapes our society. Essays from historians, scholars and others covered issues including capitalism, criminal justice and music, and sparked a national debate about race and history that is still raging.

Today, “The 1619 Project” premieres as a documentary series on Hulu. I spoke to The 1619 Project’s creator, Nikole Hannah-Jones, about what went into making the documentary and how the events of the past few years like the pandemic and racial justice protests shaped it.

German: American slavery ended generations ago, but one of the project’s arguments was that slavery’s legacy is still very much with us. Where do you see that most clearly?

Nikole: Every episode in the documentary is about modern America. It is following and it’s taking on some institution or aspect of modern American life and then showing how slavery has shaped that institution.

There’s a theme throughout the series: Black people suffer the most from the legacy of slavery, but most Americans suffer from it to some degree.

In one episode, we talk about how capitalism in the United States was shaped largely by chattel slavery and the exploitation of labor, even when workers are paid. And it hurts all of us because we have accepted inequalities in the United States, particularly among workers, no matter their race. We follow the effort to unionize Amazon facilities on Staten Island and in Alabama, where workers are organizing to address those disparities.

One way I’ve heard experts describe this is that politicians and other elites have used racist language and policies to divide white ***working-class*** and Black ***working-class*** people who would otherwise share a common cause. Is that what you’re speaking to?

Yes. An expert, historian Robin D.G. Kelley, talks in the capitalism episode about how the modern ideology around race was created to divide white laborers — like indentured servants — from enslaved Black people and Black people overall. The white, landed elite was exploiting all of these people.

By creating race and giving white people this honorary status and certain legal and societal rights, that was an effective way to divide those who were being exploited from one another.

That has effects today. We know Black people are more likely to be unemployed and more likely to live in poverty. But the American worker overall, no matter their race, is generally doing worse than those in other Western industrialized countries.

Who’s the most interesting person you interviewed for this?

One who stuck out is MacArthur Cotton, who was a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or S.N.C.C., a student-led civil rights organization in the 1960s. He dropped out of college to fight to democratize America. He goes to prison for trying to register voters, where he was tortured — strung up by his wrists until he defecated on himself. He said the only thing that saved his life was that there was a group visiting the prison that day. I got emotional hearing that story and said, “I’m sorry that you had to go through that.” And he was like, “Don’t be sorry. This is what we had to do.”

Though The 1619 Project got a positive reception when The Times published it, it also became a political flash point. Conservative politicians have criticized it, and some states have banned it from curriculums. Why do you think that is?

The reason The 1619 Project needed to exist in the first place is because we have not, as a nation, wanted to grapple with this issue. For those who believe in American exceptionalism, they saw The 1619 Project as a direct challenge to that. Telling histories this way — centering slavery, centering marginalized people — has always been contested.

I think that is because it is very hard to buy into the notion of American exceptionalism and then deal with the history of Black people in this country.

Beyond that response, a lot has happened since The 1619 Project came out — Covid, the 2020 protests about police brutality and the Jan. 6 riot, to name a few events. Have they changed your thinking about the project?

A lot of it has confirmed and affirmed the thesis. We are still struggling with this founding paradox and which type of country we are going to be and who has the right to be part of “we the people” and determine our self-governance.

Many Americans want to understand: How does George Floyd happen? How does the Jan. 6 insurrection happen in this country? They feel they have not been equipped with the history they need to grapple with the through line in all these events. That is why this project exists.

What was different about doing this project for TV versus doing it for a magazine or book?

Well, I spent my entire life in print. It was my collaborators — Roger Ross Williams, who’s an executive producer; Shoshana Guy, the showrunner; and all the other producers who worked with me to map out how to translate this to television. The essays are dense.

I can take as long as I want to read a complicated passage when I’m reading something. But on TV, you have to take it in all at once. So there was a lot of figuring out: How do we translate all of this to a visual medium? Where do we film? How much voice-over? How much action?

I didn’t go into it with the hubris that I knew how to do this. I knew I had to rely on the experts in making television.

Related: Watch “[*The 1619 Project*](https://www.hulu.com/series/the-1619-project-7ba3407a-299c-4a10-8310-bbcdd6ab4653)” on Hulu and read [*the essays*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/1619-america-slavery.html).

THE LATEST NEWS

Politics

* Some Democrats are criticizing President Biden’s [*handling of classified documents*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/politics/biden-democrats-documents.html).

1. Donald Trump will regain access [*to his Facebook and Instagram accounts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/technology/trump-facebook-instagram-accounts-meta.html), Meta said. The company had suspended him on the platforms after the Capitol attack.
2. Republicans in at least 25 states have proposed [*anti-transgender bills*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/politics/transgender-laws-republicans.html).
3. A drugmaker filed a lawsuit in federal court to challenge West Virginia’s [*ban on abortion pills*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/health/abortion-pills-ban-genbiopro.html), in a case that could set a precedent for other state bans.
4. Louisiana’s practice of detaining inmates beyond their court-ordered release dates [*violates the Constitution*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/politics/justice-department-overdetention.html), the Justice Department found.

International

* Biden’s decision to send tanks to Ukraine [*unlocked a flow of heavy arms from Europe*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/politics/biden-abrams-tanks-ukraine-russia.html) and inched the U.S. closer to direct conflict with Russia.

1. In Britain, more people with jobs are [*turning to food banks to feed their children*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/world/europe/uk-cost-of-living-children.html).

Other Big Stories

* The trial of Alex Murdaugh, a former lawyer charged with murdering his wife and son, had a dramatic start [*as prosecutors presented new evidence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/alex-murdaugh-murder-trial.html).

1. “I can’t understand so much hate”: This week’s mass shooting in Half Moon Bay, Calif., has [*shaken its immigrant community*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/california-shooting-half-moon-bay.html).
2. On the day a 6-year-old shot his teacher in Virginia, school officials [*received three warnings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/newport-news-shooting-teacher-superintendent-school-board.html) that the boy might have had a gun, a lawyer for the teacher said.
3. As egg prices skyrocket, more people are trying to [*bring them across the U.S. border*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/egg-smuggling-mexico.html) with Mexico.
4. Now that Splash Mountain, the popular ride at Walt Disney World, has closed for good, superfans [*are selling what they say is its water*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/26/us/disney-splash-mountain-closes.html).

Opinions

Weaponizing identity politics [*saps progressive power*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/26/opinion/the-left-purity-politics.html), Maurice Mitchell argues on “First Person.”

Mass shootings are a symptom of another pressing societal problem: [*deaths of despair*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/01/26/opinion/us-mass-shootings-despair.html), Jillian Peterson and James Densley write.

MORNING READS

The Casio G-Shock: On the [*durable watch’s 40th anniversary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/18/fashion/watches-casio-gshock-japan.html), visit a factory that makes it.

Tech fix: Think twice before you [*give out your email address*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/technology/personaltech/email-address-digital-tracking.html).

Quiz: What are [*these apes trying to say*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/01/24/science/ape-gestures-quiz.html)

Well: You’re never [*too old for yoga*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/well/move/yoga-seniors.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: When it comes to bedding, nothing beats [*a fluffy comforter*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/reviews/best-comforter/).

Lives Lived: As a domestic servant in South Africa, Myrtle Witbooi experienced the inequities of servitude firsthand. As an activist, she helped lead national and international unions to address them. She [*died at 75*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/world/africa/myrtle-witbooi-dead.html).

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

Potential trade discussions: Aaron Rodgers hasn’t decided his football future, but if he plans to play somewhere other than Green Bay next year, [*the Jets should be first in line*](https://theathletic.com/article/4124994/).

The next Brock Purdy? N.F.L. teams will try to capture the same luck as San Francisco did when picking Purdy in last year’s draft. The Athletic’s Andy Staples [*identified candidates*](https://theathletic.com/article/4125076/).

ARTS AND IDEAS

The difficulty of nuance

The Resistance Museum in Amsterdam, which for decades has highlighted the Dutch resistance against Nazi terror during World War II, recently put on display dozens of vignettes meant to show more perspectives on the war, including those of the perpetrators. The exhibition has [*touched a nerve in the Netherlands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/arts/design/resistance-museum-amsterdam.html), The Times’s Nina Siegal writes.

“We show pictures of some Nazis, especially Dutch Nazis,” the museum’s director said, “because they are also part of our history. The bad sides of history also have to be included.”

But some visitors, including survivors of the Holocaust, are upset to see the Nazis’ stories alongside those of murdered Dutch Jews. By treating every person as a fallible human, a descendant of one resister said, “the whole wartime disappears into a grayish state.”

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

These whole-wheat pancakes are [*tender and delicate*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1023833-whole-wheat-buttermilk-pancakes).

Off Broadway

The comic Colin Quinn’s new show, “Small Talk,” extols the [*virtues of meaningless banter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/24/theater/small-talk-review.html).

What to Listen to

The Italian band Maneskin has a new album, a best new artist Grammy nomination — [*and a lot of thoughts on fashion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/style/maneskin-band-style-grammys.html).

Late Night

The hosts talked about the U.S. [*decision to send tanks to Ukraine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/26/arts/television/stephen-colbert-ukraine-tanks.html).

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday’s Spelling Bee was brought. Here is [*today’s puzzle*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: Capital of Norway (four letters).

And here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow.

P.S. Abbie VanSickle of The Marshall Project is joining The Times [*to cover the Supreme Court*](https://www.nytco.com/press/abbie-vansickle-joins-the-times/).

Here’s [*today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2023/01/26/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about childhood obesity.

Matthew Cullen, Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hulu FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Warnock and Walker, at Finish Line in Georgia, Stick to Their Strategies***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6716-07F1-JBG3-64WK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 4, 2022 Sunday 08:58 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1526 words

**Byline:** Jazmine Ulloa, Maya King and Reid J. Epstein

**Highlight:** Senator Raphael Warnock preached from his Atlanta church and put on rallies, while Herschel Walker held a series of low-key events.

**Body**

Senator Raphael Warnock preached from his Atlanta church and put on rallies, while Herschel Walker held a series of low-key events.

ATLANTA — The closely watched rematch between Senator Raphael Warnock and Herschel Walker has reached its final hours, capping an intense and turbulent campaign that has prompted debate over issues of race, class and power in a state with a pivotal role in American politics.

On Sunday morning at the historic Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, where Mr. Warnock is a senior pastor, he peppered his sermon with thinly veiled allusions to the election, reminding people multiple times to vote and joking that they had a choice between two candidates whose “last name starts with W.”

Mr. Walker on Sunday urged his supporters to vote, on part of what his campaign has been calling an “Evict Warnock Bus Tour.” “If you don’t have a friend, go make a friend and get them out to vote,” he told supporters.

More than 1.8 million Georgians have already cast ballots for Tuesday’s runoff, topping early vote records in a contest that will determine whether Mr. Warnock gives Democrats a 51st vote in the Senate, an addition that would offer some procedural benefits. For Republicans, a win by Mr. Walker would reassert the state’s red streak despite a blue surge two years ago.

In 2020, energized Democratic voters propelled Mr. Warnock and Jon Ossoff into the Senate, after fierce showdowns with Republican incumbents, swinging the Senate’s balance of power. And for the first time in 28 years, Georgia voted for a Democrat for president.

The outcome Tuesday[*will also provide an early test*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/28/us/politics/trump-georgia-senate-runoff.html?searchResultPosition=5) of [*the impact of Donald J. Trump’s nascent 2024 presidential campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/15/us/politics/trump-herschel-walker-georgia-republicans.html?searchResultPosition=1) on other Republican candidates. Mr. Trump has steered clear of Georgia ahead of the runoff after his 2020 loss there and a disappointing midterm season for Republicans. Earlier this year, his chosen primary challengers to Gov. Brian Kemp and Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger were [*both firmly rejected*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/25/us/politics/trump-perdue-georgia.html).

As Mr. Warnock and Mr. Walker crisscrossed Georgia over the weekend to deliver their closing pitches, the candidates largely stuck to the distinct messages and styles that have guided their bids since the November election, when Mr. Warnock edged out Mr. Walker but fell short of the 50 percent threshold, sending the race into a runoff.

At energetic rallies filled with hundreds of chanting supporters, Mr. Warnock focused on promoting both Democrats’ policy victories and his willingness to work with Republicans. And he sought to mobilize the Black, Asian, Latino and white ***working-class*** voters who two years ago propelled him and Mr. Ossoff to victories.

On Sunday, Mr. Warnock began his morning behind the pulpit at Ebenezer Baptist, presiding over a service. Hundreds packed the pews, including longtime parishioners, members of Congress and members of his fraternity, Alpha Phi Alpha. He finished the day with a pair of campaign rallies in Athens, home to the University of Georgia, including one at a student center named for Zell Miller, the last Georgia Democrat to win a Senate seat before 2021.

While Senate Democrats have already clinched control of the chamber, a Warnock victory would provide them crucial insurance during a two-year period in which two moderate colleagues — Senators Joe Manchin of West Virginia and Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona — will be facing re-election.

At their first Sunday evening stop in Athens, Mr. Warnock and Mr. Ossoff stressed the narrowly divided nature of the Senate and their votes for key Democratic priorities.

“These days I think about the fact that had we not stood up the way we did in 2021, there wouldn’t be a woman on the Supreme Court named Ketanji Brown Jackson,” Mr. Warnock told University of Georgia students, referring to the justice the Senate confirmed to the court in April. “So let’s keep on fighting.”

Yet when asked later about the difference in Washington between Democrats having 50 votes or 51, Mr. Warnock sought to lessen the national stakes of his race.

“I’m focused on the difference that it will mean for Georgia,” he said. “A senator serves for six years, and in Georgia would represent 11 million people. So this race is not just about this cycle or the next. It’s a six-year proposition.”

Mr. Walker, at his more subdued events, mostly stuck to retail politics and one-on-one conversations with voters, as he and his allies have sought to tie the senator to President Biden’s agenda, focusing more on cultural issues than policy points. On Saturday, Mr. Walker made a stop in Atlanta where he shook hands and took selfies with football fans at a sparsely attended tailgating party.

On Sunday, he stumped with Senators Tim Scott of South Carolina and John Kennedy of Louisiana, in Loganville, a suburb one hour east of Atlanta. His speech did not stray from its usual themes, as he recounted his biography and added a handful of rambling anecdotes about heaven and hell and “The Star-Spangled Banner.” His closing message, however, was a reminder to vote. “Come rain, sun or shine,” he said, “we’ve got to get out there and let them know we’re sick and tired of this.”

The closing scenes encapsulated the candidates’ divergent strategies through much of the 2022 midterm cycle: While Mr. Warnock kept a packed schedule of public events and press interviews, Mr. Walker preferred a less visible approach. But Mr. Walker was expected to pick up the speed of his events on Monday, with several bus tour stops in the rural, northern reaches of the state. Mr. Warnock on Monday is planning to speak in the morning to union workers and Georgia Tech students in the afternoon, and a hold a closing rally in Atlanta.

Mr. Walker’s pace in the race’s closing stretch [*has caused consternation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/30/us/politics/georgia-senate-herschel-walker-raphael-warnock.html) among his allies. Some have feared that Mr. Walker, who was endorsed by Mr. Trump, is running out of time to draw in moderate conservatives and Black voters, who make up about one-third of Georgia’s electorate and appear to [*overwhelmingly support Mr. Warnock*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/12/04/us/warnock-walker-georgia-senate-runoff#georgia-senate-runoff-black-voters). But if white Republicans across the state show up for Mr. Walker, it could propel him to victory.

For these reasons, the race has stirred conversations about race, class and power. Mr. Warnock and Mr. Walker are two African American men with strong ties to the Deep South, vying in a runoff contest, a process created decades ago to thwart Black candidates.

Their matchup [*is making history*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/03/us/politics/georgia-senate-runoff-black-voters.html): Georgia has never had two Black major-party nominees compete for the Senate, according to political scientists. But for many Black voters, the moment has been dampened by the political ascendancy of Mr. Walker, whom they do not view as representing the interests of Black people.

Their contest has also been remarkably personal, as the candidates have traded attacks on their family ties and qualifications and Mr. Walker has fended off accusations of violent behavior and carpetbagging.

Georgia has been under the nation’s political focus since President Biden won the state in 2020, with [*a narrow victory that nonetheless*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/08/us/politics/georgia-politics.html) marked the shifting politics of the South. The population in Atlanta and across the state has surged, particularly among young people and people of color. Some of Atlanta’s metropolitan-area precincts, which were once Republican strongholds in the northern suburbs, in recent years have swung [*from red to blue to purple*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/12/04/us/warnock-walker-georgia-senate-runoff?name=styln-georgia-senate-runoff&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=Article&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false). On Friday, the Democratic National Committee’s rules committee took a step toward making [*Georgia an early primary state*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/02/us/politics/democrats-south-carolina-primary-2024.html), further cementing its status as a political player.

The demographic and political transformation in Georgia, as in other states across the country, has been at the root of far-right conspiracy theories and false allegations of fraud over the 2020 election, and many voters — and Black voters in particular — have seen this election as having high stakes for the future of voting rights and elections. Lines at some polling sites in Atlanta late last week were so long that people had to make multiple attempts to vote.

On Sunday, hundreds gathered at Ebenezer Baptist Church for its Sunday service and the last Sunday that Mr. Warnock would preside over before Election Day. As a message reminding the crowd of Tuesday’s election flashed across the screen behind the pulpit, the crowd erupted in applause.

“Don’t ask me about Tuesday,” he said at one point during the sermon. “I don’t know what God’s going to do tomorrow.”

PHOTOS: Lines at some Atlanta polling sites have been so long that people have had to try again to vote. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DUSTIN CHAMBERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); Waiting to vote at a recreation center in Atlanta on Friday. Over 1.8 million Georgians have already cast ballots for Tuesday’s Senate runoff, topping early vote records. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DUSTIN CHAMBERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Raphael Warnock, the Democratic incumbent, sought to mobilize the Black, Asian, Latino and white ***working-class*** voters. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Herschel Walker, the Republican nominee, mostly stuck to retail politics and one-on-one conversations with voters at his events. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WIN McNAMEE/GETTY IMAGES) (A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A13.

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The War in Gaza Is Splintering the Democratic Party; Michelle Goldberg***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69N7-FT01-DXY4-X12M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 17, 2023 Friday 18:07 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3659 words

**Byline:** Michelle Goldberg

**Highlight:** A clash over the future of the Squad threatens the progressive coalition.

**Body**

Representative Jamaal Bowman, whose district encompasses several affluent Westchester County suburbs as well as a small part of the Bronx, last week planned a “healing breakfast” with Jewish constituents pained by his pro-Palestinian politics. A member of the informal alliance of a half-dozen or so young Black and brown left-wing representatives known as the Squad, Bowman won a primary against the district’s staunchly pro-Israel incumbent in 2020, fueled largely by the energy of that summer’s racial justice protests. But now, with the conflict in the Middle East inflaming American politics, he seemed likely to face his own primary challenge in June, one that will test the coalition between liberal Jews and people of color that is key to the progressive movement both in his district and in the country more broadly.

Bowman didn’t get into politics to work on Israel and Palestine. A brash, impassioned and sometimes [*impetuous*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/25/us/politics/jamaal-bowman-fire-alarm.html) former middle school principal, he was motivated by education and criminal justice reform. But like other members of the Squad, Bowman has developed a sympathy with the Palestinian cause that makes him an outlier in a Congress where deference to Israel is the norm.

He was one of nine Democrats to vote last month against a resolution expressing support for Israel and condemning Hamas, because, he [*said*](https://bowman.house.gov/2023/10/statement-from-congressman-jamaal-bowman-following-no-vote-on-hr-771-a-pro-war-and-anti-peace-resolution), it didn’t call for a two-state solution or for military de-escalation. Speaking at a rally held by Rabbis for Ceasefire this week, he said, rather presumptuously, “By me calling for a cease-fire with my colleagues and centering humanity, I am uplifting deeply what it actually means to be Jewish.”

Plenty of Jews in his district, including some who loathe Israel’s right-wing government, disagree, and have grown alienated from their congressman and the strain of progressive politics he represents. “People like me are not being given much to work with when we go to some of our beleaguered, anxious and frightened Jewish friends, and they are saying that the left is so infested with antisemitism that they can no longer be part of it,” said Lisa Genn, a local progressive activist who is part of a group called Jews for Jamaal.

With tensions in the district high, Bowman organized the breakfast so the community could talk things out in person. “Nobody’s going,” the head of the Westchester Board of Rabbis [*told*](https://www.jta.org/2023/11/03/ny/ny-rep-bowman-calls-meeting-on-antisemitism-amid-sharp-criticism-from-jewish-constituents-ahead-of-potential-primary) New York Jewish Week, adding, “The relationship with the congressman has hit rock bottom, and he knows it, we know it.” Nevertheless, so many people R.S.V.P.ed that the meeting was moved from Bowman’s office in White Plains to the nearby Calvary Baptist Church.

When I arrived at the church that morning, a small group of protesters stood outside clutching signs. “Jews are not idiots. We know this is a P.R. stunt!” said one, held by a woman in a blue “Zioness” sweatshirt. “Bowman does not protect our Jewish students,” said another, held by Nancy Weinberger, a Democrat who has two children studying in Israel, and who was particularly incensed by Bowman’s recent vote against a House resolution condemning “the support of Hamas, Hezbollah and other terrorist organizations” on college campuses. “Can’t he give us one win?” she asked. “Can’t he vote in our interest at all?”

Soon the pastor of the church showed up, saw the demonstrators, and appeared to grow worried that Calvary Baptist would be seen as anti-Zionist. He abruptly canceled the event and called the police to clear everyone out. As Bowman’s staff tried to find a new location, Guy Baron, a protester wrapped in an Israeli flag, confronted the congressman in the church parking lot. “Your actions as our representative in Washington, D.C., are so painful to our community,” he said. “You have no idea. You are so out of touch with the Jewish members of your community.”

Baron inveighed against a slogan defended by Rashida Tlaib, another member of the Squad and the only Palestinian in Congress: “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.” The slogan was a major reason Tlaib was censured by the House last week, with 22 Democrats joining almost all but a few members of the Republican caucus.

“That is a call to genocide,” said Baron, “and you’re on their team.”

Bowman listened, his hands folded, then thanked Baron for sharing his feelings. “We are horrified by the rise of antisemitism that is happening all over the world, right here in our country, and right here in our community,” he said. “That is why we’re having this meeting and conversation today. Because we know and we acknowledge the trauma and the pain and the fear.”

Eventually, the meeting was moved back to Bowman’s office. About 40 people, including several of the protesters, gathered in a crowded semicircle in a low-ceilinged, fluorescent-lit room. Trays of bagels, scrambled eggs and pastrami sandwiches were brought in, but they went mostly untouched. Emotions were intense — there were repeated invocations of the Holocaust — but by absorbing his constituents’ outrage and grief, Bowman was able to keep the conversation civil.

“I am deeply concerned that the people that I’ve spent my life marching with are not marching with me,” Bill Giddins, a retiree from Bronxville, said to applause. “I am deeply concerned that when a Black person is damaged in America, I want to protect that person. I don’t feel the same from you and your office.” A few days before, a man had been [*arrested*](https://nypost.com/2023/10/26/metro/hani-saleh-possessed-illegal-gun-in-swastikas-covered-car-da/) near the site of a local rally for the victims of Oct. 7 on charges of illegally carrying a semiautomatic weapon; his car was flying a Palestinian flag and had a swastika intertwined with a Jewish star scrawled on the side.

Bowman’s Jewish constituents tried to convey how an ancestral terror of annihilation had been newly awakened. “This is Westchester!” said one mother of young children. “How can we be feeling unsafe as Jews?”

“I myself can’t keep you safe,” said Bowman. “We, in this room, in this community, and me and my colleagues in elected office can do so. Not just with words, or political pandering, or virtue signaling,” but “sleeves up, in the room, figuring it out.”

Whether Bowman can figure out how to heal the rifts in his district will have implications beyond his slice of New York. Ahead of the existentially important 2024 election — which could bring Donald Trump, increasingly unabashed in his embrace of vengeful authoritarianism, back to power — some polls show Joe Biden’s support among young people and Arab Americans collapsing, likely because of the president’s backing of Israel’s war in Gaza. “People tell me they’re not voting Democrat, without me asking,” Bowman told me.

A series of ugly primary campaigns fought over Israel will only widen the progressive political divide. But with horror at conditions in Gaza and Jewish fear both ratcheting up, an intraparty clash over the future of the Squad now looks inevitable.

As the left-leaning journalist Ryan Grim points out in his forthcoming book, “The Squad: AOC and the Hope of a Political Revolution,” the politics of Israel and Palestine have bedeviled the group ever since its first members burst onto the political scene in 2018.

The most famous figure in the Squad, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, rarely spoke about the Middle East in 2018, during her first congressional campaign, which was centered on the same economic issues that powered the Bernie Sanders movement. But that May, she’d tweeted about the Israeli military’s shooting of protesters in Gaza, calling it a “massacre.” After her primary victory, she was questioned about that tweet, and her stance on Israel, on the TV show “Firing Line.” She grew visibly flustered, and afterward decided to stop doing national interviews for a while.

“At the time, she betrayed a visceral sense of just how treacherous the issue could be for her, but she could never have guessed how significantly she had underestimated it,” wrote Grim.

It was even more treacherous for Tlaib and Ilhan Omar, the first two Muslim women in Congress, who’ve both voiced support for the boycott, divestment and sanctions movement against Israel. Both spoke for many left-wing voters, especially young ones, who see in the Palestinian struggle a reflection of their own battles against various forms of oppression. Both also, occasionally, invoked what many Jews see as antisemitic tropes about Jewish power and dual loyalty. Less than a week into her first term, for example, Tlaib [*tweeted*](https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/palestinians/2019-01-09/ty-article/rashida-tlaib-responds-to-anti-semitism-accusations/0000017f-f5b7-d044-adff-f7ffdb980000) that Senate supporters of an anti-B.D.S. bill “forgot what country they represent.” Not long after, Omar tweeted that fealty to Israel by U.S. political leaders was “all about the Benjamins.” Some of the early weeks of the new congressional session were consumed by an attempt, eventually watered down, to officially rebuke her.

Soon after the original members of the Squad were sworn in in 2019, Mark Mellman, a Democratic pollster who once did work for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, or AIPAC, started a group called the Democratic Majority for Israel aimed in part at stopping their influence from growing. “Most Democrats are strongly pro-Israel and we want to keep it that way,” Mellman [*told*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/28/us/politics/democrats-israel-palestine.html) The Times. “There are a few discordant voices, but we want to make sure that what’s a very small problem doesn’t metastasize into a bigger problem.”

To that end, the Democratic Majority for Israel tried hard to thwart Bowman when he ran against Eliot Engel in 2020. The group spent almost [*$2 million*](https://jewishinsider.com/2020/06/dmfi-congratulates-bowman-defends-its-2-million-spend-to-boost-engel/) in the race, much of it on ads slamming Bowman for unpaid taxes. As Grim noted, hitting “a ***working-class*** Black man for financial troubles before he’d risen to become a successful principal in the area would have been considered tone-deaf in a New York Democratic primary in any recent cycle,” but especially amid the summer’s protests over the killing of George Floyd. The attack failed; Bowman ended up winning a blowout 15-point victory.

The district, whose contours have changed with redistricting and could change again before the primary, is about 50 percent Black and Latino, and voters of color were Bowman’s base. But they were joined by some Jews, who are thought to make up about 10 percent of the district’s population. “It was the time,” said Giddins, the Bronxville retiree, who backed Bowman in the past. “We have to coalesce and give Black people power. They’re entitled to it.”

But despite Bowman’s popularity, growing disaffection among Jews — who, [*according*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/31/nyregion/jamaal-bowman-israel-gaza.html) to The New York Times, probably make up 20 percent to 30 percent of the Democratic primary electorate in his district — could make him vulnerable. He’s one of several Squad members facing potentially formidable primary challenges over their stances on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Omar is going to have a rematch against a former Minneapolis City Council member, Don Samuels, who lost to her by about two points in the 2022 primary. Cori Bush, a Missouri Democrat who emerged from the Black Lives Matter movement, is facing a primary challenge from a former political ally, the St. Louis County prosecutor Wesley Bell. Summer Lee, a Pittsburgh Democrat whose district includes the Tree of Life synagogue, the site of an antisemitic mass murder in 2018, is being challenged by Bhavini Patel.

Bowman doesn’t have a strong opponent yet, but last month 26 rabbis in his district wrote a [*letter*](https://twitter.com/jacobkornbluh/status/1714422816244666449) to Westchester’s popular county executive, George Latimer, imploring him to get into the race. Last week, a local TV station [*reported*](https://westchester.news12.com/sources-westchester-executive-latimer-to-challenge-rep-jamaal-bowman-in-democratic-primary) that Latimer had indeed decided to jump in, though he told me he still hadn’t made a formal decision and wouldn’t until he returned from a solidarity trip to Israel.

Should a few members of the Squad lose their primaries, the blow to Democratic unity could be severe. “Many of the young people or people of color, Muslim and Arab Democrats who support the Squad will feel like the party is not a place for them,” said Waleed Shahid, former communications director of the Justice Democrats, the group that recruited Ocasio-Cortez to run for office, and a senior adviser on Bowman’s 2020 campaign. “And they’ll either stay at home or they’ll go to a third party.”

Already, there are signs that the party is fracturing over Israel. According to a recent [*Reuters/Ipsos poll*](https://www.reuters.com/world/us-public-support-israel-drops-majority-backs-ceasefire-reutersipsos-2023-11-15/), about three-quarters of Democrats want a cease-fire, but few in the Democratic establishment share their views. Last week, in a rare gesture of defiance, more than 100 congressional staffers walked out to demand that their bosses back a cease-fire. More than 500 alumni of Biden’s 2020 presidential campaign and Democratic Party staff members have signed a letter imploring Biden to call for a cease-fire, [*saying*](https://medium.com/@bidenalumnipeace/dear-president-biden-8a41e0b444dd), “If you fail to act swiftly, your legacy will be complicity in the face of genocide.”

If the conflict in Israel cools down in a few months, it might recede from the center of American politics. But the wounds it’s torn open will be hard to mend, because so many people are feeling betrayed. Many liberal Jews, mourning the mass murder in Israel and shaken by the upsurge of antisemitism at home, believe they’ve been abandoned by their allies. Advocates for the freedom and safety of Palestinians — horror-struck by more than 10,000 civilian deaths in Gaza, according to [*calculations*](https://www.wsj.com/world/middle-east/israel-hamas-war-southern-gaza-invasion-d73bde94) based on the Gaza Health Ministry’s [*death count*](https://www.cnbc.com/2023/11/17/israel-hamas-war-updates-news-on-gaza-conflict.html) — believe that the Democratic Party is giving its approval to atrocities. Bowman’s attempt to transcend this split in his own district, knowing how much ire would be directed at him, struck me as decent and brave. But when people discover that they see the world so radically differently, better communication alone might not be enough to bring them back together.

From the time he was elected, Bowman has had to traverse a minefield on the Middle East, facing pressure from both his pro-Israel Jewish constituents and from some of the left-wing groups that backed him. He’s mostly refused to tiptoe. Coming into office, Bowman was a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, but he angered the organization when he voted to fund Israel’s Iron Dome defense system. After he traveled to Israel and the West Bank with the left-leaning pro-Israel group J Street in 2021, some in the Democratic Socialists, which has a policy of boycotting Israel, moved to expel him. He ended up dropping his membership.

For all the blowback from the left, however, the trip solidified his abhorrence of the occupation of Palestine. “I got to see the giant wall built around the West Bank,” Bowman told me. He described being turned away from a checkpoint in the West Bank city of Hebron, where Palestinian movement is curtailed to accommodate a few hundred fanatical settlers, because he wasn’t Jewish. “And I thought that was ironic, because I’m literally a sitting member of Congress voting to support funding for the state of Israel,” he said.

He saw firsthand the way settlement expansion is making a contiguous Palestinian state nearly impossible. “I left feeling pretty overwhelmed and pretty dejected,” Bowman said, adding, “The rhetoric at home didn’t match the reality on the ground there, and specifically, the rhetoric around a two-state solution.” Bowman still believes in two states, but said, “The policies of the Israeli government haven’t gotten us there, and the U.S. hasn’t held Israel accountable towards helping us to get there.”

“At Jamaal’s core, he’s someone who believes in racial and social justice,” said Shahid, his former adviser. “And I think that a lot of the ways he thinks about the world were confirmed” by his trip to Israel. Shahid compared Bowman’s experience to that of the writer Ta-Nehisi Coates, who, speaking on the left-wing broadcast “[*Democracy Now*](https://www.democracynow.org/2023/11/2/ta_nehisi_coates),” described his own shocking encounter with the brutal segregation in Hebron. “I was in a territory where your mobility is inhibited,” said Coates. “Where your voting rights are inhibited. Where your right to the water is inhibited. Where your right to housing is inhibited, and it’s all inhibited based on ethnicity. And that sounded extremely, extremely familiar to me.”

It was familiar to Bowman, too. Given the congressman’s “experience as a racially conscious Black person,” said Shahid, “it’s hard not to see the parallels.”

Before going to Israel and Palestine, Bowman had co-sponsored legislation encouraging Arab states to normalize their relations with Israel. When he returned, he withdrew his sponsorship and [*announced*](chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https:/jewishinsider.nyc3.digitaloceanspaces.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/15195254/Bowman-Letter-With-Watermark.pdf) he’d vote against the bill because, among other things, it didn’t take Palestinian interests into account. The move [*appalled*](https://jewishinsider.com/2022/02/jamaal-bowman-pulls-support-for-abraham-accords-bill/) rabbis in his district. Later, Bowman angered many Jewish constituents by co-sponsoring Tlaib’s resolution commemorating what Palestinians call the nakba, or catastrophe, referring to their expulsion from Israel during the country’s founding. He angered them further by boycotting the speech by Israel’s president, Isaac Herzog, to Congress in July.

Oct. 7 brought an already simmering discontent to a raging boil. A few days after the attacks, Bowman wanted to attend an Israeli solidarity rally held by the Westchester Jewish Council, but organizers advised him to stay away because he’d be received poorly. He has spoken out repeatedly against antisemitism, denouncing, for example, an Oct. 8 demonstration in Manhattan, promoted by the New York Democratic Socialists of America, where Hamas’s attacks were celebrated. But he hasn’t backed away from his fundamental view of the conflict, leaving the mainstream Jewish community feeling as if he’s run roughshod over their interests and sensitivities. “Actions against Israel affect the safety of the Jewish people everywhere,” said Weinberger, the woman with two children in Israel, adding, “We feel so helpless in Congress because of him. He’s taken our voice away.”

In 2022, despite mounting unhappiness with Bowman among some local Jewish leaders, national pro-Israel groups sat out his primary, determining, as Jewish Insider [*reported*](https://jewishinsider.com/2022/08/jamaal-bowman-new-york-democratic-primary-vedat-gashi/), that he “was likely unbeatable.” (He ended up winning about 57 percent of the vote in a four-way race.) But pro-Israel groups — one of which received funds from the disgraced crypto king Sam Bankman-Fried — poured an [*unprecedented*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/05/16/democrats-moderate-progressive-super-pacs-00032610) amount of money into other primaries that year, a foretaste of the resources we could soon see mobilized against Bowman.

As Politico [*reported*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/05/16/democrats-moderate-progressive-super-pacs-00032610), the Democratic Majority for Israel spent $2 million to defeat the Bernie Sanders-backed Democrat Nina Turner in a 2022 Ohio primary. In Michigan, the United Democracy Project, a super PAC tied to AIPAC, spent a [*staggering*](https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2022/08/aipac-is-cleaning-up-in-democratic-primaries/) $4.3 million to help beat Representative Andy Levin, a Jewish Democrat who had been outspoken in his criticism of Israel’s occupation. Some funding for the United Democracy Project came from [*Republican megadonors*](https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/2022-06-27/ty-article/.premium/gop-megadonors-gave-millions-to-aipacs-super-pac-ahead-of-democratic-primaries/00000181-a438-d084-a3bf-ae7e221d0000), including the Home Depot co-founder Bernie Marcus, a Trump supporter. These are not, needless to say, people who are averse to creating lasting ill will among Democrats.

“I’ve been in politics for 30 years, local, state and federal,” said Mark Pocan, a Wisconsin Democrat and former co-chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus. “But last cycle was the first time I saw a really disturbing new phenomenon, which was two groups — cryptocurrency folks and AIPAC — getting involved in Democratic primaries with huge amounts of money,” often more than the candidates were spending themselves. We can expect to see even more outside money from groups supporting Israel deployed against the Squad in 2024. “The level of concern and engagement on the part of the pro-Israel community is at an extraordinarily high level,” Mellman, of Democratic Majority for Israel, told me.

These big-footed donors, who are overwhelmingly targeting representatives of color, are going to exacerbate the fissures in the Democratic Party. But they did not create them. Talking to some of the disenchanted voters at Bowman’s event, I was struck most not by their anger but by their heartbreak.

Diana Lovett, a Democratic Party district leader who held a fund-raiser for Bowman last year, said polarization over the congressman was tearing apart local Democrats. Leaving the event, she told me, with great sadness, that she didn’t feel she could back him anymore. “I love him personally,” she said. She’d spoken to him in October about their disagreement over Israel. “He was lovely, and he’s amazing, and he was the same warm and openhearted person that he was today,” she said.

But Lovett, who’d recently been hanging posters of kidnapped Israelis around town only to see them being torn down, had come to believe that their views on the Middle East are irreconcilable. “I think he sees what he believes to be an injustice, a grave injustice,” and that his votes are coming from a deep “moral consciousness,” she said. “And I think the pain and suffering he is causing to his constituents is some kind of collateral damage to that higher principle.”

If Bowman were a more transactional politician, he might have compromised on an issue so fraught in his community. But he is, for better or worse, very sincere. Lovett was dreading “an insanely divisive primary,” but didn’t see any way around it. “He’s not going to convince us, and we’re not going to convince him,” she said.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTOS: Below, Representative Jamaal Bowman in Yonkers, N.Y. Opposite, at top right, Representatives Cori Bush, Ayanna Pressley, Ilhan Omar and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez at a gathering calling for a cease-fire in Gaza; bottom right, the crowd at an event called the Westchester Stands With Israel Rally, held in October at Temple Israel Center in White Plains, N.Y (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KHOLOOD EID FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; MANDEL NGAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES; MARK VERGARI/THE JOURNAL NEWS-USA TODAY NETWORK) (SR6-SR7) This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

**Load-Date:** November 20, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Can an Unpopular Populist Still Damage Democracy?; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69DV-5RH1-DXY4-X0SM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 18, 2023 Wednesday 18:13 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3044 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** The debate over how dangerous Trump is rages on.

**Body**

“Democracy is a system in which parties lose elections,” [*Adam Przeworski*](https://as.nyu.edu/faculty/adam-przeworski.html), a political scientist at N.Y.U., [*wrote*](https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/democracy-and-the-market/democracy/0AA4BF19C5129B8634C501C22B5FB61B) in 1991 — a definition that would prove prescient in the wake of the 2020 election.

“Outcomes of the democratic process are uncertain, indeterminate ex ante,” Przeworski continued. “There is competition, organized by rules. And there are periodic winners and losers.”

Presumably, Donald Trump has no idea who Przeworski is, but Trump refused to accept the Przeworski dictum in the aftermath of his 2020 defeat, claiming victory despite all evidence to the contrary.

Trump’s success in persuading a majority of Republicans of the legitimacy of his palpably false claims has revealed the vulnerability of American institutions to a subversion of democratic norms. That much is well known.

These questions were gaining salience even before the 2020 election. As [*Lilliana Mason*](https://snfagora.jhu.edu/person/lilliana-mason/), a political scientist at Johns Hopkins, explained in her 2018 book, “[*Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity*](https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/U/bo27527354.html)”:

The election of Trump is the culmination of a process by which the American electorate has become deeply socially divided along partisan lines. As the parties have grown racially, religiously and socially distant from one another, a new kind of social discord has been growing. The increasing political divide has allowed political, public, electoral and national norms to be broken with little to no consequence. The norms of racial, religious and cultural respect have deteriorated. Partisan battles have helped organize Americans’ distrust for “the other” in politically powerful ways. In this political environment, a candidate who picks up the banner of “us versus them" and “winning versus losing” is almost guaranteed to tap into a current of resentment and anger across racial, religious and cultural lines, which have recently divided neatly by party.

Most recently, these questions have been pushed to the fore by two political scientists at Harvard, [*Steven Levitsky*](https://scholar.harvard.edu/levitsky/home) and [*Daniel Ziblatt*](https://scholar.harvard.edu/dziblatt/home), who published “[*Tyranny of the Minority*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/706046/tyranny-of-the-minority-by-steven-levitsky-and-daniel-ziblatt/)” a month ago.

Their thesis:

By 2016, America was on the brink of a genuinely multiracial democracy — one that could serve as a model for diverse societies across the world. But just as this new democratic experiment was beginning to take root, America experienced an authoritarian backlash so fierce that it shook the foundations of the Republic, leaving our allies across the world worried about whether the country had any democratic future at all.

This authoritarian backlash, Levitsky and Ziblatt wrote, “leads us to another unsettling truth. Part of the problem we face today lies in something many of us venerate: our Constitution.”

Flaws in the Constitution, they argued,

now imperil our democracy. Designed in a predemocratic era, the U.S. Constitution allows partisan minorities to routinely thwart majorities and sometimes even govern them. Institutions that empower partisan minorities can become instruments of minority rule. And they are especially dangerous when they are in the hands of extremist or antidemocratic partisan minorities.

The Levitsky and Ziblatt thesis has both strong supporters and strong critics.

In an essay published this month, “[*Vetocracy and the Decline of American Global Power*](https://www.americanpurpose.com/blog/fukuyama/vetocracy-and-the-undermining-of-american-global-power/): Minority Rule Is the Order in American Politics Today,” [*Francis Fukuyama*](https://fukuyama.stanford.edu/), a senior fellow at Stanford’s Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, argued:

America has become a vetocracy, or rule by veto. Its political system spreads power out very broadly, in ways that give many individual players the power to stop things. By contrast it provides few mechanisms to force collective decisions reflecting the will of the majority.

When combined with the extreme degree of polarization in the underlying society, Fukuyama said, “this leads to total gridlock where basic functions of government like deliberating on and passing yearly budgets become nearly impossible.”

Fukuyama cited the ongoing [*struggle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/16/us/politics/house-speaker-whats-next.html) of House Republicans to elect a speaker — with the far-right faction dead set against a centrist choice — as a case study of vetocracy at work:

The ability of a single extremist member of the House to topple the speaker and shut down Congress’s ability to legislate is not the only manifestation of vetocracy on display in 2023. The Senate has a rule that gives any individual senator the right to in effect block any executive branch appointment for any reason.

In addition, the Senate requires “a supermajority of 60 votes to call the question, making routine legislating very difficult.”

I asked Fukuyama whether America’s current problems stem, to some extent, from the constitutional protection of the interests of minority factions (meant here the way it’s used in [*Federalist No. 10*](https://www.ipl.org/essay/Federalist-10-Summary-76E179E16D83A477)).

He replied by email: “The large numbers of checks and balances built into our system did not present insuperable obstacles to governance until the deepening of polarization in the mid-1990s.”

[*Sanford Levinson*](https://law.utexas.edu/faculty/sanford-v-levinson), a law professor at the University of Texas, made a different argument: “I think that our current problems are directly traceable to deficiencies in the formal structures of the American political system as set out in 1787 and too infrequently amended thereafter.”

In his 2008 book, “[*Our Undemocratic Constitution*](https://global.oup.com/academic/product/our-undemocratic-constitution-9780195365573?cc=us&amp;lang=en&amp;),” Levinson wrote, “I have become ever more despondent about many structural provisions of the Constitution that place almost insurmountable barriers in the way of any acceptable notion of democracy.”

In support of his thesis, Levinson asked readers to respond to a series of questions “by way of preparing yourself to scrutinize the adequacy of today’s Constitution”:

Do you support giving Wyoming the same number of votes in the Senate as California, which has roughly 70 times the population? Are you comfortable with an Electoral College that has regularly placed in the White House candidates who did not get a majority and, in at least two — now three — cases over the past 50 years did not even come in first? Are you concerned that the president might have too much power, whether to spy on Americans without any congressional or judicial authorization or to frustrate the will of the majority of both houses of Congress by vetoing legislation with which he disagrees on political ground?

Pessimistic assessments of the capacity of the American political system to withstand extremist challenge are by no means ubiquitous among the nation’s scholars; many point to the strength of the judiciary in rejecting the Trump campaign’s claims of election fraud and to the 2022 defeat of prominent proponents of “the big lie.” In this view, the system of checks and balances is still working.

[*Kurt Weyland*](https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/government/faculty/weylandk), a political scientist at the University of Texas, Austin, is the author of the forthcoming book “[*Democracy’s Resilience to Populism’s Threat*](https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/democracys-resilience-to-populisms-threat/B3D9E2C5F9316B2B71F0B6E93203818A).” He contended by email that instead of treating the “United States’ countermajoritarian institutions as a big problem, firm checks and balances have served as a safeguard against the very real threats posed by Trump’s populism.”

Weyland continued:

Without independent and powerful courts; without independent state and city governments; without federalism, which precluded central-government interference in the electoral system; and without a bicameral Congress, in which even Republicans slowed down Trump by dragging their feet; without all these aspects of U.S. countermajoritarianism, Trump could have done significantly more damage to U.S. democracy.

Polarization, Weyland argued, is a double-edged sword:

In a countermajoritarian system, it brings stalemate and gridlock that allows a populist leader like Trump to claim, “Only I can do it,” namely cut through this Gordian knot, with “highly problematic” miracle cures like “Build the wall.’”

But at the same time, Weyland said,

polarization has one — unexpected — beneficial effect, namely, to severely limit the popular support that Trump could ever win: Very few Democrats would ever support him! Thus, whereas other undemocratic populists like Peru’s Fujimori, Venezuela’s Chávez or now El Salvador’s Bukele won overwhelming mass support — 70 to 90 percent approval — and used it to push aside liberal obstacles to their insatiable power hunger, Trump never even reached 50 percent. A populist who’s not very popular simply cannot do that much damage to democracy.

Along similar lines, [*Frances Lee*](https://politics.princeton.edu/people/frances-lee), a political scientist at Princeton, argued in a 2019 paper, “[*Populism and the American Party System: Opportunities and Constraints*](https://web.archive.org/web/20201107162548id_/https:/www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/80267F1481932B2D381F456BA397153A/S1537592719002664a.pdf/div-class-title-populism-and-the-american-party-system-opportunities-and-constraints-div.pdf),” that compared with most other democracies, “the U.S. system offers much less opportunity for organized populist parties but more opportunity for populist candidacies.”

The two major parties, Lee continued, are more “vulnerable to populist insurgency than at other points in U.S. history because of (1) changes in communications technology, (2) the unpopularity of mainstream parties and party leaders and (3) representation gaps created by an increasingly racialized party system.”

At the same time, according to Lee, “the U.S. constitutional system impedes authoritarian populism, just as it obstructs party power generally. But the vulnerability of the major parties to populist insurgency poses a threat to liberal democratic norms in the United States, just as it does elsewhere.”

American public opinion, in Lee’s view, “cannot be relied on as a bulwark of liberal rights capable of resisting populism’s tendencies toward authoritarianism and antipluralism.”

While the U.S. electoral system “has long been unfavorable to insurgent or third parties, including populist parties,” Lee wrote, the avenue to political power lies in the primary nomination process:

The American system of nominations subjects the major parties to radically open internal competition through primary elections. The combined result of these electoral rules is that populists win more favorable outcomes in intraparty competition than in interparty competition.

In one area of agreement with Levitsky and Ziblatt, Lee made the case that the diminishing — that is, veiled — emphasis of previous generations of Republican leaders on divisive issues of race, ethnicity and immigration provided a crucial opening for Trump.

“Before 2016, the national leadership of the Republican and Democratic Parties had been trending toward closer convergence on policy issues relating to race and ethnicity, both in terms of party positions and rhetoric,” she wrote, adding that “before 2016, the two parties also did not offer clear alternatives on immigration.”

This shift to a covert rather than an overt approach to racial issues created an opening for Trump to run as a broadly anti-elite candidate representing the views of the white ***working class***.

“Willing to violate norms against the use of racialized rhetoric, Trump was able to offer primary voters a product that other Republican elites refused to supply,” Lee wrote. “Those appeals strengthened his populist, anti-elite credentials and probably contributed to his success in winning the nomination.”

There is a third line of analysis that places a strong emphasis on the economic upheaval produced by the transition from a manufacturing economy to a technologically based knowledge economy.

In their June 2023 article “[*The Revival of U.S. Populism*](https://www.zbw.eu/econis-archiv/handle/11159/619888): How 39 Years of Manufacturing Losses and Educational Gains Reshaped the Electoral Map,” [*Scott Abrahams*](https://www.lsu.edu/business/directory/employee-profiles/abrahams-scott-economics.php) and [*Frank Levy*](https://frank-levy.mit.edu/), economists at Louisiana State University and M.I.T., made the case that polarization and institutional gridlock have roots dating back more than four decades:

The current revival of right-wing populism in the United States reaches back to 1980, a year that marked a broad shift in national production and the demand for labor. In that year, manufacturing employment began a long decline, and the wage gap between college and high school graduates began a long expansion.

The result, Abrahams and Levy contended:

was a growing geographic alignment of income, educational attainment and, increasingly, cultural values. The alignment reinforced urban/rural and coastal/interior distinctions and contributed to both the politicization of a four-year college degree and the perception of educated “elites” or “coastal elites” — central parts of today’s populist rhetoric.

Abrahams and Levy concluded: “If our argument is correct, it has taken almost 40 years to reach our current level of polarization. If history is a guide, it won’t quickly disappear.”

[*Herbert Kitschelt*](https://scholars.duke.edu/person/h3738), a political scientist at Duke, argued in an email that the strains on the American political system have grown out of the interaction between divisive economic and cultural trends and the empowerment of racial and ethnic minorities: “The inevitable emerging socioeconomic divisions in the transition to knowledge societies — propelled by capitalist creative destruction — and the sociocultural kinship divisions develop a politically explosive stew due to the nature of U.S. political institutions.”

On one side, Kitschelt wrote, “Technological innovation and economic demand patterns have led to a substitution of humans in routine tasks jobs by code and machines — whether in manufacturing or services/white-collar occupations. These precipitate wage stagnation and decline.”

On the other side, “There is a revolution of kinship relations that got underway with the access of women to higher education in the 1950s and 1960s. This has led to a questioning of traditional paternalistic family relations and triggered a reframing of gender conceptions and relations, as well as the nature and significance of procreation and socialization of the next generation.”

The interaction, Kitschelt continued, “of socioeconomic anxiety-promoting decline amplified by rapid demographic erosion of the share of white Anglo-Saxon ethnics and cultural stress due to challenges of paternalist kinship relations and advances of secularization have given rise to the toxic amalgam of white Christian nationalism. It has become a backbone and transmission belt of right-wing populism in the U.S.”

At the same time, Kitschelt acknowledged, “Levitsky and Ziblatt are absolutely right that it is the circumstances of enslavement at the founding moment of U.S. independence and democracy that created a system of governance that enable a determined minority (the enslavers) to maintain a status quo of domination, exploitation and dehumanization of a whole tier of members of society which could not be undone within the locked-in web of institutional rules.”

To support his argument, Kitschelt cited “the process in which Trump was chosen as U.S. president”:

Roughly 10 percent of registered voters nationwide participated in the Republican presidential primaries in 2016. The plurality primary winner, Donald Trump, rallied just 3 to 5 percent of U.S. registered voters to endorse his candidacy and thereby sail on to the Republican Party nomination. These 3 to 5 percent of the U.S. registered voters — or 2 to 4 percent of the U.S. adult residential population — then made it possible for Trump to lose the popular vote but win the Electoral College majority.

All of which gets us back to the Przeworski dictum with which I began this column, that “democracy is a system in which parties lose elections.”

Przeworski’s claim, [*Henry Farrell*](https://snfagora.jhu.edu/person/henry-farrell/), a political scientist at Johns Hopkins, wrote in [*an essay*](https://goodauthority.org/news/why-do-election-losers-accept-their-losses/) published last month, “inspired a lot of political scientists to use game theory to determine the conditions under which democracy was self-enforcing: that is, how everyone’s beliefs and actions might line up to make democracy a self-fulfilling prophecy.”

At the same time, Farrell continued, “his argument powerfully suggests a theory of democratic fragility, too.” What happens when “some powerful organized force, such as a political party, may look to overturn democratic outcomes” or “such a force may look to ‘drastically reduce the confidence of other actors in democratic institutions’”?

At that point, as the two parties react to each other, Farrell suggested, “democracy can become self-unraveling rather than self-enforcing”:

If you (as, say, the leader of the Republican Party) look to overturn an election result through encouraging your supporters to invade the U.S. Capitol and claim that the election was a con, then I (as a Democratic Party leader) am plausibly going to guess that my chances of ever getting elected again will shrivel into nonexistence if you gain political power again and are able to rig the system. That may lead me to be less willing to play by the rules, leading to further collapse of confidence on your part and so on, in a downward spiral.

In other words, with a majority of Republicans aligned with an authoritarian leader, Democrats will be the group to watch if Trump wins re-election in November 2024, especially so if Republicans win control of both the House and Senate.

While such a turn of events would replicate the 2016 election results, Democrats now know much more about what an across-the-board Republican victory would mean as Trump and his allies have more or less announced their plans for 2025 if they win in 2024: the empowerment of a party determined to [*politicize the civil service*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/03/opinion/trump-has-big-plans-for-2025.html), a party committed to [*using the Department of Justice and other agencies*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-indictment-justice-department-takeover-democracy-threats-7b399ab628db7330ed99fac8c3784170) to punish Democrats, a party prepared to change the [*rules of elections*](https://www.npr.org/2023/10/10/1204941814/north-carolina-republican-election-laws) to guarantee the [*retention of its majorities*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/27/us/republican-voter-suppression.html).

In a report last month, “[*24 for ’24*](https://law.ucla.edu/sites/default/files/PDFs/Safeguarding_Democracy/24_for_24-REPORT-FINAL.pdf): Urgent Recommendations in Law, Media, Politics and Tech for Fair and Legitimate 2024 U.S. Elections,” an ad hoc committee convened by the Safeguarding Democracy Project and U.C.L.A. Law School warned:

“The 2020 elections confirmed that confidence in the fairness and legitimacy of the election system in the United States can no longer be taken for granted. Without the losing side accepting the results of a fair election as legitimate, the social fabric that holds democracy together can fray or tear.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 18, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Flooded With Email: What Should You Do?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:684S-RB71-DXY4-X1CB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 2, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 19; LETTERS

**Length:** 1178 words

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re ''Your Email Does Not Constitute My Emergency,'' by Adam Grant (Opinion guest essay, April 15):

Thank you, Mr. Grant, for lifting a huge weight off my conscience.

Though I am long retired, I find that my inbox is still filled with communications of varying urgency, more than I can possibly answer immediately, if ever.

I recently received a stinging rebuke from a (now former) friend for taking three weeks to reply to her chatty, non-time-sensitive email, which arrived when I was overwhelmed with matters that required my urgent attention.

When I finally did answer, with an apology, she made it clear that she regarded promptness as politeness, and that her priorities took precedence over mine. Mr. Grant's words about women feeling guilty for nonresponsiveness were a balm for my heart.

I will try to practice Mr. Grant's suggestions about communicating digital boundaries and resetting norms, which I've always implied when I write to others, but never articulated until now.

Margaret Scrogin ChangBainbridge Island, Wash.

To the Editor:

I totally disagree with ''Your Email Does Not Constitute My Emergency.'' People used to just show up at your door and expect to be invited in. People used to call, and you were expected to answer, not even knowing who the caller was.

If you're too busy to reply to an email or text, just say so. Be polite and respond; don't just ignore it. Saying something like ''I have a lot on my plate right now, I will get back to you soon'' is the courteous response.

Fran HeymanHartsdale, N.Y.

To the Editor:

I appreciate what Adam Grant says about the pressure recipients feel to respond immediately to email messages. The burden should not be all on recipients.

In fact, most email platforms have the capability to ''schedule send'' an email so that the message can be delivered at any hour of the sender's choice -- ideally, during typical work hours so as to relieve the recipient of any sense of urgency to reply.

Scheduling emails puts the responsibility on the sender, and using this function can minimize the onslaught of emails arriving at all hours of the day and night.

Yael BuechlerBronx

To the Editor:

Admittedly, we're all swimming in emails. Yet on occasion there may well be urgent matters that must be communicated, as I'm sure Adam Grant understands.

It's an indication of how much our communications culture has changed that the word ''phone'' never appears in his article.

Dennis SignorovitchLos Angeles

The Dawn of a More Moderate Era in Cable News? Not Likely.

To the Editor:

Re ''Cable News Turns Page After Hosts Are Let Go'' (news analysis, Business, April 26):

Jim Rutenberg's article about whether, taken together, the firings of Tucker Carlson at Fox News and Don Lemon at CNN might signal the dawn of a more moderate era in cable news can be answered with a quote by the writer and muckraker Upton Sinclair: ''It's difficult to get a man to understand something, when his salary depends on his not understanding it.''

In the cutthroat, highly competitive cable news cosmos, it's not about principle and what's good for the country; it's about who can garner the highest ratings in the important demographic groups and score the most revenue.

Certainly, both cable-news networks were well aware of what they were getting with each anchor, and let them go on until their actions proved too much.

Bret Stephens's column ''The Tragedy of Fox News'' (April 26) sums up my feelings exactly about that network's missing a golden opportunity of being a reasoned voice for conservative views, instead of the haven for right-wing extremist views and personalities that it has become.

I would extend his musings about what might have been to former President Donald Trump himself. Once in office, he might have parlayed his appeal to the ***working class*** into something special, a political outlier beholden to no particular party or special interests who instead was acting on behalf of people across the socioeconomic and political spectrums.

Greg JosephSun City, Ariz.The writer is a retired journalist and television critic.

To the Editor:

At this moment, there exists a great opportunity for some astute broadcaster.

Tucker Carlson and Don Lemon could co-host a show on which they would have to speak with one another like gentlemen and actually address issues of public concern in a coherent, common-sense manner. There is a possibility that such a show might encourage the citizens of this country to engage in respectful, productive dialogue as well.

Carmine StoffoStaten Island

Merrick Garland 'Must Not Be Baited'

To the Editor:

Re ''The Cost of Merrick Garland's Silence,'' by Jeffrey Toobin (Opinion guest essay, April 23):

Mr. Toobin seeks to understand Attorney General Merrick Garland's relative silence regarding the Justice Department's investigation of the Jan. 6 insurrection. Mr. Garland, Mr. Toobin worries, has ''largely left the stage'' to Donald Trump, whose comments at a recent rally ''must have looked like a provocation, if not a taunt, to Mr. Garland.''

Mr. Toobin says ''it is fair to question why Mr. Garland continues to be a quiet, if not silent, public voice about the Trump investigation.''

No, it is not. Mr. Garland must not be baited. Anything he says outside court can be used to challenge a future indictment and the ethics of Mr. Garland himself. That challenge will fail, but it will cause delay and be cited as proof of a witch hunt.

Mr. Garland's stage is the courtroom. He knows that if there is a charge, the noise from Mr. Trump's performances will be drowned out by an indictment's specific details. And he knows that a trial judge has ample tools to ensure that an eventual jury makes its decision based only on testimony and documents admitted under the rules of evidence.

Stephen GillersNew YorkThe writer is professor emeritus at the New York University School of Law.

Speech on Campus

To the Editor:

Re ''The Gravest Threats to Campus Speech Come From States,'' by Christina Paxson (Opinion guest essay, April 23):

While it's heartening to see the president of Brown University describe the dangers posed by laws in states like Florida and Texas to what can be taught and said in college classrooms, the voices of leaders of public colleges and universities must be heard. It is, after all, their institutions that are most at risk.

While organizations representing public and private institutions of higher education have published statements opposing efforts by lawmakers to interfere with college curriculums, and more than 100 retired presidents -- many of them from public institutions -- joined an initiative to combat government restrictions on colleges and universities, current presidents and chancellors at public institutions and systems must use their bully pulpits to fight back.

Silence in the face of state-sponsored censorship is appeasement.

Michael W. KleinAllenhurst, N.J.The writer is the former executive director of the New Jersey Association of State Colleges and Universities.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/opinion/letters/email-etiquette.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/opinion/letters/email-etiquette.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** May 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60PX-29C1-JBG3-62WF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 30, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 492 words

**Body**

On the Beach

To the Editor:

Elisabeth Egan's Beach Reads roundup (Aug. 16) was so funny. I would've bought ''Sad Janet'' based on the cover alone, but now -- thanks to Egan's concise, clever review -- I can claim that my decision is based on its literary merits.

Also, I'd planned to skip Kevin Kwan's ''Sex and Vanity'' regardless of the hype, but couldn't resist reading Egan's gentle put-down, which reads like one long borscht-belt-era one-liner.

Kevin Parks New York

â™¦

To the Editor:

Elisabeth Egan's review of Kevin Kwan's new novel, ''Sex and Vanity,'' doesn't mention the fact that it's a modern update of ''A Room With a View.'' Reading Kwan's book (at the beach) after watching the 1985 film of ''A Room With a View'' made it even more enjoyable.

Tom Carty Silver Spring, Md.

â™¦

To the Editor:

Wattages can be deceiving!

While reading the Beach Reads piece, I was abruptly thrown off course by the sentence ''The lamp tacked to the side of our rental cottage was of toaster-oven wattage, barely bright enough to illuminate a page.'' Why, because toaster ovens typically use 1,200-1,400 watts, a common high-pressure sodium streetlight draws 1,000 watts, and most folks can read just fine with a lamp containing a 60-watt bulb. Hence it's not necessarily the wattage that makes lights bright or dim.

Otherwise, the piece was electrifying!

M. F. Coffin Hobart, Tasmania

The Plutocrats

To the Editor:

Jeff Madrick's Aug. 16 review of ''The System,'' by Robert B. Reich, and ''Break 'Em Up,'' by Zephyr Teachout, overlooks an obvious possible explanation why ''***working-class*** voters in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin opted for Trump, and apparently against their economic interests.'' Rather than being dupes, ***working-class*** conservatives, like wealthy liberals, may have moral convictions that lead them to vote against their economic interests. You don't have to be opposed to abortion or same-sex marriage to recognize that these unsavory views may sometimes override economic concerns.

Felicia Nimue Ackerman Providence, R.I.

â™¦

To the Editor:

There has been no decades-long mystery why millions of white ***working-class*** Americans vote Republican. In 1965 Lyndon Johnson proclaimed, ''We shall overcome,'' and millions of whites felt betrayed and began switching parties. People have long understood which of the two parties is for whites. Trump now makes it all too explicit. Racism, unfortunately, explains far too much of American behavior.

Lawrence Hess San DiegoThe Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication should include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Letters should be addressed to The Editor, The New York Times Book Review, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018. The email address is [*books@nytimes.com*](mailto:books@nytimes.com) Letters may be edited for length and clarity. We regret that because of the large volume of mail received, we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/28/books/review/letters-to-the-editor.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/28/books/review/letters-to-the-editor.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPH BY TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 30, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Barbra Streisand Is Ready to Tell All. Pull Up a Seat.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69K4-X691-JBG3-64KB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 7, 2023 Tuesday 13:08 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 3122 words

**Byline:** Wesley Morris

**Highlight:** At home in California, Streisand talks about her new memoir, exploring the movies and men of her life, and her determination to control her own art.

**Body**

Maybe it’s her grandkids, maybe it’s being 81, but Barbra Streisand is open to new stuff. Take sharing. Well, take sharing herself. “[*My Name Is Barbra*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/07/books/review/barbra-streisand-memoir-my-name-is-barbra.html),” her first memoir, is upon us. It’s 970 pages and billows with doubt, anger, ardor, hurt, pride, persuasion, glory and Yiddish. I don’t know that any artist has done more sharing.

And yet, last month, after lunch at her home in Malibu, Calif., Streisand shared something else, a treasure she guards almost as much she’s guarded the details of her life. And that’s dessert. There’s a lot in this book — tales of film and television shoots, clashes and bonds with collaborators, a whole chapter on Don Johnson (it’s short) and another called “Politics,” her unwavering preference for big blends of the masculine and the feminine. But food is so ubiquitous that it’s practically a love of Streisand’s life, especially ice cream.

So when it’s time for dessert at Streisand’s, despite any choice you’re offered, there’s truly only one option. And that’s McConnell’s Brazilian Coffee ice cream. She writes about it with an orgasmic zeal comparable only, perhaps, to her stated zests for Modigliani and Sondheim. How much does Streisand love Brazilian Coffee? In the book, she’s in the middle of a sad story about a dinner with her buddy Marlon Brando at Quincy Jones’s place, when she interrupts herself to rhapsodize over its flavor and reminisce on the lengths she has gone to get some. So I wanted to have what she’s having.

“Okaaayyyy,” Streisand said. She gave her longtime assistant, Renata Buser, a deep, knowing look.

“We’ll trade. You give a good review.”

Panic, panic, panic. Stammer, stammer, stammer.

She was grinning. Buser was smiling.

“I love to laugh right now,” said Streisand, who said she’s been in a funk over the state of the planet.

Buser agreed: “You really needed a laugh.”

But Streisand wasn’t entirely kidding — well, about the good review she was. But not about the ice cream.

See, sometimes, they explained, like two girls talking about an ornate but dire piece of cafeteria gossip, there’s a situation with how available it is. (Basically, McConnell’s sometimes takes Brazilian Coffee off the market, leaving Turkish Coffee and sometimes just … “Coffee.”) When she gets her hands on some, she all but password-protects it. “My husband happens to like Turkish Coffee. Thank God,” Streisand says of the actor James Brolin, her spouse of 25 years. “So he doesn’t take my stash.”

To be clear: They’re not the same?

“Noooo,” Streisand and Buser said together. Streisand was shrugging that “are you serious right now?” shrug: “Turkey is not Brazil.”

It goes on like this for another minute until something crucial suddenly occurs to Streisand.

“Are you a fan of coffee ice cream?”

Crickets …

She didn’t have time for this. “We have vanilla.” More kidding. “I’ll give you a scoop — well, how about half a scoop? He’ll have half a scoop. I’ll take the other half.”

Eventually, Buser arrives with a bowl, and I get it.

If Loro Piana made dessert, this is how it would taste, like money. Buser had lodged Streisand’s demiscoop inside a wafer cone just the way she likes. Mine was gone in about 90 seconds. Streisand, though — she made the eating of this ounce of ice cream a discreet aria of bliss. Little nibbles of cone, then one spin around her mouth. Nibble, nibble, spin. I’ve seen one other person make love to a dessert this way, and she gave birth to me. Otherwise, no one will ever quite have what they’re having.

THIS MEMOIR OF STREISAND’S encompasses her girlhood in ***working-class*** Brooklyn in the 1940s, her big break on Broadway in “Funny Girl” in 1964, a movie career that made her the biggest actress of the 1970s, her popular albums and top-rated TV specials, the awards, the snubs, her hangups, terrors and passions, her close girlfriends, the men she’s loved and, yes, the foods she might adore more. “My Name Is Barbra” is explanatory and ruminative and enlightening. It’s shake-your-head funny and hand-to-mouth surprising. The lady who wrote it is in touch with herself, loves being herself. Yet she disliked memoir-writing’s ostensible point. “I’ve been through therapy many, many years ago, trying to figure these things out,” she told me. “And I got bored with that. Trying to get things out. I really didn’t want to relive my life.”

Writing the book forced Streisand not only to relive it, but to do the synthesizing between the present and the past. For instance, she frequently reckons with how losing her father at a young age and living for decades with her mother’s glass-half-empty approach to maternity set her up for a journey of approval.

Those 970 pages also turn the book into a piece of exercise equipment. Streisand doesn’t like the heft. “I wanted two volumes,” she said. “Who wants to hold a heavy book like that in their hands?”

Rick Kot, an executive editor at Viking who oversaw production on the book, told me, “Publishing books in two volumes is difficult just as a commercial venture. And nobody seems to have any issue with how long” Streisand’s is.

The bigness of it makes literal the career it contains. Streisand is poring over, pouring out, her life. She’s feeling her way through it, remembering, sometimes Googling as she types. It’s not a book you inhale, per se. (Unless, of course, you’ve got a pressing lunch date with the author.) Nor does it inspire the “five takeaways” treatment that juicy new memoirs by Britney Spears and Jada Pinkett Smith have. Not that there weren’t requests for spicier material. Streisand said that Christine Pittel, her editor, told her “that I had to leave some blood on the page.” So feelings are more deeply plumbed; names are named.

And she did do some hemming and hawing. “I was very late in delivering the book,” she said. “I think I was supposed to deliver it in two years.” It took her 10. And as she went, she thought about her legacy. “If you want to read about me in 20 years or 50 years, whatever it is — if there’s still a world — these are my words. These are my thoughts.” She also considered those other Streisand titles, the ones by other people. “Hopefully, you don’t have to look at too many books written about me. You know, whenever I was told about what they said, certain things, I thought, like, who are they talking about?”

There are takeaways. But they’re too chronic to qualify as “current.” Mostly, they involve Streisand’s hunger for work and her endless quest to maintain control over it. Singing and acting made her famous. This insistence on perfection made her notorious. Sexism and chauvinism are on display throughout the book. But what becomes apparent is that the woman who has a “directed by” credit on just three films (“Yentl,” “The Prince of Tides” and “The Mirror Has Two Faces”) had been a director from the very start of her career. Here is the book’s grand revelation — for a reader but for the author, too. “I didn’t know about it,” she said, of this proclivity for management, planning, vision, authority and obeying her instincts. “But writing the book, I discovered it. Basically, I was doing that, you know, when I was 19 years old — or even showing my mother how to smoke.”

Streisand is unsparing about the treachery she faced at work, collaborating with men. Sydney Chaplin (one of Charlie’s kids) played the original Nick Arnstein during her “Funny Girl” Broadway run; they shared a flirtation that Chaplin wanted to consummate and that Streisand wanted to keep professional. (For one thing, she was married to Elliott Gould.) So, she writes, Chaplin did a number on her. In front of live audiences, he’d lean in to whisper put-downs and profanity. When it came time to shoot “Hello, Dolly!,” Streisand couldn’t understand why her co-star Walter Matthau and their director, Gene Kelly (yes, the Gene Kelly) were so hostile toward her. She confronts Matthau, and he confesses: “You hurt my friend,” meaning Chaplin, his poker buddy. Throughout her career, she’s up against what one surly camera operator, on the set of “The Prince of Tides,” boasts is a boys’ club.

That’s the sort of blood that gives this book its power — not the prospect of a bluntly louche Brando and a doting Pierre Trudeau being honest-to-God soul mates, not whatever her byzantine thing with Jon Peters was about. It’s that Barbra Streisand endured a parade of harsh workplaces yet never stopped trying to make the best work. That experience with Chaplin left her with lifelong stage fright. But what if it also helped sharpen her volition to get things — in the studio, on a film set, before a show — exactly, possibly obsessively, right?

“When I was younger, I think they had a preconception, you know, because maybe I was aloof or something, because I was a singer but I wanted to be an actress. And then as an actress, I wanted to be a director,” she said to me. “In other words, take another step. Be the actress as well as the singer. To me, it was so much easier to look at the whole. But even when I was an actress, I would care about the whole.” Like that scene in Sydney Pollack’s “The Way We Were,” from 1973, where Streisand touches Robert Redford’s hair while he’s sleeping, a personal choice she made by instinct.

Over and over again — with TV specials, live concerts, musical arrangements — she was executing ideas. The execution earned her a permanent reputation. And she knows it. In the book, she tells a story about making some staging suggestions for her 1980 Grammys performance with Neil Diamond and muses, “This kind of incident may be why I’m called ‘difficult.’”

“Difficult” is in the work. Streisand’s characters constitute this cocktail of “mercurial” and “determined” with a couple squirts of “feral.” They’re multitaskers, consumed with both busyness and learning how to do something. She was perfect for romantic comedies during second-wave feminism: Her drive drove men nuts. My favorite performance from this ’70s run of hers is in “The Main Event,” a frothy, filthy, solidly funny screwball hit from 1979. She’s in high expressive form and at peak curls, playing Hillary Kramer, a fragrance mogul forced to sell her company after her accountant runs off with all her money. But she discovers a surprise asset: a terrible boxer, Eddie “Kid Natural” Scanlon (Ryan O’Neal), whose career she tries to turn around. The movie, which Howard Zieff directed, sums up the Streisand experience: her tenacity; her outrageous comfort as both a comedic actor and as a version of herself; her exasperation with men who exploit her and count her out.

Eddie doesn’t want to work with Hillary and bets that the sight of his battered face will disgust her right out of boxing management. The violence of boxing does send Hillary vomiting during the drive home from one of his fights. What it doesn’t do is deter her. “I hope this taught you a lesson,” says Whitman Mayo, who plays Eddie’s pal and trainer, Percy. “It has,” Streisand says. “Get him in shape.”

The two men share a sinking feeling, seemingly typical when it comes to Streisand. “She’s not giving up, Percy,” Eddie says to his trainer, who must concur: “That’s a problem.” People who’ve negotiated with her probably recognize the look of worry and fatigued resignation on O’Neal’s face. He’s going to lose.

It’s reasonable to suspect that Tom Rothman, the head of Sony Pictures, knows the feeling. When the company was planning to release an anniversary edition of “The Way We Were” this year, Streisand argued for him to include two scenes that, she was pained to discover, had been omitted from the original. For Rothman, the trouble with granting Streisand her wish was that, as “a filmmaker’s executive,” as he put it in an interview, he didn’t want to change anything without Pollack’s input. But Pollack’s been dead for 15 years. They agreed to release two versions: Pollack’s and, essentially, Streisand’s extended cut.

This, she writes, is a triumph of her relentlessness. “The word she uses in the book, that’s 100 percent accurate,” Rothman told me. “She’s relentless.” Her being right about the scenes didn’t matter to his bottom line, which required him to do justice to Pollack’s memory while assuaging Streisand’s worries over creative injustice. “She would say: ‘This is better, this is better! This is why it’s good!’ And I would say: ‘But Sydney Pollack didn’t want it!’”

The reason Rothman wanted to land at a happy solution was because of the person he was negotiating with. “Barbra broke a lot of not just artistic boundaries but boundaries for female artists in the movie business, in Hollywood, in terms of taking control of her career,” he said. “I have boundless respect for her.”

Streisand’s boundlessness, her capaciousness — the lack of precedent for her whole-enchilada ambitions, the daffiness, the sexiness, the talent, orchestration, passion, originality; her persistence and indefatigability; the outfits; the hair — were a watershed. She was always adapting, if not to what was cool or “current,” per se, then certainly to whom she felt she was at a given moment. “You know me,” she writes, late in the book. “I’m the version queen.”

The line is straight from Streisand to Madonna, Janet Jackson, Jennifer Lopez, Queen Latifah, Beyoncé, Lady Gaga, Taylor Swift — version queens of different kingdoms. That’s just a list of the obvious people who followed her into showbiz and makes no mention of the less famous folks whom Streisand inspired into a thousand other achievements. She’s “to thine own self be true” in neon. This might be the real Streisand Effect. And now she can take a step back and appreciate it.

“That gives me real joy, that I affected some people into doing what they wanted to do,” Streisand said. “That I gave them some sort of courage. Or if they felt different, you know, I was somebody who felt different. That’s a reward for me. That makes me feel great.”

THIS HOME OF STREISAND’S has been called a compound. But even with the ocean overlook, it’s too rustic, cozy and deceptively modest for the geologic or ego-logical footprint that “compound” connotes. There’s an active farm and enough rose varieties to hijack a flower show. It’s neither Xanadu nor Neverland Ranch. There’s some reality to Streisand’s place, some soul.

This is to say that paintings are everywhere, outside the bathroom, up the main staircase, in the bathroom. There are oils by John Singer Sargent and Thomas Hart Benton, portraits by Ammi Phillips and Mary Cassatt. A wall holds one of Gilbert Stuart’s George Washingtons. She loves Klimt and adores Tamara de Lempicka and Modigliani, adores them with an awe the world reserves for her. Some of the paintings are by Streisand, including a portrait of Sammie, her late Coton de Tulear, whose fur is affixed to the canvas. One, her son, Jason Gould, did.

Streisand’s fans know what’s on her property and the labor she personally devoted to realizing it — that there’s a mill with a functioning waterwheel, that she’s dedicated a room to her collection of dolls and that another’s maintained for the display and storage of her stage and screen costumes. They’d know because, in 2010, Streisand put it all in a book called “My Passion for Design.” Nevertheless, people have concluded that Streisand lives at her own personal Grove. They’ll ask: Are you going to see the mall? But there is no mall to see. Nothing’s for sale, nothing is open to the public.

Less known is how it might feel to stand here, in a living room at Streisand’s house, to gaze over her shoulder at the ocean and stop yourself from saying out loud, “On a clear day you really can see forever.” It’s strange to move from the bulk of her book to the lightness of the woman who wrote it, to the one-of-a-kind incandescence that’s kept her a star. No memoir can quite contain that. An odd effect of that stardom is how that person can start to seem an uncanny sort of familiar. One of the mightiest, most Olympic performers we Americans have ever experienced, is, on a Tuesday at lunchtime — and I mean this from the bottom of my heart — just some lady. The one behind you at a Gelson’s, maybe, who might notice the cottage cheese in your cart and get moony over how creamy it is. (“I love going to the supermarket,” she told me.)

After lunch, Streisand was ready to relax and needed to stretch her back, which lately has been acting up. Relaxing meant letting loose her three Cotons de Tulear, dogs as white as snowflakes, whiter in fact, like bleached teeth. It meant retreating to the family room. So off I went down a wallpapered hallway paneled with more framed art and into another section of the house that felt different from the airs of presentation and preservation that typify the rest of the home. The kitchen was here, for one thing. For another, hunched over a round table was James Brolin. Streisand calls him Jim, and Jim was in a T-shirt and sweatpants, cross-referencing information on an iPad with what he was writing on a sheet of paper. He was jotting down film titles to watch later for movie night. They had just had a Scorsese marathon.

There’s life all over the property. But here in the family room is where everybody lives, including that portrait of Sammie, which, at the moment, was propped up on the floor because “I don’t have any places to hang anything anymore,” she said. This way she can see it from the sofa while she watches TV. This part of the house seems like the only place where anything gets strewn. “It’s not that orderly,” she told me. “Meaning, I have the things I need around me.” Like her pets, like Jim. “It’s a playroom. We watch TV, we have the dogs on our laps. It’s more disordered.”

It felt, in many ways, like a secret, the comfy chaos of this zone feeling preferable to the control on display everywhere else. Streisand seemed at home here because she was. She took a seat and proceeded to ply the dogs, Fanny and Sammie’s lab-bred clones, Scarlet and Violet, with a treat. They looked up at her with expectant patience. I’ve seen scores of dogs anticipate a treat. It’s as if Streisand’s had heard about the bonkers approach of those other dogs and zigged, sitting patiently as Streisand doled a morsel or two to each. Even she seemed impressed. Here is another of stardom’s odd effects. Without us, it’s Tuesday.

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY HARRY BENSON/EXPRESS, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (AR16); Top, Barbra Streisand at the “Funny Girl” film opening in 1968 outside the Criterion Theater in Manhattan. Above, Streisand directing Mandy Patinkin and Amy Irving, right, on the set of the 1983 film “Yentl.” Below, the superstar relaxing at home in 2018. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DON HOGAN CHARLES/THE NEW YORK TIMES; HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES; RYAN PFLUGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (AR17) This article appeared in print on page AR16, AR17.

**Load-Date:** November 12, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Michelle Wu is elected mayor of Boston.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:640J-24V1-DXY4-X36R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 2, 2021 Tuesday 20:58 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 1012 words

**Byline:** Ellen Barry

**Highlight:** Ms. Wu is the first woman and the first person of color to be elected mayor in Boston.

**Body**

Ms. Wu is the first woman and the first person of color to be elected mayor in Boston.

BOSTON — [*Michelle Wu*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/us/michelle-wu-boston-progressives.html), who entered public service out of frustration with the obstacles that her immigrant family faced, will be the next mayor of Boston, pledging to make the city a proving ground for progressive policy.

Buoyed by support from the city’s young, left-leaning voters and by Black, Asian and Latino residents, Ms. Wu, 36, soundly defeated City Councilor Annissa Essaibi George.

Ms. Essaibi George, who ran as a pragmatic centrist in the style of former Mayor Martin J. Walsh, had the backing of the city’s traditional power centers, like its police, its trade unions and its ***working-class*** Irish American neighborhoods.

“From every corner of our city, Boston has spoken,” Ms. Wu said, to a jubilant crowd in the city’s South End. “We are ready to meet the moment. We are ready to be a Boston for everyone.”

Conceding the race, Ms. Essaibi George said, “I want to offer a great big congratulations to Michelle Wu.”

“She is the first woman, first person of color, and as an Asian American, the first elected to be mayor of Boston,” she said. “I know this is no small feat.”

Ms. Wu — who grew up outside Chicago and moved to the Boston area to attend Harvard — was [*an unusual candidate for this city,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/28/us/michelle-wu-boston-election.html) and her victory sets a number of precedents.

Ms. Wu is the first woman and [*the first person of color to be elected mayor in Boston*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/09/us/boston-mayor-election.html), which [*has been led by an unbroken string of Irish American or Italian American men since the 1930s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/06/us/boston-city-council-change.html). Kim Janey, a Black woman, has served as acting mayor since March, when Mr. Walsh was confirmed as the U.S. labor secretary. Ms. Wu will also be the first mayor of Boston [*not born in the city*](https://www.wgbh.org/news/politics/2021/04/14/are-bostonians-wedded-to-the-idea-that-the-mayor-should-be-born-here) since 1925.

Malaysia Fuller-Staten, 24, an organizer from Roxbury, was ebullient as returns came in, saying the scale of Ms. Wu’s victory would shatter the image of Boston as conservative and insular.

“Boston is so much an old boys’ club,” she said. “For her to win by that margin, it would be saying to everyone, Boston is not a center-right city. It would be saying, we are a city looking to change.”

Born shortly after her parents immigrated to the United States from Taiwan, Ms. Wu spent her childhood interpreting for them as they tried to negotiate bureaucracy in the United States. She was [*deeply shaken in her 20s*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2020/05/23/opinion/sharing-my-familys-story-mental-illness-with-hope-that-others-wont-feel-alone/), when her mother had a mental health crisis, forcing her to step away from her career to care for the family.

Emerging from that experience, she plunged into a career in public service.

She developed a close relationship with Elizabeth Warren, one of her professors at Harvard Law School, who became the state’s progressive standard-bearer and helped launch her in politics.

As a Boston city councilor, Ms. Wu often attended meetings with her babies, a sight that announced change for a body that, throughout its history, had been dominated by white men.

State Representative Aaron Michlewitz, a longtime friend and supporter, described Ms. Wu’s victory as the culmination of years of disciplined work on the nitty-gritty of governing.

“It’s not always flashy, it’s not always something that gets a headline,” he said. “She doesn’t come off as this huge presence when she walks into a room necessarily. But over time she chips away at the issues you care about. You start realizing how dedicated she is to the craft and to the work.”

Boston has been booming, as jobs in technology, medicine and education attract waves of young professionals. But that success has come at a cost, forcing ***working-class*** and middle-class families to leave the city in search of affordable housing.

Ms. Wu has promised to push back against gentrification, with policies tailored to help lower-income residents stay in the city, such as waiving fees for public transport, imposing a form of rent control, and reapportioning city contracts to firms owned by Black Bostonians.

It will not be easy for her to deliver. Rent control, for example, has been illegal in Massachusetts since 1994, so restoring it would require the passage of statewide legislation. The [*most recent effort to roll back the ban*](https://thesomervillenewsweekly.blog/2020/08/03/allow-rent-control-amendment-rejected/comment-page-1/) on rent control was rejected resoundingly by legislators last year, by a vote of 23 to 136.

Her plans to restructure the city’s planning agency have worried many in the real estate and building sectors, which thrived while Mr. Walsh was mayor. And Ms. Wu will have to take control of a sprawling government apparatus whose powerful constituencies can slow or block a new mayor’s agenda.

Wilnelia Rivera, a political consultant who supported Ms. Wu, said she would face pushback.

“The reality about power is that it never wants to give up any, and we’ll see what that looks like once we cross that bridge,” she said. “She is going to have to recreate that power coalition. It would be nice to have a mayor who isn’t necessarily in the back pocket of all the power players in the city.”

Ms. Wu comes in with high expectations for change, and will face pressure to move swiftly. One of the city’s most popular progressive figures, District Attorney Rachael Rollins of Suffolk County, warned that she ran the risk of disappointing many who have backed her.

“What I won’t do is allow our community to be sold a bill of goods and then when someone gets into the office, nothing happens,” she said.

Ms. Wu has responded repeatedly to such concerns throughout her campaign.

“The history and legacy of Boston as a city is one of putting forward bold vision to reshape what’s possible and then fighting for what our residents need,” she said, listing challenges she took on as a city councilor, like introducing a pilot program for fare-free public transport.

“Time and again, when people said it would be impossible,” she said, “we got it done.”

As they left polling places on Tuesday, several voters described the race as a turning point for Boston, which has elected a long line of men from the white, ***working-class***, pro-union wing of the Democratic Party.

“Change in this city has taken a long time to come,” said Andrew Conant, 28, a filmmaker. “This is a very proud moment for my city.”

**Load-Date:** November 3, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Letters to the Editor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60PF-J0T1-JBG3-62WG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 28, 2020 Friday 05:00 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 490 words

**Highlight:** Readers respond to recent issues of the Sunday Book Review.

**Body**

On the Beach

To the Editor:

Elisabeth Egan’s Beach Reads roundup (Aug. 16) was so funny. I would’ve bought “Sad Janet” based on the cover alone, but now — thanks to Egan’s concise, clever review — I can claim that my decision is based on its literary merits.

Also, I’d planned to skip Kevin Kwan’s “Sex and Vanity” regardless of the hype, but couldn’t resist reading Egan’s gentle put-down, which reads like one long borscht-belt-era one-liner.

Kevin Parks

New York

♦

To the Editor:

Elisabeth Egan’s review of Kevin Kwan’s new novel, “Sex and Vanity,” doesn’t mention the fact that it’s a modern update of “A Room With a View.” Reading Kwan’s book (at the beach) after watching the 1985 film of “A Room With a View” made it even more enjoyable.

Tom Carty

Silver Spring, Md.

♦

To the Editor:

Wattages can be deceiving!

While reading the Beach Reads piece, I was abruptly thrown off course by the sentence “The lamp tacked to the side of our rental cottage was of toaster-oven wattage, barely bright enough to illuminate a page.” Why, because toaster ovens typically use 1,200-1,400 watts, a common high-pressure sodium streetlight draws 1,000 watts, and most folks can read just fine with a lamp containing a 60-watt bulb. Hence it’s not necessarily the wattage that makes lights bright or dim.

Otherwise, the piece was electrifying!

M. F. Coffin

Hobart, Tasmania

The Plutocrats

To the Editor:

Jeff Madrick’s Aug. 16 review of “The System,” by Robert B. Reich, and “Break ’Em Up,” by Zephyr Teachout, overlooks an obvious possible explanation why “***working-class*** voters in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin opted for Trump, and apparently against their economic interests.” Rather than being dupes, ***working-class*** conservatives, like wealthy liberals, may have moral convictions that lead them to vote against their economic interests. You don’t have to be opposed to abortion or same-sex marriage to recognize that these unsavory views may sometimes override economic concerns.

Felicia Nimue Ackerman

Providence, R.I.

♦

To the Editor:

There has been no decades-long mystery why millions of white ***working-class*** Americans vote Republican. In 1965 Lyndon Johnson proclaimed, “We shall overcome,” and millions of whites felt betrayed and began switching parties. People have long understood which of the two parties is for whites. Trump now makes it all too explicit. Racism, unfortunately, explains far too much of American behavior.

Lawrence Hess

San Diego

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication should include the writer’s name, address and telephone number. Letters should be addressed to The Editor, The New York Times Book Review, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018. The email address is [*books@nytimes.com*](mailto:books@nytimes.com) Letters may be edited for length and clarity. We regret that because of the large volume of mail received, we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPH BY TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 28, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Help, I’m Flooded With Email! What Should I Do?; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:684M-42R1-JBG3-60RY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 1, 2023 Monday 02:20 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION; letters

**Length:** 1164 words

**Highlight:** Readers discuss best practices for when the emails pile up. Also: The future of cable news; Merrick Garland and the Jan. 6 inquiry; speech on campus.

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re “[*Your Email Does Not Constitute My Emergency*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/13/opinion/email-time-work-stress.html?searchResultPosition=1),” by Adam Grant (Opinion guest essay, April 15):

Thank you, Mr. Grant, for lifting a huge weight off my conscience.

Though I am long retired, I find that my inbox is still filled with communications of varying urgency, more than I can possibly answer immediately, if ever.

I recently received a stinging rebuke from a (now former) friend for taking three weeks to reply to her chatty, non-time-sensitive email, which arrived when I was overwhelmed with matters that required my urgent attention.

When I finally did answer, with an apology, she made it clear that she regarded promptness as politeness, and that her priorities took precedence over mine. Mr. Grant’s words about women feeling guilty for nonresponsiveness were a balm for my heart.

I will try to practice Mr. Grant’s suggestions about communicating digital boundaries and resetting norms, which I’ve always implied when I write to others, but never articulated until now.

Margaret Scrogin Chang

Bainbridge Island, Wash.

To the Editor:

I totally disagree with “Your Email Does Not Constitute My Emergency.” People used to just show up at your door and expect to be invited in. People used to call, and you were expected to answer, not even knowing who the caller was.

If you’re too busy to reply to an email or text, just say so. Be polite and respond; don’t just ignore it. Saying something like “I have a lot on my plate right now, I will get back to you soon” is the courteous response.

Fran Heyman

Hartsdale, N.Y.

To the Editor:

I appreciate what Adam Grant says about the pressure recipients feel to respond immediately to email messages. The burden should not be all on recipients.

In fact, most email platforms have the capability to “schedule send” an email so that the message can be delivered at any hour of the sender’s choice — ideally, during typical work hours so as to relieve the recipient of any sense of urgency to reply.

Scheduling emails puts the responsibility on the sender, and using this function can minimize the onslaught of emails arriving at all hours of the day and night.

Yael Buechler

Bronx

To the Editor:

Admittedly, we’re all swimming in emails. Yet on occasion there may well be urgent matters that must be communicated, as I’m sure Adam Grant understands.

It’s an indication of how much our communications culture has changed that the word “phone” never appears in his article.

Dennis Signorovitch

Los Angeles

The Dawn of a More Moderate Era in Cable News? Not Likely.

To the Editor:

Re “[*Cable News Turns Page After Hosts Are Let Go*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/25/technology/tucker-carlson-don-lemon.html)” (news analysis, Business, April 26):

Jim Rutenberg’s article about whether, taken together, the firings of Tucker Carlson at Fox News and Don Lemon at CNN might signal the dawn of a more moderate era in cable news can be answered with a quote by the writer and muckraker Upton Sinclair: “It’s difficult to get a man to understand something, when his salary depends on his not understanding it.”

In the cutthroat, highly competitive cable news cosmos, it’s not about principle and what’s good for the country; it’s about who can garner the highest ratings in the important demographic groups and score the most revenue.

Certainly, both cable-news networks were well aware of what they were getting with each anchor, and let them go on until their actions proved too much.

Bret Stephens’s column “[*The Tragedy of Fox News*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/24/opinion/tucker-carlson-fox-news-murdoch.html)” (April 26) sums up my feelings exactly about that network’s missing a golden opportunity of being a reasoned voice for conservative views, instead of the haven for right-wing extremist views and personalities that it has become.

I would extend his musings about what might have been to former President Donald Trump himself. Once in office, he might have parlayed his appeal to the ***working class*** into something special, a political outlier beholden to no particular party or special interests who instead was acting on behalf of people across the socioeconomic and political spectrums.

Greg Joseph

Sun City, Ariz.

The writer is a retired journalist and television critic.

To the Editor:

At this moment, there exists a great opportunity for some astute broadcaster.

Tucker Carlson and Don Lemon could co-host a show on which they would have to speak with one another like gentlemen and actually address issues of public concern in a coherent, common-sense manner. There is a possibility that such a show might encourage the citizens of this country to engage in respectful, productive dialogue as well.

Carmine Stoffo

Staten Island

Merrick Garland ‘Must Not Be Baited’

To the Editor:

Re “[*The Cost of Merrick Garland’s Silence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/19/opinion/oklahoma-bombing-oj-simpson-merrick-garland.html),” by Jeffrey Toobin (Opinion guest essay, April 23):

Mr. Toobin seeks to understand Attorney General Merrick Garland’s relative silence regarding the Justice Department’s investigation of the Jan. 6 insurrection. Mr. Garland, Mr. Toobin worries, has “largely left the stage” to Donald Trump, whose comments at a recent rally “must have looked like a provocation, if not a taunt, to Mr. Garland.”

Mr. Toobin says “it is fair to question why Mr. Garland continues to be a quiet, if not silent, public voice about the Trump investigation.”

No, it is not. Mr. Garland must not be baited. Anything he says outside court can be used to challenge a future indictment and the ethics of Mr. Garland himself. That challenge will fail, but it will cause delay and be cited as proof of a witch hunt.

Mr. Garland’s stage is the courtroom. He knows that if there is a charge, the noise from Mr. Trump’s performances will be drowned out by an indictment’s specific details. And he knows that a trial judge has ample tools to ensure that an eventual jury makes its decision based only on testimony and documents admitted under the rules of evidence.

Stephen Gillers

New York

The writer is professor emeritus at the New York University School of Law.

Speech on Campus

To the Editor:

Re “[*The Gravest Threats to Campus Speech Come From States*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/21/opinion/free-speech-campus-states-not-students.html?searchResultPosition=1),” by Christina Paxson (Opinion guest essay, April 23):

While it’s heartening to see the president of Brown University describe the dangers posed by laws in states like Florida and Texas to what can be taught and said in college classrooms, the voices of leaders of public colleges and universities must be heard. It is, after all, their institutions that are most at risk.

While organizations representing public and private institutions of higher education have [*published statements*](https://www.acenet.edu/Documents/Community-Statement-on-Free-and-Open-Academic-Inquiry-030322.pdf) opposing efforts by lawmakers to interfere with college curriculums, and [*more than 100 retired presidents*](https://pen.org/champions-statement/) — many of them from public institutions — joined an initiative to combat government restrictions on colleges and universities, current presidents and chancellors at public institutions and systems must use their bully pulpits to fight back.

Silence in the face of state-sponsored censorship is appeasement.

Michael W. Klein

Allenhurst, N.J.

The writer is the former executive director of the New Jersey Association of State Colleges and Universities.

This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** May 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Grief, Pain and the Lingering Impact of Trauma on Black Women’s Bodies; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67M9-7RH1-DXY4-X1DC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 23, 2023 Thursday 23:20 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 892 words

**Byline:** Ladee Hubbard

**Highlight:** In her new novel, “An Autobiography of Skin,” Lakiesha Carr tells the stories of three contemporary Black women, each struggling with different manifestations of trauma.

**Body**

In her new novel, “An Autobiography of Skin,” Lakiesha Carr tells the stories of three contemporary Black women, each struggling with different manifestations of trauma.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SKIN, by Lakiesha Carr

What does it mean to be a Black woman in the United States? How does it feel to inhabit a Black woman’s body in a society that, for most of its history, defined humanness as white and male? In what ways is her experience still haunted by contradictory representations that emerged out of slavery: the aggressive, hypersexual Jezebel; the nurturing, nonthreatening Mammy? To what extent do these portrayals continue to inform perceptions of Black women as available for abuse, as willing participants in (if not the causes of) their own alienation, and as somehow, ultimately, impervious to pain?

Lakiesha Carr’s powerful and timely new novel, “An Autobiography of Skin,” explores these issues by telling the stories of three contemporary Black women, each struggling with different manifestations of trauma that finds its primary expression through their experience of their own physicality. Carr is interested in the expressive potency of the body, and the novel is meticulously structured to highlight its enduring cultural significance. At the same time, the book is less interested in explaining or rationalizing that significance than in dramatizing how it literally feels.

Nettie, the protagonist of the first section of the book, lives with her husband and makes money giving colonics from her home. Her work with a former stripper mediates her own awareness of how the body’s scars can constitute a map of past experience. “Watching the silky weblike threads of her parasites pass, she told me again the story of how she got the small burn at the base of her neck,” Nettie explains. “How the thin cut running alongside her left ear was the result of broken glass flying during a fight at Baby Dolls. And before we were done, she gently lifted the skin around her belly, pointing at her C-section scar and told me how when the weather changed it still itched where they took out her middle child.”

Much of this section takes place in a secret gambling room behind a convenience store where Nettie, mourning the anniversary of her mother’s passing, goes to relax. Because so many of the people Nettie encounters there are so clearly and variously suffering from societal neglect, there is something inherently restorative about the attentiveness with which Carr observes them, even as she documents their scars.

The scars are overlooked because of both a pervasive tendency to ignore Black ***working-class*** women’s pain and also because of the women’s own fears of the repercussions of exposure. This becomes a theme of the second section, where we are introduced to Maya, who explicitly associates the need to hide with assimilation, which, in her view, is “not so much a choice once you grow honest with the self about what it takes to survive and thrive in this reality. When you learn how important to that survival it can be to preserve, indeed hide your very own authenticity lest the world judge then devour you whole — with equal parts love and hate.”

In contrast to Nettie, Maya lives in a middle-class enclave, her relative affluence sustained by her husband’s work as a pornographer, a fact they keep secret both from their white neighbors and Maya’s parents. Increasingly obsessed with news reports about police violence against Black youth, she begins a misguided effort to protect her two sons, which leads to an act of abuse for which she is sent to a psychiatric ward.

While her actions can be interpreted as physicalizing the way many parents hurt their children out of a warped desire to “protect” them, they also speak to a larger truth, encapsulated by Maya’s husband’s reaction to her behavior: He reminds her that the violence is not new. “‘White people been killing us since the beginning of time!’ he screamed at her. ‘Black people too!’”

It is not until the third section of the book, narrated by Maya’s best friend, Ketinah, that we are presented with the possibility that all of these characters are literally being haunted. Ketinah, like her grandmother, has the ability to see the malicious ghosts that surround them and that, however disembodied, are nevertheless real. The recognition of their presence signifies how the past is, for these characters, deeply felt and a part of their experiential reality.

It is a testament to Carr’s power as a writer that she is able to so clearly represent these aspects of her characters’ experiences with such intimacy and honesty. In that sense, the book is an admission of the fact that, for all the changes that have occurred in our society over the past 100 years, many Black people, both men and women, are still processing the trauma and violence caused by their body’s simultaneous hypervisibility and erasure. This truth becomes a potent aspect not just of the subjective experience of Carr’s characters, but of the reality they inhabit, whether it is acknowledged or not.

Ladee Hubbard’s most recent book is the short story collection “The Last Suspicious Holdout.”

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SKIN | By Lakiesha Carr | 244 pp. | Pantheon | $27

Ladee Hubbard’s most recent book is the short story collection, “The Last Suspicious Holdout.”

This article appeared in print on page BR11.

**Load-Date:** February 26, 2023

**End of Document**



[***New York's Superstar Progressive***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63NK-V7M1-JBG3-60CN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 22, 2021 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23; BRET STEPHENS

**Length:** 929 words

**Byline:** By Bret Stephens

**Body**

Ritchie Torres, a congressman from America's poorest district -- New York's 15th, in the Bronx -- quietly bristles at the A.O.C. comparison.

''There's a sense in which the media narrative diminishes me,'' he tells me over plates of pasta at a restaurant in the Bronx's Little Italy when I raise the subject of his notorious fellow Democrat from an adjoining district, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. ''I resist the temptation to fit into a preconceived narrative. My career in politics long predates the Squad.''

No need to explain who and what is meant by the Squad -- the House members seen by some as the bright dawning of a new Democratic Party and by others as the Four Horsewomen of the Wokepocalypse. Not long after our lunch, A.O.C. once again became Topic A of national conversation for posturing politically while posing pictorially at the Met Gala.

The bigger mystery is why Torres (who was emphatically not at the gala) hasn't yet become a household name in the United States. On the identity-and-background scorecard, he checks every progressive box. Afro-Latino, the son of a single mom who raised three children working as a mechanic's assistant on a minimum-wage salary of $4.25 an hour, a product of public housing and public schools, a half brother of two former prison inmates, an N.Y.U. dropout, the Bronx's first openly gay elected official when he won a seat on the City Council in 2013 at the age of 25 and the victor over a gay-bashing Christian minister when he won his House seat last year.

He's dazzlingly smart. He sees himself ''on a mission to radically reduce racially concentrated poverty in the Bronx and elsewhere in America.''

In other words, Torres is everything a modern-day progressive is supposed to look and be like, except in one respect: Unlike so much of the modern left (including A.O.C., who grew up as an architect's daughter in the middle-class Westchester town of Yorktown Heights), he really is a child of the ***working class***. He understands what ***working-class*** people want, as opposed to what so many of its self-appointed champions claim they want.

''I don't hire ideologues or zealots,'' he tells me on a walk through his district. ''Most of the people in the South Bronx are practical rather than ideological. Their concerns are bread and butter, health and housing, schools and jobs.''

What this translates to is a 21st-century civil rights agenda based on pressing ***working-class*** needs for affordable housing, better schools, safer streets, good health care. The goals are progressive, but the solutions, for Torres, have to be pragmatic.

That emphatically includes giving children the option to attend ''carefully regulated, not-for-profit'' charter schools, which his district has in abundance, over fierce opposition from teachers' unions. ''If there are parents in my district who have concluded that the best option for their children is a charter school, then who am I to tell them otherwise?'' he asks.

He is also consumed by the crisis of affordable housing, probably the single biggest challenge facing lower-income New Yorkers. One of Mayor Bill de Blasio's early drafts for solving the crisis, Torres recalls, involved building 75,000 units over 10 years. Yet the demand was closer to six times that number. ''Even if we created 75,000 tomorrow instead of 10 years, we'd fall catastrophically short between bridging the gap between supply and demand.''

His answer is a classic triangulation between big-government interventionism and small-government common sense. He wants to greatly increase the Section 8 federal voucher program, turning it into a new federal entitlement -- ''housing vouchers for all,'' he calls it -- that would ensure that no American family would need to pay more than 30 percent of its income in rent. Doing so ''would instantaneously make millions of units affordable for the lowest-income households.''

But he also understands the need to streamline the public-review process to increase the supply of housing stock. ''One of the great ironies of our time is that some of the most progressive cities are among the most systemically racist in their housing policies,'' he says, mentioning San Francisco's policies of single-family zoning and other land-use practices that are the way in which liberals discriminate today.

Torres is also particularly alarmed by the phenomenon that the Russian American evolutionary anthropologist Peter Turchin calls ''elite overproduction.''

''We produce far more college graduates than there are elite positions for those graduates to occupy,'' Torres observes. When those graduates find themselves deep in debt, shut out of the kinds of jobs they were promised and crushed by the cost of housing, ''it is bound to have a radicalizing effect.''

It's a strong argument for more vocational schools. It's also an F.D.R.-esque call to save capitalism from itself, lest the people Torres calls ''the New Jacobins'' gain further grip.

Speaking of F.D.R., there will be a New York governor's race next year. Torres would be a formidable primary opponent to the new governor, Kathy Hochul. As perhaps the most singular political talent of his generation, he is one progressive who could, at last, do more to unite the nation than to further divide it.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/21/opinion/Ritchie-Torres-AOC.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/21/opinion/Ritchie-Torres-AOC.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Gabriela Bhaskar for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 22, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Why Do Trump Supporters Support Trump?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y14-RKV1-JBG3-60DC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 19, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 1; NONFICTION

**Length:** 2205 words

**Byline:** By Anand Giridharadas

**Body**

THE NEW CLASS WARSaving Democracy From the Managerial EliteBy Michael Lind

With 114 percent of Americans now having their own podcast, it is not easy to choose the one with the best title. But I'd go with the journalist Chris Hayes's ''Why Is This Happening?'' Were there a German word for emotion-question (and it turns out there is), that title may be our era's Gefühlsfrage. As people reel from crisis to crisis, outrage to outrage, this Gefühlsfrage hangs in the air and creates space for writers.

The question has inspired many rich explorations. But it can also be seized on by thinkers who have kept pet theories on ice and now sense a pouring opportunity.

''The New Class War,'' by Michael Lind, the author of numerous books of nonfiction, fiction and poetry, anchors itself firmly in the why-is-this-happening genre. Unfortunately, because its theory seems to have predated, and been awaiting, this moment, it takes a great amount of jamming to fit Lind's peg into the hole of the present situation. And the explanation that results is marked by an appalling minimization of the most dangerous administration in our lifetimes and a highly distorted portrait of Trump supporters as victims.

Lind's originating interest seems to be this: American democracy worked in a certain way in the three decades after World War II, it stopped working that way, and oligarchy ensued. At the heart of the old way was what Lind calls ''war-inspired class peace treaties.'' In various sectors of the economy and polity, the ***working class*** benefited from power-sharing arrangements with business and government, often the result of wartime mobilization. Strong unions helped keep wages high, local political power brokers and party bosses made sure that ***working-class*** needs were represented in the marble corridors, and mass-membership organizations put a check on runaway greed by elites.

Then, starting in the 1970s, Lind says, what he calls the neoliberal ''managerial elite'' challenged this power-sharing and began turning the country into a casino where it always won. A combination of actors, from the left and the right, pushed for ever more public decisions to be made by highly educated technocratic elites living at a remove from the ***working class***. Big corporations pushed for more decisions to be made through global trade agreements than national legislation. Ivy League liberals pushed for more critical decisions to be made by Harvard-trained jurists than prejudiced lawmakers.

''When the dust from the collapse cleared,'' Lind writes, ''the major institutions in which ***working-class*** people had found a voice on the basis of numbers -- mass-membership parties, legislatures, trade unions and grass-roots religious and civic institutions -- had been weakened or destroyed, leaving most of the nonelite population in Western countries with no voice in public affairs at all, except for shrieks of rage.''

There is truth in this story thus far. But Lind is determined to press the tale of elite capture into an explanation of Trumpism. And this becomes very tricky, in part because Trump is less a refuge from oligarchy than the most oligarchic oligarch around, and in part because Lind's thesis that ''economic anxiety'' drove Trump's supporters is not convincing.

But Lind goes for it anyway.

To explain Trump's support as a revolt against oligarchy, Lind has to accomplish a few things. Above all, he has to redraw the boundaries of the neoliberal overclass to include not just oligarchs but also liberal-minded educated people in general. ''The university-credentialed overclass contains moderately paid schoolteachers and store managers as well as wealthy corporate lawyers and billionaire entrepreneurs,'' he writes. If this is how you cut it, a black woman teaching public school in Atlanta is a member of the overclass, and a rural white man with his own seven-employee plumbing firm, making twice as much, belongs to the underclass. So his voting to elect a president who might place her in a permanent state of terror becomes a revolt against power.

Lind's heart genuinely hurts for those shafted by oligarchy. But he is limited by conceptual blinders. And he seems to have an outdated (if widely shared) idea of who is a ***working-class*** person. When he thinks about what the oligarchy has done to America, he tends to think of white men as the principal victims. And when he begins to detail how these supporters of populism have been oppressed by the schoolteachers-to-billionaires overclass, things get really weird.

One way the elite functions, Lind says, is through the labeling of white-***working-class*** prejudices as phobias -- as in transphobia, homophobia, Islamophobia. To call these things ''phobias'' is, he writes, ''to medicalize politics and treat differing viewpoints as evidence of mental and emotional disorders.'' Then, outlandishly, he takes it a step further. ''If those in today's West who oppose the dominant consensus of technocratic neoliberalism are in fact emotionally and mentally disturbed, to the point that their maladjustment makes it unsafe to allow them to vote, then to be consistent, neoliberals should support the involuntary confinement, hospitalization and medication of Trump voters and Brexit voters and other populist voters for their own good, as well as the good of society.''

Another way in which the elite oppresses the ***working class*** is, Lind tells us, policing its life after work. ''The boss class pursues the ***working class*** after the workday has ended, trying to snatch the unhealthy steak or soda from the worker's plate, vilifying the theology of the worker's church as a firing offense and possibly an illegal hate crime to be reported to the police and denouncing the racy, prole-oriented tabloid internet as 'fake news' to be censored by the guardians of neoliberal orthodoxy and propriety.'' What is going on here? Who is snatching the soda? Neoliberals? I thought business is trying to sell that soda. Isn't it the opposite of neoliberalism to try to regulate it away? Who is suggesting that the worker's church's theology is possibly a hate crime, and what does that have to do with the neoliberal takeover? And isn't ''fake news'' a term popularized by populist leaders and supporters? According to Lind, ''fake news'' is being pushed upon them by neoliberals?

For Lind, ''the populist wave in politics on both sides of the Atlantic is a defensive reaction against the technocratic neoliberal revolution from above.'' To put it this way is to ignore all the evidence that the wave was driven more by the desire to stay on top, culturally and racially, than to survive at the bottom. As Emma Green put it in The Atlantic, summing up the research: ''Evidence suggests financially troubled voters in the white ***working class*** were more likely to prefer Clinton over Trump. Besides partisan affiliation, it was cultural anxiety -- feeling like a stranger in America, supporting the deportation of immigrants and hesitating about educational investment -- that best predicted support for Trump.''

Oligarchy is indeed a big problem. But it stands alongside a second major aspect of American life that Lind almost completely ignores: a racial and social changing of the guard. As the prospect of a majority-minority America looms, the result has been increased anxiety and resentment among those groups that feel threatened. So when Lind says, ''Almost all of the political turmoil in Western Europe and North America can be explained by the new class war,'' you don't feel in good hands.

So eager is Lind to be sympathetic to populists that he begins to take their talking points at face value. ''Unfortunately, under the logic of asymmetrical multiculturalism,'' he writes, ''appreciation of minority and immigrant traditions is often coupled with elite contempt for the ancestral traditions of white native and white immigrant subcultures, which are alleged by overclass intellectuals to be hopelessly tainted by white supremacy or colonialism.'' This is the kind of ''equality feels like oppression'' logic that leads people to found White Students Associations and Men's Rights Clubs. In a country in which every president but one has been a white man, most C.E.O.s are white men and the syllabuses in schools remain dominated by white men's words, it is amazing to think America is white-unfriendly.

Look, writing a book about Trump-era populism without a lens of racial awareness must be hard. Here's how Lind describes political correctness, for instance: ''the artificial dialect devised by leftist activists and spread by university and corporate bureaucrats that serves as a class marker distinguishing the college-educated from the vulgar majority below them.'' In this framing, all the new awarenesses and sensitivities and humilities -- for which I am profoundly thankful, since these days I'm much less often asked where I'm really from or told my English is impressive (thanks, they teach us well in Ohio!) -- are just a ploy by leftists to hold white ***working-class*** people down. This understanding portrays the victims as the white ***working class***, and the oppressors as those students who no longer wish to be called ''faggots'' and secretaries tired of being ''sweetie.'' I, for one, am grateful for all the thinking and doing that have changed how Americans navigate one another's identities, and I do not have the luxury of dismissing the improvement in the dignity I am accorded daily as an ''artificial dialect.''

Now, if you are going to present Trump as the receptacle of the cries of the unheard, you will need to funhouse-mirror him beyond recognition. Lind is on it. He takes the quintessential racist moment of Trump's presidency -- his famous comments on Charlottesville -- and defends them: ''Phrases from his remarks were taken out of context, recombined and misconstrued so they could fit into the Trump-is-Hitler narrative.'' He also dismisses concerns about Russia's role in the 2016 election as ''mythological thinking.'' ''Liberal democracy in the West today is not endangered by Russian machinations or resurgent fascism,'' Lind writes, describing a world I would love to live in. In fact, get this: Lind believes the ''paranoid demonological thinking'' represented by worries about Russia and fascism ''has the potential to be a greater danger to liberal democracy in the West than any particular populist movements.''

So dismissive is Lind of the idea that Trumpism has fascist echoes that he refers to such claims as a Brown Scare, a reference to Hitler's Brownshirts. I'm no stranger to a Brown Scare, but, in my definition, it's just me being brown and scared of my country losing its liberties, stature and mind.

Somewhere in here is the kernel of a good book: Lind's original focus was oligarchy, and there is a way to end it, he says. ''To supplement conventional electoral politics, reformers will need to rebuild old institutions or build new ones that can integrate ***working-class*** citizens of all origins into decision-making in government, the economy and the culture, so that everyone can be an insider.''

Still, what is missing from the book, and might have saved it, is actual human beings. I sometimes ask my nearly 5-year-old how he knows something, and he often says, like the man he's learning to be, ''I just know it in my brain.'' This is a book written from the brain more than from the collision with the complexities of experience. It is a book that would have benefited from getting out there, interviewing people, testing theories against reality, heading down to the border, unearthing documents showing how companies think about the issues in question.

''The New Class War'' lacks the texture and earth and seduction of real portraiture. Lind derides the ''overclass'' but doesn't break any ground in depicting it. When he somewhat outdatedly says the tech industry makes ''software'' or elite city dwellers employ services like ''Fingernail Former,'' we get the sense of a man who has read more about the world than actually encountered it. When he says, ''The rootedness of most ***working-class*** Americans and Europeans in their hometowns and regions is often lamented by the intellectuals of the managerial overclass: Why don't the lazy losers in heartland communities show some initiative and move to the Bay Area to invent an app, or relocate to London to work in finance?'' I realized that Lind was reporting from the inside of his own mind.

''The New Class War'' is a reminder that, even in the Trump era -- especially in the Trump era -- it is curiosity rather than certainty that must propel us. What can be so exciting about books is watching authors end up far from where they began, carried forth by not knowing, wanting to know, then slowly knowing more, realizing what is still not known, plowing on, thinking, rethinking, going on a meandering intellectual journey that justifies you later going on a fractal of that journey with them.Anand Giridharadas, an editor at large of Time, is the author, most recently, of ''Winners Take All: The Elite Charade of Changing the World.''THE NEW CLASS WARSaving Democracy From the Managerial EliteBy Michael Lind203 pp. Portfolio/Penguin. $25.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/17/books/review/the-new-class-war-michael-lind.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/17/books/review/the-new-class-war-michael-lind.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Workers in Monaca, Pa., wait to see Donald Trump, Aug. 13, 2019. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICHOLAS KAMM/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) (BR15)

**Load-Date:** January 19, 2020

**End of Document**



[***New York’s Superstar Progressive Isn’t A.O.C.; Bret Stephens***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63NG-M5N1-JBG3-64TW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 21, 2021 Tuesday 00:21 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 932 words

**Byline:** Bret Stephens

**Highlight:** Ritchie Torres isn’t a household name. He should be.

**Body**

Ritchie Torres, a congressman from America’s poorest district — New York’s 15th, in the Bronx — quietly bristles at the A.O.C. comparison.

“There’s a sense in which the media narrative diminishes me,” he tells me over plates of pasta at a restaurant in the Bronx’s Little Italy when I raise the subject of his notorious fellow Democrat from an adjoining district, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. “I resist the temptation to fit into a preconceived narrative. My career in politics long predates the Squad.”

No need to explain who and what is meant by the Squad — the House members seen by some as the bright dawning of a new Democratic Party and by others as the Four Horsewomen of the Wokepocalypse. Not long after our lunch, A.O.C. once again became Topic A of national conversation for posturing politically while posing pictorially at the Met Gala.

The bigger mystery is why Torres (who was emphatically not at the gala) hasn’t yet become a household name in the United States. On the identity-and-background scorecard, he checks every progressive box. Afro-Latino, the son of a single mom who raised three children working as a mechanic’s assistant on a minimum-wage salary of $4.25 an hour, a product of public housing and public schools, a half brother of two former prison inmates, an N.Y.U. dropout, the Bronx’s first openly gay elected official when he won a seat on the City Council in 2013 at the age of 25 and the victor over a gay-bashing Christian minister when he won his House seat last year.

He’s dazzlingly smart. He sees himself “on a mission to radically reduce racially concentrated poverty in the Bronx and elsewhere in America.”

In other words, Torres is everything a modern-day progressive is supposed to look and be like, except in one respect: Unlike so much of the modern left (including A.O.C., who grew up as an architect’s daughter in the middle-class Westchester town of Yorktown Heights), he really is a child of the ***working class***. He understands what ***working-class*** people want, as opposed to what so many of its self-appointed champions claim they want.

“I don’t hire ideologues or zealots,” he tells me on a walk through his district. “Most of the people in the South Bronx are practical rather than ideological. Their concerns are bread and butter, health and housing, schools and jobs.”

What this translates to is a 21st-century civil rights agenda based on pressing ***working-class*** needs for affordable housing, better schools, safer streets, good health care. The goals are progressive, but the solutions, for Torres, have to be pragmatic.

That emphatically includes giving children the option to attend “carefully regulated, not-for-profit” charter schools, which his district has in abundance, over fierce opposition from teachers’ unions. “If there are parents in my district who have concluded that the best option for their children is a charter school, then who am I to tell them otherwise?” he asks.

He is also consumed by the crisis of affordable housing, probably the single biggest challenge facing lower-income New Yorkers. One of Mayor Bill de Blasio’s early drafts for solving the crisis, Torres recalls, involved building 75,000 units over 10 years. Yet the demand was closer to six times that number. “Even if we created 75,000 tomorrow instead of 10 years, we’d fall catastrophically short between bridging the gap between supply and demand.”

His answer is a classic triangulation between big-government interventionism and small-government common sense. He wants to greatly increase the Section 8 federal voucher program, turning it into a new federal entitlement — [*“housing vouchers for all,” he calls it*](https://www.bxtimes.com/torres-introduces-legislation-to-combat-homelessness/) — that would ensure that no American family would need to pay more than 30 percent of its income in rent. Doing so “would instantaneously make millions of units affordable for the lowest-income households.”

But he also understands the need to streamline the public-review process to increase the supply of housing stock. “One of the great ironies of our time is that some of the most progressive cities are among the most systemically racist in their housing policies,” he says, mentioning San Francisco’s policies of single-family zoning and other land-use practices that are the way in which liberals discriminate today.

Torres is also particularly alarmed by the phenomenon that the Russian American evolutionary anthropologist Peter Turchin calls “elite overproduction.”

“We produce far more college graduates than there are elite positions for those graduates to occupy,” Torres observes. When those graduates find themselves deep in debt, shut out of the kinds of jobs they were promised and crushed by the cost of housing, “it is bound to have a radicalizing effect.”

It’s a strong argument for more vocational schools. It’s also an F.D.R.-esque call to save capitalism from itself, lest the people Torres calls “the New Jacobins” gain further grip.

Speaking of F.D.R., there will be a New York governor’s race next year. Torres would be a formidable primary opponent to the new governor, Kathy Hochul. As perhaps the most singular political talent of his generation, he is one progressive who could, at last, do more to unite the nation than to further divide it.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Gabriela Bhaskar for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 22, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Literary Destinations / Read Your Way Through London***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:675H-HJK1-JBG3-61VG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 25, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 7

**Length:** 1819 words

**Byline:** By Bernardine Evaristo

**Body**

Bernardine Evaristo, whose ''Girl, Woman, Other'' won the Booker Prize, invites readers into London, a city whose rich literary landscape is ''for everyone, not just the privileged few.''

The literary landscape of London is as varied as the city itself. According to the 2011 census, 40 percent of residents identified as ''Asian, Black, Mixed or Other.'' While this is no multi-culti utopia, it is undeniably an intensely multicultural metropolis where more than 300 languages are spoken.

Born here, raised here, living here, I am proud of this heteroglot city that has been my muse ever since I started writing, just as it has inspired the literary imagination of scribes for hundreds of years.

Every kind of literary activity is available here in abundance: festivals, public talks and debates, spoken word slams, workshops, cross art form collaborations. It is also the heartland of British publishing, the media and many of the national arts institutions and government-funded literary organizations that help writers progress to performance or publication, as well as projects to nurture new readers. Literary London is more than the books we read, the plays we watch or the poets who bestride its stages: It has a thriving infrastructure designed to widen participation and create a literary culture for everyone, not just the privileged few.

An eccentric city with a live-and-let-live vibe, London is a place where people can be free to be themselves, find the communities to which they belong and write whatever they want. There are, in a sense, many Londons for writers to explore. It is a city where rich and poor often live side by side: Even the most expensive districts, such as Mayfair and Westminster, will have affordable housing projects. There are also towns that were once villages, each with their own distinct identities and increasingly fluid demographics.

No single writer can define London because it can never be essentialized. It is a sprawling, complicated, very historical and heterogenous city, about which writers through the ages have offered their own versions. Here are some of my personal choices.

What should I read before I pack my bags?

''London: The Biography,'' by Peter Ackroyd, might sound like a stolid, academic tome but it's anything but. It's an incredibly stylish and idiosyncratic account of the city from prehistory onward, told through section headings such as ''Crime and Punishment'' and ''Cockney Visionaries'' rather than a straightforward chronology.

Ignatius Sancho, the author of ''Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho,'' is believed to have been born on a slave ship en route to the West Indies in 1729. He was brought to London as a small child, remaining until his death in 1780. As an adult, he ran a grocery shop in Westminster, was an abolitionist and composer and moved in leading literary, political and artistic circles, which was exceptional for a Black man at that time. His letters were published posthumously.

My favorite Virginia Woolf book is the classic ''Mrs. Dalloway,'' a psychologically penetrating, modernist short novel set on a single day in central London, 1923 -- the city vividly brought to life through two main characters of different classes.

And for a comic take on British class and snobbery, read ''The Diary of a Nobody,'' published in 1892, by George and Weedon Grossmith. It's quite a skill to make boring fictional characters interesting, but the Grossmith brothers do just this with Charles Pooter and his family, who reside in north London.

Finally, for insight into teenagers in London, read Hannah Lowe's poetry collection ''The Kids,'' inspired by the youngsters she taught in an inner city London school for 10 years.

What books can show me other facets of the city?

''The Five: The Untold Lives of the Women Killed by Jack the Ripper,'' by Hallie Rubenhold, offers just what it says on the cover. It's quite shocking to read how egregiously these women have been misrepresented since their murders in the 19th century. Rubenhold untangles the myths of history-making and writes with great empathy about the hardships the women endured when alive and the rampant misogyny they faced when dead.

Roger Robinson, who is originally from Trinidad, has a poetry collection, ''A Portable Paradise,'' that should be read for its emotional honesty and vulnerability, and for a sequence of poems about the Grenfell Tower fire, in which a public housing block in west London caught fire in 2017, killing 72 people and injuring hundreds more. It was an avoidable tragedy: The fire spread because of cladding that defied building regulations, due to government neglect. The building still stands, wrapped in protective scaffolding with green love hearts and the words ''Forever in Our Hearts'' at the top. Take Robinson's book to the site and read his poems about it.

Set in south London, ''Ordinary People,'' a soulful novel by Diana Evans, subtly explores the web of desires and disappointments around Black British relationships, family, work and parenting. Evans's first novel, ''26a,'' centers on twins from an interracial British-Nigerian family living in northwest London.

''Queer City: Gay London from the Romans to the Present Day,'' by Peter Ackroyd, again, is an important and entertaining corrective to the overwhelmingly heteronormative recording of British history. And in ''Night Haunts: A Journey Through the London Night,'' by Sukhdev Sandhu, you'll discover the urban dwellers who work in the dark, from the avian police to the cleaners to the Thames bargers and flushers.

What writer is everyone talking about?

Isabel Waidner, and deservedly so. A German-British Londoner, they published two novels before winning the Goldsmiths Prize for experimental fiction in 2022 with ''Sterling Karat Gold.'' They write about the politics of state oppression, the politics of rebellion, the politics of the imagination. Their explosive sensibility and style are as far removed from mediocre prose and middle-class manners as you can imagine. This alone is reason to read them.

If I have no time for day trips, what books could take me there instead?

There aren't enough writers from ***working-class*** backgrounds writing novels about people from ***working-class*** backgrounds, but two outstanding Scottish storytellers have made names for themselves in recent years doing just that: Douglas Stuart, whose novels, ''Shuggie Bain'' and ''Young Mungo,'' feature young, gay, Glaswegian protagonists, and Kerry Hudson, novelist and memoirist, whose first novel, ''Tony Hogan Bought Me an Ice-Cream Float Before He Stole My Ma,'' centers on a young girl born in Aberdeen and the women in her family. These two writers will wring out your emotions: Their writing is heartbreaking and heartwarming in equal measure.

What audiobook would make for good company while I walk around?

''London Clay: Journeys in the Deep City,'' by Tom Chivers, is perfect. He's previously written poetry books and brings a poet's sensibility to this prose nonfiction book about the hidden parts of the capital, mixing the past with the present, the known with the unknown and his personal story with social history and geology.

Who are the literary icons I'll see on public monuments?

St. Thomas' Hospital, in Waterloo, is definitely worth a visit. There you'll find an impressive statue of Mary Seacole, the Jamaican nurse, hotelier and traveler whose frank and entertaining autobiography, ''Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands,'' was published in 1857.

Not too far from the hospital you'll find a hallowed place for writers: Poets' Corner, in Westminster Abbey. More than 100 poets and writers are buried or commemorated there; the first among them was Geoffrey Chaucer, the author of ''The Canterbury Tales'' -- a long poem charting the journey of a group of pilgrims who travel from south London to Canterbury -- who died in 1400. In 2014, the poet Patience Agbabi published a witty, remixed version of the poem, ''Telling Tales.''

Also entombed in Poets' Corner are Charles Dickens, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling and Alfred, Lord Tennyson, and there are memorial tablets to many more writers, including John Betjeman; Jane Austen; Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë; Gerard Manley Hopkins; Ted Hughes; Henry James; William Shakespeare; Oscar Wilde and Philip Larkin. In a noisy, hectic city, this is a quiet space where you can commune with the spirits of the literary past and reflect on the power of literature to resonate far beyond a writer's life.

What are some good places to read or find new books?

Newham Bookshop, in the East End, has been a passionate and stalwart supporter of a truly diverse range of writers and readers since it was founded in 1978, decades before diversity became a buzzword. The Second Shelf, a women's bookshop in the West End, is the place to go to buy rare and current books, art and ephemera, such as Sylvia Plath's plaid skirt.

The British Library in Kings Cross is one of my favorite places to meet people in London for a coffee. Its vaults, which contain copies of every book, play or other document published in the United Kingdom, descend the equivalent of eight stories below ground. Readers can access most books through the Reading Rooms.

The St. Cuthbert Gospel, the oldest European book to survive fully intact, is frequently on display there. The Library purchased it for a staggering 9 million pounds in 2012. The value of literature is so much more than financial, but nothing beats seeing a physical book from the 8th century and reflecting on the world as it was then, and the world as it is now.

Bernardine Evaristo's London Reading List

''London: The Biography'' and ''Queer City: Gay London from the Romans to the Present Day,'' Peter Ackroyd

''Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho,'' Ignatius Sancho

''Mrs. Dalloway,'' Virginia Woolf

''The Diary of a Nobody,'' George and Weedon Grossmith

''The Kids,'' Hannah Lowe

''The Five: The Untold Lives of the Women Killed by Jack the Ripper,'' Hallie Rubenhold

''A Portable Paradise,'' Roger Robinson

''Ordinary People'' and ''26a,'' Diana Evans

''Night Haunts: A Journey Through the London Night,'' Sukhdev Sandhu

''Sterling Karat Gold,'' Isabel Waidner

''Shuggie Bain'' and ''Young Mungo,'' Douglas Stuart

''Tony Hogan Bought Me an Ice-Cream Float Before He Stole My Ma,'' Kerry Hudson

''London Clay: Journeys in the Deep City,'' Tom Chivers

''Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands,'' Mary Seacole

''The Canterbury Tales,'' Geoffrey Chaucer

''Telling Tales,'' Patience Agbabi

Bernardine Evaristo -- that's Bernardine with two R's! -- is the author of 10 books and other writings spanning multiple genres. There are now over 60 translations of her books in more than 40 languages, and she has received more accolades and honors than could ever be squeezed at the bottom of this page.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/12/books/london-books-bernardine-evaristo.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/12/books/london-books-bernardine-evaristo.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page BR7.

**Load-Date:** December 25, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In England, Morris Dancing Is Loved, Mocked and Getting a Makeover***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68Y6-C3J1-JBG3-62PP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 15, 2023 Tuesday 15:20 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; dance

**Length:** 1919 words

**Byline:** Genevieve Marks

**Highlight:** Morris dancing, a folk form with origins in the 15th century, is opening up to younger dancers who approach it as a living tradition.

**Body**

Four women in gold lamé jumpsuits with painted faces and floral headbands leaped in tandem, their shins bedecked with silver bells. Hands — each gripping a white handkerchief — cut the air at angles above their heads. Two enormous papier-mâché beasts — a sheep and an owl — were being manipulated to dance at the edge of the stage. Joy beamed from each dancer’s face. The crowd was whooping. But what on earth was this spectacle?

The women, part of the all-female company [*Boss Morris*](https://www.bossmorris.com/), were performing the Cotswold Morris, an often mocked English folk dance that was having a rare moment on the proscenium stage at the Southbank Center in London in May. But this was not Morris dancing as it has come down through the ages. “We go a bit wild,” said Rhia Davenport, a founding member of Boss Morris.

In Morris dancing, a folk form performed to live music (fiddles, concertinas, melodeons), movements can be discrete or dramatic, from rhythmic stepping and one-legged hops to gentle gestures. For years Morris was relegated to rural England, the province of passionate amateurs, attuned to an inherited history.

“Try everything once — except incest and Morris dancing,” a popular saying goes in England. But now Morris, long a poked-fun-of example of British eccentricity, is opening up to younger dancers who approach it as a living tradition. For some, this means exploring ways to pull apart and reinterpret the form. And for traditionalists, it means perfecting ancient technique.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/DKjXzRClNTY)]

Morris dance is believed to have started life as a form of Royal court entertainment in the 15th century. Over time, it became the preserve of ***working-class*** men in the villages from which the dances originated, often performed in front of a pub. Costumes usually consist of white shirts and pants, hard black shoes, sashes with village colors, and bells and ribbons. Each village’s dance is different from the next — in formation, footwork or character work.

England is “at the end of the cycle of folk revivalism, which exploded in the 1970s,” said Michael Heaney, an expert on Morris dancing and author of the recently published book, “The Ancient English Morris Dance.” “People are dying off. A new generation is taking over. There was once an orthodox canon of what Morris dancing was. That is changing. Younger dancers are much freer in their interpretation of what counts as Morris.”

One less-orthodox collective is [*Folk Dance Remixed*](https://folkdanceremixed.com/), which has led workshops at the Royal Opera House and performed across the country. Their signature piece — “Step Hop House” — is danced as a “conversation between Cotswold Morris, capoeira and hip-hop,” said Natasha Khamjani, a co-founder of the company. “Those three styles are highly aerobic. Most of the time you are trying to get the dancers to fly. It is hard work.”

A particularly rousing phrase has eight dancers staggered in two rows, legs seamlessly moving between whacking and popping and the distinctive capers (hops), galleys (lifted knees) and jigs of Cotswold Morris, all with handkerchiefs working as extensions of arms.

Kerry Fletcher, the other co-founder of Folk Dance Remixed, said that when the company began exploring the connections among forms, in 2010, “we were shocked to find that Morris dancing steps look like what came out of the East Coast hip-hop scene” in the United States. One crossover is the use of unusual time signatures. “In one dance, we have a jig danced to a 9/8 rhythm — with a beat boxer and bass guitar,” Khamjani said. “A dancer of ours who trained at the Northern Ballet was really struggling.”

For Khamjani, “street dance is the folk of today.” So why, she added, “should native English folk styles like Morris not be reflected in our work?”

Damien Barber is director of the [*Demon Barbers*](http://www.thedemonbarbers.co.uk/), another company probing the unlikely relationship between Morris dancing and hip-hop. Mr. Barber’s signature show, “The Lock-In,” premiered at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival. Performed with a folk band onstage, the piece includes a vignette in which a male dancer in a football shirt performs a vertiginous Morris jump followed by a languid fall to the floor — and then starts break dancing.

Barber is quick to stress the technical prowess required to dance Morris. “Like any dance form, it takes years to perfect the nuances and physicality,” he said. “What people misunderstand is how difficult simple leaps are — and how tiring. You are stamping your feet into the floor, sometimes jumping in clogs. After every performance we strap ice packs to our shins — it is not for the faint-hearted.”

Each Morris dance consists of a repertory of 20 to 30 discrete moves. Layered on top are “so many possible variations in each movement, the wider structure and the characters,” said Ben Moss, 32, a folk performer who trained at Trinity Laban Conservatoire in London and each year does Morris dancing in full regalia — all-white costume, bells, hankies and clogs — for the 26 miles of the London marathon.

His formal training informs his Morris dancing, including references to Martha Graham technique. “I interrogate where my weight is distributed before I jump, I locate my core when spiraling,” he said. “You are always seeking a lightness, never giving into the ground.”

“I want to see Morris pulled apart and seen in serious dance spaces,” Moss added. That sentiment was echoed by Fletcher, who said: “Morris dancers don’t train like ballet dancers — but we should.”

Actually, some do. Ballet Folk was founded in 2019 by Deborah Norris, a dance teacher and academic who wants to bring ballet to folk dance (including Morris), and folk back to ballet. “This fusion is important because it appeals to a wider demographic,” Norris said. “We arrive in a van and perform in pointe shoes on a field.”

Ballet Folk takes balletic form and turns it on its head. “For example, a simple pas de bourrée leading to a jump has been adapted to a folksy syncopation,” Norris said. “Ballet dancers are conditioned for a totally different takeoff and landing to Morris dancers. We upend that, so the leaps counterintuitively land on the beat.”

At the other end of the Morris dancing spectrum are those interested not in genre-bending but in fidelity to form, like Alun Pinder, a 28-year-old data analyst. “I am a high Morris snob,” he said. “Most of the amateur groups you see out in the community — well, you could barely slide a piece of paper underneath their feet as they leap.”

“There are probably three teams in the whole country who are up to the standard that we should be striving for,” Pinder said. (There are approximately 800 active national Morris teams.) By his own estimation, his team, Fool’s Gambit, a roving collective that performs most weekends across the country, belongs in that top three. Another member, Charlotte Dover, 31, a civil servant, said, “We are looking to elevate the standard but keep true to the heart of what Morris is — a community dance.”

That also holds true for [*Westminster Morris*](http://westminstermorris.org/), a group whose first performance was at Elizabeth II’s coronation in 1953. “Morris has been passed down to us from the fog of history — we have to respect that,” said James Jack Bentham, 29, an actor who dances with the group. The Westminster dancers are proud of their command over one of the more distinctive elements of Morris: the flicking and waving of handkerchiefs. “We have trained ourselves to lower our hankies at a certain velocity so that they are almost in tandem and vertical,” Bentham said.

The group has a diverse roster — “we have Indians, Australians, Americans, Japanese, French,” Bentham said — an intensive training schedule and occasional international touring commitments. Still, Bentham insisted, “Westminster Morris belongs in the streets of England. Morris dancing has survived so long precisely because it has remained there, outside institutions.”

But Katy Spicer, the chief executive of the [*English Folk Dance and Song Society*](https://www.efdss.org/), said: “It is only a matter of time before Morris dancing is properly instituted as a stage art.” Yet there have been obstacles. For Barber, what holds Morris back from this prospect is mainly “the dearth of performance opportunities for young dancers to aspire to.” Norris and Khamjani cite the paucity of available funding.

Unlike other folk traditions of the British Isles — Irish dancing, say, or Scottish Highland dancing — Morris has no formal training rubric or formal opportunities for competition, save the occasional regional folk festival. “Why can’t we do something like Riverdance in the UK?” Spicer asked. “It’s simple. Irish dance is followed as a syllabus. It is examined, stamped and badged.”

There is no equivalent for Morris dancing. Aside from a loose network of organizations representing the Morris dancing community, there exists no governing nor examination body. And Morris dancing receives next to no state funding. Despite its ubiquity in regional English life, it is still relegated to the cultural fringe.

Part of the reason may be that, for many, the form still has the reputation of being “pale, male and stale” — undesirable in an England trying to navigate a post-Brexit identity. “Morris dancing is still synonymous with slightly racist, old white men flicking handkerchiefs,” Spicer said.

All the young Morris dancers I talked to for this article were adamant about rejecting those associations. For them, Morris is appealing precisely because it looks back to a preindustrial time, largely untainted by England’s sticky colonial legacy. “Young people are casting around looking for a way to comfortably engage with their nation,” Moss said. “Morris and the folk scene offers so many opportunities to do this.”

One way is by exploring England’s Arcadian tradition. “The landscape is another connection to our history,” Davenport of Boss Morris said. The group regularly performs at ancient sites, like Glastonbury in Somerset or the giant stone circles of Avebury in Wiltshire, said to predate Stonehenge.

As Morris dancing is slowly pulled into a more progressive place, the demand for it to be transplanted to more mainstream dance spaces grows. And for those seeking engagement with their folk traditions by way of faithful recreation of the past, “professionalizing Morris would not need to kill off or replace what has been around for centuries,” Pinder said. “And it does not need to be the butt of the joke.”

Boss Morris may be the flashiest torchbearers for modern Morris dancing, but others are waiting in the wings. “Watching a terrible standard of dance is laughable,” Spicer said. “But when done well, it suddenly becomes an art form.”

PHOTOS: The Boss Morris dance company at the Avebury stones in Wiltshire, England. Morris dancing, with origins in the 15th century, is being celebrated and revamped by a new generation. (C1); Top, Morris dancing at the Avebury stones in Wiltshire, England. Above, Boss Morris, an all-female dancing group, keeps the traditional folk form alive while moving it forward.; From left: Sticks can be part of Morris dancing; costumes are part of the theater of the dance form, which despite its ubiquity in regional English life, is still relegated to the cultural fringe; for showtime, Rhia Davenport helped Katie Watton with her makeup. Younger people interested in Morris dancing are exploring ways to reinterpret the form. But for traditionalists, remaining true to historical technique is of vital importance. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C5) This article appeared in print on page C1, C5.

**Load-Date:** August 21, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Wonking Out: Are Billionaires Making Out Like Bandits?; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64PF-RX11-JBG3-643H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 4, 2022 Friday 10:37 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 754 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** Rising wealth may not be quite what it seems.

**Body**

Did you hear about Jeff Bezos and the bridge? The Amazon billionaire’s new superyacht, under construction in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, is so big that the city might have to partially [*take down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/03/world/europe/jeff-bezos-yacht-rotterdam-bridge.html) a historic bridge so that it can reach open water. The story has quickly become a metaphor for soaring inequality, and it feeds the perception that billionaires have done very well during the Covid-19 pandemic while ordinary people have suffered.

But is this perception accurate? It’s actually a bit complicated. Obviously we don’t need to shed any tears for Bezos, and who among us is immune to schadenfreude over Mark Zuckerberg’s [*recent losses*](https://www.reuters.com/technology/zuckerberg-loses-29-billion-day-meta-shares-crash-2022-02-03/https://www.reuters.com/technology/zuckerberg-loses-29-billion-day-meta-shares-crash-2022-02-03/)? Furthermore, I still believe that substantial increases in [*taxes on the rich*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/03/opinion/biden-taxation-rich.html) would be a very good idea.

When you ask how different groups have done during the pandemic, however, it’s important to distinguish between wealth — which is strongly affected by, among other things, fluctuations in the stock market — and income. I’ve written about this [*before*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/05/opinion/low-interest-rates-monetary-policy.html) but can now say quite a bit more thanks to a terrific new statistical tool — [*Realtime Inequality*](https://realtimeinequality.org/) — developed by economists at Berkeley. It lets us track changes in the distribution of both wealth and income in, well, real time, and it’s hugely illuminating.

Let’s start by talking about wealth.

The rich have, in fact, gotten considerably richer over the past two years; so, actually, have most Americans, but the gains have been especially big at the top:

Underlying these gains have been rising asset prices. Faster growth at the top probably reflects especially large gains in the stock market; stocks are held disproportionately by the wealthy, while much middle-class wealth is in housing:

But here’s the thing about asset prices: While they’re driven in part by the income people receive from the assets they own — dividends, rent and so on — they’re also affected by the returns investors expect on alternatives. As I tried to explain in a newsletter a few months ago, a lot of the rise in asset prices actually reflects bad news, a decline in the expected rate of return on new investments.

And if, say, the value of your stocks has gone up because of low interest rates, but the dividends you receive have stagnated or gone down, have you really come out ahead? It’s not that easy of a question to answer.

So what has been happening to the income of the very wealthy? It’s up, but not nearly as much as their wealth — and in fact, their gains have lagged those of the bottom half of the population:

Why have lower-income Americans seen relatively large income gains (from a low base — we’re still an incredibly unequal society)? Part of the answer is government aid during the pandemic: You can see that the spikes in income when stimulus checks went out and from other programs like the expanded child tax credit — which I still hope can be brought back — made a big difference.

But that’s not the whole story. Lately we’ve been experiencing a tight labor market, which has led to rising wages — with wages increasing much faster for lower-paid workers:

Yes, inflation has eroded these gains in real terms, although gains for workers at the bottom appear to have [*outpaced price increases*](https://twitter.com/arindube/status/1457156787828891657?lang=en). The point for now, however, is that a tight labor market seems to be reducing pay inequality.

So the simple story that the pandemic has been great for the wealthy and bad for the ***working class*** doesn’t hold up. There are, of course, other ways in which the pandemic has had a hugely unequal impact; the past two years have been very different for those Americans — mostly highly educated and well paid — who could work from home than for those who couldn’t. But that’s another story.

Is there a policy moral in all this? It’s pretty much a given that the Federal Reserve will be raising interest rates in the months ahead, in an effort to cool inflation. And it will be right to do so. Some people will, however, also be cheering on interest hikes because they tend to reduce stock prices, which makes the wealthy less wealthy — and this, they imagine, reduces economic inequality.

Well, that’s a bad take, confusing wealth and income inequality. And if you care about the incomes of ***working-class*** Americans, you should want the Fed to be cautious about rate hikes, lest they hurt the job market. Full employment, it turns out, is a very good thing for less-well-paid workers, and we don’t want to endanger that good thing merely because we’d like to reduce the paper wealth of billionaires.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Larry Fink FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 10, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Oh, That Old Ax? It's Just a Prank.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64YW-23C1-DXY4-X0WT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 11, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 10; CRITIC'S PICK

**Length:** 317 words

**Byline:** By Jeannette Catsoulis

**Body**

Things turn nasty when a peculiar stranger infiltrates a reunion of college pals in this clever horror-comedy.

Cringe comedy hurtles toward psychological horror in ''All My Friends Hate Me,'' Andrew Gaynord's delicious, fearless dive into age-related angst and chronic insecurity.

Years have passed since Pete (Tom Stourton) has seen his old friends from college, four of whom are throwing him a 31st birthday party at an ancestral home in the British countryside. After a couple of unnervingly odd encounters en route, Pete, already anxious and out of sorts, arrives to find the house empty. His mood is not improved when, hours later, his friends return from the pub with a weird stranger named Harry (Dustin Demri-Burns), who seems rather too familiar with Pete's past and personality.

Dancing on the line between funny and menacing, the ingenious script (by Stourton and Tom Palmer) is a tonal tease, a limbo where every joke has a threatening edge and every ''Just kidding!'' only increases Pete's unease. No one is interested in his volunteer work with refugee children; instead, they seem to be criticizing him at every turn, especially the unsettling Harry, whose mysterious notebook becomes a focus for Pete's growing anger and paranoia.

Cleverly playing with our sympathies, Gaynord, in his feature debut, stirs upper-class twittery and ***working-class*** pragmatism into scenes prickling with ambiguity. Was it really a prearranged prank when Harry pursued Pete with an ax? And was Pete's nightmarish birthday roast a ruse to force him to confess a long-ago sin?

Tightly paced and slickly composed, ''All My Friends Hate Me'' loses its nerve a trace in the final moments. Yet its commitment to unearthing the masochism that lurks at the heart of any reunion is unwavering.

All My Friends Hate MeRated R for liberal drug use and conservative nudity. Running time: 1 hour 33 minutes. In theaters.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/10/movies/all-my-friends-hate-me-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/10/movies/all-my-friends-hate-me-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: From left, Georgina Campbell, Graham Dickson, Tom Stourton, Antonia Clarke and Joshua McGuire in ''All My Friends Hate Me.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY SUPER LTD)

**Load-Date:** March 11, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Kristen Soltis Anderson; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6B43-KKM1-JBG3-600M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 16, 2024 Tuesday 16:44 EST

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 7903 words

**Highlight:** The Jan. 16, 2024, episode of “The Ezra Klein Show”

**Body**

Every Tuesday and Friday, Ezra Klein invites you into a conversation about something that matters, like today’s episode with Kristen Soltis Anderson. Listen [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html).

Transcripts of our episodes are made available as soon as possible. They are not fully edited for grammar or spelling.

EZRA KLEIN: Do you mind turning your headphone down?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: Hmm, OK. Is it good now?

EZRA KLEIN: Yeah.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: OK. [LAUGHS]:

EZRA KLEIN: Well — all right. Fun times in an election year, my least favorite year in politics all the time.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: Why is it your least favorite?

EZRA KLEIN: Elections are too high stakes.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: You don’t like the stakes.

EZRA KLEIN: No. I just want everything to go well. [LAUGHS]

I don’t want the chance of everything going not well, the entirety, the fate of the world resting on a bunch of completely contingent factors. I mean, it’s terrifying. It’s a crazy way to run things.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: Well, this is probably not the year for you, then.

EZRA KLEIN: No.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

So the Iowa caucus, as you’ve no doubt heard, was yesterday. I am speaking to you from a place of temporal ignorance. I don’t know what happened because I’m recording this a couple of days before.

But here is what almost certainly happened — Donald Trump won. He won by probably a lot, maybe less, maybe more than predicted but plenty. He is ahead in New Hampshire, ahead in South Carolina, ahead by a huge margin in the Republican primary, neck and neck in the general. And so rather than have a conversation about Iowa, I want to have a conversation about Republicans.

What is it that they want? What is it that still connects him so deeply to Donald Trump, that has made it so impossible for another candidate to fully break through? We look so often what Trump is doing and saying. We sort of treat politics as if it comes from the candidate.

But politics comes just as much from the voters. There is the supply, the supply side, what the candidates do, and the demand side. There is what the voters want. And the thing is what they want is what Trump gives them. So what do they want? What is it that Republicans see that keeps them connected to this candidate, who has so much other baggage and so many other flaws and yet maintains this almost mystical, unbreakable connection with so much of the Republican base?

Kristen Soltis Anderson is a Republican pollster. She’s a founding partner of the opinion research firm Echelon Insights and a political contributor on air at CNN. She’s been working with the New York Times on some of our focus groups. So she’s done a huge amount of work over years understanding how Republicans think politically and trying to translate that to more general audiences. I’m grateful she could be here today. As always, my email, [*ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com*](mailto:ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com)

Kristen Soltis Anderson, welcome to the show.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: Thank you for having me.

EZRA KLEIN: So you have this poll that asked Republicans, are you primarily a supporter of the Republican Party or are you primarily a supporter of Donald Trump? And 51 percent said they were there for the party, and 46 percent said they were there for Trump. What do you make of that?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I think that this is a party that is a little bit divided about whether it ought to be oriented around a man or oriented around some bigger set of ideas. In the lead up to the 2020 election, Republicans were very much, we are the Trump party. They really saw their identity through the lens of, I’m a supporter of Donald Trump.

And very shortly after that election, you had Jan. 6. And suddenly, there really was a bit of a break away from that. It has rebounded since, but I think it’s very valuable to note that his opposition has not really taken a bite out of him. You had in the Republican primary Chris Christie, making the sort of forceful case against Donald Trump. But he did not find that there was a huge market for a candidate whose primary message was, Donald Trump is unfit to serve. So he hasn’t really had anybody with a ton of credibility with the Republican base taking serious shots at him.

EZRA KLEIN: I think that we look too much at the supply in politics, like what candidates are supplying, and not enough at the demand. And it seems to me the reason you didn’t have more credible Republicans taking a bigger bite out of Donald Trump is that, as people wanted to win an election, they knew it wasn’t a good idea, right? People tried different things. Every time Haley or DeSantis tipped up to more frontal attacks on Trump, it didn’t move their numbers. They didn’t get a reaction from that — from the crowd, in the polls, from the donors, whatever — these are sensitive politicians — that said there was appetite for it.

And I think that’s my question. Why didn’t Republicans want something like that? I think there was a feeling, maybe a hope, that people had that Republicans were looking for an alternative. And maybe they were open to an alternative, but what I think is clear here is they weren’t looking for one.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: The analogy that I have used to describe this is, think about somebody who has a favorite comfort food dish that they order at the restaurant down the street from their house. Let’s say it’s meatloaf. It’s something that they not everybody loves. But it’s the thing that they like, and it makes them feel comfortable. And they know if they go down to that diner and they order that meatloaf that they’re going to what they get. They know it’s maybe not good for them. They know it’s not for everybody.

And so now, the server comes along and says, well, hey, we’ve actually got an interesting special or two today. Do you want to hear the specials? I think it’s the case that you had more than half of Republicans say, I’m open to hearing the specials. But at the end of the day, they really wanted meatloaf. They’re hungry. They want to know what they’re getting. And they feel like, with Donald Trump, they know what they’re getting, the good and the bad. They don’t think he’s perfect, but they have decided that the bad is worth it for the good they would get from him. And as a result, without coming to the conclusion that, hey, maybe I should stop eating meatloaf because I might have a heart attack, there just wasn’t really an interest in trying something new and different.

EZRA KLEIN: We are speaking the day after Chris Christie suspended his campaign. Good for him. It was time to do that. I’d like to just get your sense of how DeSantis and Haley have performed and if either of them have any path.

And DeSantis is the interesting one, I think, to start with. After the 2022 election, DeSantis seemed like this juggernaut. He won Florida by a huge margin, seemed to have big coat tails in Florida. When 2023 begins, Trump and DeSantis look like they’re converging. They’re not that far off from each other. But he has dropped further faster than I would have anticipated.

What proved so weak there? Why has he had such a rough 2023?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: His goal was to say, I am Trump but the new formula. And it turned out a lot of people who liked Donald Trump wanted the old formula. They didn’t want to roll the dice on somebody who, even though they thought maybe he had done an impressive job in Florida, was, nevertheless, someone that they didn’t know exactly what they were getting in the way that they felt like they knew what they were getting with Donald Trump, for good or for ill.

I think that was problem number one. And so as a result, it wasn’t clear, who’s the DeSantis voter? And his campaign seemed to settle on the idea that the DeSantis voter is someone who is to the right of Donald Trump, who views Donald Trump as insufficiently conservative. And the problem for them was that was a real worry for the Trump campaign in 2016.

It’s why they picked Mike Pence. It’s why he put out that list of, here’s all the people I’ll appoint to the Supreme Court. Back in 2016, the far right did have some concerns about, is Donald Trump credibly one of us?

Those concerns do not exist. So every time Ron DeSantis now tries to hit Trump from the right and say, you can’t trust this guy, he’s not actually going to put up points on the board for conservatives, conservatives go, what are you talking about, my guy? Did you not see the Dobbs decision? Did you not see — and so he had an argument that just didn’t fly with the type of voters that he thought he was going for. And those voters were not necessarily looking for an alternative to Trump anyways.

EZRA KLEIN: I think that makes a lot of sense about DeSantis. But I want to bring in one other dimension, which is one of the ways I try to discipline my thinking about Donald Trump is look internationally because there are Trump-like political coalitions and Trump-like political figures all over the world.

You think of Bolsonaro. I think Boris Johnson and Silvio Berlusconi, in certain ways, are important forerunners to Trump. You can look at Javier Milei in Argentina. And there are a bunch of others.

And one thing I think you see in most of them is the entertainer. If you’re thinking almost in terms of mythic archetypes, they’re trickster gods. They’re not boring. They’re not plodding. They’re not serious.

A lot of them come out of some kind of direct entertainment. And one thing that always struck me that DeSantis didn’t understand about Trump and about Trumpism is, this was supposed to be fun. It was supposed to be the greatest show on Earth.

In a way, it’s like what Vivek Ramaswamy did understand. I don’t think he’s good at it, but he understood that he was supposed to be interesting to watch. And DeSantis didn’t. He was like the straight-A student who was promising to do a better job at class president than the class clown quarterback who he was running against.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I think there’s something to that, and I think it’s part of why the second piece of DeSantis’s argument failed, which was, I am more electable than Donald Trump. And whether it is because of Trump’s magnetic pull on Republican voters, they like watching him. They think he’s funny. They think he’s fun. They would rather sit next to him on an airplane than somebody else.

And therefore, when Ron DeSantis goes, no, no, no you should pick me because I’m going to be better against Joe Biden, that falls apart if those Republican voters think, no. I don’t know that you’re actually charismatic.

But I also think that DeSantis’s electability argument was undercut by some of the choices he made in Florida after the midterms in trying to solve that first problem, which was persuade the very conservative wing of the party that I’m one of you, whether it was the six-week abortion ban in Florida, for instance. That was the sort of thing DeSantis did, thinking, oh, I’m going to prove my conservative creds to these voters and prove that Donald Trump is a phony. And instead, all it did was make those voters who prioritized electability go, actually, this makes me a little bit nervous. Maybe you’re not the person who’s going to be able to beat Joe Biden. And in a way, I can see it backfiring.

EZRA KLEIN: So it’s a little bit hard to see what the path is for him. I think there are people who hold a candle still for Nikki Haley. And I understand the theory as being something like, she does better in Iowa than people think. She wins New Hampshire. Winning a primary, particularly in an unexpected way, against somebody with the political might of Donald Trump is a huge media moment. It’s one of those disruptive moments where the entire narrative can change, at least for a minute. And then something, something, there’s an actual race here.

How likely do you think an actual race is, and, even in a “New Hampshire wins” scenario, an actual Nikki Haley victory is?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I think it is very unlikely. She is uniquely positioned in terms of people who win New Hampshire, which has this much more highly educated, much less evangelical electorate than you find in your median Republican primary electorate. So she’s very suited to do well in New Hampshire. South Carolina, yes, she is from there, and that’s kind of the only reason that I’m even entertaining the possibility that this is really a race at this point.

You also have to remember, once you get past South Carolina, there are a lot of other states. And many of them have changed their rules over the last couple of years to be quite favorable toward Donald Trump amassing a lot of delegates. So the —

EZRA KLEIN: What kind of rule changes are you thinking about there?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: So something like California, for instance. So if you are a state, I believe, that is before middle of March, you are theoretically not supposed to be able to do winner take all. You’re supposed to be proportional. But early on, a state like California was able to change its rules to say, if somebody crosses the 50 percent threshold here, they can get all of our delegates. And it is some massive total of the delegates you need to secure the nomination at the convention.

Maybe Nikki Haley can pull it off. But California Republicans weirdly, for all your stereotypes about California, are actually a pretty Trumpy bunch.

So right now, there are just enough states where Trump’s team has been quite professional this time around, and has taken the reins in state parties, et cetera, and has set it up so that the odds of somebody coming on late as an insurgent or what have you are just diminished. It’s just a much harder hill to climb.

EZRA KLEIN: So I think back to Democrats in 2020, and I think back to the obsession with electability and their fear of Trump and their single-minded obsession on getting him out of there. And what that process ends in is Joe Biden, who is I think it is fair to say that was Democrats thinking with their head and not their heart.

Joe Biden does not inspire glittering loyalty among liberals. But there is a sense that he was going to be acceptable to the widest number of people and so be able to build the largest anti-Trump coalition which I think largely proved out to be true.

But if you made me bet, I’d say Joe Biden beats Donald Trump. If you made me bet on Joe Biden versus Nikki Haley I’d say Nikki Haley crushes Joe Biden. Even Ron DeSantis, I’d have some worries about Joe Biden. Just in things that you’d want to create a match up in — like age, energy — Nikki Haley has a certain number of firsts that would be sort of important and blunt certain things Joe Biden might want to say during the campaign. Those matchups are worse for Biden than Trump is. Joe Biden is not built to beat a candidate like Nikki Haley. He’s built to beat Donald Trump.

Am I missing something here? Or are Republicans missing something here?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: After the CNN debate, they had a focus group of a handful of Iowa voters that they’ve been tracking across the debates. These folks have been coming back month after month to come on air and talk about their views. None of them changed their mind. They said, from the start of this process to now, we haven’t really changed our mind. And none of them really thought that Donald Trump was going to lose to Joe Biden. They all just felt like, oh yeah. Of course, Donald Trump will win.

So you’re right that there is a disconnect. Republicans think Trump is more electable than I think the data suggests. I think your analysis is right, that Trump puts Republicans in a more vulnerable position than someone like Nikki Haley.

But here’s what I think is missing. Republicans are still scarred by the dueling narratives about why they lost in 2012. On the one hand, you have the autopsy crew, that says you lost because you lost the middle. You lost America’s rising ascendant coalition, et cetera. And then you had, on the other hand, no, no, you lost because you didn’t turn out your base.

Now, that has been amended in the ensuing decade because, actually, Donald Trump does a surprisingly good job of winning over and turning out low-propensity voters — frankly, voters of color, voters who are ***working class***, the exact types of voters who Mitt Romney did not do a great job with. So Donald Trump does have some segment of the American electorate that really just cares about him and might stay home if Republicans nominate a Nikki Haley.

But the other problem that I think someone like a Nikki Haley has is that her message is, I am a new generational leader. I’m going to be the future of the party. And a lot of Republicans — and you’ve heard DeSantis and Ramaswamy and others try to make this argument — is actually she’s the past. She’s a blast from the past. She’s not the future. She is the policies of George W. Bush with a dash of Jeb Bush and maybe some A.E.I. policy papers but that that is not where the right is headed.

And so that’s I think a reason why there are a lot of Republicans who may not view her as significantly more electable than Donald Trump is they worry they’re going to wind up just rerunning 2012 all over again.

EZRA KLEIN: See, I buy the argument that Trump turns out his base in a unique way. I think we’ve seen a lot of evidence of that. I just think that he also turns out the Democratic base in a unique way and that the key thing for me about Joe Biden’s political success — because, for all that he keeps looking weak, he keeps winning, wins in 2020, wins in 2022. Democrats have a great midterm. Democrats have had good 2023 special elections. So the actual electoral data — if you never could see a poll, the electoral data for Democrats over this period is pretty good. And if you then add it in, you could see presidential approval polls and inflation.

It’s shockingly good. It’s so much better than expected it would be. And the core thing behind it, I think, is that Joe Biden is a candidate of negative polarization. I don’t think you have to like Joe Biden to vote for him. I don’t think that’s the sort of case they make to Democrats.

I think that Barack Obama largely was a candidate of positive polarization. Democrats liked Barack Obama, and so they voted for Barack Obama. Republicans like Donald Trump, and so they vote for Donald Trump. And Joe Biden leaves this gigantic vessel to be filled by Donald Trump.

Joe Biden is not out there that much. He does not give a lot of interviews. In that way, I think he’s actually been less able to turn the page on Donald Trump than a Bernie Sanders might have been. I think if you imagine Bernie Sanders winning in 2020, I think the locus of American politics changes, and we’re arguing about Bernie Sanders.

Instead, here we are, in 2024, arguing about Donald Trump. It’s not even clear how to argue about Joe Biden in some ways. He hasn’t changed what politics is about to make it about him.

But what he does really well is he creates space for Donald Trump to mobilize the Democratic electorate. And the reason to me Haley is more electable is that she could potentially exploit what his real weakness is, which is that he personally does not mobilize the Democratic electorate. Trump eliminates that problem. Haley, for him, creates that problem. And that’s a little bit what I mean by being strategic. It feels to me like Republicans look internally. Who do I like? Who would I vote for? Not a sort of imagining the — to use a kind of media cliché — the Democrats in the diner.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: So you’re completely correct that when voters are asked, who are you voting for, and then, is your vote more for this candidate or against the other side, that there’s a real asymmetry there, that voters who pick Biden are much more likely to say, my vote is mostly against Trump, where those who pick Trump, there are actually quite a few of them that are like, no, I just like the guy. I’m in for him.

But the thing that I think is a driver of these Democratic overperformances or strong turnouts that you’ve seen in some of these other elections is partially that the Democratic coalition has been remade to include the sorts of very reliable, what a political consultant would call a four-four voter. You look at the voter file, the list of elections they’ve participated in, four of the last four, they check that box, that Democrats have absorbed a lot of those voters as Donald Trump has shed them and driven them away from the G.O.P.

And so Republicans now are more able to turn out low-propensity voters. But they’re also more dependent on them. And so that is why there is this worry that, if you nominate what Ron DeSantis kept calling sort of a corporatist, pale pastels-type candidate, does that actually fail to turn out the guy with the lunch pail in a way that Donald Trump could turn him out, where the suburban mom who’s in a book club with her friends and they’re talking about this election a lot, she’s turning out no matter what.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: So I think one of the better cases for Donald Trump’s electability is that there is evidence of some important traditionally Democratic voter groups moving towards Republicans, specifically I think moving towards him.

And let’s begin here with voters of color. We saw some evidence of that in 2020. Democrats did not make all that ground back in 2022. When you look at polling right now, you would know this better than me, but it seems to be continuing. What’s happening there?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: Donald Trump wound up remaking the Republican coalition a little bit by doing things that seemed very counterintuitive, by taking a hard line on issues like crime or immigration.

Part of that was an appeal of his economic message. Part of it, I think, is that many of the people who are the most affected by things large numbers of border crossings or rising crime are people in communities of color. I think that’s also a piece of it.

But you also have — I think there’s a parallel dissatisfaction with Joe Biden. I look at some cross tabs that would be very mind blowing to me five, six years ago, where you see young voters, voters of color, being among the least likely to give Joe Biden really strong ratings. So I think this isn’t just a factor of liking Republicans or liking Donald Trump so much as perhaps feeling like the differences between the two parties are reduced.

A question that I’m following very closely through this election is not asking people, who are going to vote for or not? But actually, do you think that there will be a meaningful difference in your life personally whether Donald Trump or Joe Biden wins? And I typically find that younger voters and voters of color are more likely to say they actually don’t think there’s going to be a big difference who wins that election.

That’s a real blinking warning sign for Democrats because that’s big pieces of their coalition who they need to say, the stakes are real, and you have to turn out. I do think there is sometimes a tendency to think of voters as computers that take in a whole bunch of different data points, and then process them, and then all make a rational decision about, well, would I be better off with person x or person y? And for lack of a better term, the vibes matter. How people emotionally feel about their leaders and about whether those leaders are living up to a variety of maybe more esoteric characteristics really, really, really does matter.

I don’t think that it is a coincidence that, in the aggregate, in the RealClearPolitics averages, Joe Biden’s job approval dips below percent the day that Kabul falls and never returns. I don’t think that’s a coincidence.

That was the first time that, for many voters, they said, wait a minute. I thought we were sending the competent folks back. And this looks chaotic. This looks like no one’s in charge.

EZRA KLEIN: This gets to a provocative argument you’ve been making. So you had this piece in The Times where you said, quote, “In my assessment of the dynamics of this election, what I see and hear is an electorate that seems to be craving stability.” And then you go on to say that that is why Donald Trump is ahead.

And I think to a lot of my audience — I was trying to think what is the analogy strong enough here. To say you’re going to vote for Donald Trump because you want order and stability is like saying you’re going to find peace and calm in your life by bungee jumping into Burning Man. You cannot come up, I think, for a lot of people with more opposed concepts. So why, to you, is Donald Trump acting as a stability candidate?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I think you began to see some flickers of him trying to drive this message in the town hall that he did on Fox News in the week leading up to these caucuses, where he tried to push back a little bit against some of his more inflammatory past remarks. Oh, no, I don’t really want to be a dictator. Oh, no, I don’t really want my administration to be about retribution.

And I suspect it’s because his very smart advisers who are around him sat him down and told him exactly this, that, in 2016, Donald Trump ran as a wrecking ball, and voters wanted a wrecking ball, or at least enough voters in enough key swing states wanted a wrecking ball.

Then you get to 2020, Donald Trump is still running as I’m the bull in the China shop. I am going to be your disrupter. And at that point, voters have said, no thank you. I would like off this ride. It is too much for me. Please give me calm. Give me stability. Give me the sleepy guy in the basement. Trump was sort of setting it up as disruption versus stability, and he lost that argument pretty big.

And I frankly think that this is why you saw outlandish candidates in 2022 fail as well. Voters want normal. And so you may think, well, as we get to 2024, how is Donald Trump normal? Nothing about Donald Trump is normal.

But I think his push for order — I am going to be the one who secures the border. I’m going to be the one that cracks down on crime. I’m going to be the one that tries to stabilize your prices. It is as though there are two different Donald Trumps at war with themselves. And this is even how Republican voters talk about him.

We did a focus group here with The New York Times. And we talked to Iowa voters who often said, there’s two Trumps. There’s the old Trump, who is a good president, where my prices felt stable. It felt like crime was low. It felt like the border was secure.

And now there’s new Trump, who’s attacking judges on Truth Social. I wish we could have old Trump.

So even Republicans get that there are two components to Donald Trump. He’s not Mr. Calm, Mr. Serenity.

But being someone who says, I’m going to rule with an iron fist a little bit, that can lead to order and stability. And that may be what voters want.

EZRA KLEIN: I want to get at this question of an electorate that feels there is not order instability because I see this argument that people have nostalgia for what, I think, is 2019, fundamentally, the prepandemic year.

But I’ve looked this up. I did some reporting. Donald Trump was still president in 2020.

He was in the White House then. How do you match those up?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I do think that you’re right, that there is a bit of nostalgia, or rose-colored glasses, or however you want to think about it for the Trump presidency. And you see this pop up in a number from a recent poll, where people were asked, do you believe that you have been better off or worse off as a result of Joe Biden’s policies? And by about a 30-point margin, voters said worse off.

But then you asked about Donald Trump, were you better off or worse off as a result of his policies? And I believe it was a 12-point margin people said better off. Now, if that had been people’s mindset in 2020, he would have been re-elected. So clearly, that’s not where people were at the end of his administration and have swung to that point of view with the passage of time and reflecting on the last couple of years.

But I also think Donald Trump gets a bit of a pass for things that happened in 2020 because of the pandemic. You’ve even seen this with Ron DeSantis trying to prosecute the case against Donald Trump. Look, the disorder that we saw in the streets in the summer of 2020, that happened on Trump’s watch. He allowed that to happen.

But Republican voters just don’t really blame him for that. They don’t say, oh wow, he was president when that was happening. And therefore, he can’t be trusted to bring about order and stability. Instead, they just think back, and they go, I think things were better then. Or they give him a pass on stuff that happened during the pandemic.

EZRA KLEIN: One of the really striking statistics I’ve seen is — Paul Waldman has made this point that, if you look at the polls of consumer sentiment, the University of Michigan does a very big one, and it goes back a long time. And you can break it down by party. Republicans felt better about the economy, the current conditions of the economy, in December of 2008 when it was just literally collapsing, the housing crisis, the stock market — we were in a scenario that was spiraling towards a Great Depression — than they do now.

And when I look at that, there’s some part of me that’s like, you can’t explain that economically. Growth is extremely strong. It’s quite unusually strong. The labor market is strong. Inflation has come back down. Crime is down. Violent crime is way down.

Pandemic deaths are, of course, way down. There aren’t huge protests in the streets. There isn’t a mob storming the capital. If you look at almost any measure, you can come up with in American society, maybe the exception of border crossing, they are calmer, more orderly. And yet there is a sense of disorder, of fracture, of Biden presiding over chaos.

You’re dealing with motivated reasoning, right? You’re dealing with seeing the world through party-colored glasses.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: Partisanship rules everything around me —

EZRA KLEIN: I used to tweet that all the time.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: — is absolutely a way to view these data points. As soon as the new administration takes over, everybody’s viewpoint on the economy seems to flip, even though it’s only been maybe a week that you’ve had the new president. You see this pretty consistently in data, but it’s gotten worse as we’ve become more polarized. You see this now with even things like presidential job approval, where it used to be that at least new presidents got a couple months, maybe even a couple of weeks of runway, a little bit of, OK, well, we’ll see how this guy does.

And now you just don’t have that. People have already concluded, by the time someone takes the Oath of Office, they’re a bad president. The economy is bad. Everything is worse. America is going to hell in a handbasket. And so I do think you’re right, that that’s a huge driver of how people are seeing things.

But it doesn’t explain why so many voters in the political center, who maybe aren’t as closely tethered to partisanship, nevertheless feel like things are unraveling. And I think that’s Joe Biden’s biggest challenge heading into November is this is not just the hardcore MAGA Republicans who are consuming conservative news that is showing them what’s going on at the border, stories about crime, stories about expensive fast food, all of that.

It is also voters in the center who are reluctant to hear an argument that says, you know what? I know you feel like things are chaotic. But actually, things are great.

And that then becomes the pickle that any politician who’s an incumbent is in. How do you tell people who feel bad, stop feeling bad? I’m doing a much better job than you’re giving me credit for. That’s a tough message to swallow.

EZRA KLEIN: You mentioned a minute ago that you have these partisan reversals on the economy when somebody new comes in. But I’ve seen research that says they’re 2.5 times bigger among Republicans than Democrats. And I think there’s a kind of obvious reason for that.

You’re a CNN contributor. I work at The New York Times. Democrats watch CNN. They read The New York Times.

But CNN and The New York Times don’t like to think of themselves as for Democrats. And so they do a lot of mixed coverage of the economy. Well, the labor market is good, but inflation is really bad, and duh, duh, duh. And I think a lot of the media outlets that Republicans attach to have less incentive to see themselves as transpartisan.

Democrats are attached to media that does not want to be media for Democrats. And Republicans are attached to media that wants to be media for Republicans. And that has created an asymmetry in the system. Do you think that’s an unfair way to look at it?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I don’t think that that’s a complete explanation. And I also wonder to what extent it is that, for Republicans, a very big piece of how they think of themselves and the identity of their own party is, we’re good at running the economy. We’re the folks that are good at this, where, for Democrats, just sort of raw G.D.P. growth may not be as tied to how Democrats are viewing, are we as a party succeeding or failing as it is for Republicans?

Now, I’ll be interested to see, what does this look like 10 years from now? Because you have begun to see this pivot away from being like, we’re the party of business, certainly the party of big business. But I wonder to what extent that will still be an important part of how Republicans see themselves with the assumption, well, when we’re in charge, obviously, the economy is getting better because that’s what we do, a decade from now.

EZRA KLEIN: So one thing I try to do to keep myself honest is compare Biden to Obama. I like to use the Gallup historical presidential tracker a lot, where you can line up all these presidents by the same point in their presidencies. And right when we are talking, right at the beginning of December, Biden is at 39 according to Gallup, and Obama was at 43.

And 43 is better than 39. If you ask me to choose between them, I’d want 43. But neither is good. And what Obama was able to do in 2012 was mobilize the artillery of the entire Democratic Party, Bill Clinton explaining his economic record at the convention, and everybody going everywhere, and a million ads, to try to tell a story that says, yeah, look.

Unemployment is still higher than you want it to be. Things aren’t perfect, but they’re actually getting better. We’ve done a better job than you think. We’re recovering faster than Europe.

And it worked. He had a pretty comfortable victory over Mitt Romney. And one thing I wonder about Biden and the Democrats — and this is what you hear from the Biden administration or at least from the Biden campaign, I should say — is, look. Everybody should chill out.

The campaign hasn’t started yet. We haven’t started making our case. We haven’t really started running our ads. They just kind of had their kickoff speech about democracy. How do you take that theory on their part? Do you think there’s truth to it?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I think there is some truth to it insofar as I don’t believe that there’s no such thing as a swing voter. It’s very fashionable nowadays because we are so polarized to say that there’s this vanishingly small slice of voters who are persuadable either way. I don’t think it’s vanishingly small. I don’t think it’s enormous, but I think you have a lot of people who are, right now, still trying to figure out, oh, I don’t really like the options available to me. But I don’t yet know which of them feels worse. And so I do think that there are going to be folks who are open minded.

Donald Trump is pretty well defined in people’s minds. I think the question is just, are they right now just remembering, quote, unquote, good Trump? And what will it take to remind them of bad Trump? Will Donald Trump do that job for the Biden campaign? That is entirely possible, if not likely.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: I recognize there is no one answer to this question, but to the extent you can generalize your view on it, what is it Republicans want? What do they want out of their next president, whoever it might be? What is success to them? And what is failure? And is it measured in policy? Or is it measured in representation and a kind of cultural shift in power?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I think that it is a combination of those two things. There were some really interesting Pew polling that came out, where they asked people, do you believe that your side is winning more than losing? And actually, during Biden’s presidency, Democrats have really never felt like they’ve been winning. And so now you have Republicans and Democrats alike both feeling like their side is the losing side.

I think that dynamic, frankly, helped Democrats a lot in the midterms because voters don’t turn out to say thank you. They turn out to say, I’m angry, and I want to send a message. And if you feel like you’re losing, you send a message.

And actually, during Trump’s presidency, Republicans felt like they were winning. They want that feeling back. And that is why Donald Trump’s insistence, against all evidence, that he did not really lose the 2020 election is so central to all of this because the core of his value proposition to his voters is, we’re going to win again. I’m going to make you feel like you’re a winner again.

And so whether that is putting up points on the board in terms of policy or whether it is owning the libs, making the other side seem like they are on the back foot, I don’t think that Republican voters are thinking of those as dramatically different things. It is that they feel that they are on the back foot now, and they want to stop feeling that way.

EZRA KLEIN: When you look at the polls of the number of Republicans or percentage of Republicans who believe Donald Trump won in 2020, which is well over a majority, do you believe that position is truly held? Do you believe that is a thing people tell pollsters because they are Republicans and that is what you’re supposed to say? Or do you believe that, in their heart of hearts, like, if I put them and I said, listen, I’m going to hook you up to a polygraph, and if you fail and if polygraphs worked, you have to give me $100, they would say, Donald Trump won the election?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I think that a lot of times when that question gets asked, when Republican voters are saying that they think Donald Trump was the rightful winner, for many of them, they’re taking sort of the answer that you actually hear Vivek Ramaswamy give in debates from time to time, which was that the playing field wasn’t fair. So Donald Trump would have won in this hypothetical world where the playing field was fair, where the Department of Justice doesn’t tell tech companies to suppress the story of Hunter Biden, et cetera, et cetera, all of the things that you hear come up.

I don’t think that it is that a majority of Republicans believe that outright enough ballots were stolen in certain places but rather that the conduct of the election, and the changes in rules related to the pandemic, or the media’s treatment of Donald Trump, or what have you led to an unfair playing field and that, were we in a vacuum, clearly, wouldn’t more voters have preferred Donald Trump? And that’s what I think you are hearing them say when they say, he was the one that should have won.

EZRA KLEIN: If I took us in the Wayback Machine, and now we’re in 2014, and we’re hanging out at a bar, and I described to you this hypothetical scenario, where we’re forward 10 years. There was this unpopular, wild, chaotic presidency, mismanaged a pandemic, got beat quite badly in the general election, incited his followers to storm the Capitol, then got investigated for that, ends up with a bunch of criminal trials against him. How do you think he’s doing the next year?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: [LAUGHS]

EZRA KLEIN: I don’t think you would have told me, absolutely romping to the nomination again and, arguably, the favorite to win the presidency.

So what would you have had wrong about what the electorate, certainly the Republican electorate, does and doesn’t care about or will or won’t accept? Why have these things not mattered?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I think that this goes back to the fact that if you and I were having a drink in 2014 talking about this scenario, the odds that we would have even considered the possibility that the man in question was Donald Trump would have been zero. It would have been zero. And I think it is that strange, personal hold he has that is so different from any other politician or political figure that enables this to be possible.

And it’s fascinating to me the way in which he has managed to be the elected president of the United States, for all intents and purposes, the establishment of the Republican Party, and yet he can stand on a stage at a town hall on Fox News and say, well, Ron DeSantis and Nikki Haley, they’re politicians. I’m not a politician. That after a decade of him being a politician he can still say that, and people go, yep, he’s still an outsider. Yep, he’s — I think only someone with his long-term brand, impression, TV skills, whatever you want to call it, strange personal attributes that make him so different from anyone else, it is hard for me to imagine anyone who even remotely comes close to a conventional politician doing what you just described.

EZRA KLEIN: But I want to try to push you closer to the heart of this, because, in a way, I think it’s the heart of this whole conversation. What is that hold, that appeal? You’re a pollster. You spend all this time in the data. You’re asking people favorability, and this question, and that question. And I read these polls, and there’s a way in which they get at everything but the thing I want to know, which is qualitatively this experience. And I can read people talk about it, but it’s like a slippery thing to try to put your hands around. And to me, it’s interesting because I think it’s become a sort of chasmic divide in our politics.

Liberals and conservatives, I think, typically could have understood why the other party liked the people they did. I don’t think conservatives were confused about why liberals liked Bill Clinton or John Kerry or Barack Obama or name your person. Liberals could put themselves in the seat of liking certainly pre-Iraq George W. Bush or John McCain or Bob Dole or Ronald Reagan or whatever.

And Trump breaks that. I think, to liberals, it is actually impossible to imagine being OK with the way that guy acts. And because so many Republicans love him so much, to hate him the way liberals do is actually similarly opaque. And so it creates this unknowability in the two coalitions to each other. He’s made politics less translatable.

So you are a Republican pollster who conducts focus groups and all the rest of it. That almost mystical hold you describe, how would you describe it?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I would describe it as Donald Trump has told Republican voters, you’re not a bad guy. The world tells you you’re a bad guy. They tell you that you’re racist. They tell you that you don’t like poor people. They tell you that you are backwards. And I’m here to tell you that they’re wrong and that you are good people.

There is nothing more persuasive than someone giving you a compliment, telling you that they like you, telling you they respect you. And so when you think back to, oh, you’re the basket of deplorables, no, you’re not. I like you, and I’m going to fight for you.

And that is why, even in the face of growing evidence that Donald Trump is fighting for himself and himself alone, frequently, there is still this belief that guy likes me. He likes people like me. He tells me it’s OK to be someone like me. And I think that is an incredibly powerful motivator.

EZRA KLEIN: I’m going to end it there. Always our final question — what are three books you would recommend to the audience?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: The first one is “Subtract” by Leidy Klotz. It’s a great book that helps people understand why, when we encounter a problem, our first instinct is to add. As a mom of a toddler, I found myself in the early days of motherhood anytime I encountered a problem, thinking, is there something I can order online to solve this problem? [LAUGHS]:

EZRA KLEIN: I have never done more 2 and 3 a.m. Amazon shopping.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: Yes.

EZRA KLEIN: The first time Amazon records you ordering some baby solution at 2 a.m., they must, like somewhere —

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: We’ve got him.

EZRA KLEIN: We’ve got him.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: We’ve got him.

EZRA KLEIN: And not the last time it’s going to happen.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: And so what this book challenges you to think about is to realize the evolutionary things driving you to believe that addition is always the answer and to instead consider the ways in which subtraction can actually sometimes solve your problem. Maybe it’s not buying that new thing on Amazon. Maybe it’s stop doing this thing you were doing that you didn’t need to do in the first place. So it’s an excellent way to, I think, try to declutter your life, maybe appropriate for the new year.

EZRA KLEIN: I usually stay out of the book recommendations part. But on that note, have you ever read or run into the book “Simplicity Parenting”?

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: I have not.

EZRA KLEIN: It’s really beautiful. It’s affected my parenting a lot this year. You may like it.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: Excellent.

EZRA KLEIN: And so might the audience.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: Oh, good to know.

The second book I want to recommend is by my partner in crime at Echelon Insights, Republican pollster Patrick Ruffini, his new book “Party of the People”. And it’s all about the multiracial coalition of populist views that has been reshaping the Republican coalition. If you want to know why Donald Trump does better in the Rio Grande in 2020 than he did in 2016, this is the book for you.

And then last but not least — and I’m not done with this one yet — but “Welcome to the O.C.: The Oral History” of the greatest television show of our time, written by Alan Sepinwall.

EZRA KLEIN: I come from what is now called the O.C. I was born in Irvine. And I will just say that, before that show, nobody called it the OC. And there was not some countywide geographic identity. It’s like amazing — and now they do. It’s amazing to see the way a show changed the identity of a whole area and created something unified, where, before, it was actually totally fractured. It blows my mind a little bit as somebody who grew up before and knows the place after it.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: Well, I refuse to entertain the idea that the show is not effectively a documentary. So please don’t ruin my illusion. [LAUGHS]

EZRA KLEIN: Kristen Soltis Anderson, thank you very much.

KRISTEN SOLTIS ANDERSON: Thank you.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: This episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” is produced by Kristin Lin. Fact-checking by Michelle Harris, with Kate Sinclair and Mary Marge Locker. Our senior engineer Jeff Geld. We had additional mixing by Efim Shapiro. Our senior editor is Claire Gordon. The show’s production team also includes Annie Galvin and Rollin Hu. We have original music by Isaac Jones. Audience strategy by Kristina Samulewski and Shannon Busta. And the executive producer of New York Times Opinion Audio is Annie-Rose Strasser.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

**Load-Date:** January 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***After Law Schools Boycott, U.S. News Will Change Its Influential Ranking System***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:677D-BYH1-DXY4-X2P1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 3, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 737 words

**Byline:** By Ruth Graham

**Body**

The magazine, which has been rating top schools for decades, said in a letter to deans that it is altering its methods to address their concerns.

Under pressure amid a boycott by top law schools, U.S. News & World Report told law school deans on Monday that it will make several changes in the next edition of its influential ratings.

In a letter to American law school deans published on its site, U.S. News said its next list would give more credit to schools whose graduates go on to pursue advanced degrees, or school-funded fellowships to work in public-service jobs that pay lower wages. The magazine, which has been publishing the ratings for decades, is responding to criticism that its rankings overvalue high-paying private-sector jobs.

The 2023-24 rankings, scheduled to be published this spring, will also rely less on surveys of schools' reputations submitted by academics, lawyers and judges, the magazine said.

A spokeswoman for U.S. News said the list will no longer consider indicators of student debt, or the schools' spending per student. Critics have said the magazine's previous metric for measuring student debt encouraged schools to favor wealthy students over those with financial need, and that its use of spending per student figures favors wealthier institutions.

''We realize that legal education is neither monolithic nor static and that the rankings, by becoming so widely accepted, may not capture the individual nuances of each school,'' Robert Morse, the chief data strategist at U.S. News, and Stephanie Salmon, senior vice president of data and information strategy, wrote in the letter.

U.S. News will continue to rank schools that have declined to participate, using publicly available data. But it will publish more detailed profiles of schools that respond, a possible incentive for lower-ranked institutions eager to attract the attention of students.

The U.S. News list, published annually since 1987, is as influential as it is sclerotic. Roughly the same 14 law schools have held the top slots for 30 years, alternating only slightly and prompting headlines when they do. Its criteria for the rankings are watched almost as closely.

In recent months, however, a majority of those top 14 schools have announced that they will no longer participate. Among those dropping out are Yale, which has topped the list for decades, and Harvard, Stanford, Northwestern, Georgetown, Columbia and Berkeley.

Yale Law's dean, Heather K. Gerken, said in a statement Monday, ''Having a window into the operations and decision-making process at U.S. News in recent weeks has only cemented our decision to stop participating in the rankings.''

A spokesman for Harvard Law School declined to comment.

The moves announced today could signify the power of the top law schools to shuck the ratings -- their reputations cemented by top firms and prospective students. Other law schools, however, are more dependent on the ratings to attract students.

The growing backlash against the rankings reflects concerns among school leaders about ethics, fairness and the purpose of a legal education, and the institutions that provide it. Rankings that emphasize test scores and salaries deter students from pursuing careers in public service, school officials have said. The rankings' criteria also discourage schools from serving ***working-class*** students who require need-based aid to attend, critics say.

The magazine's rankings are ''profoundly flawed,'' Ms. Gerken wrote in a letter announcing the school's withdrawal from participation in November. ''We have reached a point where the rankings process is undermining the core commitments of the legal profession,'' Ms. Gerken added.

The U.S. News process ''does not advance the best ideals of legal education or the profession we serve, and it contradicts the deeply held commitments of Harvard Law School,'' John Manning, the dean of Harvard Law, wrote in a letter the same day.

Top law schools and others have criticized the list for years, and the changes announced Monday do not address all concerns they have aired in the past. The magazine said in its letter that it would require ''additional time and collaboration'' to address the role of loan forgiveness, need-based aid, diversity and other issues in its rankings, and that it would ''continue to work with academic and industry leaders to develop metrics with agreed upon definitions.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/02/us/after-boycott-from-law-schools-us-news-world-report-changes-ranking-system.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/02/us/after-boycott-from-law-schools-us-news-world-report-changes-ranking-system.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Harvard Law School has said it will not participate in the U.S. News & World Report rankings. Critics have said its metric for measuring student debt encouraged schools to favor the wealthy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY VANESSA LEROY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** January 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Trump Won't Let America Go***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:648X-J2T1-DXY4-X0P7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 12, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 5; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 3521 words

**Byline:** By Thomas B. Edsall

**Body**

Do you believe, as many political activists and theorists do, that the contemporary Republican Party poses a threat to democracy? After all, much of its current leadership refuses to accept the results of the 2020 presidential election and is dead set on undermining the concept of one person, one vote.

If it does pose such a threat, does that leave the Democratic Party as the main institutional defender of democracy?

If the Democratic Party has been thrust into that role -- whether it wants it or not -- recent election results and adverse polling trends suggest that it stands a good chance of losing both branches of Congress in 2022 and that Donald Trump or a Trump clone could win the presidency in 2024.

The issue then becomes a question of strategic emphasis. Do Democrats' difficulties grow more out of structural advantages for the Republican Party -- better geographic distribution of its voters, the small-state tilt of the Electoral College and the Senate, more control over redistricting? Or do their difficulties stem from Democratic policies and positions that alienate key blocs of the electorate?

If, as much evidence shows, ***working-class*** defections from the Democratic Party are driven more by cultural, racial and gender issues than by economics -- many non-college-educated whites are in fact supportive of universal redistribution programs and increased taxes on the rich and corporations -- should the Democratic Party do what it can to minimize those sociocultural points of dispute, or should the party stand firm on policies promoted by its progressive wing?

I asked a group of scholars and Democratic strategists versions of these questions. Three conclusions stood out:

There was near unanimous agreement that the Republican Party under the leadership of Trump is a threat to democracy, but disagreement over the degree of the danger.

There was across-the-board opposition to the creation of a third party on the grounds that it would split the center and the left.

A striking difference emerged when it came to the choice of strategic responses to the threat, between those who emphasized the built-in structural advantages benefiting the Republican Party and those who contended that Democrats should stand down on some of the more divisive cultural issues to regain support among ***working-class*** voters -- white, Black and Hispanic.

Theda Skocpol, a professor of sociology and government at Harvard, argued in an email:

The radicalized G.O.P. is the main anti-democratic force. Trump plays a crucial threatening role, but I think things have now moved to the point that many Republican Party officials and elected officeholders are self-starters. If Trump disappears or steps back, other Trumpists will step up, many are already in power.

Skocpol's point:

Only repeated decisive electoral defeats would open the door to intraparty transformations, but the Electoral College, Senate non-metro bias and House skew through population distribution and gerrymandering make it unlikely that, in our two-party system, Democrats can prevail decisively.

Because the Democratic Party is structurally weakened by the rural tilt of the Senate and the Electoral College -- and especially vulnerable to gerrymandered districts because its voters are disproportionately concentrated in metro areas -- the party ''may not have enough elected power to accomplish basic voter and election protection reforms. Very bad things may happen soon,'' Skocpol wrote. Republicans are positioned, she continued, ''to undo majority democracy for a long time.''

At the same time, Skocpol is sharply critical of trends within the Democratic Party:

The advocacy groups and big funders and foundations around the Democratic Party -- in an era of declining unions and mass membership groups -- are pushing moralistic identity-based causes or specific policies that do not have majority appeal, understanding, or support, and using often weird insider language (like ''Latinx'') or dumb slogans (''Defund the police'') to do it.

The leaders of these groups, Skocpol stressed,

often claim to speak for Blacks, Hispanics, women etc. without actually speaking to or listening to the real-world concerns of the less privileged people in these categories. That is arrogant and politically stupid. It happens in part because of the over-concentration of college graduate Democrats in isolated sectors of major metro areas, in worlds apart from most other Americans.

Along similar lines, William Galston, a senior fellow at Brookings and former White House aide during the Clinton administration, wrote, ''For the first time in my life, I have come to believe that the stability of our constitutional institutions can no longer be taken for granted.''

Galston argues that the progressive wing of the Democratic Party threatens to limit, if not prevent, efforts to enlarge support: ''Everything depends on how much the Democrats really want to win. Some progressives, I fear, would rather be the majority in a minority party than the minority in a majority party.''

''In my view,'' Galston continued,

the issue is not so much ideology as it is class. ***Working-class*** people with less than a college degree have an outlook that differs from that of the educated professionals whose outlook has come to dominate the Democratic Party. To the dismay of Democratic strategists, class identity may turn out to be more powerful than ethnic identity, especially for Hispanics.

Democratic leaders generally and the Biden administration specifically, Galston said, have ''failed to discharge, or even to recognize'' their most important mission, the prevention of ''Donald Trump returning to the Oval Office. They cannot do this with a program that drives away independents, moderates, and suburban voters, whose support made Biden's victory possible.''

The party's ''principal weakness,'' Galston observes, ''lies in the realm of culture, which is why race, crime and schools have emerged as such damaging flash points.'' In this context, ''the Biden administration has failed to articulate views on immigration, criminal justice, education and related issues that a majority of Americans can support.''

Not all of those I contacted have such a dire outlook.

Frances Lee, a political scientist at Princeton, for example, agrees that ''American democracy faced an unprecedented threat in 2020 when a sitting president refused to acknowledge electoral defeat,'' but, she continued, ''this threat was thwarted, to a great extent by that president's own party. American democracy exhibited significant resilience in the face of the threat Trump posed.''

This, Lee points out, is ''a story of Republican judges and elected officials upholding democracy at personal cost to their own popularity with Republican voters. Republican elected officials in a number of cases sacrificed their political ambitions in service to larger democratic ideals.''

Lee cautioned that polls showing majorities of Republican voters questioning the legitimacy of the 2020 election should be taken with a grain of salt:

It is likely that a significant share of those who profess such beliefs are just simply telling pollsters that they still support Trump. I would not declare the death of democratic legitimacy on the basis of what people say in public opinion polls, particularly given that Republican elected officials all across the country participated in upholding the validity of the 2020 outcome.

Lee does agree that ''election subversion is by far the most serious threat to American democracy,'' and she contends that those seeking to protect democracy ''should focus on the major threat: Trump's ongoing effort to delegitimize American elections and Republicans' efforts in some states to undermine nonpartisan election administration.''

Jennifer L. Hochschild, a professor of government at Harvard, wrote by email that she certainly sees threats, ''but I am not at all sure right now how deeply I think they undermine American democracy. If the Civil War (or more relevantly here, 1859-60) is the end of one continuum of threat, I don't think we are close to that yet.''

At the same time, she cautioned,

the Democratic Party over the past few decades has gotten into the position of appearing to oppose and scorn widely cherished institutions -- conventional nuclear family, religion, patriotism, capitalism, wealth, norms of masculinity and femininity, then saying ''vote for me.'' Doesn't sound like a winning strategy to me, especially given the evident failure to find a solution to growing inequality and the hollowing out of a lot of rural and small-town communities. I endorse most or all of those Democratic positions, but the combination of cultural superiority and economic fecklessness is really problematic.

Sean Westwood, a political scientist at Dartmouth, is broadly cynical about the motives of members of both political parties.

''The finger pointing and sanctimony on the left is hardly earned,'' Westwood replied to my emailed inquiries. Not only is there a long history of Democratic gerrymanders and dangerous assertions of executive power, he continued, but Democrats ''can claim virtually no credit for upholding the outcome of the election. Courageous Republican officials affirmed the true vote in Arizona and Georgia and the Republican vice president certified the outcome before Congress.''

The ''true problem,'' Westwood wrote,

is that both parties are willing to undermine democratic norms for short-term policy gains. This is not a behavior that came from nowhere -- the American public is to blame. We reward politicians who attack election outcomes, who present the opposition as subhuman and who avoid meaningful compromise.

Westwood, however, does agree with Skocpol and Galston's critique of the Democratic left:

If the Democratic Party wants to challenge Republicans they need to move to the center and attempt to peel away centrist Republicans. Endorsing divisive policies and elevating divisive leaders only serves to make the Democrats less appealing to the very voters they need to sway to win.

The Democrats, in Westwood's view,

must return to being a party of the people and not woke-chasing elites who don't understand that canceling comedians does not help struggling Americans feed their children. When it comes to financial policy Democrats are far better at protecting the poor, but this advantage is lost to unnecessary culture wars. Democrats need to stop wasting their time on cancel culture or they risk canceling themselves to those who live in the heart of this country.

ALG Research, one of the firms that polled for the 2020 Biden campaign, conducted postelection focus groups in Northern Virginia and suburban Richmond in an attempt to explore the success of Glenn Youngkin, the Republican who defeated Terry McAuliffe in the Virginia governor's race a month ago.

A report on the study of 2020 Biden voters who backed Youngkin or seriously considered doing so by Brian Stryker, an ALG partner, and Oren Savir, a senior associate, made the case that the election was ''not about 'critical race theory,' as some analysts have suggested.'' Instead, they continued, many swing voters knew that

C.R.T. wasn't taught in Virginia schools. But at the same time, they felt like racial and social justice issues were overtaking math, history and other things. They absolutely want their kids to hear the good and the bad of American history; at the same time they are worried that racial and cultural issues are taking over the state's curricula.

ALG focus group participants

thought Democrats are only focused on equality and fairness and not on helping people. None of these Biden voters associated our party with helping working people, the middle class, or people like them. They thought we were more focused on breaking down social barriers facing marginalized groups. They were all for helping marginalized groups, but the fact that they couldn't point to anything we are doing to help them was deeply concerning.

In a parallel argument, Ruy Teixeira, senior fellow at the pro-Democratic Center for American Progress, wrote in an essay in The Liberal Patriot, ''Democrats, Not Republicans, Need to Defuse the Culture Wars'':

Democrats are not on strong ground when they have to defend views that appear wobbly on rising violent crime, surging immigration at the border and non-meritocratic, race-essentialist approaches to education. They would be on much stronger ground if they became identified with an inclusive nationalism that emphasizes what Americans have in common and their right not just to economic prosperity but to public safety, secure borders and a world-class but nonideological education for their children.

Looking at the dangers facing American democracy from a different vantage point, Steven Levitsky, a professor of government at Harvard and a co-author of the book ''How Democracies Die,'' rejected the argument that Democrats need to constrain the party's liberal wing.

''The Democrats have been amazingly successful in national elections over the last 20 years,'' Levitsky wrote in an email.

They have won the popular vote in 7 out of 8 presidential elections -- that's almost unthinkable. They have also won the popular vote in the Senate in every six-year cycle since 2000. You cannot look at a party in a democracy that has won the popular vote almost without fail for two decades and say, gee, that party really has to get it together and address its ''liabilities.''

Instead, he argued,

the liabilities lie in undemocratic electoral institutions such as the Electoral College, the structure of the Senate (where underpopulated states have an obscene amount of power that should be unacceptable in any democracy), gerrymandered state and federal legislative districts in many states, and recent political demographic trends -- the concentration of Democratic votes in cities -- that favor Republicans.

''Until our parties are competing on a level playing field,'' Levitsky added, ''I am going to insist that our institutions are a bigger problem for democracy than liberal elitism and 'wokeness.'''

Jacob Hacker, a professor of political science at Yale, takes a similar position, writing by email:

There are powerful economic and social forces at work here, and they're particularly powerful in the United States, given that it has a deep history of racial inequality and division and it is on the leading edge of the transformation toward a knowledge economy in which educated citizens are concentrated in urban metros. The question, then, is how much Democrat elites' strategic choices matter relative to these powerful forces. I lean toward thinking they're less important than we typically assume.

Instead, Hacker argued, the Republican Party has become

particularly dangerous because it rests on an increasing commitment to and reliance on what we called ''countermajoritarianism'' -- the exploitation of the anti-urban and status quo biases of the American political system, which allow an intense minority party with a rural base and mostly negative policy agenda to gain and wield outsized power.

The conservative strategy, which Hacker calls ''minoritarianism,'' means that ''Republicans can avoid decisive defeats even in the most unfavorable circumstances. There is very little electoral incentive for the party to moderate.''

The result? ''Neither electoral forces nor organized interests are much of a guardrail against a G.O.P. increasingly veering off the nation's once-established democratic path.''

Julie Wronski, a professor of political science at the University of Mississippi, described the systemic constraints on the Democratic Party in an email:

In the current two-party system, the Democratic Party isn't just the crucial institutional advocate of democracy. It is the only political entity that can address the federal and state-level institutions that undermine full and equal democratic representation in the United States. Decisive victories should be enough to send a message that Americans do not support anti-democratic behavior.

The problem for Democrats, Wronski continued, is that

decisive victories are unlikely to occur at the national level because of the two-party system and partisan gerrymanders. Winning elections (while necessary) is not enough, especially if core constituencies of Democratic voters are explicitly targeted through state-level voting restrictions and gerrymanders.

Those who would seek to restore respect for democratic norms in Trump's Republican Party face another set of problems, according to Wronski. At the moment, she writes, a fundamental raison d'être of the Republican Party is to prevent the political consignment ''to minority status'' of ''whites, and in particular white Christians, whose share of the population, electorate, and federal-level office holders is diminishing.'' This commitment effectively precludes the adoption of a more inclusive strategy of ''appealing to racial, ethnic, and religious minority voters,'' because such an appeal would amount to the abandonment of the Republican Party's implicit (and often quite explicit) promise to prevent ''the threat of minority status that demographic change poses to white Christians.''

Ryan Enos, a professor of government at Harvard, anticipates, at least in the short term, a worsening of the political environment:

Trump has the support of nearly half of American voters and is very likely to run for president in 2024. Given electoral trends, there is a high likelihood that he will win. Moreover, even if he doesn't win legitimately, there is little doubt that he will once again try to subvert the election outcome. At that point, his party is likely to control both houses of Congress and he may be successful in his efforts.

Enos argued in an email that ''the liabilities of the Democratic Party can be overstated'' when there is

a more fundamental problem in that the ***working-class*** base, across racial groups, of the Democratic Party has eroded and is further eroding. That Democrats may not have yet hit rock bottom with ***working-class*** voters is terrifying for the future of the party. As much as people want to point to cultural issues as the primary reason for this decline in support, the wheels on the decline were put in motion by macroeconomic trends and policies that made the economic and social standing of ***working-class*** people in the United States extremely tenuous.

Those trends worked to the advantage of Democrats as recently as the election of Barack Obama, Enos continued, when many ***working-class*** voters ''looking for change, even voted for a Black man with a foreign-sounding name in 2008.'' But, Enos continued, ''when the Republican Party stumbled into a populist message of anti-elitism, protectionism, cultural chauvinism, and anti-immigration, it was almost inevitable that it would accelerate the pull of ***working-class*** voters toward Republicans.''

At the moment, Enos believes, the outlook is bleak:

Given the current institutional setup in the United States and the calcified nature of partisanship, I am not sure that Republicans can ever experience large-scale electoral defeat of the type that would shake them from their current path. In 2020, they were led by the most unpopular president in modern history running during a disastrous time for U.S. society and they still didn't lose by much. That, perhaps, is the real issue -- even though they are massively unpopular, partially because of their anti-democratic moves -- the nature of U.S. elections means that they will never truly be electorally punished enough to cause them to reform.

All of this raises a key question: Has the Republican Party passed a tipping point to become, irrevocably, the voice of ultranationalist racist authoritarianism?

It may be that in too many voters' minds the Democratic Party has also crossed a line and that Democratic adoption of more centrist policies on cultural issues -- in combination with a focus on economic and health care issues -- just won't be enough to counter the structural forces fortifying the Republican minority, its by-any-means-necessary politics and its commitment to white hegemony.

The Biden administration is, in fact, pushing an agenda of economic investment and expanded health care, but the public is not yet responding. Part of this failure lies with the administration's suboptimal messaging. More threatening to the party, however, is the possibility that a growing perception of the Democratic Party as wedded to progressive orthodoxies now blinds a large segment of the electorate to the positive elements -- let's call it a trillion-dollar bread-and-butter strategy -- of what Biden and his party are trying to do.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/08/opinion/trump-democrats-republicans.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/08/opinion/trump-democrats-republicans.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY CARLOS BARRIA/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** December 12, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The Gay Rights Movement Before the Gay Rights Movement; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:677F-MK11-DXY4-X42X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 3, 2023 Tuesday 20:48 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 746 words

**Byline:** Peter Kispert

**Highlight:** In his debut novel, “The New Life,” Tom Crewe reimagines the lives of two pioneers who studied, and supported, homosexuality in 19th-century England.

**Body**

In his debut novel, “The New Life,” Tom Crewe reimagines the lives of two pioneers who studied, and supported, homosexuality in 19th-century England.

THE NEW LIFE, by Tom Crewe

Tom Crewe’s intricate and finely crafted debut novel makes fiction of real history: In London, in the 1890s, two men, John Addington Symonds and Henry Havelock Ellis, collaborated on a study supporting freedom for “sexual inverts,” or what we would now call gay rights. Their efforts predate popular conceptions of the fight for equal rights, and it’s their lives and work that take the spotlight in Crewe’s reimagining.

“The New Life” opens before the two men meet, with chapters alternating perspectives as a half-welcome third party disrupts each one’s marriage. The novel first introduces John Addington, a wealthy writer and a closet sexual invert himself who begins to indulge his long-held desires with a much younger, ***working-class*** man named Frank Feaver. The story then shifts to the sexologist Henry Ellis. Henry’s wedding to the feminist Edith opens his story, but his marriage becomes agitated by the boisterous Angelica, who quickly bonds with Edith while they are on their honeymoon.

From there, John’s and Henry’s stories unfold, in parallel and slowly. It’s not until nearly 100 pages into “The New Life” (a fourth of this sizable novel) that their fates finally begin to intersect. John, having read some of Henry’s work, writes to Henry to learn his thoughts on “Greek feeling; or as it is becoming known, sexual inversion.” Their exchange eventually leads to the idea for a book, “Sexual Inversion,” “an impartial and really scientific study” featuring anonymous accounts from gay men.

There is always a narrative risk when recapitulating events in historical fiction — predetermination can deaden the pulse. Crewe, who earned his Ph.D. in 19th-century British history from the University of Cambridge, makes no such error. He attentively constructs rich, human motivations and contradictions for his fictionalized renderings of John and Henry. For John, freedom for sexual inverts would mean addressing a lifetime of repressed desire and a future with Frank. For Henry, the idea of sexual freedom has resonance with his wife and her lover. (Henry has a different “peculiarity” of his own.) Crewe uses the interior depth of John and Henry to build intrigue, creating provocative developments even without the use of overtly dramatic plot points.

A narrative jolt does arrive eventually, though. Halfway into the novel, in a compelling (though sudden) development, Oscar Wilde is put on trial for “gross indecency,” an event that raises John and Henry’s anxieties about the reception of their project. Shortly after, John and Henry’s book gets caught in turmoil of its own. Both incidents slice open questions of if, and how, John and Henry should stand by their work — defending “Sexual Inversion” could bring about a moment of political and cultural reckoning that John and Henry both want, but it could also expose hidden parts of their lives, and their loved ones’ lives, that they want to keep private.

“The New Life” brims with intelligence and insight, impressed with all the texture (and fog) of fin de siècle London. Crewe’s prose is stylish and precise, reminiscent of Alan Hollinghurst’s. The novel falters only in its later chapters, when John begins a self-destructive streak that is too flatly written to be believable. Otherwise, the writing is exquisite. Moments of furtive queer intimacy — scenes of John and Frank, especially — accumulate power throughout, reminding us that a work like “Sexual Inversion” is important, that it is worth a cost to acknowledge these desires and loves as true, as natural. Altogether, Crewe crafts a meaningful tribute to the pioneering Symonds and Ellis.

For all its historical fixtures, the novel is energized by timeless questions: What’s worth jeopardizing in the name of progress? Who should assume the greatest degree of risk in the pursuit of an ideal? Is it possible for one book to catalyze lasting change? “The New Life” offers a response through a powerful refrain by way of Henry’s words, which John throws back to him during a crucial moment of doubt in their project: “We must live in the future we hope to make.”

Peter Kispert is the author of “I Know You Know Who I Am.”

THE NEW LIFE | By Tom Crewe | 390 pp. | Scribner | $28

Peter Kispert is the author of “I Know You Know Who I Am.”

This article appeared in print on page BR15.

**Load-Date:** August 7, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Right Don't Need No Education***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67K1-2981-DXY4-X50F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 17, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22; PAUL KRUGMAN

**Length:** 911 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

Ron DeSantis, who is currently governor of Florida and wants to become president, has been trying to position himself as America's leading crusader against wokeness. And lately higher education has become his most visible target. He picked a very public fight with the College Board over its new advanced placement course in African American studies, and in the past few days has broadened that attack into a suggestion that Florida might stop offering A.P. classes in any field.

What's going on here? It's easy to get drawn into debating accusations about particular courses or institutions, but that's missing the fundamental context: the extraordinary rise in right-wing hostility to higher education in general.

Is every accusation about left-leaning professors trying to indoctrinate students false? Probably not: America is a big country, and it surely must be happening somewhere -- although the specific charges made by right-wing critics are often ludicrous. In a meeting with the College Board, Florida officials asked whether the new A.P. course was ''trying to advance Black Panther thinking.'' Guys, the Black Panthers closed up shop when Ron DeSantis was a little kid; say the words now and most people think you're talking about Wakanda.

It is true that college faculty members are much more likely to identify themselves as liberal and vote Democratic than the public at large. But this needn't be evidence of anti-conservative bias. Much of it surely reflects self-selection: What kind of person decides to pursue academics as a career? To make a comparison: The police skew Republican, but I presume that everyone accepts that this mainly involves who wants to be a police officer.

So what's really driving the attacks on higher education?

Not that long ago most Americans in both parties believed that colleges had a positive effect on the United States. Since the rise of Trumpism, however, Republicans have turned very negative. Recent polling shows an overwhelming majority of Republicans agreeing that both college professors and high schools are trying to ''teach liberal propaganda.''

But what actually happened here? Did America's colleges -- which a large majority of Republicans considered to have a positive influence as recently as 2015 -- suddenly become centers of left-wing indoctrination? Did the same thing happen to high schools, run by local boards, across the nation?

Of course not. What happened was that MAGA politicians began peddling scare stories about education -- notably, denouncing high schools for teaching critical race theory, even though they don't. And right-wingers also greatly expanded their definition of what counts as ''liberal propaganda.''

Thus, when one points out that schools don't actually teach critical race theory, the response tends to be that while they may not use the term, they do teach students that racism was long a major force in America, and its effects linger to this day. I don't know how you teach our nation's history honestly without mentioning these facts -- but in the eyes of a substantial number of voters, teaching uncomfortable facts is indeed a form of liberal propaganda.

And once that's your mind-set, you see left-wing indoctrination happening everywhere, not just in history and the social sciences. If a biology class explains the theory of evolution, and why almost all scientists accept it -- or, for that matter, the theory of how vaccines work -- well, that's liberal propaganda. If a physics class explains how greenhouse gas emissions can change the climate -- well, that's more liberal propaganda.

And so a large segment of the population -- the segment DeSantis is courting -- has become hostile to higher education as a whole.

As an aside, it's a familiar fact that U.S. politics is increasingly polarized along educational lines, with the highly educated supporting Democrats and the less-educated supporting Republicans. This polarization is often portrayed as a symptom of Democratic failure -- why can't the party win over ***working-class*** white voters? But it's equally valid to ask how Republicans have managed to alienate educated voters who might benefit from tax cuts. And the party's growing hostility to education is surely part of the answer.

In any case, one sad thing is that this turn against education is taking place precisely at a time when highly educated workers are becoming ever more crucial to the economy. This is especially obvious when you look at regional data within the United States: The college-educated percentage of a city's population is a powerful predictor of both its current prosperity and its future growth.

That's not to say that U.S. higher education is perfect. In general, we surely fetishize the standard four-year degree, which isn't appropriate for everyone, and grossly neglect forms of education, such as apprenticeships, that might be more useful to many people. But that's a whole other story.

For now, the important thing to understand is that people like DeSantis are attacking education, not because it teaches liberal propaganda, but because it fails to sustain the ignorance they want to preserve.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/16/opinion/education-desantis.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/16/opinion/education-desantis.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: High school students in Temecula, Calif., protesting the district's ban on teaching critical race theory in December. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WATCHARA PHOMICINDA/THE ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** February 17, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Good Friend, Bad Marriage And Laughs***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6838-Y581-JBG3-6338-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 25, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1091 words

**Byline:** By Simran Hans

**Body**

For her twisty comedy-thriller ''Am I Being Unreasonable?,'' Daisy May Cooper drew on her experiences around her marriage breaking down.

The British writer and actress Daisy May Cooper spent a lot of time on the internet forum Mumsnet when her marriage was breaking down. The site is ''like Reddit, but for mothers,'' Cooper said in a recent interview at a London cafe while taking a puff from a small blue vape.

She was especially drawn, she said, to one of the site's most popular threads, ''Am I Being Unreasonable?,'' a supportive community for women second-guessing themselves in relationships. It became the inspiration -- and title -- for Cooper's latest television show, which she created with Selin Hizli. The show, which both star in, is available in the United States on Hulu.

Cooper, 36, rose to fame in Britain in 2017 after creating and starring in the BAFTA-winning BBC mockumentary series ''This Country'' with her brother, Charlie. She is a regular fixture on British comedy panel shows, known for her candor and colorful language.

But in November 2020, two months after the birth of her second child, she separated from her husband, moved out and began searching for solace online. She recalled feeling frightened and unsure of what her next project might be. '''My career defined me, and now I don't know who I am, or what I want, and these two human beings are dependent on me,''' she remembered thinking.

Hizli, a friend of Cooper's from drama school, was also in the process of splitting up with a long-term partner. The two reconnected during this period and started writing the show that became ''Am I Being Unreasonable.'' A wild and twisty comedy-thriller, it stars Cooper as Nic, a bored housewife who strikes up an intense friendship with a fellow mother, Jen (Hizli).

''We thought, wouldn't it be great to write something about a female friend being the partner you always needed, especially when your life's falling apart?'' Cooper said over a cup of tea, a wall behind her adorned with hearts.

In a phone interview, Hizli, 34, said she wanted to see mothers of her age and ***working-class*** background represented onscreen. ''I had forgotten how important friendship was,'' she said, ''and how much I needed friends in my life.'' In the show, Nic and Jen bond over shots of sambuca and dancing to the Spice Girls.

But Cooper and Hizli wanted to portray the darker side of female friendship, too. Cooper described past intense friendships ''that felt like toxic relationships I'd had with boyfriends,'' including a best friend who Cooper said was secretly sleeping with her boyfriend at the time. When she found out, it was like ''a Keyser SÃ¶ze mug drop moment,'' Cooper said, likening the shocking discovery to the ending of the film ''The Usual Suspects.''

''I can only write about what I'm going through, or at least base a character around my own experiences,'' she said. Cooper described Kerry Mucklowe, the character she plays in ''This Country,'' as someone who knows exactly who she is. ''Kerry was more of me before fame, and then Nic was more of me after,'' she added. Reaching for her vape, Cooper seemed more muted than either of those characters, and described herself as an anxious person these days.

Cooper explored the humor and the hardship of growing up in public housing on the outskirts of a picturesque English village in ''This Country'' and in her 2021 memoir, ''Don't Laugh, It'll Only Encourage Her.'' In the latter, she described playing board games by candlelight because there was not enough money to switch the electricity on.

She had always acknowledged her faults to make other people laugh, Cooper said, and growing up she aspired to be like TV comedians who gave her parents ''moments of complete escapism'' from their financial struggles. She then channeled those tendencies into writing and acting.

On their first day as students at London's prestigious Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, or RADA, in 2007, Hizli remembered a teacher telling them ''they were going to dismember us and put us back together.'' Cooper, Hizli said, would never have allowed herself to be remade: ''She was always unapologetically herself, and never felt the need to conform to the expectations of this quite stuffy drama school.''

Miranda Harcourt, Cooper's acting coach, praised Cooper's unusual faculty for what she described as both light and dark fire. ''There are some brilliant British performers who have got the capacity for lightness and comedy, but don't show you their tragic side,'' Harcourt said in a recent video interview from her home in Wellington, New Zealand.

After the success of ''This Country,'' Cooper and her brother finally had some of the financial stability they had been chasing. Their lives changed overnight, Cooper said. ''Nobody tells you how to deal with it,'' she said. ''I think he's as overwhelmed by it as me,'' she said of Charlie, becoming tearful. ''When we were poor, we were so much closer,'' she said. ''I think money and schedules and work have ruined that a bit,'' she added.

Her collaboration with Hizli was the result of a similarly intimate bond. On both shows, Cooper said the writing was effortless. ''They are the ones on the computer typing, and I'm just stomping around vaping,'' she said, laughing.

Since RADA, Cooper had dreamed of acting in a film and attending a premiere, and so when the writer and director Armando Iannucci asked her to play Peggotty in his ''The Personal History of David Copperfield,'' she said she felt she had done what she set out to do. In a phone interview, Iannucci, who also cast her in the HBO comedy series ''Avenue 5,'' said that Cooper defies convention with everything she does.

''I think I could only do the acting thing for another few years,'' Cooper said, adding that she preferred writing and being behind the scenes. Though several British newspapers recently reported rumors that she has been tapped to play M in the next James Bond film, she said that ''no talks have happened whatsoever.'' Cooper said she would have to make the character funny, though she was not sure if that â€Œwould work. ''I've never actually seen a Bond film, so I wouldn't know,'' she said with a filthy cackle.

These days, Cooper is back living in her hometown, Cirencester, a historic town in southwestern England she said few people leave.

There, ''people know me for eating crayons in Year 6 as opposed to being on television,'' she said, adding that there was nowhere else she would rather be in the entire world.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/20/arts/television/daisy-may-cooper-am-i-being-unreasonable.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/20/arts/television/daisy-may-cooper-am-i-being-unreasonable.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Daisy May Cooper, whose latest show, ''Am I Being Unreasonable?,'' is now on Hulu. Above, Cooper and Selin Hizli play mothers in the show. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SIMON RIDGWAY/BBC STUDIOS): PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIE SMITH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C2.

**Load-Date:** April 25, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Texas Democratic Stronghold Narrowly Favors Republican***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:640S-KBJ1-JBG3-62X2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 4, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 649 words

**Byline:** By Edgar Sandoval and James Dobbins

**Body**

John Lujan, a 59-year-old retired firefighter, won the seat, a blow for Democrats in the Texas city.

SAN ANTONIO -- Growing up in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in San Antonio, Adolfo Chagoy had long supported local and national Democrats who touted job growth and infrastructure projects.

But last week, as he stood in line to cast a ballot in a tightly contested runoff election for a State House seat, Mr. Chagoy thought instead about the issues he had come to care about more recently, such as strengthening the border, funding police departments and banning abortion. And so he checked the box for the Republican candidate, John Lujan, who narrowly emerged the winner on Tuesday to represent the city's South Side and state's 118th District.

''The thought has always been, 'I'm poor, and if you are poor you can't be a Republican,''' said Mr. Chagoy, a 66-year-old retired cook. ''I don't think you can buy values. I voted for the issues I care about, not about who's from what party.''

Mr. Chagoy's vote helped flip a once reliable Democratic bastion by 286 ballots in a runoff for a special election. Four of his five children, also longtime Democrats, also switched parties, choosing not to endorse 27-year-old Frank Ramirez, a Democrat and former legislative aide.

Mr. Ramirez conceded late Tuesday in a blow for Democrats in San Antonio, a majority Latino metropolis 150 miles north of the Mexican border that is known as the home to a number of prominent Democratic leaders, including the twin brothers Julián and Joaquin Castro. About 70 percent of the largely ***working-class*** families in the 118th District identify as Hispanic.

The victory has emboldened the Republican Party as it continues its all-out approach to compete with Democrats in San Antonio and South Texas. After none of the three Democrats and two Republicans who ran in the special election in September received a majority of votes, Mr. Lujan delivered a seat critical to Republican efforts to make inroads with Latino voters, who not long ago tended to favor Democrats.

In last year's presidential election, 56 percent of voters in the 118th District supported President Biden and 42 percent picked Donald J. Trump. But Latino voters have begun to move away from the Democratic Party, with Mr. Biden's approval rating at about 50 percent among that demographic, according to recent polls.

The Associated Republicans of Texas, a group that backed Mr. Lujan, said on Twitter that Mr. Lujan's gain set the tone for Republicans as ''we continue to reach out to Hispanic voters and South Texas communities to pick up more seats in '22.'' On Tuesday night, Gov. Greg Abbott and Dade Phelan, the speaker of the House, both called Mr. Lujan to congratulate him, a clear sign that they were happy with their strategy.

Moments after garnering a majority of the votes on Tuesday night, Mr. Lujan echoed that sentiment. He said voters responded to his message of job creation, public safety and family values. The son of a minister, he put faith, an issue important for many Latino families, front and center, he said. He is a regular member of Southside Baptist Church and often talks about having adopted three children.

''This speaks loudly that people are concerned about conservative values,'' Mr. Lujan said. ''You know, we want to secure our border, we want to grow our economy.''

''This says something that family, faith and country means so much,'' he added.

Mr. Ramirez, who has served as a zoning and planning director for a San Antonio councilwoman, among other government roles, ran on a campaign to increase investments in public education, fixing aging infrastructure and offering property tax relief. But in the end it was not enough.

He hinted that he may seek to unseat Mr. Lujan during next year's general election.

''We're not done,'' Mr. Ramirez said on Twitter. ''Our work isn't done. Adelante!''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/us/elections/john-lujan-san-antonio-house.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/us/elections/john-lujan-san-antonio-house.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: John Lujan, a retired firefighter, won a Texas House seat. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***After Boycott from Law Schools, U.S. News &amp; World Report Changes Ranking System***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:677C-3DD1-DXY4-X2KP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 2, 2023 Monday 11:23 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 780 words

**Byline:** Ruth Graham

**Highlight:** The magazine, which has been rating top schools for decades, said in a letter to deans that it is altering its methods to address their concerns.

**Body**

The magazine, which has been rating top schools for decades, said in a letter to deans that it is altering its methods to address their concerns.

[*Under pressure amid a boycott by top law schools*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/18/us/law-school-rankings-test-scores.html), U.S. News &amp; World Report told law school deans on Monday that it will make several changes in the next edition of its influential ratings.

In a letter to American law school deans published on its site, U.S. News said its next list would give more credit to schools whose graduates go on to pursue advanced degrees, or school-funded fellowships to work in public-service jobs that pay lower wages. The magazine, which has been publishing the ratings for decades, is responding to criticism that its rankings overvalue high-paying private-sector jobs.

The 2023-24 rankings, scheduled to be published this spring, will also rely less on surveys of schools’ reputations submitted by academics, lawyers and judges, the magazine said.

A spokeswoman for U.S. News said the list will no longer consider indicators of student debt, or the schools’ spending per student. Critics have said the magazine’s previous metric for measuring student debt encouraged schools to favor wealthy students over those with financial need, and that its use of spending per student figures favors wealthier institutions.

“We realize that legal education is neither monolithic nor static and that the rankings, by becoming so widely accepted, may not capture the individual nuances of each school,” Robert Morse, the chief data strategist at U.S. News, and Stephanie Salmon, senior vice president of data and information strategy, wrote in the letter.

U.S. News will continue to rank schools that have declined to participate, using publicly available data. But it will publish more detailed profiles of schools that respond, a possible incentive for lower-ranked institutions eager to attract the attention of students.

The U.S. News list, published annually since 1987, is as influential as it is sclerotic. Roughly the same 14 law schools have held the top slots for 30 years, alternating only slightly and prompting headlines when they do. Its criteria for the rankings are watched almost as closely.

In recent months, however, a majority of those top 14 schools have announced that they will no longer participate. Among those dropping out are Yale, which has topped the list for decades, and Harvard, Stanford, Northwestern, Georgetown, Columbia and Berkeley.

Yale Law’s dean, Heather K. Gerken, said in a statement Monday, “Having a window into the operations and decision-making process at U.S. News in recent weeks has only cemented our decision to stop participating in the rankings.”

A spokesman for Harvard Law School declined to comment.

The moves announced today could signify the power of the top law schools to shuck the ratings — their reputations cemented by top firms and prospective students. Other law schools, however, are more dependent on the ratings to attract students.

The growing backlash against the rankings reflects concerns among school leaders about ethics, fairness and the purpose of a legal education, and the institutions that provide it. Rankings that emphasize test scores and salaries deter students from pursuing careers in public service, school officials have said. The rankings’ criteria also discourage schools from serving ***working-class*** students who require need-based aid to attend, critics say.

The magazine’s rankings are “profoundly flawed,” Ms. Gerken wrote in a [*letter*](https://law.yale.edu/yls-today/news/dean-gerken-why-yale-law-school-leaving-us-news-world-report-rankings) announcing the school’s withdrawal from participation in November. “We have reached a point where the rankings process is undermining the core commitments of the legal profession,” Ms. Gerken added.

The U.S. News process “does not advance the best ideals of legal education or the profession we serve, and it contradicts the deeply held commitments of Harvard Law School,” John Manning, the dean of Harvard Law, wrote in a [*letter*](https://hls.harvard.edu/today/decision-to-withdraw-from-the-u-s-news-world-report-process/) the same day.

Top law schools and others have criticized the list for years, and the changes announced Monday do not address all concerns they have aired in the past. The magazine said in its letter that it would require “additional time and collaboration” to address the role of loan forgiveness, need-based aid, diversity and other issues in its rankings, and that it would “continue to work with academic and industry leaders to develop metrics with agreed upon definitions.”

PHOTO: Harvard Law School has said it will not participate in the U.S. News &amp; World Report rankings. Critics have said its metric for measuring student debt encouraged schools to favor the wealthy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY VANESSA LEROY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** January 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Right Don’t Need No Education; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67JY-SNK1-DXY4-X4TD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 16, 2023 Thursday 23:41 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 945 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** Hey! Teachers! Leave our ignorance alone!

**Body**

Ron DeSantis, who is currently governor of Florida and wants to become president, has been trying to position himself as America’s leading crusader against wokeness. And lately higher education has become his most visible target. He picked a very public [*fight*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/01/us/college-board-advanced-placement-african-american-studies.html) with the College Board over its new advanced placement course in African American studies, and in the past few days has broadened that attack into a suggestion that Florida might stop offering A.P. classes [*in any field*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2023/02/14/desantis-florida-ap-classes-college-board/).

What’s going on here? It’s easy to get drawn into debating accusations about particular courses or institutions, but that’s missing the fundamental context: the extraordinary rise in right-wing hostility to higher education in general.

Is every accusation about left-leaning professors trying to indoctrinate students false? Probably not: America is a big country, and it surely must be happening somewhere — although the specific charges made by right-wing critics are often ludicrous. In a meeting with the College Board, Florida officials asked whether the new A.P. course was “[*trying to advance Black Panther thinking*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/13/us/ap-black-studies-course-college-board-desantis.html).” Guys, the [*Black Panthers*](https://www.britannica.com/topic/Black-Panther-Party) closed up shop when Ron DeSantis was a little kid; say the words now and most people think you’re talking about Wakanda.

It is true that college faculty members are [*much more likely*](https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2017/02/27/research-confirms-professors-lean-left-questions-assumptions-about-what-means) to identify themselves as liberal and vote Democratic than the public at large. But this needn’t be evidence of anti-conservative bias. Much of it surely reflects self-selection: What kind of person decides to pursue academics as a career? To make a comparison: The police [*skew Republican*](https://scholar.princeton.edu/sites/default/files/policing_rep.pdf#page=12), but I presume that everyone accepts that this mainly involves who wants to be a police officer.

So what’s really driving the attacks on higher education?

Not that long ago [*most Americans*](https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2019/08/19/the-growing-partisan-divide-in-views-of-higher-education-2/) in both parties believed that colleges had a positive effect on the United States. Since the rise of Trumpism, however, Republicans have turned very negative. [*Recent polling*](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/invisible-divides-college/) shows an overwhelming majority of Republicans agreeing that both college professors and high schools are trying to “teach liberal propaganda.”

But what actually happened here? Did America’s colleges — which a large majority of Republicans considered to have a positive influence as recently as 2015 — suddenly become centers of left-wing indoctrination? Did the same thing happen to high schools, run by local boards, across the nation?

Of course not. What happened was that MAGA politicians began peddling scare stories about education — notably, denouncing high schools for teaching critical race theory, even though [*they don’t*](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/education/so-much-buzz-but-what-is-critical-race-theory). And right-wingers also greatly expanded their definition of what counts as “liberal propaganda.”

Thus, when one points out that schools don’t actually teach critical race theory, the response tends to be that while they may not use the term, they do teach students that racism was long a major force in America, and its effects linger to this day. I don’t know how you teach our nation’s history honestly without mentioning these facts — but in the eyes of a substantial number of voters, teaching uncomfortable facts is indeed a form of liberal propaganda.

And once that’s your mind-set, you see left-wing indoctrination happening everywhere, not just in history and the social sciences. If a biology class explains the theory of evolution, and why almost all scientists accept it — or, for that matter, the theory of how vaccines work — well, that’s liberal propaganda. If a physics class explains how greenhouse gas emissions can change the climate — well, that’s more liberal propaganda.

And so a large segment of the population — the segment DeSantis is courting — has become hostile to higher education as a whole.

As an aside, it’s a familiar fact that U.S. politics is increasingly polarized along [*educational lines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/us/politics/how-college-graduates-vote.html), with the highly educated supporting Democrats and the less-educated supporting Republicans. This polarization is often portrayed as a symptom of Democratic failure — why can’t the party win over ***working-class*** white voters? But it’s equally valid to ask how Republicans have managed to alienate educated voters who might benefit from tax cuts. And the party’s growing hostility to education is surely part of the answer.

In any case, one sad thing is that this turn against education is taking place precisely at a time when highly educated workers are becoming ever more crucial to the economy. This is especially obvious when you look at regional data within the United States: The college-educated percentage of a city’s population is a powerful predictor of both its [*current prosperity*](https://cityobservatory.org/revealed-the-secret-of-a-successful-urban-economy/) and its [*future growth*](https://www.nber.org/digest/jun04/education-level-drives-city-growth).

That’s not to say that U.S. higher education is perfect. In general, we surely fetishize the standard four-year degree, which isn’t appropriate for everyone, and grossly neglect forms of education, such as apprenticeships, that might be more useful to many people. But that’s a whole other story.

For now, the important thing to understand is that people like DeSantis are attacking education, not because it teaches liberal propaganda, but because it fails to sustain the ignorance they want to preserve.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: High school students in Temecula, Calif., protesting the district’s ban on teaching critical race theory in December. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WATCHARA PHOMICINDA/THE ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** February 16, 2023

**End of Document**



[***How Quebec's Love for Celine Dion Grew***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:674D-SF81-DXY4-X36V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2022 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1553 words

**Byline:** By Dan Bilefsky

**Body**

The outpouring that greeted the singer's announcement that she has a rare neurological condition showed how both Celine fandom, and ideas of national identity in her home province, have evolved.

MONTREAL -- It was a Friday night in Montreal, and hundreds of euphoric revelers were dancing and singing ''It's All Coming Back to Me Now'' at a sold-out Celine Dion tribute party. One young man vogued in a homemade version of the gold-tinted headpiece of singed peacock feathers that Dion wore at the Met Gala a few years ago. Another gawked at a mini-shrine of Dion-inspired wigs, showcasing her hairstyles through the decades.

''In an era of arrogant stars, she is always authentic,'' Simon Venne, the voguer, a 38-year-old stylist, gushed. ''She is everything to us, a source of pride, our queen.''

If there was ever a sense that Quebec, the French-speaking province of Dion's birth, was conflicted about Dion's rise to global superstardom with pop hits that she often sang in English, it has been dispelled. She now occupies an exalted space here, experiencing a cultural renaissance as Quebec's younger generation has unabashedly embraced her: Radio Canada, the national French language broadcaster, parses her life on a podcast translated as ''Celine: She's The Boss!''; a recent docuseries called ''It's Cool to Like Celine Dion'' explored her appeal to millennials, and Celine Dion drag competitions have been surging.

Dion's emotional announcement this month that she is suffering from a rare neurological condition called stiff person syndrome, forcing her to postpone upcoming tour dates, was met with an extraordinary outpouring. Québécois politicians from across the political spectrum, including both Quebec's premier, François Legault, and the head of a party advocating Quebec's independence from Canada, jockeyed to express sympathy for Dion, 54. Fans commiserated over social media. A headline in Le Devoir, an influential Quebec newspaper, called her ''Celine, Queen of the Québécois.'' Dion, the newspaper noted, had attained the status of untouchable icon after years of being panned by critics and mocked by others.

''It's like hearing your aunt is sick,'' Venne, the feathered fan, said. ''Celine is famous around the world, but here she is family.''

The intensity of the reaction here -- 25 years after the premiere of the blockbuster film ''Titanic,'' which helped make Dion's bombastically exuberant ''My Heart Will Go On'' ubiquitous -- shows how much Celine fandom and ideas of Québécois identity have evolved over time as the province, like its most famous daughter, has come of age.

During a recent visit to Celine Dion Boulevard in Charlemagne, a soulless stretch of road in the gritty ***working-class*** town of about 6,000 on the outskirts of Montreal where Dion was born, a group of 20-somethings said it was no longer embarrassing to admit to liking her music.

''Being stuck at home during the pandemic made people nostalgic for the past, and everything old and vintage is in fashion,'' said Gabriel Guénette, 26, a university student and sometime Uber delivery man, explaining why he and his friends were singing ''The Power of Love'' during karaoke nights. Dion's unbridled message of hope and optimism, he added, resonated during these uncertain times.

Older residents in Charlemagne still refer to her as ''notre petite Celine'' -- our little Celine -- and recall her days as a shy teenager who performed French ballads with her 13 brothers and sisters at her family's restaurant. Younger residents -- including Meghan Arsenault, 15, who attends the same high school Dion did -- grew up singing her songs.

Across Quebec, a Francophone province of 8.5 million people that has been buffeted by centuries of subjugation and fears of being subsumed by the English language, Dion has at times been a polarizing figure. Even as many fans ardently embraced her, she was dismissed by some critics as the cultural equivalent of poutine, the Québécois snack of French fries and cheese curds drenched in gravy drunkenly and guiltily consumed at 3 a.m.

Some elites balked at her success, seeing in her sprawling ***working class*** family, her garish outfits and her broken English an uncomfortable mirror of an old Quebec they preferred to forget. Some considered her quétaine, cheesy in Québécois argot.

And her singing in English has, at times, been an affront to hard-core Francophone nationalists. But when Dion thanked the audience with a ''Merci!'' at the Summer Olympics in Atlanta in 1996 after singing ''The Power of The Dream,'' the single word reverberated across the province, an affirmation that French Canada had gone global.

Martin Proulx, a producer who hosted the podcast, ''Celine, She's the Boss!,'' recalled that as a gay teenager in Montreal in the 1990s, he hid the fact that he was listening to her ''Let's Talk About Love'' album on his Sony Walkman. ''It wasn't cool to love Celine when I was in high school -- kids my age were listening to hip-hop and heavy rock and she was for soccer moms who watched Oprah,'' he recalled.

Now, he said, he could proudly proclaim his ardor, in part because a more confident Quebec has shed some of its past complexes. The younger generation of Québécois, he said, seems less hung up than their parents or grandparents on issues of language and identity, and more likely to embrace Dion's global stardom, financial success and bilingualism as a template for their own international aspirations.

''We used to roll our eyes -- now we think she's pure genius,'' Mr. Proulx said. ''She never changed. We did.''

Yannick Nézet-Séguin, the Quebec-born music director of the Metropolitan Opera in New York, said that his first memory of Dion was from 1984, when he was eight years old. Dion, who was 16, sang a song about a dove in front of Pope John Paul II and 60,000 people at Montreal's Olympic Stadium. Nézet-Séguin said he had surged with pride that she was a fellow Quebecer, and said that he sees Dion as a ''diva'' in the operatic sense of the word.

''When I think about a diva, I think about personality, having something recognizable artistically, and one can't deny the virtuosic aspect of Celine's singing,'' he said.

The intense interest in Dion is hardly limited to Quebec. ''Aline,'' a highly unusual, fictionalized film drawn from her life, drew buzz at last year's Cannes Film Festival. When a musical parody of ''Titanic'' called ''Titanique'' recently moved to a larger Off Broadway theater in New York, its producers promised ''More shows. More seats. More Celine.'' And Dion is set to appear alongside Priyanka Chopra Jonas and Sam Heughan in a romantic comedy called ''Love Again'' that is expected in theaters in North America in May.

The fascination with Dion endures in part because her Cinderella story never grows old. The youngest of 14 children of an accordion-playing butcher and a homemaker from Charlemagne, Dion's first bed as a child was a drawer. At the age of 12, she co-wrote her first song, ''Ce n'était qu'un rêve,'' with the help of her mother and her brother Jacques. Her brother Michel sent a cassette demo to the impresario René Angélil, who became her manager and, later, her husband.

Dion had a complete makeover, disappearing for 18 months in 1986 to study English, cap her teeth, perm her hair, and take voice and dance lessons. A star was born.

When Angélil died in 2016, two days before his 74th birthday, his two-day, meticulously choreographed funeral at Montreal's Notre-Dame Basilica was televised by the CBC, the national broadcaster, and flags were lowered at half-mast across Quebec. Dion, veiled in black, stood by her husband's open coffin for seven hours, greeting Quebec dignitaries and the public.

In the years since, Dion recast her analog image for the Instagram era. A Vetements Titanic hoodie she wore in Paris in 2016 broke the internet. A few years later, she stole the show at the camp-themed Met Gala, in an Oscar de la Renta clinging champagne-colored bodysuit embellished with silvery sequins. Her zany, self-deprecating appearance on James Corden's Carpool Karaoke in 2019 from Las Vegas, during which she sang ''My Heart Will Go On'' in front of a replica of the Titanic's bow at the Bellagio Hotel fountain, helped some people who had made fun of her realize that she was in on the joke.

Now her fandom seems as strong as ever.

Mario Bennett, 36, who works in a concert hall, began covering every inch of his cramped basement apartment with Celine Dion memorabilia at the start of the pandemic. He said that throughout his life, Dion's powerful voice had been a clarion call to dream big. Among his prized possessions is an unauthorized collectible Celine doll, wearing a mini version of the midnight blue velvet gown that the singer wore to the Oscars in 1998.

''She makes me feel that anything is possible,'' he said.

Guy Hermon, an Israeli drag queen who emigrated to Montreal a decade ago and absorbed Quebec culture -- and the French language -- by trying to embody Dion, said he had never been a fan of her music but invented his Dion alter ego, ''Crystal Slippers,'' out of necessity on the Dion-obsessed Québécois drag circuit.

After years of mimicking Dion, he said he had come to appreciate her. ''She just wants everyone to be happy,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/19/arts/music/celine-dion-quebec-titanic.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/19/arts/music/celine-dion-quebec-titanic.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Mario Bennett, left, showing his Celine Dion memorabilia. Above, partygoers celebrating the star at the ''Céline est Forever Amazing'' event in Montreal on Dec. 2. (C1)

Clockwise from top left: the partygoer Simon Venne during the ''Céline est Forever Amazing'' event on Dec. 2

another partygoer at the event

Celine Dion Boulevard in Charlemagne, Quebec, the singer's hometown

Mario Bennett in Montreal, wearing a custom-made Celine Dion suit coat. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GUILLAUME SIMONEAU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C6) This article appeared in print on page C1, C6.

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Poetry Gleaned From Darkness And Lots of Fur***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:688M-6KY1-DXY4-X1X4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 20, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4; THE SATURDAY PROFILE

**Length:** 1290 words

**Byline:** By Mike Ives

**Body**

The South Korean writer Hwang In-suk feeds stray cats on late-night walks through Seoul. The routine informs her poems about loneliness and impermanence.

Most nights, Hwang In-suk pushes a shopping cart up and down the steep alleys of her Seoul neighborhood, trailed by stray cats that emerge from shadows to greet her under glowing streetlamps and convenience store marquees.

Her neighbors tend to think of Ms. Hwang, 64, merely as someone who feeds cats in the street. Only a few know that she is a celebrated poet whose work explores loneliness and impermanence in the South Korean capital.

Her decades of writing span a time in which South Korea has cycled through a dizzying number of identities, including those of a country ruled by repressive military dictatorships, a fledgling democracy and, most recently, an economic power and international cultural juggernaut.

Ms. Hwang said her nocturnal cat-feeding routine allows her to quietly observe not only cats, her favorite muses, but also her changing neighborhood and the underclass of a megacity that is increasingly known for its flashy exterior.

''I've found worlds that I wouldn't have found if I had not been feeding cats at night,'' she said in a near whisper on a recent walk through her neighborhood, Haebangchon. The streets were mostly silent except for the occasional car, taxi or delivery truck.

In addition to cats and other subjects, Ms. Hwang's poetry documents the milieu of convenience store clerks, street sweepers and other late-night workers. ''I don't even know his face as we meet only in the dark,'' she writes of a newspaper deliveryman in a recent poem called ''Don't Know Where You Live'':

He wouldn't know my face either but

How come he recognizes me so well

We live at night

Haebangchon, or Liberation Village, lies near Seoul's central train station and what was once the main U.S. military base in the country. The neighborhood was carved out of a hillside forest after the end of World War II, when Korea emerged from Japanese colonial rule.

Many of the people who settled there were North Korean refugees who arrived during or after the Korean War, said Pil Ho Kim, an expert on South Korean cultural history at Ohio State, whose father grew up in the neighborhood after fleeing the North.

In the decades after the war, South Korea experienced dramatic upheavals, including rapid industrialization, a presidential assassination and a massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators. So did Haebangchon, a place initially known as a ''moon village,'' a term for urban slums built on hillsides.

In the 1970s, South Korean economic migrants helped turn Haebangchon into a hub for small-scale garment factories. It later grew more residential and less ***working class***, and began to attract young artists. Many artists' studios were in turn displaced by cafes as the gentrification continued, said Cha Kyoung-hee, 38, who has owned a bookstore in the neighborhood since 2015.

Ms. Hwang, who grew up nearby and settled in Haebangchon in the 1980s, has been quietly observing the details of these changes ever since with a keen eye. She settled on a career in poetry after studying creative writing at a Seoul arts institute and made her debut with a poem, ''I'll Be Reborn as a Cat,'' that won a 1984 award for emerging South Korean writers. It was the first of many national literary prizes that she would win over the years.

She said her poetry partly reflects her conviction that Seoul is a place where the rich and poor live in separate worlds, and the downtrodden are victims of cutthroat competition.

''They were not willing to cheat others to advance themselves in this society,'' she said during a recent walk, her breath escaping in tiny clouds as she rounded a bend of a dark, hillside alley. The lights of skyscrapers blinked in the city below.

Her poems tend to fuse details of her corner of Seoul, a city of about 10 million people, with the emotions of their wry, melancholic speakers. One describes Haebangchon's roads as leading ''always uphill/like my life.''

But Ms. Hwang is perhaps best known for poems that make wistful, whimsical observations about cats, and the humans who struggle to understand them. She said about one-fifth of her oeuvre has been cat-related.

For the last 16 or so years, Ms. Hwang has been feeding cats almost every night, usually out of recycled instant-rice containers. Each cat has a designated dining spot -- under a parked car, say, or among a restaurant's garbage bins. Some approach her in the manner of a familiar old friend, meowing as they rub against her legs. Others need to be coaxed out of hiding places with a soft psst.

Ms. Hwang said her cat-feeding routine started when a single stray began turning up, hungry, outside her apartment. Some of the dozens of cats she now cares for have names; most she just calls ''pretty.''

''I do this because the cats are waiting for me, and no one else is willing to do it,'' she said flatly. ''It's a duty.''

But her affectionate manner with the cats -- and her many poems about their quirks and personalities -- suggests her relationship with them is more than perfunctory.

Anne M. Rashid, a professor of English literature who translated some of Ms. Hwang's work with a late colleague, Chae-Pyong Song, said she was particularly fond of this passage from the poem ''Ran, My Former Cat'':

I didn't know where you came from.

Always all of a sudden

you appeared

at a time when nobody was around

at a time when time belonged to nobody,

hanging about the roof of a rented house

as if from inside my heart,

as if from the edge of the moon

with a small half-cry,

you appeared.

Throughout the poem, which ends with the cat disappearing ''to a place where you couldn't invite me,'' the speaker wishes to hold or touch her muse but knows it's not possible, said Professor Rashid, who teaches literature at Carlow University in Pittsburgh.

''They have a bond, regardless, in their solitariness,'' she added.

When Ms. Cha hosted Ms. Hwang for a reading at her bookstore last year, the audience was unusually diverse for such an event, and included former residents of the neighborhood who missed it and wanted to hear descriptions of its earlier incarnations. Some cried when they heard her poems read aloud.

Ms. Hwang said she shares a cramped apartment with two ailing, rescued strays, one of them named Lauren after the Hollywood actress Lauren Bacall. She does not own a cellphone and has never earned a living through anything other than poetry.

''She's not the type of person who tells people who she is,'' said Yang Jung-ok, 60, who owns a restaurant in Haebangchon and has known Ms. Hwang for years.

Ms. Yang said she has long admired her soft-spoken neighbor for spending so much of her limited income on food for stray cats. But she only learned of Ms. Hwang's poetry from a journalist who accompanied her to the restaurant and mentioned in passing that she was an eminent poet.

During the recent walk, Ms. Hwang seemed surprised that a reporter would be interested in her work, and declined an invitation to recite a poem of her choice. ''I can't say which one would bring a reader joy,'' she said, shortly before midnight.

The humans in her poems also tend to keep low profiles. In ''Above the Roofs,'' the speaker marvels at how the energy within cats' bodies sends them soaring in the air to a ''vast territory'' above rooftops. Then -- in a delicate, almost catlike way -- she places herself in their midst.

In this city where back alleys have disappeared,

on the back alleys above the roofs,

on these alleys above, so to speak,

gently I place my breath.

Youmi Kim contributed reporting.Youmi Kim contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/19/world/asia/korea-poet-hwang-cats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/19/world/asia/korea-poet-hwang-cats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: An eminent poet, Ms. Hwang has won several national literary prizes. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUN MICHAEL PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** May 20, 2023

**End of Document**



[***She Makes The Case, And Finds It Difficult***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6832-YSH1-JBG3-60SK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 24, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1147 words

**Byline:** By Jesse Green

**Body**

The ''Killing Eve'' star has a spectacular Broadway debut in a play that puts sexual assault jurisprudence on trial.

The neon image of a louche Lady Justice, in an electric blue robe and a hot pink mask, greets the audience at the Golden Theater as if the place were a strip joint for lawyers.

In a way it is, at least while ''Prima Facie,'' which opened on Sunday, is playing there. Over the course of the one-woman, 100-minute play, we watch a barrister -- the story takes place in England -- remove every piece of psychological armor from the women she cross-examines in sexual assault cases, then see the same armor stripped from her when she becomes a victim herself.

The play, by Suzie Miller, won all sorts of awards in Australia and Britain. It's easy to see why. Its star, Jodie Comer, late of ''Killing Eve,'' gives a performance of tremendous skill and improbable stamina, especially considering it is her first stage appearance. The production, directed by Justin Martin, is chic and accessible, with design flourishes, by now de rigueur, to underline the idea that it is a Big Event. And the reform of sexual assault jurisprudence that the play advocates could hardly be more convincingly argued or worthy of our attention.

But the underlining and the advocacy do something odd to the drama: They make it disappear.

Not at first. When we meet Tessa Ensler she's a complex and theatrical character, a ''thoroughbred,'' ''primed for the race,'' with ''every muscle pumped.'' She's also, in Comer's interpretation, funny, sexy and self-deflating, bloviating in bars and flirting with associates. She is not beneath the arrogance of pedigree: ''Top law school, top city, top marks, top people.'' When she bellows drunkenly that ''innocent until proven guilty'' is the bedrock of civilized society, you see that she also uses it as a free pass for her own dodgy behavior. At one point she throws a piece of trash into the audience.

Thoroughbred she may be, but we soon meet a different incarnation of Tessa: a refugee from the ***working class***, never able to return to it comfortably. Visiting her chilly mother in Liverpool, she becomes a girl in want of kindness and not getting much. (Her older brother is violent.) The posh accent she uses in court seems to erode before our ears, revealing the peculiar early-Beatles twang of her (and Comer's) native Scouse dialect. (''Says'' is not pronounced ''sez'' but ''saze.'') She dashes back to London before she can get hurt.

The dashing is not just Tessa's M.O. but the production's. With its expressionistic sound (lots of pumped-up heartbeats by Ben and Max Ringham) and sudden slashes of harsh light (by Natasha Chivers), Martin's busy staging is at pains to help Comer fill the vast space alone. She doesn't need it; she solves the one-actor problem with her own resourcefulness, handily playing all sides of conversations that sometimes involve several people. And when she must be both a third-person reporter of a remembered event and a first-person participant in it, she makes the echo meaningful by using it to specify the content. The laugh she lets out after saying ''We laugh'' is a very particular and complicated kind.

Still, Martin has her constantly running about, moving tables, jumping on those tables to declaim in court, shouting over music, fiddling with her clothing and juggling props. Some of this stage business helps provide character insight that might go missing in the absence of other actors: When approached by a senior trial lawyer interested in offering her a job, Tessa tries to hide her Victoria's Secret shopping bag. But much of it feels pro forma.

In any case, the bustle comes to a halt halfway through. Now we meet a third Tessa, this one the victim of a rape she knows she will have trouble proving to the law's satisfaction. She was drunk; she had previously consented to have sex with the man; she couldn't shout no because he covered her mouth to the point that she could hardly breathe.

She now enters the legal system as a complainant, not a defender: ''Same court, no armor,'' she says. Comer's portrayal of that defenselessness is devastating: Mousy and short-circuited, the gloss gone from her hair, she looks small in her clothes and alone in the world. Her voice has shriveled. Even Miriam Buether's set -- sky-high shelves of case files -- abandons her, rising into the flies.

Yet this is also where the play abandons itself. Not its argument, of course. As Tessa suffers the same kind of cross-examination she has visited on other women in the name of ''testing the case'' impartially, it becomes painfully clear that finding truth, let alone justice, in such situations is all but impossible. More than that, the system of adjudicating consent is diabolical, a manmade trap to disable women from proving anything and thus, in effect, a second rape.

If only the play allowed us simply to feel this. But as Tessa speaks to the courtroom despite being warned by the judge to stop, Miller, the playwright, herself a former criminal defense lawyer, likewise breaks free from the dramatic frame to let her. The lights come up on the audience. The text, now delivered straight out, becomes an oration, a summation. For reasons that seem more wishful and political than characterological, Tessa gets her voice back.

One-person, multicharacter stories often fail to develop suspense and momentum, but Miller has structured this one precisely. Details we learn casually in the first half return menacingly in the second. The abandonment of that structure in the play's final third is likewise precise, and many will value the disruption prima facie -- at first glance.

But for me the change undid the previous work of emotional engagement in favor of flat-out persuasion on a subject with which few in the audience would be likely to disagree. As Tessa's speech ran on, repeating ideas that had already been dramatized, I began to feel pummeled, as if by a politician.

Enlightening and enraging theatergoers in the hope of changing the world is not, of course, a violation of dramatic policy. That Tessa's last name honors Eve Ensler, now known as V, ought to have been a clue to Miller's intentions. V's 1996 play ''The Vagina Monologues'' broke with dramatic forms (which, after all, were formalized and popularized by men) to make a difference well beyond them. I also thought of Larry Kramer, whose plays were pleas: agitprop and artistry pulped into something new. Thinking of works like theirs, and a singular performance like Comer's, I won't belabor the compromises of ''Prima Facie.'' Especially if, in the long run, it wins its case.

Prima FacieThrough June 18 at the Golden Theater, Manhattan; primafacieplay.com. Running time: 1 hour 40 minutes.Prima FacieThrough June 18 at the Golden Theater in Manhattan; primafacieplay.com. Running time: 1 hour 40 minutes.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/23/theater/prima-facie-review-jodie-comer.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/23/theater/prima-facie-review-jodie-comer.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Jodie Comer in the one-woman play ''Prima Facie,'' which found great success in Australia and Britain. (C1)

Jodie Comer as a lawyer who experiences a role reversal in the play ''Prima Facie.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C5) This article appeared in print on page C1, C5.

**Load-Date:** April 24, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Trump Won’t Let America Go. Can Democrats Pry It Away?; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6482-3BW1-JBG3-61FS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 8, 2021 Wednesday 22:40 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3487 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** “The radicalized G.O.P. is the main anti-democratic force.”

**Body**

Do you believe, [*as*](https://www.businessinsider.com/gop-has-become-even-greater-threat-democracy-than-trump-2021-6) [*many*](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/dec/03/republican-party-democracy-political-violence-trumpism) political activists and theorists [*do*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/04/gop-grave-threat-american-democracy/618693/), that the contemporary Republican Party [*poses*](https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2021/07/09/did-trump-damage-american-democracy/) a[*threat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/12/us/politics/republican-violent-rhetoric.html) to democracy? After all, much of its current leadership refuses to accept the results of the 2020 presidential election and is dead set on undermining the concept of one person, one vote.

If it does pose such a threat, does that leave the Democratic Party as the main institutional defender of democracy?

If the Democratic Party has been thrust into that role — whether it wants it or not — recent election results and adverse polling trends suggest that it stands a good chance of losing both branches of Congress in 2022 and that Donald Trump or a Trump clone could win the presidency in 2024.

The issue then becomes a question of strategic emphasis. Do Democrats’ difficulties grow more out of structural advantages for the Republican Party — better geographic distribution of its voters, the small-state tilt of the Electoral College and the Senate, more control over redistricting? Or do their difficulties stem from Democratic policies and positions that alienate key blocs of the electorate?

If, as [*much evidence shows*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/us/politics/how-college-graduates-vote.html), [***working-class*** *defections*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2019/06/the-tyranny-of-the-unwoke-white-swing-voter.html) from the Democratic Party are driven more by [*cultural, racial and gender issues*](https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2018/10/30/democratic-party-culture-divide-wars-working-class-blue-collar-221913/) than by economics — many non-college-educated whites are in fact supportive of [*universal redistribution programs*](https://news.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/258335/social-security-american-public-opinion.aspx) and [*increased taxes*](https://www.americanprogressaction.org/issues/economy/reports/2020/01/29/175720/working-class-americans-states-support-progressive-economic-policies/) on the rich and corporations — should the Democratic Party do what it can to minimize those sociocultural points of dispute, or should the party stand firm on policies promoted by its progressive wing?

I asked a group of scholars and Democratic strategists versions of these questions. Three conclusions stood out:

* There was near unanimous agreement that the Republican Party under the leadership of Trump is a threat to democracy, but disagreement over the degree of the danger.

1. There was across-the-board opposition to the creation of a third party on the grounds that it would split the center and the left.
2. A striking difference emerged when it came to the choice of strategic responses to the threat, between those who emphasized the built-in structural advantages benefiting the Republican Party and those who contended that Democrats should stand down on some of the more divisive cultural issues to regain support among [***working-class***](https://economics.mit.edu/files/11554) voters — white, Black and Hispanic.

[*Theda Skocpol*](https://sociology.fas.harvard.edu/people/theda-skocpol), a professor of sociology and government at Harvard, argued in an email:

The radicalized G.O.P. is the main anti-democratic force. Trump plays a crucial threatening role, but I think things have now moved to the point that many Republican Party officials and elected officeholders are self-starters. If Trump disappears or steps back, other Trumpists will step up, many are already in power.

Skocpol’s point:

Only repeated decisive electoral defeats would open the door to intraparty transformations, but the Electoral College, Senate non-metro bias and House skew through population distribution and gerrymandering make it unlikely that, in our two-party system, Democrats can prevail decisively.

Because the Democratic Party is structurally weakened by the rural tilt of the Senate and the Electoral College — and especially vulnerable to gerrymandered districts because its voters are disproportionately concentrated in metro areas — the party “may not have enough elected power to accomplish basic voter and election protection reforms. Very bad things may happen soon,” Skocpol wrote. Republicans are positioned, she continued, “to undo majority democracy for a long time.”

At the same time, Skocpol is sharply critical of trends within the Democratic Party:

The advocacy groups and big funders and foundations around the Democratic Party — in an era of declining unions and mass membership groups — are pushing moralistic identity-based causes or specific policies that do not have majority appeal, understanding, or support, and using often weird insider language (like “Latinx”) or dumb slogans (“Defund the police”) to do it.

The leaders of these groups, Skocpol stressed,

often claim to speak for Blacks, Hispanics, women etc. without actually speaking to or listening to the real-world concerns of the less privileged people in these categories. That is arrogant and politically stupid. It happens in part because of the over-concentration of college graduate Democrats in isolated sectors of major metro areas, in worlds apart from most other Americans.

Along similar lines, [*William Galston*](https://www.brookings.edu/experts/william-a-galston/), a senior fellow at Brookings and former White House aide during the Clinton administration, wrote, “For the first time in my life, I have come to believe that the stability of our constitutional institutions can no longer be taken for granted.”

Galston argues that the progressive wing of the Democratic Party threatens to limit, if not prevent, efforts to enlarge support: “Everything depends on how much the Democrats really want to win. Some progressives, I fear, would rather be the majority in a minority party than the minority in a majority party.”

“In my view,” Galston continued,

the issue is not so much ideology as it is class. ***Working-class*** people with [*less than a college degree*](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/16737365/#:~:text=Imposing%20an%20educational%20attainment%20standard,work%20as%20a%20cognitive%20screen.) have an outlook that differs from that of the educated professionals whose outlook has come to dominate the Democratic Party. To the dismay of Democratic strategists, class identity may turn out to be more powerful than ethnic identity, especially for Hispanics.

Democratic leaders generally and the Biden administration specifically, Galston said, have “failed to discharge, or even to recognize” their most important mission, the prevention of “Donald Trump returning to the Oval Office. They cannot do this with a program that drives away independents, moderates, and suburban voters, whose support made Biden’s victory possible.”

The party’s “principal weakness,” Galston observes, “lies in the realm of culture, which is why race, crime and schools have emerged as such damaging flash points.” In this context, “the Biden administration has failed to articulate views on immigration, criminal justice, education and related issues that a majority of Americans can support.”

Not all of those I contacted have such a dire outlook.

[*Frances Lee*](https://politics.princeton.edu/people/frances-lee), a political scientist at Princeton, for example, agrees that “American democracy faced an unprecedented threat in 2020 when a sitting president refused to acknowledge electoral defeat,” but, she continued, “this threat was thwarted, to a great extent by that president’s own party. American democracy exhibited significant resilience in the face of the threat Trump posed.”

This, Lee points out, is “a story of Republican judges and elected officials upholding democracy at personal cost to their own popularity with Republican voters. Republican elected officials in a number of cases sacrificed their political ambitions in service to larger democratic ideals.”

Lee cautioned that polls showing majorities of Republican voters questioning the legitimacy of the 2020 election should be taken with a grain of salt:

It is likely that a significant share of those who profess such beliefs are just simply telling pollsters that they still support Trump. I would not declare the death of democratic legitimacy on the basis of what people say in public opinion polls, particularly given that Republican elected officials all across the country participated in upholding the validity of the 2020 outcome.

Lee does agree that “election subversion is by far the most serious threat to American democracy,” and she contends that those seeking to protect democracy “should focus on the major threat: Trump’s ongoing effort to delegitimize American elections and Republicans’ efforts in some states to undermine nonpartisan election administration.”

[*Jennifer L. Hochschild*](https://scholar.harvard.edu/jlhochschild/home), a professor of government at Harvard, wrote by email that she certainly sees threats, “but I am not at all sure right now how deeply I think they undermine American democracy. If the Civil War (or more relevantly here, 1859-60) is the end of one continuum of threat, I don’t think we are close to that yet.”

At the same time, she cautioned,

the Democratic Party over the past few decades has gotten into the position of appearing to oppose and scorn widely cherished institutions — conventional nuclear family, religion, patriotism, capitalism, wealth, norms of masculinity and femininity, then saying “vote for me.” Doesn’t sound like a winning strategy to me, especially given the evident failure to find a solution to growing inequality and the hollowing out of a lot of rural and small-town communities. I endorse most or all of those Democratic positions, but the combination of cultural superiority and economic fecklessness is really problematic.

[*Sean Westwood*](https://govt.dartmouth.edu/people/sean-jeremy-westwood), a political scientist at Dartmouth, is broadly cynical about the motives of members of both political parties.

“The finger pointing and sanctimony on the left is hardly earned,” Westwood replied to my emailed inquiries. Not only is there a long history of Democratic gerrymanders and dangerous assertions of executive power, he continued, but Democrats “can claim virtually no credit for upholding the outcome of the election. Courageous Republican officials affirmed the true vote in Arizona and Georgia and the Republican vice president certified the outcome before Congress.”

The “true problem,” Westwood wrote,

is that both parties are willing to undermine democratic norms for short-term policy gains. This is not a behavior that came from nowhere — the American public is to blame. We reward politicians who attack election outcomes, who present the opposition as subhuman and who avoid meaningful compromise.

Westwood, however, does agree with Skocpol and Galston’s critique of the Democratic left:

If the Democratic Party wants to challenge Republicans they need to move to the center and attempt to peel away centrist Republicans. Endorsing divisive policies and elevating divisive leaders only serves to make the Democrats less appealing to the very voters they need to sway to win.

The Democrats, in Westwood’s view,

must return to being a party of the people and not woke-chasing elites who don’t understand that canceling comedians does not help struggling Americans feed their children. When it comes to financial policy Democrats are far better at protecting the poor, but this advantage is lost to unnecessary culture wars. Democrats need to stop wasting their time on cancel culture or they risk canceling themselves to those who live in the heart of this country.

[*ALG Research*](https://algpolling.com/), one of the firms that polled for the 2020 Biden campaign, conducted postelection focus groups in Northern Virginia and suburban Richmond in an attempt to explore the success of Glenn Youngkin, the Republican who defeated Terry McAuliffe in the Virginia governor’s race a month ago.

A report on the study of 2020 Biden voters who backed Youngkin or seriously considered doing so by [*Brian Stryker*](https://algpolling.com/team/), an ALG partner, and [*Oren Savir*](https://algpolling.com/team/), a senior associate, made the case that the election was “not about ‘critical race theory,’ as some analysts have suggested.” Instead, they continued, many swing voters knew that

C.R.T. wasn’t taught in Virginia schools. But at the same time, they felt like racial and social justice issues were overtaking math, history and other things. They absolutely want their kids to hear the good and the bad of American history; at the same time they are worried that racial and cultural issues are taking over the state’s curricula.

ALG focus group participants

thought Democrats are only focused on equality and fairness and not on helping people. None of these Biden voters associated our party with helping working people, the middle class, or people like them. They thought we were more focused on breaking down social barriers facing marginalized groups. They were all for helping marginalized groups, but the fact that they couldn’t point to anything we are doing to help them was deeply concerning.

In a parallel argument, [*Ruy Teixeira*](https://www.americanprogress.org/people/teixeira-ruy/), senior fellow at the pro-Democratic Center for American Progress, wrote in an essay in [*The Liberal Patriot*](https://theliberalpatriot.substack.com/), “[*Democrats, Not Republicans, Need to Defuse the Culture Wars*](https://theliberalpatriot.substack.com/p/democrats-not-republicans-need-to?token=eyJ1c2VyX2lkIjo4NTE1NDYsInBvc3RfaWQiOjQ0OTI5MDE5LCJfIjoiM0Q1aDEiLCJpYXQiOjE2Mzg2NjUzNDYsImV4cCI6MTYzODY2ODk0NiwiaXNzIjoicHViLTIzOTA1OCIsInN1YiI6InBvc3QtcmVhY3Rpb24ifQ.nXo1OBzIeQ0xeWh5EgrIK3wnKnDWciw-FfOEXoxPfHY)”:

Democrats are not on strong ground when they have to defend views that appear wobbly on rising violent crime, surging immigration at the border and non-meritocratic, race-essentialist approaches to education. They would be on much stronger ground if they became identified with an inclusive nationalism that emphasizes what Americans have in common and their right not just to economic prosperity but to public safety, secure borders and a world-class but nonideological education for their children.

Looking at the dangers facing American democracy from a different vantage point, [*Steven Levitsky*](https://scholar.harvard.edu/levitsky/home), a professor of government at Harvard and a co-author of the book “How Democracies Die,” rejected the argument that Democrats need to constrain the party’s liberal wing.

“The Democrats have been amazingly successful in national elections over the last 20 years,” Levitsky wrote in an email.

They have won the popular vote in 7 out of 8 presidential elections — that’s almost unthinkable. They have also won the popular vote in the Senate in every six-year cycle since 2000. You cannot look at a party in a democracy that has won the popular vote almost without fail for two decades and say, gee, that party really has to get it together and address its “liabilities.”

Instead, he argued,

the liabilities lie in undemocratic electoral institutions such as the Electoral College, the structure of the Senate (where underpopulated states have an obscene amount of power that should be unacceptable in any democracy), gerrymandered state and federal legislative districts in many states, and recent political demographic trends — the concentration of Democratic votes in cities — that favor Republicans.

“Until our parties are competing on a level playing field,” Levitsky added, “I am going to insist that our institutions are a bigger problem for democracy than liberal elitism and ‘wokeness.’”

[*Jacob Hacker*](https://politicalscience.yale.edu/people/jacob-hacker), a professor of political science at Yale, takes a similar position, writing by email:

There are powerful economic and social forces at work here, and they’re particularly powerful in the United States, given that it has a deep history of racial inequality and division and it is on the leading edge of the transformation toward a knowledge economy in which educated citizens are concentrated in urban metros. The question, then, is how much Democrat elites’ strategic choices matter relative to these powerful forces. I lean toward thinking they’re less important than we typically assume.

Instead, Hacker argued, the Republican Party has become

particularly dangerous because it rests on an increasing commitment to and reliance on what we called “countermajoritarianism” — the exploitation of the anti-urban and status quo biases of the American political system, which allow an intense minority party with a rural base and mostly negative policy agenda to gain and wield outsized power.

The conservative strategy, which Hacker calls “minoritarianism,” means that “Republicans can avoid decisive defeats even in the most unfavorable circumstances. There is very little electoral incentive for the party to moderate.”

The result? “Neither electoral forces nor organized interests are much of a guardrail against a G.O.P. increasingly veering off the nation’s once-established democratic path.”

[*Julie Wronski*](https://politicalscience.olemiss.edu/julie-a-wronski/), a professor of political science at the University of Mississippi, described the systemic constraints on the Democratic Party in an email:

In the current two-party system, the Democratic Party isn’t just the crucial institutional advocate of democracy. It is the only political entity that can address the federal and state-level institutions that undermine full and equal democratic representation in the United States. Decisive victories should be enough to send a message that Americans do not support anti-democratic behavior.

The problem for Democrats, Wronski continued, is that

decisive victories are unlikely to occur at the national level because of the two-party system and partisan gerrymanders. Winning elections (while necessary) is not enough, especially if core constituencies of Democratic voters are explicitly targeted through state-level voting restrictions and gerrymanders.

Those who would seek to restore respect for democratic norms in Trump’s Republican Party face another set of problems, according to Wronski. At the moment, she writes, a fundamental raison d’être of the Republican Party is to prevent the political consignment “to minority status” of “whites, and in particular white Christians, whose share of the population, electorate, and federal-level office holders is diminishing.” This commitment effectively precludes the adoption of a more inclusive strategy of “appealing to racial, ethnic, and religious minority voters,” because such an appeal would amount to the abandonment of the Republican Party’s implicit (and often quite explicit) promise to prevent “the threat of minority status that demographic change poses to white Christians.”

[*Ryan Enos*](https://www.ryandenos.com/), a professor of government at Harvard, anticipates, at least in the short term, a worsening of the political environment:

Trump has the support of nearly half of American voters and is very likely to run for president in 2024. Given electoral trends, there is a high likelihood that he will win. Moreover, even if he doesn’t win legitimately, there is little doubt that he will once again try to subvert the election outcome. At that point, his party is likely to control both houses of Congress and he may be successful in his efforts.

Enos argued in an email that “the liabilities of the Democratic Party can be overstated” when there is

a more fundamental problem in that the ***working-class*** base, across racial groups, of the Democratic Party has eroded and is further eroding. That Democrats may not have yet hit rock bottom with ***working-class*** voters is terrifying for the future of the party. As much as people want to point to cultural issues as the primary reason for this decline in support, the wheels on the decline were put in motion by macroeconomic trends and policies that made the economic and social standing of ***working-class*** people in the United States extremely tenuous.

Those trends worked to the advantage of Democrats as recently as the election of Barack Obama, Enos continued, when many ***working-class*** voters “looking for change, even voted for a Black man with a foreign-sounding name in 2008.” But, Enos continued, “when the Republican Party stumbled into a populist message of anti-elitism, protectionism, cultural chauvinism, and anti-immigration, it was almost inevitable that it would accelerate the pull of ***working-class*** voters toward Republicans.”

At the moment, Enos believes, the outlook is bleak:

Given the current institutional setup in the United States and the calcified nature of partisanship, I am not sure that Republicans can ever experience large-scale electoral defeat of the type that would shake them from their current path. In 2020, they were led by the most unpopular president in modern history running during a disastrous time for U.S. society and they still didn’t lose by much. That, perhaps, is the real issue — even though they are massively unpopular, partially because of their anti-democratic moves — the nature of U.S. elections means that they will never truly be electorally punished enough to cause them to reform.

All of this raises a key question: Has the Republican Party passed a tipping point to become, irrevocably, the voice of ultranationalist racist authoritarianism?

It may be that in too many voters’ minds the Democratic Party has also crossed a line and that Democratic adoption of more centrist policies on cultural issues — in combination with a focus on economic and health care issues — just won’t be enough to counter the structural forces fortifying the Republican minority, its by-any-means-necessary politics and its commitment to white hegemony.

The Biden administration is, in fact, pushing an agenda of economic investment and expanded health care, but the public is not yet responding. Part of this failure lies with the administration’s suboptimal messaging. More threatening to the party, however, is the possibility that a growing perception of the Democratic Party as wedded to progressive orthodoxies now blinds a large segment of the electorate to the positive elements — let’s call it a trillion-dollar bread-and-butter strategy — of what Biden and his party are trying to do.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY CARLOS BARRIA/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** December 10, 2021

**End of Document**



[***25 Years After ‘Titanic,’ Quebec’s Love for Celine Dion Will Go On***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6747-5K71-JBG3-611X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 19, 2022 Monday 11:44 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 1625 words

**Byline:** Dan Bilefsky

**Highlight:** The outpouring that greeted the singer’s announcement that she has a rare neurological condition showed how both Celine fandom, and ideas of national identity in her home province, have evolved.

**Body**

The outpouring that greeted the singer’s announcement that she has a rare neurological condition showed how both Celine fandom, and ideas of national identity in her home province, have evolved.

MONTREAL — It was a Friday night in Montreal, and hundreds of euphoric revelers were dancing and singing “It’s All Coming Back to Me Now” at a sold-out Celine Dion tribute party. One young man vogued in a homemade version of the gold-tinted headpiece of singed peacock feathers that [*Dion wore at the Met Gala*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/06/fashion/celine-dion-camp-fashion-met-gala.html)a few years ago. Another gawked at a mini-shrine of Dion-inspired wigs, showcasing her hairstyles through the decades.

“In an era of arrogant stars, she is always authentic,” Simon Venne, the voguer, a 38-year-old stylist, gushed. “She is everything to us, a source of pride, our queen.”

If there was ever a sense that Quebec, the French-speaking province of Dion’s birth, was conflicted about Dion’s rise to global superstardom with pop hits that she often sang in English, it has been dispelled. She now occupies an exalted space here, experiencing a cultural renaissance as Quebec’s younger generation has unabashedly embraced her: Radio Canada, the national French language broadcaster, parses her life on a podcast translated as “[*Celine: She’s The Boss!”*](https://ici.radio-canada.ca/ohdio/balados/8386/celine-elle-le-boss); a recent docuseries called[*“It’s Cool to Like Celine Dion” explored her appeal to millennials,*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nvh4lqT2eyk)and Celine Dion drag competitions have been surging.

Dion’s emotional announcement this month that she is suffering from a rare neurological condition called [*stiff person syndrome*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/08/well/live/stiff-person-syndrome-symptoms-treatment.html), forcing her to postpone upcoming tour dates, was met with an extraordinary outpouring. Québécois politicians from across the political spectrum, including both Quebec’s premier, François Legault, and the head of a party advocating Quebec’s independence from Canada, [*jockeyed*](https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/politique/2022-12-08/atteinte-d-une-maladie-neurologique/l-assemblee-nationale-derriere-celine-dion.php) to express sympathy for Dion, 54. Fans commiserated over social media. A headline in Le Devoir, an influential Quebec newspaper, called her [*“Celine, Queen of the Québécois.”*](https://www.ledevoir.com/culture/773974/celine-la-reine-des-quebecois) Dion, the newspaper noted, had attained the status of untouchable icon after years of being panned by critics and mocked by others.

“It’s like hearing your aunt is sick,” Venne, the feathered fan, said. “Celine is famous around the world, but here she is family.”

The intensity of the reaction here — 25 years after the premiere of the blockbuster film[*“Titanic,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/magazine/titanic-movie.html) which helped make Dion’s bombastically exuberant “My Heart Will Go On” ubiquitous — shows how much Celine fandom and ideas of Québécois identity have evolved over time as the province, like its most famous daughter, has come of age.

During a recent visit to Celine Dion Boulevard in Charlemagne, a soulless stretch of road in the gritty ***working-class*** town of about 6,000 on the outskirts of Montreal where Dion was born, a group of 20-somethings said it was no longer embarrassing to admit to liking her music.

“Being stuck at home during the pandemic made people nostalgic for the past, and everything old and vintage is in fashion,” said Gabriel Guénette, 26, a university student and sometime Uber delivery man, explaining why he and his friends were singing “The Power of Love” during karaoke nights. Dion’s unbridled message of hope and optimism, he added, resonated during these uncertain times.

Older residents in Charlemagne still refer to her as “notre petite Celine” — our little Celine — and recall her days as a shy teenager who performed French ballads with her 13 brothers and sisters at her family’s restaurant. Younger residents — including Meghan Arsenault, 15, who attends the same high school Dion did — grew up singing her songs.

Across Quebec, a Francophone province of 8.5 million people that has been buffeted by centuries of subjugation and fears of being subsumed by the English language, Dion has at times been a polarizing figure. Even as many fans ardently embraced her, she was dismissed by some critics as the cultural equivalent of[*poutine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/19/world/canada/quebec-poutine.html?smid=url-share), the Québécois snack of French fries and cheese curds drenched in gravy drunkenly and guiltily consumed at 3 a.m.

Some elites balked at her success, seeing in her sprawling ***working class*** family, her garish outfits and her broken English an uncomfortable mirror of an old Quebec they preferred to forget. Some considered her quétaine, cheesy in Québécois argot.

And her singing in English has, at times, been an affront to hard-core Francophone nationalists. But when Dion thanked the audience with a “Merci!” at the Summer Olympics in Atlanta in 1996 after singing [*“The Power of The Dream,”*](https://youtu.be/ynJc0YZkA3k)the single word reverberated across the province, an affirmation that French Canada had gone global.

Martin Proulx, a producer who hosted the podcast, “Celine, She’s the Boss!,” recalled that as a gay teenager in Montreal in the 1990s, he hid the fact that he was listening to her “Let’s Talk About Love” album on his Sony Walkman. “It wasn’t cool to love Celine when I was in high school — kids my age were listening to hip-hop and heavy rock and she was for soccer moms who watched Oprah,” he recalled.

Now, he said, he could proudly proclaim his ardor, in part because a more confident Quebec has shed some of its past complexes. The younger generation of Québécois, he said, seems less hung up than their parents or grandparents on issues of language and identity, and more likely to embrace Dion’s global stardom, financial success and bilingualism as a template for their own international aspirations.

“We used to roll our eyes — now we think she’s pure genius,” Mr. Proulx said. “She never changed. We did.”

[*Yannick Nézet-Séguin*](https://yannicknezetseguin.com/en/), the Quebec-born music director of the Metropolitan Opera in New York, said that his first memory of Dion was from 1984, when he was eight years old. Dion, who was 16, [*sang a song about a dove*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HsC6GCzZSPE) in front of Pope John Paul II and 60,000 people at Montreal’s Olympic Stadium. Nézet-Séguin said he had surged with pride that she was a fellow Quebecer, and said that he sees Dion as a “diva” in the operatic sense of the word.

“When I think about a diva, I think about personality, having something recognizable artistically, and one can’t deny the virtuosic aspect of Celine’s singing,” he said.

The intense interest in Dion is hardly limited to Quebec. [*“Aline,”*](https://www.festival-cannes.com/en/festival/films/aline) a highly unusual, fictionalized film drawn from her life, [*drew buzz at last year’s Cannes Film Festival.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/14/movies/cannes-aline-celine-dion.html) When a musical parody of “Titanic” called “[*Titanique*](https://titaniquemusical.com/)” recently moved to a larger Off Broadway theater in New York, its producers promised “More shows. More seats. More Celine.” And Dion is set to appear alongside Priyanka Chopra Jonas and Sam Heughan in a romantic comedy called “Love Again” that is expected in theaters in North America in May.

The fascination with Dion endures in part because her Cinderella story never grows old. The youngest of 14 children of an accordion-playing butcher and a homemaker from Charlemagne, Dion’s first bed as a child was [*a drawer*](https://www.celinedion.com/about/biography/). At the age of 12, she co-wrote her first song,[*“Ce n’était qu’un rêve,”*](https://youtu.be/S02F0_vQG_0)with the help of her mother and her brother Jacques. Her brother Michel sent a cassette demo to the impresario René Angélil, who became her manager and, later, her husband.

Dion had a complete makeover, disappearing for 18 months in 1986 to study English, cap her teeth, perm her hair, and take voice and dance lessons. A star was born.

When Angélil died in 2016, two days before his 74th birthday, his two-day, meticulously [*choreographed funeral*](https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/rene-angelil-funeral-1.3414221)at Montreal’s Notre-Dame Basilica was [*televised by the CBC,*](https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/2682492590) the national broadcaster, and flags were lowered at half-mast across Quebec. Dion, veiled in black, stood by her husband’s open coffin for seven hours, greeting Quebec dignitaries and the public.

In the years since, Dion recast her analog image for the Instagram era. A [*Vetements Titanic hoodie*](https://www.vogue.com/article/celine-dion-vetements-titanic-hoodie) she wore in Paris in 2016 broke the internet. A few years later, she stole the show at the camp-themed Met Gala, in an Oscar de la Renta clinging champagne-colored bodysuit embellished with silvery sequins. Her zany, self-deprecating appearance on [*James Corden’s Carpool Karaoke in 2019*](https://youtu.be/dsUURLFnr9k)from Las Vegas, during which she sang “My Heart Will Go On” in front of a replica of the Titanic’s bow at the Bellagio Hotel fountain, helped some people who had made fun of her realize that she was in on the joke.

Now her fandom seems as strong as ever.

Mario Bennett, 36, who works in a concert hall, began covering every inch of his cramped basement apartment with Celine Dion memorabilia at the start of the pandemic. He said that throughout his life, Dion’s powerful voice had been a clarion call to dream big. Among his prized possessions is an unauthorized collectible Celine doll, wearing a mini version of the midnight blue velvet gown that the singer wore to the Oscars in 1998.

“She makes me feel that anything is possible,” he said.

Guy Hermon, an Israeli drag queen who emigrated to Montreal a decade ago and absorbed Quebec culture — and the French language — by trying to embody Dion, said he had never been a fan of her music but invented his Dion alter ego, [*“Crystal Slippers,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dWFtIVlWT0Y) out of necessity on the Dion-obsessed Québécois drag circuit.

After years of mimicking Dion, he said he had come to appreciate her. “She just wants everyone to be happy,” he said.

PHOTOS: Mario Bennett, left, showing his Celine Dion memorabilia. Above, partygoers celebrating the star at the “Céline est Forever Amazing” event in Montreal on Dec. 2. (C1); Clockwise from top left: the partygoer Simon Venne during the “Céline est Forever Amazing” event on Dec. 2; another partygoer at the event; Celine Dion Boulevard in Charlemagne, Quebec, the singer’s hometown; Mario Bennett in Montreal, wearing a custom-made Celine Dion suit coat. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GUILLAUME SIMONEAU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C6) This article appeared in print on page C1, C6.

**Load-Date:** December 21, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Poet of the Night Whose Muses Have 9 Lives; The Saturday Profile***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:688D-KT81-JBG3-64HM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 19, 2023 Friday 22:40 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; asia

**Length:** 1298 words

**Byline:** Mike Ives

**Highlight:** The South Korean writer Hwang In-suk feeds stray cats on late-night walks through Seoul. The routine informs her poems about loneliness and impermanence.

**Body**

The South Korean writer Hwang In-suk feeds stray cats on late-night walks through Seoul. The routine informs her poems about loneliness and impermanence.

Most nights, Hwang In-suk pushes a shopping cart up and down the steep alleys of her Seoul neighborhood, trailed by stray cats that emerge from shadows to greet her under glowing streetlamps and convenience store marquees.

Her neighbors tend to think of Ms. Hwang, 64, merely as someone who feeds cats in the street. Only a few know that she is a celebrated poet whose work explores loneliness and impermanence in the South Korean capital.

Her decades of writing span a time in which South Korea has cycled through a dizzying number of identities, including those of a country ruled by repressive military dictatorships, a fledgling democracy and, most recently, an economic power and international [*cultural juggernaut*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/world/asia/squid-game-korea-bts.html).

Ms. Hwang said her nocturnal cat-feeding routine allows her to quietly observe not only cats, her favorite muses, but also her changing neighborhood and the underclass of a [*megacity*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/12/15/travel/things-to-do-seoul.html) that is increasingly [*known for its flashy exterior*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/25/world/asia/psy-gangnam-style.html).

“I’ve found worlds that I wouldn’t have found if I had not been feeding cats at night,” she said in a near whisper on a recent walk through her neighborhood, Haebangchon. The streets were mostly silent except for the occasional car, taxi or delivery truck.

In addition to cats and other subjects, Ms. Hwang’s poetry documents the milieu of convenience store clerks, street sweepers and other late-night workers. “I don’t even know his face as we meet only in the dark,” she writes of a newspaper deliveryman in a recent poem called “Don’t Know Where You Live”:

He wouldn’t know my face either but

How come he recognizes me so well

We live at night

Haebangchon, or Liberation Village, lies near Seoul’s central train station and what was once the main U.S. military base in the country. The neighborhood was carved out of a hillside forest after the end of World War II, when Korea emerged from Japanese colonial rule.

Many of the people who settled there were North Korean refugees who arrived during or after the Korean War, said Pil Ho Kim, an expert on South Korean cultural history at Ohio State, whose father grew up in the neighborhood after fleeing the North.

In the decades after the war, South Korea experienced dramatic upheavals, including rapid industrialization, [*a presidential assassination*](https://www.nytimes.com/1979/10/27/archives/president-park-is-slain-in-korea-by-intelligence-chief-seoul-says.html) and a [*massacre*](https://www.nytimes.com/1996/08/29/world/the-people-of-kwangju-recall-1980-massacre.html?searchResultPosition=4) of pro-democracy demonstrators. So did Haebangchon, a place initially known as a “[*moon village*](https://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20220815000195),” a term for urban slums built on hillsides.

In the 1970s, South Korean economic migrants helped turn Haebangchon into a hub for small-scale garment factories. It later grew more residential and less ***working class***, and began to attract young artists. Many artists’ studios were in turn displaced by cafes as the gentrification continued, said Cha Kyoung-hee, 38, who has owned a bookstore in the neighborhood since 2015.

Ms. Hwang, who grew up nearby and settled in Haebangchon in the 1980s, has been quietly observing the details of these changes ever since with a keen eye. She settled on a career in poetry after studying creative writing at a Seoul arts institute and made her debut with a poem, “I’ll Be Reborn as a Cat,” that won a 1984 award for emerging South Korean writers. It was the first of many national literary prizes that she would win over the years.

She said her poetry partly reflects her conviction that Seoul is a place where [*the rich and poor live in separate worlds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/29/world/asia/parasite-seoul-south-korea.html), and the downtrodden are victims of cutthroat competition.

“They were not willing to cheat others to advance themselves in this society,” she said during a recent walk, her breath escaping in tiny clouds as she rounded a bend of a dark, hillside alley. The lights of skyscrapers blinked in the city below.

Her poems tend to fuse details of her corner of Seoul, a city of about 10 million people, with the emotions of their wry, melancholic speakers. One [*describes*](https://www.donga.com/en/article/all/20221130/3793525/1) Haebangchon’s roads as leading “always uphill/like my life.”

But Ms. Hwang is perhaps best known for poems that make wistful, whimsical observations about cats, and the humans who struggle to understand them. She said about one-fifth of her oeuvre has been cat-related.

For the last 16 or so years, Ms. Hwang has been feeding cats almost every night, usually out of recycled instant-rice containers. Each cat has a designated dining spot — under a parked car, say, or among a restaurant’s garbage bins. Some approach her in the manner of a familiar old friend, meowing as they rub against her legs. Others need to be coaxed out of hiding places with a soft psst.

Ms. Hwang said her cat-feeding routine started when a single stray began turning up, hungry, outside her apartment. Some of the dozens of cats she now cares for have names; most she just calls “pretty.”

“I do this because the cats are waiting for me, and no one else is willing to do it,” she said flatly. “It’s a duty.”

But her affectionate manner with the cats — and her many poems about their quirks and personalities — suggests her relationship with them is more than perfunctory.

Anne M. Rashid, a professor of English literature who [*translated some of Ms. Hwang’s work*](https://jaypsong.blog/category/hwang-in-suk/) with a late colleague, Chae-Pyong Song, said she was particularly fond of this passage from the poem “Ran, My Former Cat”:

I didn’t know where you came from.

Always all of a sudden

you appeared

at a time when nobody was around

at a time when time belonged to nobody,

hanging about the roof of a rented house

as if from inside my heart,

as if from the edge of the moon

with a small half-cry,

you appeared.

Throughout the poem, which ends with the cat disappearing “to a place where you couldn’t invite me,” the speaker wishes to hold or touch her muse but knows it’s not possible, said Professor Rashid, who teaches literature at Carlow University in Pittsburgh.

“They have a bond, regardless, in their solitariness,” she added.

When Ms. Cha hosted Ms. Hwang for a reading at her bookstore last year, the audience was unusually diverse for such an event, and included former residents of the neighborhood who missed it and wanted to hear descriptions of its earlier incarnations. Some cried when they heard her poems read aloud.

Ms. Hwang said she shares a cramped apartment with two ailing, rescued strays, one of them named Lauren after the Hollywood actress [*Lauren Bacall*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/13/movies/lauren-bacall-sultry-movie-star-dies-at-89.html). She does not own a cellphone and has never earned a living through anything other than poetry.

“She’s not the type of person who tells people who she is,” said Yang Jung-ok, 60, who owns a restaurant in Haebangchon and has known Ms. Hwang for years.

Ms. Yang said she has long admired her soft-spoken neighbor for spending so much of her limited income on food for stray cats. But she only learned of Ms. Hwang’s poetry from a journalist who accompanied her to the restaurant and mentioned in passing that she was an eminent poet.

During the recent walk, Ms. Hwang seemed surprised that a reporter would be interested in her work, and declined an invitation to recite a poem of her choice. “I can’t say which one would bring a reader joy,” she said, shortly before midnight.

The humans in her poems also tend to keep low profiles. In “Above the Roofs,” the speaker marvels at how the energy within cats’ bodies sends them soaring in the air to a “vast territory” above rooftops. Then — in a delicate, almost catlike way — she places herself in their midst.

In this city where back alleys have disappeared,

on the back alleys above the roofs,

on these alleys above, so to speak,

gently I place my breath.

Youmi Kim contributed reporting.

Youmi Kim contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: An eminent poet, Ms. Hwang has won several national literary prizes. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUN MICHAEL PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** May 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Is There Still Room in the G.O.P. for Mitch Daniels?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:674C-GVS1-DXY4-X2FR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 19, 2022 Monday 19:11 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1714 words

**Byline:** Blake Hounshell

**Highlight:** Allies of the wonkish, 73-year-old university president are urging him to run for Senate. It would be a fascinating political experiment.

**Body**

Allies of the wonkish, 73-year-old university president are urging him to run for Senate. It would be a fascinating political experiment.

Back in August, an interviewer stumped Mitch Daniels, a Republican star of yesteryear who is stepping down at the end of this month as president of Purdue University, with a question about how he might fare in the flame-throwing partisan warfare of today.

“Can your brand of conservatism still win in the current environment?” Adam Wren asked in a lengthy [*interview in Politico Magazine*](https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2022/08/19/conservative-emerges-political-exile-00052797).

“I don’t know,” responded Daniels, who served as governor of Indiana from 2005 to 2013. “I’ve been in isolation and quarantine for 10 years.”

That wasn’t entirely true: Daniels [*writes a monthly column for The Washington Post*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/people/mitch-daniels/), where he has weighed in regularly on national affairs from the perspective of a scholarly, genial conservative. But he has mostly spent the last decade cocooned away from the public arena as the decidedly unscholarly Donald Trump molded the Republican Party in his own image.

And the next part of his answer was intriguing.

“In one way I think about it,” Daniels said, “maybe I haven’t been infected by the viruses that are running around on both sides.”

Daniels, 73, is [*“fascinated by the idea”*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/06/17/mitch-daniels-weighs-return-to-politics-00040578) of running for office again, his allies have said, and is now weighing a run for the [*Senate seat*](https://www.cnn.com/2022/11/30/politics/mike-braun-governor-indiana-2024/index.html) that will soon be vacated by Mike Braun, who is running for governor in Indiana.

“I don’t think he feels any urgency to make a quick decision,” said Mark Lubbers, his longtime political guru and friend, [*confirming recent reporting*](https://www.courierpress.com/story/opinion/2022/12/08/is-mitch-daniels-going-to-run-for-the-u-s-senate/69712793007/) by Brian Howey, whose column is read widely in Indiana political circles. “But I think it’s definitely serious.”

Daniels is attracted to the idea, Lubbers said, of bringing “sanity” to Washington. “It would be kind of like when Cicero went back to the Roman Senate to provide wisdom.”

Could this be a perfect test of whether old-school Midwestern conservatism still has a place in Republican politics?

“To me, that answer is easy,” said Cam Savage, his former communications director. “It’s yes, and the reason for my confidence is the midterm elections. In August, that was maybe more of an open question.”

Savage, who now runs a political consulting firm, said he had privately explored Daniels’s approval ratings among potential Republican primary voters, and found them to be overwhelmingly positive.

And if [*a new poll released on Sunday*](https://www.bellwether-research.com/blog/latest-indiana-survey-results) is any indication, Daniels still has plenty of fans. The poll, by Bellwether Research, a firm run by his former pollster, found that 32 percent of registered Republican voters in Indiana preferred the Purdue president over a field of four other potential candidates, including Representative Jim Banks.

When Daniels was governor, Indiana was still a purple state; Barack Obama won it in 2008 before losing it by 10 percentage points four years later.

“It’s only gotten redder and redder since,” said Christine Matthews, who conducted the survey. “The Republicans there got really Trumpy.”

As for Daniels, Matthews said, “he’s not a Jim Banks-style culture warrior.” But he is “his own type of conservative,” she added, “and I think there is a reservoir of respect and good will that remains for him.”

The Daniels brand of conservatism

For those who don’t remember Daniels, he is revered among conservative intellectuals as a principled thought leader within the Republican Party. In the 1980s, he worked for Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana and President Ronald Reagan. After a stint as President George W. Bush’s budget director, he served two terms as governor of Indiana, where he left office [*with an approval rating in the 60s*](https://www.newsandtribune.com/opinion/columns/howey-daniels-gives-emphatic-endorsement-of-lugar/article_ba287777-11dc-54b0-be3d-2ec6a7d6dfe8.html).

In 2011, as Daniels’s admirers pushed him to run for president against Barack Obama, [*The New York Times said he was seen in Republican circles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/12/us/politics/12daniels.html) as a “fiscally focused, budget-cutting, pragmatic-thinking conservative.” He was known for his ability to disagree without being disagreeable, saying things like, [*“Grown-ups make trade-offs. Pass the brandy, then let’s get busy”*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/09/11/AR2010091100054.html?tid=a_inl_manual) or [*“purity in martyrdom is for suicide bombers.”*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2011/02/cpac-2011-mitch-daniels-versus-the-red-scare.html)

Famously, [*Daniels once called for a “truce” in America’s social wars*](https://www.cato.org/blog/mitch-daniels-social-issues-truce), drawing a rebuke from a fellow Hoosier: Mike Pence, who was then a member of Congress. In his runs for governor, Daniels refused to run negative campaign ads. He stayed in the private homes of friends and supporters instead of hotels.

But Daniels ultimately decided against a presidential bid, [*citing family concerns*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/23/us/politics/23repubs.html) — a story told in excruciating detail in the book [*“Run, Mitch, Run”*](https://www.amazon.com/Run-Mitch-Decisions-Presidential-Election/dp/1491751061) — and took the Purdue job instead. There, he beefed up the university’s engineering program, froze tuition and began an ambitious effort to make Purdue a global institution.

Daniels and his office have brushed aside direct questions about his future plans. But Lubbers said that one potential obstacle was no longer an issue: Daniels’s wife, who vetoed a run for president in 2012, does not oppose a Senate bid in 2024.

And that interview with Politico in August was only one hint among several that Daniels might be thinking about a second act in politics. In [*another interview around the same time*](https://www.wthr.com/article/news/local/mitch-daniels-reflects-on-career-legacy-at-purdue-university-west-lafayette-indiana/531-f16f3464-9553-4e81-836c-0985ad7636cf), he said he had taken a “vow of political celibacy” at Purdue, but nonetheless made a few observations about the world he left behind a decade ago.

“I think both parties have come to be dominated by their fringe. Extreme left. Extreme right,” Daniels said. He ducked a question about Trump, saying, “I never met him.” And he said he was worried about national debt that had continued to pile up at an “unimaginable rate.”

On Friday, when [*Daniels appeared on the podcast of Chuck Todd*](https://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/meetthepressblog/mitch-daniels-hasnt-really-thought-political-future-rcna61739), the host of NBC’s “Meet the Press,” he said that he had not “really thought” about running for office again. But he also predicted that “sooner or later,” somebody would come along who “really wants to start us back on the path toward greater common purpose and unity as a country.”

Could Daniels win?

Daniels would enter the race with considerable advantages, his allies say: near-universal name recognition and fond feelings among voters in Indiana, an ability to instantly raise money and a gravitas that he burnished in his decade at Purdue.

But it would take considerable dexterity for Daniels to navigate a political landscape that has changed radically since he last held public office, with a media ecosystem that looks utterly unlike that of 2012 — with Trump and Trumpism at its core.

For one thing, Daniels’s brand as a frugal Hoosier speaks to just one faction of an increasingly tumultuous Republican Party. When Monmouth University’s polling institute recently [*asked Republican voters to describe what makes a good Republican*](https://www.monmouth.edu/polling-institute/reports/monmouthpoll_us_121622/), about 20 percent gave answers related to fiscal conservatism. About a quarter sounded themes of patriotism and individual liberties. Another quarter mentioned some version of personal responsibility. And 13 percent gave answers related to religion, moral values and abortion.

If Daniels were to run, he would be entering a Republican field that already looks pretty crowded. Banks is openly considering a bid, as is a colleague in the House, Representative Victoria Spartz. Other possible contenders include Todd Rokita, Indiana’s attorney general, and Representative Trey Hollingsworth, who is stepping down from his seat.

Banks is the best known of the four, and he has an incentive to run after losing his bid for a leadership job in the House. He also gave up his position as chairman of the Republican Study Committee, a large and influential bloc of House conservatives.

Banks is unabashedly pro-Trump. Over three terms in the House, he has [*labored to position the G.O.P. as a* ***working-class*** *party*](https://www.axios.com/2021/03/31/house-gop-memo-trump-embrace-only-option-for-comeback?emci=7ce90944-f692-eb11-85aa-0050f237abef&amp;emdi=f647edd8-0193-eb11-85aa-0050f237abef&amp;ceid=13447588) — a mission [*he has described*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/05/04/jim-banks-liz-cheney-gop-485269) as marrying “the core principles of the party of Reagan with the populist platform in the party of Donald Trump.” He has also called on Republicans to aggressively attack Democrats as cultural elitists who are out of touch with ***working-class*** values.

It’s still uncertain just how much distance from Trump the G.O.P. base is ready to tolerate. Daniels hasn’t said much about him, though Trump certainly doesn’t seem like his type.

“I don’t think he’s delusional that politics is a full-contact sport,” said Lubbers, who expects Daniels to put more serious thought into running after a golfing trip to Florida in January. “He ain’t no powder puff.”

Matthews, the former Daniels pollster, said she had found growing appetite among Republican primary voters to hear criticism of Trump — but only if it’s done carefully, and accompanied by praise of his policies as president.

“There’s actually much more room to be critical of Trump as a person, but not ‘he was a complete disaster and a criminal,’” Matthews said. “You can say he’s a divisive guy, and Daniels would be really skilled at doing that.”

Correction: This article originally named the wrong senator who is stepping down to run for governor of Indiana. It is Mike Braun, not Mike Rounds, who represents South Dakota.

What to read

* The House committee investigating the Capitol riot accused Donald Trump of inciting insurrection and other federal crimes as it referred him to the Justice Department, which does not have to act on the panel’s recommendations. [*Follow our live updates*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/12/19/us/jan-6-committee-trump).

1. A trial got underway on Monday for Proud Boys defendants who are accused of a central role in the fighting at the Capitol, [*Alan Feuer reports*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/18/us/politics/proud-boys-trial-jan-6-capitol-attack.html). The charge of seditious conspiracy is the same as in a recent trial of members of the Oath Keepers militia.
2. If you haven’t already, read Grace Ashford and Michael Gold’s remarkable article about George Santos, a newly elected Republican congressman on Long Island [*whose résumé may be largely fiction*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/19/nyregion/george-santos-ny-republicans.html).

Thank you for reading On Politics, and for being a subscriber to The New York Times. — Blake

Read past editions of the newsletter [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/on-politics).

If you’re enjoying what you’re reading, please consider recommending it to others. They can sign up [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics). Browse all of our subscriber-only newsletters [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters#subscriber-only-newsletters).

Have feedback? Ideas for coverage? We’d love to hear from you. Email us at [*onpolitics@nytimes.com*](mailto:onpolitics@nytimes.com).

PHOTO: Mitch Daniels, the former governor of Indiana and current president of Purdue University, has hinted that he is considering a second act in politics. And Indiana has an open Senate seat in 2024. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Pool photo by Darron Cummings FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 19, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Review: Jodie Comer Makes the Case in ‘Prima Facie’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6832-60K1-DXY4-X1HF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 23, 2023 Sunday 12:56 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 1187 words

**Byline:** Jesse Green

**Highlight:** The “Killing Eve” star has a spectacular Broadway debut in a play that puts sexual assault jurisprudence on trial.

**Body**

The “Killing Eve” star has a spectacular Broadway debut in a play that puts sexual assault jurisprudence on trial.

The neon image of a louche Lady Justice, in an electric blue robe and a hot pink mask, greets the audience at the Golden Theater as if the place were a strip joint for lawyers.

In a way it is, at least while “[*Prima Facie*](https://primafacieplay.com/),” which opened on Sunday, is playing there. Over the course of the one-woman, 100-minute play, we watch a barrister — the story takes place in England — remove every piece of psychological armor from the women she cross-examines in sexual assault cases, then see the same armor stripped from her when she becomes a victim herself.

The play, by Suzie Miller, won [*all sorts of awards*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/02/theater/olivier-awards-winners-2023.html) in Australia and Britain. It’s easy to see why. Its star, Jodie Comer, late of “Killing Eve,” gives a performance of tremendous skill and improbable stamina, especially considering [*it is her first major stage appearance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/theater/jodie-comer-prima-facie-killing-eve.html). The production, directed by Justin Martin, is chic and accessible, with design flourishes, by now de rigueur, to underline the idea that it is a Big Event. And the reform of sexual assault jurisprudence that the play advocates could hardly be more convincingly argued or worthy of our attention.

But the underlining and the advocacy do something odd to the drama: They make it disappear.

Not at first. When we meet Tessa Ensler she’s a complex and theatrical character, a “thoroughbred,” “primed for the race,” with “every muscle pumped.” She’s also, in Comer’s interpretation, funny, sexy and self-deflating, bloviating in bars and flirting with associates. She is not beneath the arrogance of pedigree: “Top law school, top city, top marks, top people.” When she bellows drunkenly that “innocent until proven guilty” is the bedrock of civilized society, you see that she also uses it as a free pass for her own dodgy behavior. At one point she throws a piece of trash into the audience.

Thoroughbred she may be, but we soon meet a different incarnation of Tessa: a refugee from the ***working class***, never able to return to it comfortably. Visiting her chilly mother in Liverpool, she becomes a girl in want of kindness and not getting much. (Her older brother is violent.) The posh accent she uses in court seems to erode before our ears, revealing the peculiar early-Beatles twang of her (and Comer’s) native Scouse dialect. (“Says” is not pronounced “sez” but “saze.”) She dashes back to London before she can get hurt.

The dashing is not just Tessa’s M.O. but the production’s. With its expressionistic sound (lots of pumped-up heartbeats by Ben and Max Ringham) and sudden slashes of harsh light (by Natasha Chivers), Martin’s busy staging is at pains to help Comer fill the vast space alone. She doesn’t need it; she solves the one-actor problem with her own resourcefulness, handily playing all sides of conversations that sometimes involve several people. And when she must be both a third-person reporter of a remembered event and a first-person participant in it, she makes the echo meaningful by using it to specify the content. The laugh she lets out after saying “We laugh” is a very particular and complicated kind.

Still, Martin has her constantly running about, moving tables, jumping on those tables to declaim in court, shouting over music, fiddling with her clothing and juggling props. Some of this stage business helps provide character insight that might go missing in the absence of other actors: When approached by a senior trial lawyer interested in offering her a job, Tessa tries to hide her Victoria’s Secret shopping bag. But much of it feels pro forma.

In any case, the bustle comes to a halt halfway through. Now we meet a third Tessa, this one the victim of a rape she knows she will have trouble proving to the law’s satisfaction. She was drunk; she had previously consented to have sex with the man; she couldn’t shout no because he covered her mouth to the point that she could hardly breathe.

She now enters the legal system as a complainant, not a defender: “Same court, no armor,” she says. Comer’s portrayal of that defenselessness is devastating: Mousy and short-circuited, the gloss gone from her hair, she looks small in her clothes and alone in the world. Her voice has shriveled. Even Miriam Buether’s set — sky-high shelves of case files — abandons her, rising into the flies.

Yet this is also where the play abandons itself. Not its argument, of course. As Tessa suffers the same kind of cross-examination she has visited on other women in the name of “testing the case” impartially, it becomes painfully clear that finding truth, let alone justice, in such situations is all but impossible. More than that, the system of adjudicating consent is diabolical, a manmade trap to disable women from proving anything and thus, in effect, a second rape.

If only the play allowed us simply to feel this. But as Tessa speaks to the courtroom despite being warned by the judge to stop, Miller, the playwright, herself a former criminal defense lawyer, likewise breaks free from the dramatic frame to let her. The lights come up on the audience. The text, now delivered straight out, becomes an oration, a summation. For reasons that seem more wishful and political than characterological, Tessa gets her voice back.

One-person, multicharacter stories often fail to develop suspense and momentum, but Miller has structured this one precisely. Details we learn casually in the first half return menacingly in the second. The abandonment of that structure in the play’s final third is likewise precise, and many will value the disruption prima facie — at first glance.

But for me the change undid the previous work of emotional engagement in favor of flat-out persuasion on a subject with which few in the audience would be likely to disagree. As Tessa’s speech ran on, repeating ideas that had already been dramatized, I began to feel pummeled, as if by a politician.

Enlightening and enraging theatergoers in the hope of changing the world is not, of course, a violation of dramatic policy. That Tessa’s last name honors [*Eve Ensler, now known as V,*](https://www.eveensler.org/about-v/) ought to have been a clue to Miller’s intentions. V’s 1996 play “The Vagina Monologues” broke with dramatic forms (which, after all, were formalized and popularized by men) to make a difference well beyond them. [*I also thought of Larry Kramer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/27/theater/larry-kramer-playwright-appraisal.html), whose plays were pleas: agitprop and artistry pulped into something new. Thinking of works like theirs, and a singular performance like Comer’s, I won’t belabor the compromises of “Prima Facie.” Especially if, in the long run, it wins its case.

Prima Facie

Through June 18 at the Golden Theater, Manhattan; [*primafacieplay.com*](https://primafacieplay.com/). Running time: 1 hour 40 minutes.

Prima Facie Through June 18 at the Golden Theater in Manhattan; primafacieplay.com. Running time: 1 hour 40 minutes.

PHOTOS: Jodie Comer in the one-woman play “Prima Facie,” which found great success in Australia and Britain. (C1); Jodie Comer as a lawyer who experiences a role reversal in the play “Prima Facie.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C5) This article appeared in print on page C1, C5.

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***What the HBO Show ‘South Side’ Teaches Us; John McWhorter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67MK-4VT1-DXY4-X4WG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 24, 2023 Friday 16:56 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1959 words

**Byline:** John McWhorter

**Highlight:** Black people are entirely comfortable with “details.”

**Body**

Sometimes a very special sitcom that has nothing to do with school nonetheless gets you thinking about education and learning. In the case of HBO Max’s treasure “South Side,” it has also gotten me thinking about race, culture and even our current notions of alternative forms of objectivity.

Americans in their 50s are the youngest generation to have been able to take in, more or less, the whole history of American television. Black-and-white sitcoms from the 1950s and goofy fantasy shows from 1960s were still shown in syndication when we were kids; we came of age in the 1970s and 1980s; and we have been watching ever since, now experiencing this true Golden Age of the medium. As a member of that generation, I can say that “South Side” — which completed its third season in December and was canceled just this week — is certainly one of the top 50 television shows I have ever known.

To say that it is about the interlocking adventures of a range of ***working-class*** and white-collar Black people in Chicago on both — and sometimes shifting — sides of the law makes it sound like a mere picking up of where the film franchise and TV series “Barbershop” and, going back further, the “Friday” film series left off. But that doesn’t do justice to what a quirkily perfect confection the show is, a mumblecom of sorts that situates into Blackness a synthesis of sensibilities that begins with “Barbershop” and “Friday” but stirs in hints of “Seinfeld,” “Arrested Development,” “Atlanta” and “Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt.”

But an element that specifically makes the show work for me is one of its guiding themes: “South Side” is about people obsessed with detail. The ensemble show revolves around two friends who work at a rent-to-own furniture store, a pair of neighborhood cops, a vainglorious young alderman and assorted petty criminals swimming in and out of the action. But everyone is doggedly dotting i’s and crossing t’s, as much in side remarks as in main conversations. “South Side” packs so much into even passing exchanges that I have watched some episodes twice just to catch all of the half-sentences and passing facial expressions.

Chandra Russell’s marvelous Officer Turner dutifully warns a man she is working out a modus operandi for dating — she’s referring to hotel floors (you have to be there!): “OK, we’re already starting off wrong. I was very clear — 4 or 6, I didn’t say 5. You need to be listening.” Or she describes her reasoning for why her policing partner will win a choral contest: “My partner is many things. Number one, chubby. Square, lame, corny. Moist, tender-headed — but you see, choir is all of those things.” (Let’s face it, there is something about choral singing that’s “chubby”!) Real people don’t speak in catalogs like this; it is a glory that the “South Side” characters do.

The store deliveryman Simon (Sultan Salahuddin) declares himself ready to pull off a task for Diallo Riddle’s feckless alderman character, topping it with a tight little back-and-forth neck move; fellow deliveryman and friend Kareme (Kareme K. Young) whispers behind him “That was good!” as if he is both living the tense moment and experiencing it as art, reveling in the details. In another great moment, Kareme shows his bliss that after a bumpy road is repaved, he can now, riding in the passenger seat, wear white while savoring a cup of soup without it spilling. It’s always the small things, the details, the getting it right.

The lead characters are almost compulsively busy with elaborate schemes from episode to episode, be it a cake-frosting cult, a speed-dating service, a Littlepalooza park concert or a cotillion. At one point, in between their shifts hauling furniture, Simon and Kareme invest in a new cryptocurrency. Kareme is writing a sci-fi novel in his spare time.

We even get obsessive detail about the past. Thieves pen a crime guidebook directing that a particular kind of ruse will require using specifically the laundry detergent Tide. We are clearly intended to know that somebody had previously presumed that any detergent would do — i.e., did not attend to detail — and came out the worse for it.

The idea is not supposed to be that “real” Black people aren’t like this. The way all of these characters seem to have some degree of O.C.D. is presented as thoroughly organic to their Blackness.

The exquisite slices of detail-oriented fiction in “South Side” get me thinking about something going on in this real world. It is a fashionable idea today that there is an awkward fit between Blackness and close reasoning.

A major plank in this platform is that antiracism, in its commitment to dismantling structures called white supremacist, must go easy on Black kids when it comes to engaging in detail. People can be quite explicit about this, and have been for a while. In 1987, a booklet by the New York State Board of Regents actually [*spelled out*](https://www.nytimes.com/1987/11/21/nyregion/learning-style-of-minorities-to-be-studied.html) that Black students have “a preference for inferential reasoning rather than deductive or inductive reasoning” and a “tendency to approximate space, number and time instead of aiming for complete accuracy.” Three years later, a researcher for Atlanta’s public schools [*charged*](Users/christopherorr/Downloads/(See p. 364 in https:/www.manhattan-institute.org/americablackwhite)) that “any tests that emphasize logical, analytical methods of problem solving will be biased against minorities.”

Today, the continuation of this line of thinking calls to de-emphasize a focus on getting the correct answer when [*teaching Black kids math*](https://equitablemath.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2020/11/1_STRIDE1.pdf). Ibram X. Kendi recommends that we do away with standardized tests because the disparate rate of achievement between the races indicates that the tests must be flawed tools when applied to Black kids. He asks, “What if we measured intelligence by how knowledgeable individuals are about their own environments? What if we measured intellect by an individual’s desire to know?” But wanting to know is different from knowing. And engaging detail about one’s neighborhood — i.e., what the “South Side” characters are so very good at — is natural, while extending that frame of mind to the wider world is … education.

This paradigm is sometimes extended even to Black adults. The Black physicist Chanda Prescod-Weinstein has [*argued*](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/704991) in a widely read article that physics is mistaken in its foundation upon “white empiricism.” She does not specify that a “Black” physics would be less concerned with detailed analysis and sequential argumentation — nor does she specify much about this alternative physics at all. But if higher mathematics and careful deduction are “white,” then we must ask: What equally challenging, rigorous tools are there that the “nonwhite” approach would entail?

This, too, is how in 2020 the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History &amp; Culture could be comfortable [*displaying*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/african-american-museum-site-removes-whiteness-chart-after-criticism-from-trump-jr-and-conservative-media/2020/07/17/4ef6e6f2-c831-11ea-8ffe-372be8d82298_story.html) a graphic on its website proudly limning objectivity and the written word as “white.” It was taken down when prominent conservatives — including Donald Trump Jr., no one’s idea of an authority — protested, but the poster exemplified a sense long hanging in the air.

I don’t accept it. I do not learn from “South Side” that Black people can only get down to detail in quotation marks, as a kind of temporary stunt like standing on one leg. Any sense a modern person has that precision and Blackness are a chancy mix is, in my view, likely getting it from perhaps three sources.

One, the simplest and most reductive, is that some people just don’t think Black people are very bright. Second is that, as I have covered [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/27/opinion/racism-test.html) in the past, ***working-class*** culture in general can turn you away from abstract questions that don’t have obvious relevance for everyday life. But that’s a race-neutral reality. Third, the 1960s led to a [*factor*](https://slate.com/culture/2010/07/stuart-buck-has-a-startling-explanation-for-acting-white.html) more specific to the Black community: Desegregation of schools meant that too often, Black kids were placed in schools with openly racist white teachers and students. It was here that the idea began among Black teenagers that being a good student was not just nerdy, but “white.” What began as a coping mechanism settled in as a teen meme; it was quite innocent, but has been unideal.

I see a straight line from these elements in combination to today’s notion that being precise is a persnickety nuisance born across the Atlantic amid glumly enterprising Northern and Western Europeans. Our task is to gently but insistently encourage Black kids to apply to abstract endeavors the human capacity for getting down to cases that they easily apply in more local realms — and savor the pleasure that comes from doing so.

A perhaps unlikely analogy to this, for me, is my relationship to sports. I don’t like them. Never have. I don’t do them, I don’t watch them, and I know profoundly little about them. I’ve always been a nerd who likes print rather than moving his body. I wasn’t great at sports as a kid and endured being picked last for teams in gym, as well as the nastiness from athletic guys mad that I brought down their team’s performance. Sports reminds me of that, and a very effective balm for it has been to turn my back on the whole endeavor. A great thing about going to college was knowing that no one could ever again make me run around on a football field.

One could make a case that Black teenagers calling one another “white” for doing well in school is a similar case — what began as a protective response and now just feels like a self. My mind tacitly screens out sports. I’m not overtly against them; I just don’t see them — they feel like “not me.” My friends tend to be people of similar mind, or at least ones who are OK with me not knowing what sport the Bears play or who Peyton Manning is (I really don’t!). I suspect that academics became like that for many Black kids after that pan-cultural experience with whites in schools in the 1960s.

Yet there’s more, which I think could be equally applicable to the situation on race and education. I can imagine that another iteration of me could have gotten into sports. I see the appeal from afar. When roughly once a year something requires me to catch a ball, jump into the air or break into a trot, I don’t exactly mind, and I envision maybe doing it again sometime soon. As to the fandom, with the lists and scorekeeping, the camaraderie of trading impressions over beers, watching the big games in groups and rewatching highlights, I can see that all of that lends a pleasure similar to, of all things, what I get out of being a theater person.

I have the basic equipment to get into sports; I just haven’t exercised the muscle. In that vein, I’m not sure why it’s conservative to think that an alternate-universe antiracism would eagerly seek to get Black kids in touch with engaging in detail, with precision, with getting the right answer when, as in math, we know there is a right answer. Charter schools, for example, do it all the time. Why is this so often seen as suspiciously “strict” rather than a heartening kind of enlightenment?

I know “South Side” is just a television comedy. But it is, in its intricately crazy way, a reflection of reality. The characters are heightened, of course, but hardly strange or racially inauthentic. There’s a little of that “South Side” blackboard-style sense of order in all Black people — as there is in people in general — and it saddens me to see how easy it is to forget that. The idea that “true” Blackness is being vague about details and basing responses to questions on experience local to the self — I’m sorry, I see nothing proud or constructive in that.

John McWhorter ([*@JohnHMcWhorter*](https://twitter.com/JohnHMcWhorter)) is an associate professor of linguistics at Columbia University. He is the author of “[*Nine Nasty Words*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/624619/nine-nasty-words-by-john-mcwhorter/): English in the Gutter: Then, Now and Forever” and, most recently, “[*Woke Racism*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/696856/woke-racism-by-john-mcwhorter/): How a New Religion Has Betrayed Black America.”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Pablo Delcan FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 24, 2023

**End of Document**



[***An Artist's Wounded Heart***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68PB-KPJ1-DXY4-X0RT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 14, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 1; CRITIC'S PICK

**Length:** 1653 words

**Byline:** By Holland Cotter

**Body**

At the New Museum, Pepón Osorio's exhilarating assemblages and installations hold a mirror up to Latino communities and reflect his experiences in Puerto Rico and New York.

''My mother used to be a baker. My work consists of pouring out knowledge which I gained in the midst of my family. They are very creative people. They used to bake some incredible productions: fountains ... sugar ... dolls ... oceans.''

So said the Puerto Rican-born artist Pepón Osorio, in an interview in 1991, about the earliest sources of his work. That was the beginning of his understanding of how to ''surprise people and be generous in making of things,'' he said recently. And oceans -- of objects, colors, ideas and emotions -- are what you get in the drenching, exhilarating tsunami of a 30-year survey that fills the second floor of the New Museum in Manhattan.

The show, ''Pepón Osorio: My Beating Heart/Mi corazón latiente,'' his largest to date anywhere, isn't a full career retrospective. It begins in 1993, by which time the artist had already been making significant work, and concludes with a project still in process. But it captures Osorio at formal high tide in five immersive, more-is-more environments that continue to make him, in a post-multiculturalist, identity-smoothing, melting-pot art world, an insistently anti-assimilationist voice.

And what a range that voice has: operatic, intimate, raucous, tender. Some of these installations convey, through layers of accumulated matter, the aural buzz of public places: shops, hospitals and classrooms. One piece, set in a prison, feels as hushed as a church confessional. Another suggests a home ripped through by violence -- it looks like nighttime sirens sound.

Osorio, who was born to a ***working-class*** family in San Juan, P.R., in 1955, remembers visual theatrics as part of his life from the start, beginning with his mother's cakes, towering, multilayered, elaborately frosted affairs, which he helped to prepare. He remembered the flair with which people dressed; the displays of mass-produced goods, cheap and bright; the vivid ranks of Catholic-Yoruba saints. He would later recognize all this as art that didn't call itself art, but that made him want to live an artist's life.

Early on, too, he knew, like many of his compatriots, that he wanted to go to New York, where expansive opportunities were possible. In 1975, he moved there. He settled in the South Bronx, studied sociology at City University, and took a job as a case worker in the city's Administration for Children's Services, specifically in the prevention unit investigating child abuse and neglect.

This was hard, delicate, often heart-tearing work. Many of the children he encountered were Black or Latino, or both. If he hadn't already known, as a dark-skinned Afro-Caribbean himself, about the cruelties of racism, he quickly learned.

During this time, he also associated with a cluster of experimental artists, several of them Puerto Rican immigrants, and he began making art of his own. Among other things, he designed sets and props for performers, including the choreographer and dancer Merián Soto, who would become his wife. Some of these props, saturated in Caribbean popular culture, took on a sculptural life of their own. Galleries invited him to show. Grants and residencies came his way.

His growing reputation, though, was largely confined to Latino institutions, segregated from the mainstream art world. This changed when the Whitney Museum of American Art commissioned him to create a big installation for its 1993 Biennial. That notoriously ''political'' show brought on a critical furor, and his piece, which is the earliest entry in the New Museum's survey, caused a stir.

You can still see why. Titled ''Scene of the Crime (Whose Crime?),'' it's basically a stage or film set, roped off with strips of caution tape and showing the chaotic aftermath of a murder. In the center of what appears to be a city apartment, a female body lies under a bloodied sheet. Judging by the object-packed décor, the occupants are Puerto Rican. And among the carefully chosen items are dozens of videotapes of popular Hollywood films -- ''Fort Apache'' is one -- promoting the stereotype of Latinos as inherently violent. The real crime of the title, as he sees it, is the one of racial and ethnic assassination committed by the American mass media.

From the Whitney experience, Osorio learned two things. One, that some viewers, including critics, saw only the violence in the piece, not the rebuke. And, two, that Latino audiences barely saw the work at all, accustomed as they were to feeling unwelcomed by big museums. This last reality prompted the artist's decision to bring future work directly to them, where they lived.

The first opportunity came the following year when Real Art Ways in Hartford, Conn., asked him for a piece. He called it ''No Crying Allowed in the Barbershop (En la barbería no se llora),'' and installed it in a Puerto Rican neighborhood in the city. Like the Whitney piece, it was politically pointed, but in this case the critique was directed at Latino culture itself, or an aspect of it: the phenomenon of machismo as played out in the traditionally homosocial (and suggestively homoerotic) environment of the barbershop.

Reconstituted at the New Museum, the piece is an eye-dazzler and mind-zapper. Car hubcaps decorate the walls; photos of Latino heroes (Che, Roberto Clemente, Ruben Blades, Osorio's father, Benjamin) stare down. At the same time, videos of men weeping are embedded in barber chair headrests, and a life-size, near-nude statue of a doleful San Lazaro, patron of healing, presides over all, buff of physique but blemished with sores.

This environment and others that followed were very much collaborative projects, developed with input from the communities they first appeared in. Such was the case with the 1995 ''Badge of Honor,'' originally installed in a storefront in a Latino section of Newark. The subject was, again, the concept of masculinity, positive and negative, in this case as played out in relationships between fathers and sons.

In Black and Latino communities where male incarceration rates were high, having a father in prison could be a ''badge of honor'' for boys. But what did this mean for both parties? To examine the question, Osorio built two stage-like installations side by side, one simulating a bare prison cell, the other the cluttered bedroom of a teenage boy. And he taped video interviews with two real people: an imprisoned father, Nelson Gonzalez, and his young son, then projected the videos in their respective spaces, so that the subjects seemed to be softly exchanging words of love, encouragement and regret through the wall that divides them. Beautiful.

Osorio has spoken of his childhood as ''my center, the axis of my practice.'' And that fact, along with his experience of working in child welfare, put him on the alert when he learned, in 2013, that two dozen public schools in Philadelphia, where he now lives, would be closed due to cuts in city funding. Most of the students in those schools were Black and Latino.

As a gesture of protest and mourning he organized a meeting of former students, along with their families and teachers, from one shuttered school, Fairhill Elementary, to stage a symbolic reconstitution of what was being lost. Together they rescued furniture, files, books, lockers and memorabilia, and assembled everything, embellished with drawings and written commentary, in a space in the nearby Tyler School of Art and Architecture, where Osorio teaches. Titled ''ReForm'' (2014-17), the result looks like a combo salvage site and treasure chest, a walk-in piece of pragmatic poetry.

The same may be said of the show's latest piece, which is also its most immediately personal. Some five years ago, Osorio experienced a medical crisis -- he was diagnosed with Stage 4 cancer -- and the work called ''Convalescence,'' dated 2023 but still in progress, is his response to that.

Unlike the self-contained installations, it's in the form of discrete sculptures and assemblages. One is a wooden food cart -- a Puerto Rican street ''kiosko'' -- stocked with curative paraphernalia (pill vials, prayer cards, garlic bulbs). Another is a cluster of glass vessels, including liquor bottles and laboratory vials, arranged in the shape of Puerto Rico. The third is a free-standing nude male figure, arms spread, innards revealed, skin pierced with needles, and I.V. bags filled with liquid, hung, like a life vest, around his neck.

There's a commentarial dimension to this image, about the marketing, in part through mystification, of contemporary health care. But, as always with this artist, it's the material and imaginative generosity of the work that makes it memorable.

Osorio has always said that the primary source of his art is his own life. That's true here in the vulnerable ''Convalescence'' figure, conceived as a self-portrait. And it's true in an older sculpture from which the show -- organized by Margot Norton, chief curator, Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive, and Bernardo Mosqueira, a curatorial fellow at the New Museum -- takes its name.

That piece, ''My Beating Heart (Mi corazón latiente),'' from 2000, is in the form of a suspended six-foot-tall -- Osorio's height -- paper piñata. Traditional piñatas are filled with treats and treasures that are released when the form is battered, slashed, destroyed. But no need to take a swing in this case. The gift is present, audible, in the air: the recorded sound, faint but steady, of the beat, the tidal rhythm, of the artist's heart.

Pepón Osorio: My Beating Heart/Mi corazón latiente

Through Sept. 17, the New Museum, 235 Bowery, Lower Manhattan, newmuseum.org. Pepón Osorio: My Beating Heart/Mi corazon latienteThrough Sept. 17 at the New Museum in Manhattan; newmuseum.org.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/13/arts/design/pepon-osorio-new-museum.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/13/arts/design/pepon-osorio-new-museum.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Pepón Osorio's ''My Beating Heart'' (2000), at the New Museum, takes the form of a huge piñata. (C1)

Pepón Osorio's work is deeply invested in political, social and cultural issues. Top, ''No Crying Allowed in the Barbershop (En la barbería no se llora)'' (1994). Above, a detail of ''Convalescence'' (2023), a self-portrait. Other works include, below from left, ''Scene of the Crime (Whose Crime?)'' (1993), and ''Badge of Honor'' (1995), showing a teenage boy's room. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C10) This article appeared in print on page C1, C10.

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Larry Hogan: I’m Not Seeking the Republican Nomination for President; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67PF-JXG1-JBG3-637S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 5, 2023 Sunday 17:00 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 929 words

**Byline:** Larry Hogan

**Highlight:** I care more about ensuring a future for the Republican Party than securing my future in the Republican Party.

**Body**

I truly appreciate all those around the nation who have for many years encouraged me to run for president. After eight years of pouring my heart and soul into serving the people of Maryland, I have no desire to put my family through another grueling campaign just for the experience.

I would never run for president to sell books or position myself for a cabinet role. I have long said that I care more about ensuring a future for the Republican Party than securing my future in the Republican Party. And that is why I will not be seeking the Republican nomination for president.

Since Donald Trump won the nomination in 2016, I have fought to make clear that our party cannot be successful if we put personality before principle, if our elected officials are afraid to say publicly what they freely admit behind closed doors and if we can’t learn from our mistakes because of the political cost of admitting facts to be true. In 2020 the party didn’t even bother with passing a campaign platform. For too long, Republican voters have been denied a real debate about what our party stands for beyond loyalty to Mr. Trump. A cult of personality is no substitute for a party of principle.

I believe the tides are finally turning. Republican voters are growing tired of the drama and are open to new leadership. And while I’m optimistic about the future of the Republican Party, I am deeply concerned about this next election. We cannot afford to have Mr. Trump as our nominee and suffer defeat for the fourth consecutive election cycle. To once again be a successful governing party, we must move on from Mr. Trump. There are several competent Republican leaders who have the potential to step up and lead. But the stakes are too high for me to risk being part of another multicar pileup that could potentially help Mr. Trump recapture the nomination.

I continue to be inspired by the example of our founders. They believed that the work of our democracy was meant to be done by citizen leaders, not a permanent political class. Public service was supposed to be a temporary sacrifice, while the work of citizenship lasts for a lifetime. I’m not a career politician, and that has never been my aspiration. I’ve spent nearly my entire career founding and running businesses, and that’s what I’m going to go back to doing.

An encouraging trend for Republican politics lies in the fact that the excesses of progressive elites have created the opportunity to attract more ***working-class*** voters from all different backgrounds. But many in the Republican Party falsely believe that the best way to reach these voters is through more angry, performative politics and bigger government. These are just empty calories that can’t sustain the lasting governing coalition necessary to restore America.

I still believe in a Republican Party that stands for fiscal responsibility and getting the government off our backs and out of our pockets. I still believe in a Republican Party that celebrates entrepreneurship and economic opportunity for every American. I still believe in a Republican Party that backs law enforcement and the rule of law. I still believe in a Republican Party that works to secure peace through strength in our dangerous world. I still believe in a Republican Party that can win not just the electoral college or the popular vote but sweep landslide elections with an inclusive, broad coalition of Americans and a hopeful, optimistic vision for America’s future. And I still believe in a Republican Party that upholds and honors perhaps our most sacred tradition: the peaceful transfer of power.

Some say this Republican Party is a relic of the past, but I disagree. In Maryland over the last eight years, we have earned overwhelming support not just from Republicans and independents but also from Reagan Democrats and Black, Hispanic and Asian voters. We did this by cutting taxes and regulations, turning the state’s record deficit into a record surplus, standing behind our brave police and leading the charge against elitist higher education policies by opening alternative pathways to success.

Our nation faces great challenges; we can’t afford to be consumed by the pettiest grievances. We can push back and defeat the excesses of elitist policies on the left without resorting to angry, divisive and performative politics. We can deliver safe streets, more economic opportunity and respect for traditional values without abandoning our limited government conservative principles and America’s role as leader of the free world.

I will stand with anyone who shares that common-sense conservative vision for the Republican Party and can get us back to winning elections again. Serving as Maryland’s governor and chairing the National Governors Association were honors of a lifetime, but elected office is not the only way to make a difference.

The work to build a Republican Party that can win and deliver for working people, not just talk loudly about it, has only just begun. Though I will not be a candidate for my party’s nomination for president, I’ve only just begun fighting for our future.

Larry Hogan is a former governor of Maryland and a former chair of the National Governors Association.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Julia Nikhinson/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Milestone Vote In Philadelphia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6886-87T1-DXY4-X31C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 18, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1296 words

**Byline:** By Campbell Robertson

**Body**

Cherelle Parker's win in the Democratic primary is a sign of how the city has changed. But Philadelphia's challenges remain deep and daunting.

PHILADELPHIA -- The afternoon before Election Day, Jennifer Robinson, 41, was trying to manage her two small children in the quiet corner of a public library in a pocket of her city that had endured generations of abandonment. She was despondent about the state of Philadelphia, most of all about the crime, but she talked about the mayoral primary as if it had little bearing on any of it.

''Nobody has any answers,'' Ms. Robinson said, shifting her restless 11-month-old from arm to arm. ''It's a feeling of hopelessness.''

This is the city that Cherelle Parker will be leading as mayor if she wins the general election in November, and these are the sentiments she will be trying to turn around. On Tuesday, Ms. Parker, a former state legislator and City Council member, secured a surprisingly decisive victory in a Democratic primary that had been seen as a tight five-way race up until Election Day.

The huge number of undecideds in the last polls appear to have broken heavily for Ms. Parker, 50, the only Black candidate of the five main contenders hoping to lead a city where Black people make up more than 40 percent of the population and where the Black neighborhoods have been especially hard hit by gun violence and Covid.

If she wins the general election, which she is favored to do given that registered Democrats outnumber Republicans in Philadelphia more than seven to one, Ms. Parker will be the first woman in a line of 100 mayors.

That list of men goes back centuries, before the city had established itself as the cradle of American independence, and long before President Biden came to Independence Hall last September to warn the nation about threats to democracy.

For Philadelphia, Ms. Parker's primary victory is a sign of how the city has changed in just the last half-century. For most of the 1970s, the mayor was Frank Rizzo, a former police commissioner who embraced brutal police tactics, particularly toward Black Philadelphians. But the city's challenges remain deep and daunting.

At least a half dozen Philadelphia public schools have been shut down because of asbestos contamination, a predictable debacle in a city where the average age of public school buildings is over 70 years. Housing costs are out of the reach for many residents. There is a city staffing shortage, with thousands of municipal positions unfilled. Hundreds of Philadelphians have died in recent years from opioid overdoses.

Looming over all of this are the killings. Rates of gun violence have risen in cities large and small across the country, but they have been particularly severe in Philadelphia, a city of 1.6 million, nearly a quarter of whom live in poverty. More than 500 people were killed in each of the past two years, the highest annual tolls for the city on record, and many hundreds more have been injured by gunfire. The number of shootings and homicides has declined this year, but the city is awash in guns; Republican legislators have tried to remove the district attorney over the enforcement of gun laws, while city officials have sued Republican legislators for limiting their ability to enact stricter ones.

Philadelphians are virtually unanimous in their alarm about the violence but have been less unified about the solutions. Larry Krasner, the progressive district attorney who has insisted that the city cannot simply arrest its way out of the crisis, was re-elected by an overwhelming margin in 2021, with some of his strongest showings in the neighborhoods most scarred by violence.

On Tuesday, many of those same neighborhoods voted for Ms. Parker, who pledged to hire hundreds more police officers and bring back what she called ''constitutional'' stop-and-frisk.

''People are not feeling safe, they're feeling that a sense of lawlessness is being allowed to prevail,'' she said in an interview shortly before she launched her mayoral campaign. ''We can't ignore that.''

These proposals have faced strong pushback and skepticism about the ability to hire hundreds of officers at a time when police departments nationwide have struggled with recruiting.

Her Republican opponent in the November general election is David Oh, also a former City Council member.

In the Democratic primary, Ms. Parker's pitch to voters was that she understood firsthand what their lives were like, as a Philadelphia native, as a Black woman who was the daughter of a teenage mother and as the mother of a Black son.

This appeal has created lofty hopes among Black voters, said Carl Day, a pastor who leads the Culture Changing Christians Worship Center in one of the poorest and most violent areas of the city. ''The expectation is definitely there from the Black community that she knows what we're going through and so she will definitely bring about change,'' he said.

Still, he said, these hopes appeared to be mostly held by older Black voters, who were also more likely to embrace Parker's agenda, including her push for more policing.

Younger Black Philadelphians, Pastor Day said, were more skeptical of Ms. Parker and even worried about some of her policing plans. Already, Pastor Day said, he had seen younger people online wondering what this means, and saying that nothing was going to change.

There is a seeming contradiction here: that a city deeply unhappy with the way things are going just voted for a candidate who was endorsed by dozens of sitting lawmakers, City Council members and ward leaders -- even the current mayor, Jim Kenney, a term-limited Democrat who has become highly unpopular, said he voted for her.

Isaiah Thomas, who won an at-large City Council seat on Tuesday, said that even with that support, it was not fair to call her the establishment candidate -- most of her opponents had their own networks of connections. But he said the breadth of her support, including trade unions and lawmakers, showed that she knew how to build, and maintain, coalitions.

''She's a worker,'' said Mr. Thomas, who joined the Council in 2020 and worked alongside Ms. Parker managing its response to the crises of the last three years. ''She understands government, she understands the budget.''

In state government, any Democratic mayor would find a more willing partner than his or her immediate predecessors. Last November, Democrats won control of the Pennsylvania House for the first time in a dozen years, a majority that was reconfirmed after a special election on Tuesday night. The current House Speaker, Joanna McClinton, represents part of Philadelphia, as does the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. The new governor, Josh Shapiro, and the majority of the Democratic caucus in the State Senate are from the region.

''There's reason to be more optimistic about Harrisburg's relationship with Philadelphia than there has been in many years,'' said State Senator Nikil Saval, a Democrat, who endorsed one of Ms. Parker's opponents in the race but praised some of her accomplishments on the City Council, such as a program she helped create that offered low-interest loans to homeowners.

Still, in interviews in Philadelphia this week, voters and local politicians alike said that the most urgent task of the new mayor would be to give the city a jolt of optimism. For many in the city's poor and ***working-class*** neighborhoods, that might start with the attention of someone who has seen up close their daily struggles. But, people insisted, hope would stick only if there were tangible results.

''I haven't seen anyone help; it's just getting worse,'' said Ms. Robinson, the mother in the library. ''For me to vote for someone, I'd have to see difference.''

**Graphic**

Cherelle Parker, left, a former state legislator and City Council member, won the Democratic primary in Philadelphia on Tuesday.

Carl Day, a pastor, said younger Black Philadelphians were skeptical of Ms. Parker and worried about some of her policing plans.

''I haven't seen anyone help

it's just getting worse,'' said Jennifer Robinson, 41, who is despondent about the state of the city. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RACHEL WISNIEWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16) This article appeared in print on page A1, A16.

**Load-Date:** May 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Where Trump Stands With These 6 Kinds of Republican Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:690F-GJ71-DXY4-X2G5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 21, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 2033 words

**Byline:** By Nate Cohn

**Body**

After eight years of Republican fealty to Donald J. Trump, few would argue that the party is still defined by Ronald Reagan's famous three-legged stool of the religious right, fiscal conservatives and neoconservative hawks.

But if the Republican Party is no longer in Reagan's image, it's not necessarily a populist-conservative MAGA monolith, either.

The last New York Times/Siena College poll found that only 37 percent of Republicans count as part of Mr. Trump's loyal base.

And while majorities of Republicans side with Mr. Trump on almost every issue, those majorities are often quite slim: Around 40 percent of Republican-leaning voters support aid to Ukraine, support comprehensive immigration reform or say abortion should be mostly or always legal.

But if the Republican Party isn't quite a MAGA monolith, what is it? To better understand the party today, we split Republican and Republican-leaning voters into groups, based on the results of our Times/Siena poll. The groups were defined by how Republican-leaning voters felt on the issues -- not how they felt about Mr. Trump.

The results depict a Republican coalition that consists of six groups:

The Moderate Establishment (14%). Highly educated, affluent, socially moderate or even liberal and often outright Never Trump.

The Traditional Conservatives (26%). Old-fashioned economic and social conservatives who oppose abortion and prefer corporate tax cuts to new tariffs. They don't love Mr. Trump, but they do support him.

The Right Wing (26%). They watch Fox News and Newsmax. They're ''very conservative.'' They're disproportionately evangelical. They believe America is on the brink of catastrophe. And they love Mr. Trump more than any other group.

The Blue Collar Populists (12%). They're mostly Northern, socially moderate, economic populists who hold deeply conservative views on immigration. Not only do they back Mr. Trump, but he himself probably counted as one a decade ago.

The Libertarian Conservatives (14%). These disproportionately Western and Midwestern conservatives value small government. They're relatively socially moderate and isolationist, and they're on the lower end of Trump support compared with other groups.

The Newcomers (8%). They don't look like Republicans. They're young, diverse and moderate. But these disaffected voters like Democrats and the ''woke'' left even less.

Mr. Trump's dominance of the Republican Party is founded on an alliance between the Right Wing and Blue Collar Populists, two groups that combine to represent nearly 40 percent of Republicans -- and about two-thirds of Mr. Trump's MAGA base of seemingly unshakable support.

The Blue Collar Populists and the Right Wing don't always agree. In particular, they split on the issues of the religious right, like same-sex marriage and abortion. But these two groups are big Trump supporters. They mostly agree with him on his defining issues and they share his deeply pessimistic, even cataclysmic view of the direction of the country, including fear of the declining white share of the population.

The alliance between Blue Collar Populists and the Right Wing has left Mr. Trump's potential opposition in disarray. Before Trump, the party's mainstream prevailed against Right Wing candidates by uniting Traditional Conservatives and the moderate factions -- both Establishment and Blue Collar. That blueprint for victory appears to be closed, at least for now.

Without a natural factional base, Ron DeSantis has struggled to maintain a steady foothold in the race. In fact, Mr. Trump leads Mr. DeSantis among every group of Republican voters identified in the analysis. The rest of the party, beyond Mr. Trump's base, may not always back Trump policies, but it's not necessarily anti-Trump. And the closest thing to an anti-Trump group in the party -- the Moderate Establishment -- has become alienated from the rest of the party.

Here's a deeper look at the groups that will make up the Republican Party of 2024:

The Moderate Establishment

It's socially moderate. It's highly educated and affluent. It still embraces Reagan-Bush views on immigration, trade and foreign policy. And it does not like Mr. Trump.

The Never Trumpers make their home in this group. In a hypothetical general election matchup, the Moderate Establishment backs Mr. Trump over President Biden by a mere 46 percent to 27 percent.

In theory, the Moderate Establishment might seem to represent the natural foundation for any opposition to Mr. Trump. If we had done this exercise eight years ago, many of these voters probably would have backed the likes of John Kasich and Marco Rubio.

But this group is so much more moderate and anti-Trump than the rest of the party that it's hard to earn this group's support without alienating the rest of the party. And on the flip side, it's hard to appeal to the rest of the party without alienating the Moderate Establishment. It's a problem Mr. DeSantis seems to know all too well: He wins only 12 percent of its votes, our polling shows.

The Traditional Conservatives

Of all the groups, this is the one that most closely resembles the pre-Trump Republican Party.

It is the only group that both opposes abortion and prefers pro-business tax cuts over Mr. Trump's tariffs. In each case, it does so by a wide margin. It favors immigration reform and aid to Ukraine. It retains some of Reagan's sunny optimism as well. Only 32 percent said that the nation's problems were so bad that the nation was in danger of failure, compared with more than two-thirds of the rest of the party.

Not surprisingly, this isn't Mr. Trump's strongest group. Only 39 percent have a very favorable opinion of him. In earlier primaries, this group would have backed the likes of John McCain and Mitt Romney, who each fought Mr. Trump while he was president.

But this is not an anti-Trump group. For every McCain, Romney or Liz Cheney, there are 10 once-mainstream conservative politicians who have stuck by Mr. Trump. Overall, Mr. Trump holds more than 50 percent of support in the primary among this group. He did cut corporate taxes and select the judges who overturned Roe v. Wade, after all.

The Right Wing

This group of Fox News, Newsmax and talk radio fans needs no introduction. It is relatively old and ***working class***. It's convinced that the nation is on the brink of catastrophe. And it's deeply loyal to Mr. Trump.

Three-quarters of this group identify as ''very conservative''; no more than a quarter of another group does so. Not surprisingly, it's likeliest to say compromise is just ''selling out.'' Virtually none believe Mr. Trump -- who was recently indicted for the fourth time -- has committed serious federal crimes.

If it feels as if this group dominates the Republican Party beyond its numbers, that's because it does. This is the most highly engaged group of Republicans, routinely making it a kingmaker in Republican primaries. Overall, the Right Wing represents over a third of the Republican primary electorate, even though it's about a quarter of Republican-leaning registered voters.

There aren't many fissures within this group of MAGA hat owners and Trump flag fliers, at least not on the questions we asked in this survey. In the scheme of the Republican Party today, their differences don't loom especially large.

But in the past, the Right Wing has been quite divided. It most likely split between Mr. Trump and Mr. Cruz eight years ago. Earlier this year, many in this group probably entertained supporting Mr. DeSantis as well.

Whatever their reservations were about Mr. Trump in the past, they seem to have largely coalesced behind him today. That's bad news for Mr. DeSantis, who might count himself as a member of this group.

The Blue Collar Populists

Over the last half century, some of them have been called the ''backlash'' vote, ''white ethnics,'' ''Middle American Radicals,'' Reagan Democrats and Obama-Trump voters. Today, they're an important part of the Trump base.

Whites without a degree make up nearly three-quarters of this predominantly Northern group. But the Blue Collar Populists are surprisingly moderate on many of the issues that define the religious right. A clear majority of them say abortion should be legal, and they support same-sex marriage. Just 18 percent identify as ''very conservative.''

But this group has conservative-populist views on trade and economics, and stood out on race. No group was likelier to oppose immigration reform. And a full 35 percent of this group's members were willing to explicitly say the declining white share of the population was bad for America, compared with 13 percent of the rest of the party.

This group may hold moderate views on religious-tinged social issues, but not because it is liberal. No group valued ''freedom'' less when put in conflict with other values. Of all the groups, they were by far the likeliest to prefer protecting traditional values over individual freedom, even though many social conservatives might question whether a group that supports abortion rights and same-sex marriage really holds traditional values in the first place.

The Blue Collar Populists back Mr. Trump by a wide margin -- nearly as wide as the Right Wing does. Indeed, Mr. Trump himself might have belonged to this group a decade ago, before he embraced the views of social conservatives to win the nomination.

Like Mr. Trump, one in five members of this group hails from the tristate area around New York City.

The Libertarian Conservatives

At first, this group doesn't clearly stand out from the rest of the party. It's near the middle of the pack on almost every set of issues.

But our algorithm nonetheless plucked out these voters and set them apart for one reason: On questions pitting freedom against other values, these conservatives always chose freedom.

Nine percent said they would vote for some other candidate in a hypothetical general election matchup between Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden. An even larger 13 percent of this group identified as ''some other party,'' compared with 3 percent of other Republicans. We didn't ask them which party that was, but I'll guess it's the libertarians.

And after a second look at their answers, the subtle tug of their commitment to small government becomes easier to see: They're relatively moderate on social issues, relatively likely to oppose economic populism, and isolationist.

Other than the establishment, this group is the least supportive of Mr. Trump. But surprisingly, it's not a great group for Mr. DeSantis either -- a telling indication of the troubles facing a candidate who once built his national reputation on freedom from coronavirus restrictions.

The Newcomers

This is the youngest and most diverse group of Republicans. Just 59 percent are white, and 18 percent are Hispanic. More than a quarter are 18 to 29.

Nearly three-quarters identify as moderates or liberals. They overwhelmingly support immigration reform and say society should accept the identity of transgender people.

With these characteristics, it can be hard to see why these voters are Republican-leaners at all. But unlike the similarly moderate establishment, this is an unequivocally Republican group. They back Mr. Trump against President Biden and they're deeply unhappy with the state of the country: Nearly 90 percent said the economy was poor, placing them just behind the Right Wing in their economic pessimism. A similar number said the country was heading in the wrong direction.

So while they may not be conservatives in any traditional sense, they're certainly not happy with Democrats. They were the likeliest group to say they would rather back a candidate who focused on fighting the radical ''woke'' left than one focused on protecting law and order. By a two-to-one margin, they said they would rather vote for a candidate who promised to stop ''woke'' business, rather than a candidate who said businesses should have the freedom to decide what to support.

They're the smallest group of Republicans today, but this group of relatively moderate but anti-woke voters might play an important role in the Republican Party in the years ahead.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/18/upshot/the-6-kinds-of-republican-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/18/upshot/the-6-kinds-of-republican-voters.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** August 21, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Where Trump Stands With These 6 Kinds of Republican Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:690F-GJ71-DXY4-X2J4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 21, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; The Upshot; Pg. 10

**Length:** 2040 words

**Byline:** By Nate Cohn

**Body**

After eight years of Republican fealty to Donald J. Trump, few would argue that the party is still defined by Ronald Reagan's famous three-legged stool of the religious right, fiscal conservatives and neoconservative hawks.

But if the Republican Party is no longer in Reagan's image, it's not necessarily a populist-conservative MAGA monolith, either.

The last New York Times/Siena College poll found that only 37 percent of Republicans count as part of Mr. Trump's loyal base.

And while majorities of Republicans side with Mr. Trump on almost every issue, those majorities are often quite slim: Around 40 percent of Republican-leaning voters support aid to Ukraine, support comprehensive immigration reform or say abortion should be mostly or always legal.

But if the Republican Party isn't quite a MAGA monolith, what is it? To better understand the party today, we split Republican and Republican-leaning voters into groups, based on the results of our Times/Siena poll. The groups were defined by how Republican-leaning voters felt on the issues -- not how they felt about Mr. Trump.

The results depict a Republican coalition that consists of six groups:

â–  The Moderate Establishment (14%). Highly educated, affluent, socially moderate or even liberal and often outright Never Trump.

â–  The Traditional Conservatives (26%). Old-fashioned economic and social conservatives who oppose abortion and prefer corporate tax cuts to new tariffs. They don't love Mr. Trump, but they do support him.

â–  The Right Wing (26%). They watch Fox News and Newsmax. They're ''very conservative.'' They're disproportionately evangelical. They believe America is on the brink of catastrophe. And they love Mr. Trump more than any other group.

â–  The Blue Collar Populists (12%). They're mostly Northern, socially moderate, economic populists who hold deeply conservative views on immigration. Not only do they back Mr. Trump, but he himself probably counted as one a decade ago.

â–  The Libertarian Conservatives (14%). These disproportionately Western and Midwestern conservatives value small government. They're relatively socially moderate and isolationist, and they're on the lower end of Trump support compared with other groups.

â–  The Newcomers (8%). They don't look like Republicans. They're young, diverse and moderate. But these disaffected voters like Democrats and the ''woke'' left even less.

Mr. Trump's dominance of the Republican Party is founded on an alliance between the Right Wing and Blue Collar Populists, two groups that combine to represent nearly 40 percent of Republicans -- and about two-thirds of Mr. Trump's MAGA base of seemingly unshakable support.

The Blue Collar Populists and the Right Wing don't always agree. In particular, they split on the issues of the religious right, like same-sex marriage and abortion. But these two groups are big Trump supporters. They mostly agree with him on his defining issues and they share his deeply pessimistic, even cataclysmic view of the direction of the country, including fear of the declining white share of the population.

The alliance between Blue Collar Populists and the Right Wing has left Mr. Trump's potential opposition in disarray. Before Trump, the party's mainstream prevailed against Right Wing candidates by uniting Traditional Conservatives and the moderate factions -- both Establishment and Blue Collar. That blueprint for victory appears to be closed, at least for now.

Without a natural factional base, Ron DeSantis has struggled to maintain a steady foothold in the race. In fact, Mr. Trump leads Mr. DeSantis among every group of Republican voters identified in the analysis. The rest of the party, beyond Mr. Trump's base, may not always back Trump policies, but it's not necessarily anti-Trump. And the closest thing to an anti-Trump group in the party -- the Moderate Establishment -- has become alienated from the rest of the party.

Here's a deeper look at the groups that will make up the Republican Party of 2024:

It's socially moderate. It's highly educated and affluent. It still embraces Reagan-Bush views on immigration, trade and foreign policy. And it does not like Mr. Trump.

The Never Trumpers make their home in this group. In a hypothetical general election matchup, the Moderate Establishment backs Mr. Trump over President Biden by a mere 46 percent to 27 percent.

In theory, the Moderate Establishment might seem to represent the natural foundation for any opposition to Mr. Trump. If we had done this exercise eight years ago, many of these voters probably would have backed the likes of John Kasich and Marco Rubio.

But this group is so much more moderate and anti-Trump than the rest of the party that it's hard to earn this group's support without alienating the rest of the party. And on the flip side, it's hard to appeal to the rest of the party without alienating the Moderate Establishment. It's a problem Mr. DeSantis seems to know all too well: He wins only 12 percent of its votes, our polling shows.

Of all the groups, this is the one that most closely resembles the pre-Trump Republican Party.

It is the only group that both opposes abortion and prefers pro-business tax cuts over Mr. Trump's tariffs. In each case, it does so by a wide margin. It favors immigration reform and aid to Ukraine. It retains some of Reagan's sunny optimism as well. Only 32 percent said that the nation's problems were so bad that the nation was in danger of failure, compared with more than two-thirds of the rest of the party.

Not surprisingly, this isn't Mr. Trump's strongest group. Only 39 percent have a very favorable opinion of him. In earlier primaries, this group would have backed the likes of John McCain and Mitt Romney, who each fought Mr. Trump while he was president.

But this is not an anti-Trump group. For every McCain, Romney or Liz Cheney, there are 10 once-mainstream conservative politicians who have stuck by Mr. Trump. Overall, Mr. Trump holds more than 50 percent of support in the primary among this group. He did cut corporate taxes and select the judges who overturned Roe v. Wade, after all.

This group of Fox News, Newsmax and talk radio fans needs no introduction. It is relatively old and ***working class***. It's convinced that the nation is on the brink of catastrophe. And it's deeply loyal to Mr. Trump.

Three-quarters of this group identify as ''very conservative''; no more than a quarter of another group does so. Not surprisingly, it's likeliest to say compromise is just ''selling out.'' Virtually none believe Mr. Trump -- who was recently indicted for the fourth time -- has committed serious federal crimes.

If it feels as if this group dominates the Republican Party beyond its numbers, that's because it does. This is the most highly engaged group of Republicans, routinely making it a kingmaker in Republican primaries. Overall, the Right Wing represents over a third of the Republican primary electorate, even though it's about a quarter of Republican-leaning registered voters.

There aren't many fissures within this group of MAGA hat owners and Trump flag fliers, at least not on the questions we asked in this survey. In the scheme of the Republican Party today, their differences don't loom especially large.

But in the past, the Right Wing has been quite divided. It most likely split between Mr. Trump and Mr. Cruz eight years ago. Earlier this year, many in this group probably entertained supporting Mr. DeSantis as well.

Whatever their reservations were about Mr. Trump in the past, they seem to have largely coalesced behind him today. That's bad news for Mr. DeSantis, who might count himself as a member of this group.

Over the last half century, some of them have been called the ''backlash'' vote, ''white ethnics,'' ''Middle American Radicals,'' Reagan Democrats and Obama-Trump voters. Today, they're an important part of the Trump base.

Whites without a degree make up nearly three-quarters of this predominantly Northern group. But the Blue Collar Populists are surprisingly moderate on many of the issues that define the religious right. A clear majority of them say abortion should be legal, and they support same-sex marriage. Just 18 percent identify as ''very conservative.''

But this group has conservative-populist views on trade and economics, and stood out on race. No group was likelier to oppose immigration reform. And a full 35 percent of this group's members were willing to explicitly say the declining white share of the population was bad for America, compared with 13 percent of the rest of the party.

This group may hold moderate views on religious-tinged social issues, but not because it is liberal. No group valued ''freedom'' less when put in conflict with other values. Of all the groups, they were by far the likeliest to prefer protecting traditional values over individual freedom, even though many social conservatives might question whether a group that supports abortion rights and same-sex marriage really holds traditional values in the first place.

The Blue Collar Populists back Mr. Trump by a wide margin -- nearly as wide as the Right Wing does. Indeed, Mr. Trump himself might have belonged to this group a decade ago, before he embraced the views of social conservatives to win the nomination.

Like Mr. Trump, one in five members of this group hails from the tristate area around New York City.

At first, this group doesn't clearly stand out from the rest of the party. It's near the middle of the pack on almost every set of issues.

But our algorithm nonetheless plucked out these voters and set them apart for one reason: On questions pitting freedom against other values, these conservatives always chose freedom.

Nine percent said they would vote for some other candidate in a hypothetical general election matchup between Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden. An even larger 13 percent of this group identified as ''some other party,'' compared with 3 percent of other Republicans. We didn't ask them which party that was, but I'll guess it's the libertarians.

And after a second look at their answers, the subtle tug of their commitment to small government becomes easier to see: They're relatively moderate on social issues, relatively likely to oppose economic populism, and isolationist.

Other than the establishment, this group is the least supportive of Mr. Trump. But surprisingly, it's not a great group for Mr. DeSantis either -- a telling indication of the troubles facing a candidate who once built his national reputation on freedom from coronavirus restrictions.

This is the youngest and most diverse group of Republicans. Just 59 percent are white, and 18 percent are Hispanic. More than a quarter are 18 to 29.

Nearly three-quarters identify as moderates or liberals. They overwhelmingly support immigration reform and say society should accept the identity of transgender people.

With these characteristics, it can be hard to see why these voters are Republican-leaners at all. But unlike the similarly moderate establishment, this is an unequivocally Republican group. They back Mr. Trump against President Biden and they're deeply unhappy with the state of the country: Nearly 90 percent said the economy was poor, placing them just behind the Right Wing in their economic pessimism. A similar number said the country was heading in the wrong direction.

So while they may not be conservatives in any traditional sense, they're certainly not happy with Democrats. They were the likeliest group to say they would rather back a candidate who focused on fighting the radical ''woke'' left than one focused on protecting law and order. By a two-to-one margin, they said they would rather vote for a candidate who promised to stop ''woke'' business, rather than a candidate who said businesses should have the freedom to decide what to support.

They're the smallest group of Republicans today, but this group of relatively moderate but anti-woke voters might play an important role in the Republican Party in the years ahead.Produced by Alicia Parlapiano and Rumsey Taylor. Additional work by Josh Katz and Aatish Bhatia. Illustrations by Sergio PeÃ§anha based in part on ProPublica's Weepeople.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/08/17/upshot/six-kinds-of-republican-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/08/17/upshot/six-kinds-of-republican-voters.html)

**Load-Date:** August 21, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Artist’s Wounded Heart; Critic’s Pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68P6-CWF1-JBG3-603V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 13, 2023 Thursday 17:15 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 1734 words

**Byline:** Holland Cotter

**Highlight:** At the New Museum, Pepón Osorio’s exhilarating assemblages and installations hold a mirror up to Latino communities and reflect his experiences in Puerto Rico and New York.

**Body**

At the New Museum, Pepón Osorio’s exhilarating assemblages and installations hold a mirror up to Latino communities and reflect his experiences in Puerto Rico and New York.

“My mother used to be a baker. My work consists of pouring out knowledge which I gained in the midst of my family. They are very creative people. They used to bake some incredible productions: fountains … sugar … dolls … oceans.”

So said the Puerto Rican-born artist Pepón Osorio, in an interview in 1991, about the earliest sources of his work. That was the beginning of his understanding of how to “surprise people and be generous in making of things,” he said recently. And oceans — of objects, colors, ideas and emotions — are what you get in the drenching, exhilarating tsunami of a 30-year survey that fills the second floor of the New Museum in Manhattan.

The show, [*“Pepón Osorio: My Beating Heart/Mi corazón latiente,”*](https://www.newmuseum.org/exhibitions/view/pepon-osorio-my-beating-heart-em-mi-corazon-latiente-em) his largest to date anywhere, isn’t a full career retrospective. It begins in 1993, by which time the artist had already been making significant work, and concludes with a project still in process. But it captures Osorio at formal high tide in five immersive, more-is-more environments that continue to make him, in a post-multiculturalist, identity-smoothing, melting-pot art world, an insistently anti-assimilationist voice.

And what a range that voice has: operatic, intimate, raucous, tender. Some of these installations convey, through layers of accumulated matter, the aural buzz of public places: shops, hospitals and classrooms. One piece, set in a prison, feels as hushed as a church confessional. Another suggests a home ripped through by violence — it looks like nighttime sirens sound.

Osorio, who was born to a ***working-class*** family in San Juan, P.R., in 1955, remembers visual theatrics as part of his life from the start, beginning with his mother’s cakes, towering, multilayered, elaborately frosted affairs, which he helped to prepare. He remembered the flair with which people dressed; the displays of mass-produced goods, cheap and bright; the vivid ranks of Catholic-Yoruba saints. He would later recognize all this as art that didn’t call itself art, but that made him want to live an artist’s life.

Early on, too, he knew, like many of his compatriots, that he wanted to go to New York, where expansive opportunities were possible. In 1975, he moved there. He settled in the South Bronx, studied sociology at City University, and took a job as a case worker in the city’s Administration for Children’s Services, specifically in the prevention unit investigating child abuse and neglect.

This was hard, delicate, often heart-tearing work. Many of the children he encountered were Black or Latino, or both. If he hadn’t already known, as a dark-skinned Afro-Caribbean himself, about the cruelties of racism, he quickly learned.

During this time, he also associated with a cluster of experimental artists, several of them Puerto Rican immigrants, and he began making art of his own. Among other things, he designed sets and props for performers, including the choreographer and dancer Merián Soto, who would become his wife. Some of these props, saturated in Caribbean popular culture, took on a sculptural life of their own. Galleries invited him to show. Grants and residencies came his way.

His growing reputation, though, was largely confined to Latino institutions, segregated from the mainstream art world. This changed when the Whitney Museum of American Art commissioned him to create a big installation for its 1993 Biennial. That notoriously “political” show brought on a critical furor, and his piece, which is the earliest entry in the New Museum’s survey, caused a stir.

You can still see why. Titled “Scene of the Crime (Whose Crime?),” it’s basically a stage or film set, roped off with strips of caution tape and showing the chaotic aftermath of a murder. In the center of what appears to be a city apartment, a female body lies under a bloodied sheet. Judging by the object-packed décor, the occupants are Puerto Rican. And among the carefully chosen items are dozens of videotapes of popular Hollywood films — “Fort Apache” is one — promoting the stereotype of Latinos as inherently violent. The real crime of the title, as he sees it, is the one of racial and ethnic assassination committed by the American mass media.

From the Whitney experience, Osorio learned two things. One, that some viewers, including critics, saw only the violence in the piece, not the rebuke. And, two, that Latino audiences barely saw the work at all, accustomed as they were to feeling unwelcomed by big museums. This last reality prompted the artist’s decision to bring future work directly to them, where they lived.

The first opportunity came the following year when Real Art Ways in Hartford, Conn., asked him for a piece. He called it “No Crying Allowed in the Barbershop (En la barbería no se llora),” and installed it in a Puerto Rican neighborhood in the city. Like the Whitney piece, it was politically pointed, but in this case the critique was directed at Latino culture itself, or an aspect of it: the phenomenon of machismo as played out in the traditionally homosocial (and suggestively homoerotic) environment of the barbershop.

Reconstituted at the New Museum, the piece is an eye-dazzler and mind-zapper. Car hubcaps decorate the walls; photos of Latino heroes (Che, Roberto Clemente, Ruben Blades, Osorio’s father, Benjamin) stare down. At the same time, videos of men weeping are embedded in barber chair headrests, and a life-size, near-nude statue of a doleful San Lazaro, patron of healing, presides over all, buff of physique but blemished with sores.

This environment and others that followed were very much collaborative projects, developed with input from the communities they first appeared in. Such was the case with the 1995 “Badge of Honor,” originally installed in a storefront in a Latino section of Newark. The subject was, again, the concept of masculinity, positive and negative, in this case as played out in relationships between fathers and sons.

In Black and Latino communities where male incarceration rates were high, having a father in prison could be a “badge of honor” for boys. But what did this mean for both parties? To examine the question, Osorio built two stage-like installations side by side, one simulating a bare prison cell, the other the cluttered bedroom of a teenage boy. And he taped video interviews with two real people: an imprisoned father, Nelson Gonzalez, and his young son, then projected the videos in their respective spaces, so that the subjects seemed to be softly exchanging words of love, encouragement and regret through the wall that divides them. Beautiful.

Osorio has spoken of his childhood as “my center, the axis of my practice.” And that fact, along with his experience of working in child welfare, put him on the alert when he learned, in 2013, that two dozen public schools in Philadelphia, where he now lives, would be closed due to cuts in city funding. Most of the students in those schools were Black and Latino.

As a gesture of protest and mourning he organized a meeting of former students, along with their families and teachers, from one shuttered school, Fairhill Elementary, to stage a symbolic reconstitution of what was being lost. Together they rescued furniture, files, books, lockers and memorabilia, and assembled everything, embellished with drawings and written commentary, in a space in the nearby [*Tyler School of Art and Architecture*](https://tyler.temple.edu/faculty/pepon-osorio), where Osorio teaches. Titled “ReForm” (2014-17), the result looks like a combo salvage site and treasure chest, a walk-in piece of pragmatic poetry.

The same may be said of the show’s latest piece, which is also its most immediately personal. Some five years ago, Osorio experienced a medical crisis — he was diagnosed with Stage 4 cancer — and the work called “Convalescence,” dated 2023 but still in progress, is his response to that.

Unlike the self-contained installations, it’s in the form of discrete sculptures and assemblages. One is a wooden food cart — a Puerto Rican street “kiosko” — stocked with curative paraphernalia (pill vials, prayer cards, garlic bulbs). Another is a cluster of glass vessels, including liquor bottles and laboratory vials, arranged in the shape of Puerto Rico. The third is a free-standing nude male figure, arms spread, innards revealed, skin pierced with needles, and I.V. bags filled with liquid, hung, like a life vest, around his neck.

There’s a commentarial dimension to this image, about the marketing, in part through mystification, of contemporary health care. But, as always with this artist, it’s the material and imaginative generosity of the work that makes it memorable.

Osorio has always said that the primary source of his art is his own life. That’s true here in the vulnerable “Convalescence” figure, conceived as a self-portrait. And it’s true in an older sculpture from which the show — organized by Margot Norton, chief curator, Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive, and Bernardo Mosqueira, a curatorial fellow at the New Museum — takes its name.

That piece, “My Beating Heart (Mi corazón latiente),” from 2000, is in the form of a suspended six-foot-tall — Osorio’s height — paper piñata. Traditional piñatas are filled with treats and treasures that are released when the form is battered, slashed, destroyed. But no need to take a swing in this case. The gift is present, audible, in the air: the recorded sound, faint but steady, of the beat, the tidal rhythm, of the artist’s heart.

Pepón Osorio: My Beating Heart/Mi corazón latiente

Through Sept. 17, the New Museum, 235 Bowery, Lower Manhattan, [*newmuseum.org*](https://www.newmuseum.org/).

Pepón Osorio: My Beating Heart/Mi corazon latiente Through Sept. 17 at the New Museum in Manhattan; newmuseum.org.

PHOTOS: Pepón Osorio’s “My Beating Heart” (2000), at the New Museum, takes the form of a huge piñata. (C1); Pepón Osorio’s work is deeply invested in political, social and cultural issues. Top, “No Crying Allowed in the Barbershop (En la barbería no se llora)” (1994). Above, a detail of “Convalescence” (2023), a self-portrait. Other works include, below from left, “Scene of the Crime (Whose Crime?)” (1993), and “Badge of Honor” (1995), showing a teenage boy’s room. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C10) This article appeared in print on page C1, C10.

**Load-Date:** July 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Bronx vs. Manhattan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61G1-3CT1-JBG3-61FH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 7, 2020 Monday 06:54 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1686 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** And what else you need to know today.

**Body**

And what else you need to know today.

Want to get The Morning by email? [*Here’s the sign-up*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

Good morning. We’re looking at Democrats’ biggest weakness, and why it matters in Georgia.

The Bronx vs. Manhattan

The Democratic Party’s biggest problem today is its struggle to win over ***working-class*** voters.

After President Trump’s 2016 victory, some political analysts [*argued*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) that this problem was really all about racism. And Trump’s appeals to white nationalism certainly won him votes.

But it’s also clear that the Democrats’ weakness with ***working-class*** voters — defined roughly as people without a four-year college degree — is [*not only about race*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing). Many Trump voters, after all, voted for Barack Obama in 2012, which suggests they’re not incorrigible racists.

Perhaps even more telling is the shape of this year’s results. Not only did Trump again win by huge margins among ***working-class*** whites, but he also [*fared better among Hispanic voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) than he did in 2016. Black voters strongly backed Democrats again, but their turnout appears to have risen less than turnout for other groups.

All of which points to the same issue: The Democratic message is failing to resonate with many ***working-class*** Americans.

If the Democrats’ struggles were really all about racism, several heavily Mexican-American [*counties in South Texas*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) would not have swung to the Republicans this year. Nor would Trump have increased his vote share in the New York boroughs of [*Queens and the Bronx*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) by about 10 percentage points versus 2016. He appears to have won a higher share of the vote in the Bronx, which is only 9 percent non-Hispanic white, than in affluent Manhattan, which is 47 percent white, [*Dave Wasserman*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) of The Cook Political Report pointed out.

This pattern leaves Democrats needing to attract a lot votes in traditionally Republican suburbs to win many elections. That’s a narrow path to victory. Georgia — where two runoffs on Jan. 5 will determine control of the Senate — is a good case study.

Joe Biden was the only Democrat to win statewide this year, mostly because he made bigger gains in the Atlanta suburbs than other members of the party. Biden and other Democrats were crushed in heavily white rural areas, often winning less than 30 percent of the vote, and also fell short of their 2016 margins among Hispanic voters. “The Black share of the electorate fell to its lowest level since 2006,” according to [*a Times analysis of Georgia*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

How can Democrats do better with the ***working-class***? It’s not an easy question. (Left-leaning parties [*in Europe*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) are having similar struggles.)

But there are some hints. Many ***working-class*** voters, across racial groups, are moderate to conservative on social issues: They are religious, favor well-funded police departments and support some restrictions on both abortion and immigration. On economic issues, by contrast, they [*tend to back Democratic positions*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing), like a higher minimum wage and expanded government health care.

For Democrats to do better with the ***working class***, they probably need to moderate their liberal image on social issues — and double down on economic populism.

Related: My colleague Astead Herndon, [*reporting from Decatur, Ga.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing), asks whether the Georgia suburbs can help Democrats win the upcoming Senate runoffs.

THE LATEST NEWS

* With ridership having plummeted — and no federal aid yet forthcoming — [*mass-transit systems*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) in Boston, New York and other cities are considering deep cuts. Atlanta has already suspended 70 of its 110 bus routes.

1. Rudy Giuliani, Trump’s lawyer, [*tested positive*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) for the coronavirus and entered Georgetown University Medical Center in Washington. Giuliani has repeatedly appeared in public without a mask.
2. Senate Republicans have invited an anti-vaccine doctor [*to be the lead witness*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) at a hearing on coronavirus treatments tomorrow.

* Colleges plan to bring [*more students back onto campus in January*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) than they did in the fall, despite the virus being more widespread now. Administrators say months of virus experience have equipped them to control outbreaks.

1. Gonzaga, the top-ranked team in men’s college basketball, [*canceled its next four games*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) because of an outbreak.

* At a debate for one of Georgia’s two Senate runoffs, Senator Kelly Loeffler, a Republican, [*refused to say Trump lost the election*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing). Loeffler is running against the Rev. Raphael Warnock, a Democrat.

1. In the other runoff, there was no debate because Senator David Perdue — a Republican under fire because of [*personal stock sales*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) — refused to participate. Jon Ossoff, the Democrat, answered the moderator’s questions next to an empty lectern.
2. Today is the deadline to register to vote in the Georgia runoffs. Eligible voters can [*do so here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).
3. Other Republican officials in Georgia yesterday pushed back against Trump after he called for state lawmakers to [*overturn Biden’s electoral victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing). “I voted for President Trump,” Lt. Gov. Geoff Duncan said. “Unfortunately, he did not win the state of Georgia.”
4. Congressional Republicans have been less willing to acknowledge electoral reality. The Washington Post asked all 249 Republicans in the House and Senate who won the presidential election, and [*only 27 acknowledged Biden as the winner*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).
5. Biden[*will nominate Xavier Becerra*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing), the attorney general of California, to run the department of health and human services. Biden has also chosen Dr. Rochelle Walensky, the chief of infectious diseases at Massachusetts General Hospital, to lead the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Dr. Vivek Murthy, who served as surgeon general in the Obama administration, will do so again.
6. Attorney General William Barr is [*considering stepping down*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) before Trump’s term ends, sources told The Times. The president is reportedly furious with Barr for saying last week that the Justice Department has uncovered scant evidence of voter fraud.

* The family of Roald Dahl [*apologized for anti-Semitic comments*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) the author made during his lifetime. “We hope that, just as he did at his best, at his absolute worst, Roald Dahl can help remind us of the lasting impact of words,” the family said in a statement.

1. Around 100,000 people were [*still without power*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) yesterday evening after a winter storm that battered parts of New England over the weekend.

One koala, two koala: Australia is launching its [*first koala count in years*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing), deploying heat-seeking drones, acoustic surveys and detector dogs to find the marsupials in the wild.

The Media Equation: Michael Fuoco, a former Pittsburgh Post Gazette reporter and president of the local union, used his position to [*harass and coerce underlings*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) for decades. Ben Smith, The Times’s media columnist, explains how both Fuoco’s newsroom and the union failed to rein him in.

From Opinion: Elite athletes and coaches should be trained to monitor mental health as much as physical injuries, argues Alexi Pappas, an Olympic runner. Pappas shares her own struggles with depression [*in a new video*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

Lives Lived: Suhaila Siddiq was a renowned surgeon and Afghanistan’s first female lieutenant general. She died from complications of the coronavirus at the same Kabul military hospital she ran during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Afghan civil war and the Taliban’s rule. [*She was in her early 80s.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing)

Subscriber support helps make Times journalism possible. If you’re not already a subscriber, [*please consider becoming one today.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing)

ARTS AND IDEAS

The world of Cartel TikTok

Tiger cubs, luxury cars, semiautomatic weapons and piles of cash: Welcome to [*Cartel TikTok, a growing genre*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) of videos on the platform that glorify drug trafficking groups in Mexico.

Drug cartels have [*used social media*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) [*for years*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing), to send messages to rival gangs, intimidate the public and recruit new members. Experts say the TikTok videos are the latest propaganda efforts designed to attract young recruits. “It’s narco-marketing,” Alejandra León Olvera, an anthropologist, told The Times.

The hashtag #CartelTikTok has 38 million views on TikTok. The trend can be traced back to last month, when a clip of a high-speed boat chase went viral. TikTok’s algorithm helped the trend along by leading viewers to similar videos afterward. “As soon as I started liking that boat video, then there’s videos of exotic pets, videos of cars,” one 18-year-old told The Times. It’s “kind of like watching a movie,” he said.

Though TikTok’s policy is to remove content that promotes illegal activity, new videos crop up just as quickly to replace them. It’s another example of how difficult it is for social media platforms to regulate their vast networks, and how easy it is for every new platform to be co-opted.

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

Make [*pastel, an Israeli spiced beef pie*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) scented with cinnamon, dill and parsley.

Songs by Stevie Wonder, BTS and The Chicks all made our critics’ compilation of [*the year’s best songs*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

Missing travel? Here are some [*books that will transport you*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) from Hungary to the Himalayas. You can also get a glimpse of [*what comfort food looks like around the world*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing)(with fun illustrations).

“Saturday Night Live” [*spoofed children’s letters to Santa Claus*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) (played by Jason Bateman, the evening’s host) and featured a surprise cameo.

The pangrams from Friday’s Spelling Bee were daywork, workaday, workday and yardwork. Today’s puzzle is above — or you can [*play online*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) if you have a Games subscription.

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing), and a clue: X (# letters).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

P.S. CNN Business [*wrote about the success of “The Daily,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing) which has grown to four million daily downloads and now tops the news podcast charts on both Apple and Spotify.

You can see today’s print front page here.

Today’s episode of “[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing)” includes an interview with the Georgia elections official who called on Trump to stop spreading misinformation. On [*the latest Book Review podcast*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing), David Sedaris talks about his life as an essayist.

Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick and Sanam Yar contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: Voters in the Bronx where Trump increased his vote share by about 10 percentage points. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Desiree Rios for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 7, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Day Care for Less Than $10: How Canada Is Easing the Burden for Parents***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68JH-5J21-JBG3-64J5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 26, 2023 Monday 04:27 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; canada

**Length:** 1457 words

**Byline:** Vjosa Isai

**Highlight:** A national program is reducing day care fees to as low as 10 Canadian dollars, about $7.60, per day, a relief for families even as a surge in demand has created obstacles.

**Body**

A national program is reducing day care fees to as low as 10 Canadian dollars, about $7.60, per day, a relief for families even as a surge in demand has created obstacles.

As Susana Ibarra’s maternity leave was ending and she was preparing to return to her office outside Toronto, she still faced a big challenge: finding care for her son and then figuring out how to pay for it.

Finally, after putting him on a dozen or so waiting lists, she landed a spot. Even better, it came at a discounted fee of 600 Canadian dollars, or $450, a month.

The low cost was the result of an ambitious day care plan expanding across Canada, intended to drastically cut fees that supporters say will address one of the most vexing problems facing many working parents.

“It was just perfect timing,” said Ms. Ibarra, who in January went back to work as a paralegal at a tax services firm in Mississauga, a Toronto suburb. She had heard plenty of stories of co-workers who stopped working once they had children because child care costs were exorbitant.

The national day care plan was introduced two years ago by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s government with a goal of steadily pushing down child care costs so that, by 2026, tens of thousands of child care slots would be available at daily fees of 10 Canadian dollars, roughly 200 dollars a month, or less.

By comparison, in large urban areas like Toronto or Vancouver, day care can cost 1,200 Canadian dollars or more per month, or about 60 dollars a day.

The federal child care program is “a transformative project on a scale with the work of previous generations of Canadians, who built a public school system and public health care,” the federal government said in a statement when the program was unveiled.

Working with the country’s provinces, which are responsible for delivering education and child care services, the federal government plans to spend up to 30 billion Canadian dollars to create a total of 250,000 new low-cost child care spaces, mostly in nonprofit or public day care centers and family-based providers.

Child care providers use government financing to reduce their fees over time until they reach the 10 Canadian dollars a day threshold.

Day care centers in five of Canada’s 13 less populated provinces and territories have already lowered fees to that level, while the remaining provinces, including Ontario, have cut their fees by half on the road to reaching 10 dollars per day.

So far, about 52,000 reduced-cost child care slots have been created across the country under the program.

“This is part of our plan to make life more affordable for the middle class and for people working hard to join it,” Mr. Trudeau said in March while announcing the program’s expansion in Manitoba.

Though the program has been widely praised, it has run into growing pains with demand for discounted child care slots exceeding supply and providers grappling with a shortage of workers.

Making child care more affordable enables many working parents, especially women, not to have to choose between their careers or raising their children, child care advocates and researchers said. Studies have also shown that low-cost child care is an economic boon because it increases the work force participation of women.

“Not only is this really good for our economy, not only is this really good for gender equality and for women in the work force, but it’s also really good for setting up our kids for success,” said Karina Gould, Canada’s minister of families, children and social development.

Among the world’s wealthiest countries, European nations tend to dominate rankings of child care policies.

A Unicef [*report*](https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/where-do-rich-countries-stand-on-childcare.pdf) two years ago that measured maternity leave and day care costs, among other factors, showed that nine of the top 10 nations were in Europe, led by Luxembourg. (Canada ranked 22nd, while the United States, which [*spends far less on child care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/06/upshot/child-care-biden.html) than most other wealthy nations, was 40th.)

Rosanne D’Orazio and her husband moved more than a decade ago from Montreal to Iqaluit, the capital of the sparsely populated northern Canadian territory of Nunavut, where she said day care consumed a large chunk of her pay working for an Inuit association.

But last December, the child care fee for her 3-year-old daughter dropped to 10 dollars a day after day care centers in the territory started lowering prices as part of the federal program.

Ms. D’Orazio, who also has a son, 7, and whose husband is a freelance photographer and videographer, decided to switch careers.

Having monthly day care reduced to 200 Canadian dollars from 1,500 dollars “allowed me the flexibility, the financial freedom,” she said, “to leave my nine-to-five and become a consultant” to Indigenous organizations.

Canada’s program was modeled, in part, after a similar initiative in Quebec that started 25 years ago. Parents there pay around 9 Canadian dollars a day for government-subsidized day care.

Supporters say the program has allowed more women to work. Nearly 90 percent of women in Quebec are in the work force, the highest labor participation rate among women of any Canadian province.

The program has also strengthened the province’s economy: Quebec’s gross domestic product is 1.5 percent higher than it would have been without the program, according to research by Pierre Fortin, an emeritus professor of economics at the Université du Québec à Montréal.

“We certainly know that there’s strong benefits for families and there’s benefits for the economy, so that’s what’s been able to convince the Canadian government that it should follow the Quebec example,” said Gordon Cleveland, an emeritus professor in economics at the University of Toronto, who has advised the federal government on its child care program.

One of the biggest challenges facing child care providers that are part of the federal program is accommodating parents seeking to enroll.

“I knew that the parents that I serve would need this program,” said Susie Beghin, the owner of Alpha’s Discovery Kids, which operates three day care centers in what she described as ***working-class*** communities outside Toronto.

The centers serve 270 children and have a monthslong waiting list of parents seeking a discounted slot.

The surge in demand has amplified existing problems across Canada’s child care sector, including labor shortages and concerns about low pay. Some critics worry that the Trudeau government is investing a significant amount of money in a program that will serve a relatively small number of children.

Others say more parents would benefit if the government instead expanded existing child care tax breaks.

“Despite the best intentions of the federal program, I’m concerned it’s going to entrench an expensive, poor quality program that serves a minority of children” and underestimates the cost and complexity of delivering child care, said Peter Jon Mitchell, director of the family program at Cardus, a research group.

Some day care providers say the program has made it harder to raise wages because once they receive government funds, they cannot raise their fees, and federal financing does not cover all their expenses.

“That has limited the capacity of existing programs and it has also made expansion pretty much impossible,” said Morna Ballantyne, the executive director of Child Care Now, an advocacy group. “You just can’t run programs without staff and you can’t run quality programs without qualified staff.”

But for many families, the low-cost day care program has been a welcome relief.

Ms. Ibarra, whose partner works as a delivery driver, had been ready to spend as much as 1,300 Canadian dollars, or $970, a month for her 18-month-old son, Ethan, the regular fees at the day care where he is enrolled.

Paying around 600 dollars a month, she said, “made going back to work a very easy choice” and has allowed her to build up her savings.

Roopal Khandelwal moved from Delhi to Toronto in February when her husband got a new position at his company. They have a 2-year-old son, Avik, and are expecting a second child in August.

Finding a discounted day care slot for Avik means that Ms. Khandelwal, 32, a digital marketing specialist, can return to work.

“I do have a big break of two years in my résumé,” Ms. Khandelwal said. “I am looking forward to giving a fresh start to my career.”

PHOTOS: Susana Ibarra with her son Ethan at their home in Mississauga, a Toronto suburb. She pays 600 Canadian dollars, or $450, a month in day care fees.; Top, Ms. Ibarra and Ethan’s morning routine; above, Ethan being dropped off at day care. Without a government subsidy, families near Toronto can expect to pay up to 1,200 Canadian dollars a month in day care costs. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY IAN WILLMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** July 5, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Vaccine Class Gap; The Morning Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62RV-0F81-JBG3-63X3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 24, 2021 Monday 06:36 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1784 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** The biggest vaccination gap isn’t based on race or partisanship. It’s based on class.

**Body**

The biggest vaccination gap isn’t based on race or partisanship. It’s based on class.

It is common to hear about two different demographic groups that are hesitant to receive a Covid-19 vaccination: Republican voters and racial minorities, especially Black and Latino Americans.

The two groups seem to have different motivations. For Republicans, the attitude is [*connected*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) to a general skepticism of government and science. For Black and Hispanic Americans, it appears to stem from the country’s legacy of providing substandard medical treatment, and sometimes doing [*outright harm*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/), to minorities.

These ideas all have some truth to them. But they also can obscure the fact that many unvaccinated Republicans and minorities have something in common: They are ***working class***. And there is a huge class gap in vaccination behavior.

Here is a look at vaccination behavior by racial groups and political identification, based on polling by the Kaiser Family Foundation:

Here are those same groups subdivided by class, using a four-year college degree as the dividing line between ***working class*** and professional:

As you can see, ***working-class*** members of every group are less likely to have received a vaccine and more likely to be skeptical. “No matter which of these groups we looked at, we see an education divide,” Mollyann Brodie, who oversees the Kaiser surveys, told me. In some cases, different racial groups with the same education levels — like Black and white college graduates — look remarkably similar.

This poll did not break out Asian-Americans, but other Kaiser surveys have, and it’s consistent: Asian-Americans have a [*higher median income*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) than Black, Hispanic or white Americans and [*also a higher vaccination rate*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

All of which points to the fact that the class divide is bigger than the racial divide.

There are still differences by ethnicity, because racial inequities are a reality of U.S. life. Many Hispanic Americans, across social classes, say either that they want a shot but have not yet received one or that they are waiting to see how the vaccines affect other people. And there are even bigger differences by partisanship, with many Republicans, including professionals, skeptical of the vaccines.

But you can’t understand the country’s struggle to vaccinate everyone — and save thousands of lives — without understanding the class gap.

The ‘coming apart’

The story here is bigger than Covid-19. Last year, the economists Anne Case and Angus Deaton published [*a book called “Deaths of Despair and the Future of Capitalism”*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) that documented a growing class divide in one area of American life after another.

Income and wealth have [*grown much more quickly*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) over recent decades for people with a bachelor’s degree than people without one. Marriage, church attendance and self-reported happiness have declined more for the ***working class*** than the professional class; chronic pain, obesity and alcohol consumption have increased more. As the title of the book indicates, life expectancy has also diverged, partly because of deaths from alcoholism, drug overdoses and suicide.

“This B.A./non-B.A. divide,” says Deaton, a Nobel laureate, “just comes up again and again and again.”

Case and Deaton, who are Princeton professors, argue that behind these trends is [*a “coming apart” of the* ***working-class*** *experience*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/). For many people, life lacks the structure, status and meaning that it once had.

Frequently, people are not officially employed by the company where they work, which robs them of the pride that comes from being part of a shared enterprise. They don’t belong to a labor union, either. The timing of their work shifts can change unexpectedly. Many parents are trying to raise children without a partner.

These challenges can interfere with Covid vaccination in multiple ways. Carving out the time — to do the logistical research, get the shot, cope with side effects and schedule a second shot — [*can be hard*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/). ***Working-class*** Americans also have less reason to trust public health officials; if you had suffered the damaging “coming apart” of the past few decades, would you trust people in positions of authority?

After I described the vaccination trends to Case and Deaton, they sent me [*some broader data on life expectancy*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/), by both race and class. It shows a significant Black-white gap. But that gap [*has not grown*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) over the past decade. What has grown is the life expectancy gap between college graduates and non-graduates, among both Black and white Americans.

“Though race divisions continue,” Case said, “education is becoming more important relative to race, and perhaps that might be true for vaccinations, too.”

What to do?

The growing class divide in living standards is one of the country’s greatest problems, and it obviously will not be solved before the pandemic ends. But public health experts believe that there are specific strategies that can narrow the vaccination divide.

One is information. About 25 percent of unvaccinated people remain unsure whether somebody who previously had Covid should still get the vaccine, according to Kaiser. The answer is yes: [*Almost everybody 12 and older should*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

Another promising strategy is making shots even more convenient. Employers can help by hosting on-site vaccinations and giving workers paid time off — including the day after the shot for people who experience side effects. Drugstores and supermarkets can accept walk-ins, as some already do. Government officials can [*send mobile, walk-in clinics*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) into more communities. (Text your ZIP code to 438829 — or text “VACUNA” for Spanish — and you’ll find your local options.)

“We’ve just got to remove all the barriers,” Brodie said.

Finally, friends and relatives can turn a vaccination into something more than just a shot. “Say, ‘Let’s do this together. Let’s do something, so if you get vaccinated, let’s grab dinner after. Let’s celebrate together,’” Dr. Edith Bracho-Sanchez, a New York pediatrician, [*told CNN*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

The U.S. is on the verge of victory over Covid. But the disease remains a threat to millions of Americans. The illness and death that occurs in coming months is likely to aggravate the country’s already extreme inequality.

THE LATEST NEWS

The Virus

* For the first time in almost a year, the U.S. is recording [*fewer than 30,000 new cases*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) a day.

1. “It’s not enough”: Living through the pandemic [*on $100 a week*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).
2. Virus resources: [*Track cases around the world*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

International News

* Belarus [*forced a commercial airliner to land*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/), then arrested an opposition journalist onboard. European officials called it a “state hijacking.” (Here’s [*what we know*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) about the journalist.)

1. A mountain cable car fell in northwestern Italy, [*killing at least 14 people*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).
2. Extreme weather, including freezing rain and high winds, [*killed 21 runners*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) in a 62-mile ultramarathon in China.

Other Big Stories

* Phil Mickelson, 50, became the [*oldest golfer to win a major title*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) with his victory at the P.G.A. Championship.

1. U.S. cities are facing a rise in gun violence. Activists worry it’s a roadblock to [*reimagining public safety*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).
2. Children with sickle cell disease are at risk of strokes, and [*many rarely receive the simple screenings*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) that can prevent them.
3. A teacher at a Florida high school altered dozens of [*female students’ yearbook pictures*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) to cover more of their chests.
4. Many in Silicon Valley said self-driving cars would be common by 2021. [*It’ll be a bit longer*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

Opinions

* “The books and stories we fall in love with make us who we are,” [*Salman Rushdie*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) writes in The Times.

1. Gail Collins and Bret Stephens [*in conversation*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

Morning Reads

Glitter, leather and more: The joy of [*Eurovision fashion*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

Plant life: If you think you know what a fern is, [*think again*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

The Media Equation: The fight inside [*New York’s public radio station*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

A Times classic: Can you tell [*a “Trump” fridge from a “Biden” fridge*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/)

Lives Lived: Yuan Longping led work on hybrid rice cultivation that helped alleviate hunger across much of Asia and Africa. His discoveries made him a hero in China. [*He died at 90*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Welcome to the Space Jam

The movie “Space Jam” — a comedy centered on a basketball game that pits Michael Jordan and the Looney Tunes characters against aliens — came out in 1996, during the internet’s early days. [*Its official website*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) reflects its age: a simple pixelated image of stars, dotted with cartoon planets. By remaining online, unchanged, it has become a beloved cultural artifact for a subset of millennials.

The site “is important in the way antique maps are important,” Gina Cherelus and Caity Weaver [*write in The Times*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/). It documents the internet as it once was, before Google and social media, with downloadable screen savers, printable coloring pages and a one-second audio clip of Jordan saying, “You guys are nuts.”

In 2010, the website ascended to meme status after a popular Reddit post remarked on its continued existence. Rolling Stone [*called it*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/)“the website that wouldn’t die.”

Spacejam.com was recently repurposed to advertise the coming sequel, “Space Jam: A New Legacy,” starring LeBron James. But you can still find a prominent link to the original site. When it was made, “the internet was still whispering its promise,” said Don Buckley, an advertising executive for the film. “We were exuberant about its possibilities.” — Sanam Yar, a Morning writer

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

This [*double-stacked cheeseburger*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) carries the savory-sweet flavors of grilled Korean barbecue.

What to Read

Zakiya Dalila Harris’s [*debut novel, “The Other Black Girl,”*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) is a funny and occasionally creepy account of a nearly all-white workplace.

Theater

[*“This American Wife”*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) is a buzzy new play that satirizes the “Real Housewives” TV franchise.

Late Night

The season finale of “S.N.L.” [*looked back on a “crazy” year*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/). Anya Taylor-Joy hosted.

Now Time to Play

The pangram from Friday’s Spelling Bee was majorly. Here is today’s puzzle — or you can [*play online*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/), and a clue: Separator of continents (five letters).

If you’re in the mood to play more, find [*all our games here*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

P.S. A [*hidden haiku*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/) from a Times story about [*the Knicks’ unlikely playoff appearance*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/): “They are two seasons / removed from finishing with / the league’s worst record.”

You can see [*today’s print front page here*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/)” is about the N.R.A. On the [*Book Review podcast*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/), Maggie O’Farrell talks about “Hamnet.”

Lalena Fisher, Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Sanam Yar contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/12/key-findings-about-americans-confidence-in-science-and-their-views-on-scientists-role-in-society/).

PHOTO: A vegetable farm in Minnestota hosting a mobile vaccination clinic. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Liam James Doyle for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 24, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Finding TV Inspiration in Internet Forums and Old Friends***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6828-CSN1-JBG3-60Y8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 20, 2023 Thursday 23:23 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1121 words

**Byline:** Simran Hans

**Highlight:** For her twisty comedy-thriller “Am I Being Unreasonable?,” Daisy May Cooper drew on her experiences around her marriage breaking down.

**Body**

For her twisty comedy-thriller “Am I Being Unreasonable?,” Daisy May Cooper drew on her experiences around her marriage breaking down.

The British writer and actress Daisy May Cooper spent a lot of time on the internet forum Mumsnet when her marriage was breaking down. The site is “like Reddit, but for mothers,” Cooper said in a recent interview at a London cafe while taking a puff from a small blue vape.

She was especially drawn, she said, to one of the site’s most popular threads, “Am I Being Unreasonable?,” a supportive community for women second-guessing themselves in relationships. It became the inspiration — and title — for Cooper’s latest television show, which she created with Selin Hizli. The show, which both star in, is available in the United States on Hulu.

Cooper, 36, rose to fame in Britain in 2017 after creating and starring in the BAFTA-winning BBC mockumentary series “[*This Country*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/19/arts/television/this-country-tv-show.html)” with her brother, Charlie. She is a regular fixture on British comedy panel shows, known for her candor and colorful language.

But in November 2020, two months after the birth of her second child, she separated from her husband, moved out and began searching for solace online. She recalled feeling frightened and unsure of what her next project might be. “‘My career defined me, and now I don’t know who I am, or what I want, and these two human beings are dependent on me,’” she remembered thinking.

Hizli, a friend of Cooper’s from drama school, was also in the process of splitting up with a long-term partner. The two reconnected during this period and started writing the show that became “[*Am I Being Unreasonable*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j32gbI4dmy4).” A wild and twisty comedy-thriller, it stars Cooper as Nic, a bored housewife who strikes up an intense friendship with a fellow mother, Jen (Hizli).

“We thought, wouldn’t it be great to write something about a female friend being the partner you always needed, especially when your life’s falling apart?” Cooper said over a cup of tea, a wall behind her adorned with hearts.

In a phone interview, Hizli, 34, said she wanted to see mothers of her age and ***working-class*** background represented onscreen. “I had forgotten how important friendship was,” she said, “and how much I needed friends in my life.” In the show, Nic and Jen bond over shots of sambuca and dancing to the Spice Girls.

But Cooper and Hizli wanted to portray the darker side of female friendship, too. Cooper described past intense friendships “that felt like toxic relationships I’d had with boyfriends,” including a best friend who Cooper said was secretly sleeping with her boyfriend at the time. When she found out, it was like “a Keyser Söze mug drop moment,” Cooper said, likening the shocking discovery to the ending of the film “The Usual Suspects.”

“I can only write about what I’m going through, or at least base a character around my own experiences,” she said. Cooper described Kerry Mucklowe, the character she plays in “This Country,” as someone who knows exactly who she is. “Kerry was more of me before fame, and then Nic was more of me after,” she added. Reaching for her vape, Cooper seemed more muted than either of those characters, and described herself as an anxious person these days.

Cooper explored the humor and the hardship of growing up in public housing on the outskirts of a picturesque English village in “This Country” and in her 2021 memoir, “Don’t Laugh, It’ll Only Encourage Her.” In the latter, she described playing board games by candlelight because there was not enough money to switch the electricity on.

She had always acknowledged her faults to make other people laugh, Cooper said, and growing up she aspired to be like TV comedians who gave her parents “moments of complete escapism” from their financial struggles. She then channeled those tendencies into writing and acting.

On their first day as students at London’s prestigious Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, or RADA, in 2007, Hizli remembered a teacher telling them “they were going to dismember us and put us back together.” Cooper, Hizli said, would never have allowed herself to be remade: “She was always unapologetically herself, and never felt the need to conform to the expectations of this quite stuffy drama school.”

Miranda Harcourt, Cooper’s acting coach, praised Cooper’s unusual faculty for what she described as both light and dark fire. “There are some brilliant British performers who have got the capacity for lightness and comedy, but don’t show you their tragic side,” Harcourt said in a recent video interview from her home in Wellington, New Zealand.

After the success of “This Country,” Cooper and her brother finally had some of the financial stability they had been chasing. Their lives changed overnight, Cooper said. “Nobody tells you how to deal with it,” she said. “I think he’s as overwhelmed by it as me,” she said of Charlie, becoming tearful. “When we were poor, we were so much closer,” she said. “I think money and schedules and work have ruined that a bit,” she added.

Her collaboration with Hizli was the result of a similarly intimate bond. On both shows, Cooper said the writing was effortless. “They are the ones on the computer typing, and I’m just stomping around vaping,” she said, laughing.

Since RADA, Cooper had dreamed of acting in a film and attending a premiere, and so when the writer and director Armando Iannucci asked her to play Peggotty in his “[*The Personal History of David Copperfield*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/27/movies/the-personal-history-of-david-copperfield-review.html),” she said she felt she had done what she set out to do. In a phone interview, Iannucci, who also cast her in the HBO comedy series “[*Avenue 5*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/17/arts/television/avenue-5-review-hbo.html),” said that Cooper defies convention with everything she does.

“I think I could only do the acting thing for another few years,” Cooper said, adding that she preferred writing and being behind the scenes. Though several British newspapers recently [*reported*](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/daisy-may-cooper-in-line-to-play-m-in-next-bond-film-0w5tc3367) [*rumors*](https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/films/news/daisy-may-cooper-m-james-bond-b2307225.html) that she has been tapped to play M in the next James Bond film, she said that “no talks have happened whatsoever.” Cooper said she would have to make the character funny, though she was not sure if that ‌would work. “I’ve never actually seen a Bond film, so I wouldn’t know,” she said with a filthy cackle.

These days, Cooper is back living in her hometown, Cirencester, a historic town in southwestern England she said few people leave.

There, “people know me for eating crayons in Year 6 as opposed to being on television,” she said, adding that there was nowhere else she would rather be in the entire world.

PHOTOS: Top, Daisy May Cooper, whose latest show, “Am I Being Unreasonable?,” is now on Hulu. Above, Cooper and Selin Hizli play mothers in the show. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SIMON RIDGWAY/BBC STUDIOS): PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIE SMITH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C2.

**Load-Date:** April 24, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A Tough Life in Emotional Technicolor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6550-5V01-JBG3-60KF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 4, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 905 words

**Byline:** By Molly Young

**Body**

Douglas Stuart's follow-up to his Booker Prize-winning novel ''Shuggie Bain'' is, like that novel, the story of a boy and his alcoholic mother in ***working-class*** Glasgow.

YOUNG MUNGOBy Douglas Stuart390 pages. Grove Press. $27.

A critic could generate a whole book review simply by reproducing her marginalia. It would be boring to read but accurate, like an EKG printout. If the book in question were ''Young Mungo,'' by Douglas Stuart, it might begin with observations like ''Gorgeous writing!'' and ''Wow,'' before graduating to expletives and exclamation marks and wobbly underlines and question marks. Family-friendly adjectives do not always describe the yanking of certain heart strings in this lovely but occasionally overworked novel.

''Young Mungo'' is a cousin to Stuart's debut, ''Shuggie Bain,'' which was awarded the Booker Prize in 2020 and was a finalist for the National Book Award. As with that novel, this one tells the story of a boy and his alcoholic mother in ***working-class*** Glasgow. The novels share a brutality and a squirmy, claustrophobic evocation of family life. And they offer a world of exquisite detail: If a perfume creator wished to bottle the olfactory landscape of post-Thatcher-era Glasgow, all the necessary ingredients could be found in Stuart's descriptions of sausage grease, fruity fortified wine, pigeon droppings and store-bought hair bleach.

Mungo is 15 years old and the youngest of three children. His mother, Maureen, also known as Mo-Maw, is a boozy wreck given to frequent disappearances. This is not the sort of woman who, when she vanishes, is presumed to be on an ''Eat, Pray, Love''-style voyage of self-discovery. This is the sort of woman whose children immediately fear her to be not only dead but gruesomely and specifically dead: gutted with a steak knife and dumped naked in a river.

We first encounter Mungo as he is taken from his house by two strange men for a weekend of camping and fishing. The full, dark purpose of the trip is unclear, and the fact that it has been sanctioned by Maureen -- who waves her son away with pink-painted fingernails from the window of the family's tenement flat -- is ominous.

The grisly events of that trip are interspersed with chapters about James, an older boy from the neighborhood whom Mungo meets on an empty lot beside a motorway, where the elder has built a ''doocot'' structure for keeping pigeons. James's touch, unlike that of other local boys, doesn't cause Mungo to flinch in defense. The two fall in love, and how could they not? James is resourceful and looks ''like an oil painting''; Mungo is undefended and graceful, with skin ''so creamy that you wanted to take a spoon to him.'' With James, Mungo discovers a love not rooted in subjugation.

But homophobia is a noxious fog. Both boys are told, amply and colorfully, to man up. The terms of manhood in this biome are to possess an outrageously high pain threshold and the capacity to inflict torture. A boy might be considered a man if, for example, he can fall off a piece of construction equipment at a great height, shatter his arm, urinate on himself from the pain and yet avoid wailing like a baby. He may be a man if he is able to smash a brick over a cop's head, stab a night watchman, slash faces and shatter teeth.

The question, then, is whether love can survive this unimaginably hostile environment. Just when you think the soil is too acidic for these tender sprouts to flourish, Mungo and James find new reserves of durability. Being sensitive to the world means being pummeled by it, but it also allows one to adapt.

When Stuart errs, it's on the side of excess. Many passages might have profited from being left as subtext. In these, it is as though Stuart has allowed the CliffsNotes version of ''Young Mungo'' to barge directly into the novel. We understand how Mungo feels when someone undermines his humanity with a snarky comment; we don't need the exposition of: ''Here was yet another person telling him what he needed, how he should act, the person he should be. Another person who didn't think he was enough just as he was.''

This happens with increasing frequency, and it presents a riddle: When an author repeatedly insists on telling what he has already shown, is it because he doesn't trust the reader's attentiveness or because he questions his own effectiveness? Is it condescension or self-doubt?

Here, as he did in ''Shuggie Bain,'' Stuart mixes the self-aware floridity and emotional Technicolor of a Douglas Sirk melodrama with the ambient violence of Elena Ferrante's Neapolitan novels. As Mungo undergoes one atrocity after the next -- beatings, sexual assault, abuse and exploitation of every form -- the specificity of each episode risks blurring into an aesthetic of generalized wretchedness.

Some readers will feel themselves thrust into the role of a misery tourist. Others will respond the way the director Rainer Werner Fassbinder responded to Sirk's films, dazzled into inarticulate reverence. ''A great, crazy movie about life and about death,'' is how Fassbinder described Sirk's ''Imitation of Life.''

There is crazy greatness in ''Young Mungo,'' along with corny lapses and moments with the expository flatness of a TV voice-over. Still, faulting a novel of this register for intemperance feels like faulting an opera for being ''too loud.'' The volume is part of the point. Sometimes you wince. Often you exult.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/03/books/review-young-mungo-douglas-stuart.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/03/books/review-young-mungo-douglas-stuart.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** April 4, 2022

**End of Document**



[***How 'Goon Squad' of Deputies Terrorized a Mississippi County***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69SD-N791-JBG3-63BT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 2, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 4723 words

**Byline:** By Brian Howey, Nate Rosenfield and Rory Doyle for The New York Times

**Body**

For nearly two decades, a loose band of sheriff's deputies roamed impoverished neighborhoods across a central Mississippi county, meting out their own version of justice.

Narcotics detectives and patrol officers, some who called themselves the Goon Squad, barged into homes in the middle of the night, accusing people inside of dealing drugs. Then they handcuffed or held them at gunpoint and tortured them into confessing or providing information, according to dozens of people who say they endured or witnessed the assaults.

They described violence that sometimes went on for hours and seemed intended to strike terror into the deputies' targets.

In the pursuit of drug arrests, deputies of the Rankin County Sheriff's Department shocked Robert Jones with a Taser in 2018 while he lay submerged in a flooded ditch, then rammed a stick down his throat until he vomited blood, he said.

During a raid the same year, deputies choked Mitchell Hobson with a lamp cord and waterboarded him to simulate drowning, he said, then beat him until the walls were spattered with his blood. That raid took place at the home of Rick Loveday, a sheriff's deputy in a neighboring county, who said he was dragged half-naked from his bed at gunpoint, before deputies jabbed a flashlight threateningly at his buttocks and then pummeled him relentlessly.

The string of violence might have continued unchecked if not for one near-fatal raid in January.

According to a Justice Department investigation, deputies broke into the home of two Black men, Michael Jenkins and Eddie Parker, shocked them with Tasers and threatened to rape them. Deputy Hunter Elward shoved the barrel of a gun into Mr. Jenkins's mouth, not realizing a bullet was in the chamber, and pulled the trigger. Mr. Jenkins was grievously injured, the incident was thrust into the national spotlight, and in August five deputies and a police officer pleaded guilty to criminal charges.

Rankin County Sheriff Bryan Bailey said in a press conference this summer that he was stunned to learn of the ''horrendous crimes'' committed by his deputies. ''Never in my life did I think it would happen in this department.''

But an investigation by The New York Times and the Mississippi Center for Investigative Reporting at Mississippi Today reveals a history of blatant and brutal incidents stretching back to at least 2004.

Reporters examined hundreds of pages of court records and sheriff's office reports and interviewed more than 50 people who say they witnessed or experienced torture at the hands of the Rankin County Sheriff's Department. What emerged was a pattern of violence that was neither confined to a small group of deputies nor hidden from department leaders.

Many of those who said they experienced violence filed lawsuits or formal complaints, detailing their encounters with the department. A few said they had contacted Sheriff Bailey directly, only to be ignored.

The Times and Mississippi Today identified 20 deputies who were present at one or more of the incidents -- many assigned to narcotics or the night patrol -- but also several high-ranking officials: a former undersheriff, former detectives and a former deputy who is now a local police chief.

Brett McAlpin, former chief investigator for the department, was involved in at least 13 of the arrests and was repeatedly described by witnesses as leading the raids. He was named in at least four lawsuits and six complaints going back to 2004. Even so, Sheriff Bailey named him investigator of the year in 2013. This year, he pleaded guilty to criminal charges for his role in the January raid.

Taken together, the reporting shows how Rankin deputies were allowed to operate with impunity, while racking up arrests for relatively minor drug infractions and leaving entire neighborhoods in fear of violent raids.

Among the dozens of allegations reviewed, The Times and Mississippi Today were able to corroborate 17 incidents involving 22 victims based on witness interviews, medical records, photographs of injuries and other documents.

In nearly half the cases, Taser logs obtained from the department through a public records request helped corroborate the allegations. Electronically recorded dates and times of Taser triggers lined up with witness accounts and suggested that deputies repeatedly shocked people for longer than is considered safe.

The Taser logs also suggest that the scope of the violence may extend much farther.

At least 32 times over the past decade, Rankin deputies fired their Tasers more than five times in under an hour, activating them for at least 30 seconds in total -- double the recommended limit. Experts in Taser use who reviewed the logs called these incidents highly suspicious.

''This is not typical Taser use,'' said Seth Stoughton, faculty director of the Excellence in Policing & Public Safety program at the University of South Carolina. ''There's just no justification for that.''

It is impossible to tell from the logs alone whether a series of shocks were aimed at one target, and whether they all made contact. Incident reports by the deputies offer little clarity, because in nearly every case they failed to mention that a Taser was used at all.

Over the past year, The Times and Mississippi Today have investigated how powerful sheriffs in rural Mississippi have dodged accountability in the face of misconduct allegations. The reporting exposed numerous sexual abuse accusations against two sheriffs in counties near Rankin, along with evidence that Sheriff Bailey obtained subpoenas to surveil his girlfriend's phone calls.

Sheriff Bailey has faced increased scrutiny since the Justice Department began to investigate his deputies' conduct this year, and the NAACP and local activist groups have called for his resignation. After 12 years as sheriff, he was re-elected in November when he ran unopposed.

The deputies accused of being involved in violent arrests declined to comment or did not respond to repeated requests for interviews.

It is not always clear what actions individual deputies took during the incidents. Witnesses often did not know their names and many of the deputies did not wear uniforms or name tags during the raids.

Jason Dare, a lawyer for the department, declined to comment on The Times and Mississippi Today's findings.

During a brief phone interview on Sunday, Sheriff Bailey repeatedly declined to comment. Told that several high-ranking deputies were involved in arrests that had sparked accusations of brutal treatment, he said, ''I have 240 employees, there's no way I can be with them each and every day.''

On Tuesday, the department announced that it had updated its internal policies and that deputies would receive training on federal civil rights laws.

A statement from the department that referred to the January assault without acknowledging a broader pattern said, ''Even though the prior actions were abnormal and extreme, we will make every effort to ensure that they do not occur in the future.''

New Problems, Old Tactics

For most of its history, Rankin County was a rural area dominated by farmland and forests.

That began to change when white flight reached the capital city of Jackson in the 1960s and Rankin's fields gave way to subdivisions and strip malls.

But tucked among the stately homes and manicured lawns, some of the county's most impoverished residents live in run-down trailers and makeshift shacks, a few without running water or electricity.

These neighborhoods were hit hard in the early 2000s as meth -- cheap, highly addictive and easy to manufacture in isolated places -- spread across rural America like wildfire.

Local sheriffs, even in small departments, set up special narcotics units and joined state and federal task forces in the War on Drugs. The Rankin County Sheriff's Department responded by targeting low-income communities and policing them relentlessly.

In an area called Robinhood, residents said home raids became routine and it felt as if they couldn't go to the corner store without being stopped and searched.

''Once they start picking on you,'' said a former resident, Matasha Harris, ''they will not leave you alone.''

Though Rankin deputies appear to have targeted people based on suspected drug use, not race -- most of their accusers were white -- their tactics could have been pulled from the Jim Crow era, when sheriffs and their deputies harassed and beat Black Southerners and civil rights activists.

During that period, deputies coerced false confessions, sometimes using cattle prods or ''the water cure'': pouring water into suspects' nostrils until they complied.

Priscilla Perkins, co-president of the John & Vera Mae Perkins Foundation, a nonprofit based in Jackson, Miss., that promotes racial reconciliation, said the Goon Squad's acts reminded her of the reign of terror against civil rights activists that often involved law enforcement officers.

''It's the hidden shame of Mississippi and America,'' she said. ''People are still trying to cover it up.''

Among the officers of that era accused of beating Black residents was Lloyd Jones, a state trooper who would become sheriff in nearby Simpson County.

A Justice Department investigation long after his death found that he had bragged to a colleague about fatally shooting a Black man, Benjamin Brown, in the back during a 1967 standoff between police officers and civil rights protesters.

In 1970, Mr. Jones participated in the beating of the Rev. John Perkins in the Rankin County jail, which culminated with a deputy jabbing a fork up his nose, according to the pastor and witnesses who testified against the officers.

As sheriff, he gave Bryan Bailey his first job in law enforcement.

''He is on my life's wall of gratitude and had a huge impact on who I am,'' Sheriff Bailey wrote on Facebook in 2015. ''Not a day goes by that I don't think about him or recall something that he taught me.''

Sheriff Bailey called him a mentor. But years before, Simpson County residents had begun calling him something else: ''Goon'' Jones.

Scope of Abuse

It's unclear when Rankin County deputies adopted their nickname, but last year, they ordered commemorative coins emblazoned with cartoonish gangsters and the words ''Lt. Middleton's Goon Squad.'' Lt. Jeffrey Middleton was the squad's supervisor. He is among the five deputies who pleaded guilty to criminal charges stemming from the January raid on Mr. Parker and Mr. Jenkins.

A Justice Department investigation this year found that Rankin County deputies chose the name Goon Squad ''because of their willingness to use excessive force and not report it.''

The investigation found that Mr. McAlpin, along with a narcotics detective, Christian Dedmon, and Goon Squad members burst into Mr. Parker's home, tortured and humiliated the men while demanding to know where drugs were, and then disposed of the evidence.

Across the 17 cases for which reporters found corroborating witnesses and evidence, accusers described similar tactics by deputies, almost always over small drug busts.

Deputies held people down while punching and kicking them or shocked them repeatedly with Tasers. They shoved gun barrels into people's mouths. Three people said deputies had waterboarded them until they thought they would suffocate. Five said deputies had told them to move out of the county.

Many of the targets teetered on the edge of homelessness and were caught with a few grams of meth or with only drug paraphernalia -- a glass pipe or used syringe. Several people sat in jail for days or weeks only to have their charges dropped.

The largest bust among the incidents examined was for a $420 heroin sale.

In 2018, a confidential informant arranged an $80 meth deal at Jerry Manning's home. Mr. Manning, who denies being part of the sale, said he heard deputies burst into his trailer and scream his name.

When he went to investigate, deputies pinned him to the floor. They said they wanted to test their new Tasers on him to see which hurt more, he said.

''They got me in my private parts, they got me in my head,'' Mr. Manning said. ''They kept tasing and tasing and tasing.''

Taser logs indicate that two of the nine deputies involved that night, James Rayborn and Cody Grogan, together triggered their Tasers at least 15 times during the two-and-a-half-hour raid.

As the deputies ransacked his home looking for drugs, Mr. Manning said, they wrapped a pair of jeans around his head and punched him repeatedly in the face before using a blowtorch to melt a metal nutcracker handle onto his bare leg as he screamed. On Mr. McAlpin's orders, Mr. Manning said, a deputy then forced him to sit, pulled a belt around his neck and yanked it upward, choking him until he believed he would suffocate.

Three other men in the trailer that night described violent attacks. Garry Curro, a 64-year-old Air Force veteran, said deputies handcuffed, beat and shocked him. Adam Porter says Mr. McAlpin threw him into a glass mirror, then took Mr. Porter's pocketknife and sliced his pants to ribbons, demanding to know where the drugs were. Mr. Manning's roommate, James Lynch, said Mr. McAlpin dragged a blowtorch flame across his feet while interrogating him.

People's accounts of the raids shared striking similarities, beyond the patterns in the violence.

At least 12 of the 17 cases began as Mr. Manning's did, with a suspect being set up by a confidential informant, someone the deputies had persuaded to stage a drug buy while they waited nearby.

In six cases, people said deputies threatened to continue assaulting them until they disclosed either the name of a drug dealer or the location of drugs. Five people said the deputies ransacked their kitchens and destroyed their food or used it to humiliate them -- smashing a cake into a man's face before arresting him, dumping flour and rice onto a kitchen floor, pouring milk into a freshly cooked dinner. Every Black accuser said deputies had hurled racial slurs at them.

Most of the targets were men in their 30s or 40s with a history of drug use. But in 2009, Mr. McAlpin knocked out 19-year-old Christopher Hillhouse's tooth with a Maglite, he and his mother say. The next year, deputies beat and shocked Dustin Hale, then 17, until he urinated on himself while his girlfriend watched, he said. When his mother and grandmother went to the county jail to pick him up, they said, they hardly recognized him through the bruises and swelling.

The story of Jeremy Travis Paige, who was targeted in 2018, fits a typical pattern described by the accusers.

Mr. Paige, a 41-year-old with several arrests, was pulling up to his home in a ***working-class*** neighborhood outside Jackson when he realized deputies were there waiting for him, he said.

He drove away, hoping they wouldn't notice. But Mr. McAlpin chased him and pulled him over, then deputies beat him unconscious in the intersection, Mr. Paige alleged in a lawsuit against the county.

The suit claimed that he regained consciousness as the deputies dragged him, handcuffed, into his home. Mr. McAlpin and another deputy then pummeled him in the living room for nearly an hour, according to Mr. Paige and a witness who spoke on the condition of anonymity, fearing retribution from the deputies.

In interviews, Mr. Paige said the deputies pulled him into his roommate's bedroom and sat him upright on the bed, where he felt someone press a knee into his back and stretch a washcloth across his mouth. Then, he said, deputies poured gallon after gallon of water over his face. As he struggled to breathe, he said, one of them pressed a lit cigarette into his thigh.

All the while, they shocked his groin intermittently with Tasers, Mr. Paige said. Taser logs show that one of the four deputies who reported being at the scene triggered his Taser during the arrest.

Three people, including Mr. Paige, said they had been shocked not only with gun-shaped Tasers -- the type issued by the department -- but also with small, rectangular ones, suggesting that some deputies used personal stun guns that were not being tracked.

''They had the devil in them,'' Mr. Paige said. ''I thought they was going to kill me.''

Deputies ordered him to send Facebook messages to friends asking to buy drugs. He struck out, and the deputies took him to jail.

Before leaving, they stuffed the blood- and water-soaked bedding in trash bags and removed them from the house, Mr. Paige said.

The next day, when Mr. Paige was in jail, his son Trace visited the house. He found evidence of the violence, he said, including a bent bed frame where his father had been held down by deputies and a puddle of blood on the floor.

Pictures taken by Mr. Paige's roommate show the bed stripped of linens and blood spattered on the wall.

Mr. McAlpin wrote in his report that deputies restrained Mr. Paige after he tried to kick them during the arrest, but the detective did not mention the use of Tasers or other force that might explain the blood.

During Mr. Paige's trial for drug sale charges, Mr. McAlpin testified that deputies might have injured Mr. Paige when they pulled him out of his car, because he was resisting. He denied hurting Mr. Paige in his home.

Mr. Paige was sentenced to five years in prison. When he sued the sheriff's department, no lawyer would take his case and he resorted to representing himself. He wrote a letter to the judge explaining that he had only a seventh-grade education.

''I don't know how to present big words or anything like that,'' he wrote. ''But I do know the truth.''

After he missed several court deadlines, the judge dismissed his case.

Who Knew

Over the years, more than a dozen people have directly confronted Sheriff Bailey and his command staff about the deputies' brutal methods, according to court records and interviews with accusers and their families.

At least five people have sued the department alleging beatings, chokings and other abuses by deputies associated with the Goon Squad.

The department settled two of those cases. Two others, including Mr. Paige's, were dismissed over procedural errors by accusers representing themselves.

But the mounting allegations signaled that something was profoundly wrong in the narcotics unit of Sheriff Bailey's department.

Mr. McAlpin, the department's former chief investigator who led most of the raids reviewed by reporters, was involved in at least four arrests that prompted lawsuits, court records show.

According to one suit that was settled, Mr. McAlpin kicked 19-year-old Brett Gerhart in the face and pressed a pistol to his temple in 2010 during a mistaken raid at the wrong address. In a 2012 case, tossed out because of missed court deadlines, Gary Michael Frith claimed that he had been beaten and choked in the back of a squad car during a drug bust; records show that Mr. McAlpin was one of the arresting officers.

Mr. McAlpin also figured prominently in complaints lodged with the department. Seven people told reporters they had mailed letters, filed formal complaints or called the sheriff personally to tell him about the abuse they experienced.

Joshua Rushing said he wrote several letters to the department in 2020, after Mr. McAlpin and Mr. Dedmon drove him to an isolated dead-end road and shocked and beat him. He said he never heard back.

Nicole Brock said that when she went to the sheriff's office to submit a formal complaint against Mr. McAlpin for ransacking her car during a search, he tore up the form, threw it in the garbage and arrested her for a syringe he had found during the car search.

Ms. Brock said she left several messages on Sheriff Bailey's office phone to report the deputy's behavior, but he never returned her calls.

Mr. Dare, the department lawyer, declined to provide copies of complaints, saying they were considered personnel records protected by state law. When asked to confirm the existence of the seven complaints described by accusers, he said he could not immediately provide it.

Chuck Wexler, executive director of the Police Executive Research Forum, said this long list of complaints and lawsuits should have prompted investigations by the sheriff.

''If you're getting multiple complaints about the same officers, from different sources, that's a red flag,'' he said. ''If you don't do anything about it, you're in denial.''

Despite the allegations against him, Mr. McAlpin continued to rise through the ranks of the department, winning Investigator of the Year and eventually being promoted to the top investigator position.

Until this year, the Rankin County Sheriff's Department did not have anyone assigned full time to handle complaints. Instead, supervisors were responsible for investigating the deputies they oversaw, according to four former employees who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they feared retribution from the department.

Among those supervisors were Mr. McAlpin and Lieutenant Middleton, who both pleaded guilty in August for their roles in the assault of Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Parker.

On Tuesday, Sheriff Bailey announced that the department would allow residents to file complaints against deputies on the department's website.

Beyond the lawsuits and complaints, there were other obvious signs of the violence, including injuries that would have been visible to jail workers and court officials who saw the injured shortly after their encounters.

Hospital records show that Mr. Hobson was treated for a gash over his eye after a 2018 raid in which he says deputies waterboarded him and punched him repeatedly. His face is bandaged in his jail booking photo.

Robert Jones, the man who said deputies rammed a stick down his throat, arrived at the jail with a swollen and mud-streaked face after deputies beat him and threw him into a ditch.

Many of the mug shots from the Rankin County jail feature bandaged faces, swollen cheeks and black eyes associated with drug-related arrests.

But the most glaring evidence of the violence inflicted by deputies has been collecting in the department's computer files for more than two decades.

The Taser Logs

Every time a Taser is fired, the device keeps a record of it. In Rankin County, deputies upload this data to a computer, compiling detailed departmentwide logs that allow supervisors to monitor deputy Taser use.

The data, reviewed by The Times and Mississippi Today, contained tens of thousands of Taser triggers stretching back 24 years.

The logs supported the accounts of nine people who described being shocked by deputies while handcuffed or held down. In all but three of these cases, the deputies did not report their Taser use, violating department policy.

''I don't believe I've ever come across an agency in which it would be acceptable for an officer to deploy a Taser and not report it in some way,'' said Ashley Heiberger, a retired officer and an expert in police use of force.

After several studies linking prolonged Taser exposure to severe medical problems and even death, the Police Executive Research Forum developed national guidelines advising against shocking a person for more than 15 seconds during an encounter.

The logs contain dozens of instances of Tasers being fired for at least double the recommended time limit over the course of an hour. In April 2016, a device assigned to a deputy who participated in Goon Squad raids was triggered nine times in four minutes, delivering 31 seconds of current.

Several experts in police use of force said the logs showed abnormal Taser use that was hard to explain. Seth Stoughton, from the University of South Carolina, said the frequency of the deputies' Taser triggers suggested they were not using the weapons for their intended purpose: to quickly subdue a combative person.

''It just doesn't suggest that the Taser is actually being used to induce compliance,'' he said.

By comparing the logs to department records, reporters identified four people who claim they were at the receiving end of Taser shocks recorded in the data.

In 2016, Deputy James Rayborn fired his Taser for 20 seconds over the course of 20 minutes during a raid of Samuel Carter's home.

Mr. Carter, a 64-year-old Army veteran, had had previous run-ins with Rankin sheriff's deputies over alleged drug use. On the night of the raid, he said, deputies dragged him to his bedroom, shocked him and demanded that he open a safe where they expected to find drugs and cash.

Instead, deputies found a tub of cake frosting he had stashed in the safe to hide from houseguests with a sweet tooth.

Mr. Carter said they became enraged and shocked him again until his leg began to bleed.

Down the hall, Christopher Holloway, a 26-year-old who had been helping Mr. Carter maintain his property, was beaten and shocked until he defecated on himself, he said. Then they dragged him outside and threatened to push him, handcuffed, into Mr. Carter's pool.

Mr. Holloway and Mr. Carter were charged with paraphernalia and drug possession -- Mr. Holloway for marijuana, Mr. Carter for several grams of methamphetamine.

Like many people targeted by Rankin deputies, Mr. Carter said the first raid was just the beginning. Three months later, deputies arrested him again, this time for drinking in front of his home, Mr. Carter said. He was arrested four more times over the next year, department records show, mostly for drug or paraphernalia possession.

Ballooning legal fees left Mr. Carter unable to pay his bills.

''They had the power,'' he said. ''And they used it.''

'I Lost My Life'

The Goon Squad has left a long trail of shattered lives in its wake. Some people who said they were brutalized are jolted awake by nightmares after their encounters with deputies. Four said they fled the county for good. Several are serving lengthy prison terms.

In 2015, Ron Shinstock was struggling with a methamphetamine addiction, even as he raised a family with his wife and ran a mechanic shop with his brother.

Everything changed, he said, after Mr. McAlpin led a violent raid of his home, holding his children at gunpoint and forcing him to strip naked in his backyard. The arrest led to a 40-year prison sentence for a $260 meth sale within 1,500 feet of a church.

Mr. Shinstock's wife left him. He is scheduled to be released in 2056, two months before his 82nd birthday.

''I lost my family, I lost my home,'' Mr. Shinstock said. ''I lost my life.''

Andrea Dettore, a former resident of Rankin County, witnessed deputies brutalize three people in two incidents. She said she was there in 2018 when the Goon Squad attacked Mr. Loveday, the former deputy, and Mr. Hobson.

During a raid on her own home in January, she said, she heard deputies beat her friend, Robert Grozier, behind a closed door, and saw a deputy, Christian Dedmon, shove a sex toy into his mouth, threatening to shock him with a Taser if he spat it out.

Ms. Dettore and Mr. Grozier were each fined several hundred dollars, and she has since left Rankin County. Mr. Hobson sat in jail for six months before his charges were dropped, and Mr. Loveday lost his job as a sheriff's deputy. Court records show he was never convicted of a crime.

After Mr. McAlpin arrested Mr. Loveday and accused him of consorting with drug dealers, he ordered him to leave town. Mr. Loveday fled the state, fearing he would be targeted again. He couldn't forget that night.

''If they did that to me, how many other people have they done it to?'' he wondered.

Before he left Mississippi, Mr. Loveday said, he called Sheriff Bailey personally to warn him about his deputies' behavior.

But Mr. Bailey wouldn't listen, he said. He called Mr. Loveday a dirty cop and accused him of secretly recording the call.

Then, Mr. Loveday said, ''He hung up on me.''

Jerry Mitchell, Ilyssa Daly, Eric Sagara and Irene Casado Sanchez contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research. This article was reported in partnership with Big Local News at Stanford University and supported in part by a grant from the Pulitzer Center.Jerry Mitchell, Ilyssa Daly, Eric Sagara and Irene Casado Sanchez contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research. This article was reported in partnership with Big Local News at Stanford University and supported in part by a grant from the Pulitzer Center.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/30/us/rankin-county-mississippi-sheriff.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/30/us/rankin-county-mississippi-sheriff.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A ''Goon Squad'' coin. An investigation found abuses by the group went back years. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RANKIN COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE) (A1)

Rick Loveday, a sheriff's deputy in a neighboring county, looked at a picture of injuries he sustained when Rankin County deputies raided his home.

Jeremy Travis Paige alleged in a lawsuit that deputies forced him to arrange drug deals and beat him unconscious. ''They had the devil in them,'' he said.

Christopher Holloway, left, and Sam Carter said they were repeatedly shocked with a Taser during a home raid. Both then faced drug charges. (A12)

Brandon, a city in Rankin County, Miss. An investigation reveals a history of brutal incidents by sheriff's deputies that stretches back to at least 2004. (A12-A13)

Andrea Dettore moved out of Rankin County after witnessing two raids by its deputies, one in her own home in which her friend was beaten.

Mitchell Hobson said he was waterboarded, choked and beaten in 2018. He sat in jail for six months before his charges were dropped. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RORY DOYLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Rankin County Sheriff Bryan Bailey won re-election this fall, running unopposed, despite federal scrutiny of his office and his deputies.

A federal investigation found that deputies broke into the home of Michael Jenkins and Eddie Parker and beat them. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROGELIO V. SOLIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A12, A13.

**Load-Date:** December 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***From Pain, Perspective***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6838-Y581-JBG3-633V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 25, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Science Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 2454 words

**Byline:** By Ellen Barry

**Body**

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. -- In the fall of 1994, the psychiatrist Dr. Judith Herman was at the height of her influence. Her book ''Trauma and Recovery,'' published two years earlier, had been hailed in The New York Times as ''one of the most important psychiatric works to be published since Freud.''

Her research on sexual abuse in the white, ***working class*** city of Somerville, Mass., laid out a thesis that was, at the time, radical: that trauma can occur not only in the blind terror of combat, but quietly, within the four walls of a house, at the hands of a trusted person.

More than most areas of science, psychology has been driven by individual thinkers and communicators. So what happened to Dr. Herman -- as arbitrary as it was -- had consequences for the field. She was in a hotel ballroom, preparing to present her latest findings, when she tripped on the edge of a rug and smashed her kneecap.

''Just, wham,'' she said. ''Smack.''

On and off for more than two decades, Dr. Herman groped her way through a fog of chronic pain, undergoing repeated surgeries and, finally, falling back on painkillers. The trauma researchers who surrounded her in the Boston area moved on with their work, and the field of trauma studies swung toward neurobiology.

''She is a brilliant woman who lost 25 years of her career,'' said her friend and colleague Dr. Bessel van der Kolk, whose 2014 book, ''The Body Keeps the Score,'' helped propel the field toward brain science. ''If you talk about tragedy, that is a tragedy.''

At the age of 81, Dr. Herman has rejoined the conversation, publishing ''Truth and Repair,'' a follow-up to her 1992 book ''Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence -- From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror.'' During that period, trauma has gained broad acceptance in popular culture as a way to understand mental health.

But the dominant idea now comes from Dr. van der Kolk, who argues that traumatic experiences are stored in the body and can best be addressed through the unconscious mind. ''The Body Keeps the Score'' has appeared on the best-seller list for an astonishing 232 weeks. TikTok bulges with testimonials from members of Gen Z, identifying all manner of habits and health conditions as trauma responses.

Dr. Herman does not want to use this flush of attention to debate her old friend. But in ''Truth and Repair,'' she picks up where she left off in 1992, arguing that trauma is, at its heart, a social problem rather than an individual one.

Drawing on interviews with survivors, she lays out a theory of justice designed to help them heal, centering on collective acknowledgment of what they have suffered. Her approach is frankly political, rooted in the feminist movement and unlikely to go viral on TikTok.

This does not seem to trouble her at all. ''In my own life, I feel like I'm in a good place,'' she said. ''On the other hand, I think psychiatry will have to be dragged, kicking and screaming, into any kind of progressive future.''

A pledge

When Dr. Herman and Dr. van der Kolk met in the 1980s, she was treating the daughters of ***working-class*** Irish and Italian families, who were coming forward with stories of sexual abuse. He had been treating veterans who seemed trapped in the past, exploding with extreme rage at minor frustrations.

She was reserved; he was expansive. Dr. Herman likes to call herself ''plain vanilla,'' doggedly faithful to psychodynamic psychotherapy; Dr. van der Kolk is ''flavor of the month,'' always exploring new treatments, first Prozac, then body work and eye movement desensitization and reprocessing.

They had this in common: The patients they treated had been routinely dismissed by the psychiatric establishment as malingerers or hysterics. ''We were in explicit agreement,'' Dr. van der Kolk said. ''We noted that people in academia were often very cruel to each other, and we made a pledge to have each other's back.''

The diagnosis of PTSD was brand-new, having first appeared in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, or DSM, in 1980, and the Boston area, Dr. van der Kolk said, ''was to trauma what Vienna was to music.'' A trauma study group convened monthly in the elegant stretch of Cambridge mansions known as Professors' Row.

Passing around glasses of sherry and cups of coffee, they argued, Dr. Herman said, about ''what counted'' as trauma. ''The guys who worked with the vets, we had some back and forth, shall we say,'' she said. ''We had some knockdown drag-outs, calling out the sexism of the men who thought combat trauma was trauma and everything else was just whining.''

Dr. Herman is widely credited with putting this question to rest. ''Trauma and Recovery'' addressed a general audience in ''measured, gripping, almost surgically precise'' language, as the Times review put it, and with the authority of a Harvard psychiatrist.

Her ideas also radiated into the communities where she practiced, said Rosie McMahan, whose family worked with Dr. Herman and her colleague Emily Schatzow to confront sexual abuse by her father.

''She did this remarkable thing -- 'Wait a minute, the same things that were happening to those soldiers, in a sense, happened in families,''' said Ms. McMahan, whose book, ''Fortunate Daughter,'' describes her family's reconciliation. ''They recognized that it was trauma and called it such. They behaved as if it was.''

Their ideas were gaining ground. In 1994, the editors of the DSM expanded the definition of PTSD, dropping the requirement that the traumatic event be ''outside the range of usual human experience.'' Dr. Herman and Dr. van der Kolk began lobbying for the inclusion of complex PTSD, the result of recurring or long-term traumatic events.

Then came what's known as the ''memory wars'' -- a pushback from leading psychiatrists against therapy that encouraged patients to unearth memories of sexual abuse. The criticism often zeroed in on Dr. van der Kolk, who served as an expert witness in high-profile cases, and Dr. Herman, whose work on dissociation was regularly cited by defenders of repressed-memory therapy.

Dr. Herman shrugged off this critique as ''predictable,'' the same resistance that Vietnam War veterans and rape victims had encountered when they came forward. ''You know, history is a dialectical process,'' she said. ''When you have a movement that challenges the power structure, you're going to have a backlash.''

Some clinicians did go overboard, Dr. van der Kolk said. They ''started talking about satanic ritual abuse, kids being sacrificed in altars,'' he said. ''It got a little bit weird. Judy and I never went with that crowd. But they were part of our crowd.''

By the time the debate faded, his laboratory at Massachusetts General Hospital had been shut down, and he lost his affiliation with Harvard Medical School. ''Almost all of us bit the dust in the memory wars,'' he added.

Since the mid-1990s, the editors of the DSM have consistently opposed further expanding the definition of PTSD. The original definition was ''intentionally strict, meant to avoid the possibility that all mental disorders are simply caused by trauma,'' said Dr. Allen Frances, who chaired the task force for the DSM's fourth edition.

While stress contributes to most psychiatric problems, he said, PTSD diagnoses can be made quickly and carelessly, without pursuing underlying mental disorders, such as anxiety and depression. Taking that leap, he added, means ''all the rest of the knowledge ever accumulated about mental disorders goes out the window.''

Dr. Frances was similarly skeptical of ''trauma-informed therapy,'' which he said provided ''a misleadingly reassuring explanation'' to complicated psychiatric problems. He added that proponents of the idea, like Dr. Herman and Dr. van der Kolk, had succeeded in winning over a large part of the general public.

''You can write best-sellers on this because it's an appealing model for people searching for an explanation for the distress in life,'' Dr. Frances said. That avenue was closing. But that wasn't the only thing that happened.

Pain of unexplained origin

On the day she broke her kneecap, Dr. Herman was preparing to deliver a workshop on her latest findings, and was carrying a carousel of slides to a projector. She was distracted and did not see that a binding had come loose from the rug.

Dr. Herman has offered vague explanations for the 30-year gap between her books. ''Life intervened, in the form of illnesses and a move to an assisted-living community,'' she writes in a forward to ''Truth and Repair.'' In an interview, she flicked away the question, calling it ''a very long, sad tale which I won't bore you with.''

But there is a story. Her kneecap healed, but nerve tumors had formed in her leg, and the pain grew steadily worse. For long stretches, daily life became a challenge. There were remissions, but there were also times she could not get out of bed, where even changing positions was ''extremely, extremely painful.'' At one point, she was so desperate that she asked a doctor if he could amputate her leg.

''All you could think about was pain,'' she said. ''It wasn't even thinking about pain. It was being pain. One's existence was just pain. It's like being in a tunnel.'' Like ''your whole existence is pain, and nothing exists outside of it,'' she added.

There was a subtext in her doctors' response, early on, which she, as a fellow physician, was uniquely qualified to identify: They did not quite believe her. ''I was a middle-aged woman with pain of unexplained origin,'' she said. In the jargon of medical residents, she said, she was a ''crock,'' or a female hypochondriac.

Eleven years and three surgeries later, her doctors said there was nothing more they could do. This was the worst of it, when there was no hope of reprieve. ''It made me not want to live,'' she said. ''That is literally what happened.''

''Judy's fall had a gigantic impact,'' Dr. van der Kolk said. ''When you talk about suffering, that was suffering. She was really suffering physically. A large part of the joy and triumph of publishing a great book she did not get to enjoy.''

He also said the injury had created a distance in their relationship. He was on fire with the ideas that would later become ''The Body Keeps the Score,'' among them a view that chronic pain may be an expression of suppressed trauma. He thought he could help. But she was, he said, ''too injured to be all that curious.'' After that, he said, ''Judy and I started to go in different directions.''

''It really was the source of sadness on my part, as I was entering this body world, that Judy did not go in the same direction,'' he said.

Dr. Herman had little recollection of this exchange. But she did not see any larger meaning to her pain; it was just pain, a bunch of malfunctioning neurons, and it preoccupied her entirely. She was fitted with a brace and crutches, and managed to continue teaching and supervising trainees by taking a large doses of fentanyl, applied through a transdermal patch.

Asked what the experience taught her, she paused and said, ''I guess I just had more empathy for people who go through various forms of torture.''

A remedy appeared in 2019, almost by chance. She had gone to see a surgeon about arthritis in her hand, and instead, he peered at her knee. After she left, he emailed her an article about a surgery that had been developed at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center to treat amputees, war veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan.

Later that year, surgeons removed the damaged nerves, sutured them to a motor nerve harvested from her quadriceps and then implanted them into her muscle. She weaned herself off fentanyl, set aside the brace and the crutches. She compared the relief she felt to the sensation women have when childbirth ends.

''I mean, it's really heavenly,'' she said. ''I'm in a permanent state of gratitude.''

And that, she said, was why she had the energy to finish another book.

''It's a totally crazy story,'' she said. ''I owe it all to the forever wars.''

The queen of trauma

When Dr. Herman walked into a launch event at the Harvard Book Store last month, wearing orthopedic shoes and multiple shades of purple, there was an intake of breath from the audience, largely made up of older women in mental health professions.

The store offered books on healing trauma through weight lifting, quitting one's job or blocking the nerves known as the stellate ganglion; books on trauma in the music of Dolly Parton, polyamorous families and the Indian caste system; and, of course, ''The Body Keeps the Score,'' one of those books that, the store's buying manager said, ''even people who aren't necessarily readers have heard about.''

This did not escape Dr. Herman's admirers, who waited in folding chairs, grumbling discreetly about the authors who rode on her coattails. ''All the noise around trauma is all about white men,'' remarked Mary Gorman, a psychiatric nurse specialist. ''It's like she's the forgotten stepchild.''

Dr. van der Kolk, who has been helping Dr. Herman to publicize her book, was acutely aware of this dynamic. ''The Body Keeps the Score,'' he said, benefited enormously from its focus on neurobiology. ''In the culture right now, if it's based on the brain, it's real,'' he added. ''Everything else is woozy stuff.''

As his book neared publication, he said, he worried that it would supplant Dr. Herman's as the best-known title on trauma. ''She must have known that, to some degree, I would bump her to second position,'' he said. ''I wondered how she would deal with it.''

Considering the whole story, he sounded stricken. Were it not for her injury, he said, ''Judy really would have been the queen of trauma.''

Dr. Herman, in contrast, sounded cheerful as she looked back on it all. For a woman of her generation to become a full professor at Harvard was a big deal, she said. As for the years lost to pain, she said that the work she had done in her 40s and 50s had already helped to launch a generation of younger scholars.

''It wasn't so much of a cult of personality,'' she said. ''The field is haunted by all that. But in my case, once 'Trauma and Recovery' came out, I wasn't the only messenger.''

At 81, she has the aches and pains of old age, but cannot shake the feeling of having been reborn. In the Black Lives Matter and the #MeToo movements, and in the psychiatric residents she supervises, she sees a return to the politics that shaped her as a young doctor.

''I'm back in that exploring kind of moment,'' she said. ''It's quite exciting. I just wish I had a 40-year-old body instead of an 80-year-old body to be able to keep up with it.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/24/health/judith-herman-trauma.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/24/health/judith-herman-trauma.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Judith Herman's work in trauma helped establish the field. Her career was put on hold for decades after she tripped on a rug. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KAYANA SZYMCZAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D1)

Judith Herman, top, in 1977, and her new book ''Truth and Repair,'' above right, which advances her exploration of trauma. Above, a page from Dr. Herman's journal from 1976. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUDITH HERMAN

KAYANA SZYMCZAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D5) This article appeared in print on page D1, D5,

**Load-Date:** April 25, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Contentious but Popular, Arizona's Private School Voucher Plan Grows Fast***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68SP-8RT1-DXY4-X410-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 25, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1860 words

**Byline:** By Sarah Mervosh

**Body**

More states are making all students eligible for private school subsidies. In Arizona, it has often benefited wealthier families.

Tom Horne's whole job is public education. It's in his title -- superintendent of public instruction in Arizona -- where he oversees the education of 1.1 million public school students.

But in an advertising campaign this summer, Mr. Horne makes a pitch to parents who are unhappy with public school: You can choose a private school, and Arizona will help pay for it.

Mr. Horne, a Republican who won election last year promising conservative values, is overseeing a pioneering effort in Arizona to offer private school subsidies, known as school vouchers, to all students.

In a plan approved by the Republican-controlled Legislature last year, Arizona became the first state to make every student, even those from wealthy families, eligible for a school voucher -- on average worth about $7,200 per student annually.

The state deposits the money into education savings accounts for parents, which can be used to pay for private school or home-schooling. If the student was enrolled in public school, the money follows the student. If the student was being privately educated, the voucher is a new cost to the state.

The program has been highly contentious -- and hugely popular.

Since launching last September, it has grown from about 12,000 students to more than 59,000, outpacing projections. State education officials estimate enrollment could grow to 100,000 by next summer.

Fueled by the pandemic and an ascendant parents' rights movement, other Republican states are moving in a similar direction. Arkansas, Florida, Iowa and Utah approved universal programs this year, and Indiana and Ohio expanded existing programs to nearly all students.

For decades, vouchers were limited to certain students: low-income children, students with disabilities, children zoned to low-performing schools. Major expansion efforts were often blocked, including by Arizona voters in 2018.

Now, advocates are finding new success with an encompassing message: parent choice for all. Every family, they say, should be able to choose a school that is right for them, and every child should have access to high-quality education.

''Nobody can do a better job of choosing what's best for the child than the parents,'' Mr. Horne said in an interview at the Department of Education, where ''EMPOWER PARENTS'' signs punctuate the hallways.

The message is ripe for the political moment. At a time when Americans cannot agree on much in education -- from how history should be taught, to which pronouns students can use -- universal vouchers seem to say: You don't have to agree. Choose your own education adventure.

That is especially true in Arizona, a vanguard of school choice. It has the country's largest share of charter school students and a robust home-schooling network. It created the model of education savings accounts, first used for students with disabilities in 2011 -- and now expanded to all students.

Voucher supporters say Arizona is giving options to families; critics say it is sucking money from public education in a state with middling academic outcomes and low public school funding.

''The mentality is this wild, wild west, maverick-y vibe,'' said Beth Lewis, director of Save Our Schools Arizona, which fought the expansion. With universal vouchers, she added, ''we are at the end point of this long game.''

So far, Arizona's program is still small -- 90 percent of students attend public schools -- and it has not significantly shifted public school budgets. That is in part because many students in the program were already in private schools or home schools.

But the expansion -- projected to cost $376 million next school year, paid for by the state's general fund -- is already creating new demand for private schools and sending more public money to middle and upper-income families and religious schools.

The vouchers come with little accountability.

Unlike public schools, including charters, private schools and home-school parents are generally not required to administer state tests or report student outcomes.

''I've never seen anything that I think would fundamentally alter the nature of public education before this,'' said Doug Harris, an economist at Tulane University who studies school choice. ''Even charter schools, it was different. You had accountability. The students were still taking the same tests, collecting data.''

''This,'' he added, ''is very different.''

A New Kind of Private School

Vouchers have been a boon to parents like Ryan and Esther Brooks of Mesa, east of Phoenix.

They had taken advantage of other school choice options, sending two children to charter schools and another to a neighborhood school. But they had grown disenchanted with what they viewed as the politics of public education.

In one symbolic incident, they said, their third grader came home saying that Christopher Columbus ''did some bad things.'' Though they were not opposed to exploring moral complexities, the emphasis seemed off.

''That was the main thing he remembered,'' said Mr. Brooks, 43.

The Brookses, who are Lutheran, enrolled in Great Hearts Christos, a new private Christian school that they hope will better fit their values. (Ms. Brooks, 30, a former teacher, used to work at an affiliated school and is optimistic about its curriculum.)

The voucher is an ''essential enabler,'' said Mr. Brooks, who works as an engineer while his wife stays home.

Great Hearts Christos is an offshoot of Great Hearts, a public charter school network known for its classical education and academic performance. The new venture will offer private Christian education at two schools opening next month in Phoenix and Gilbert, a nearby suburb.

With vouchers expanding, more public money will likely go toward religious schools.

In Iowa, which is launching a universal program, all but six of the state's 183 private schools have a religious or spiritual affiliation, according to The Des Moines Register.

Rachel Laser, president of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, sees vouchers as part of a broader push by Christian conservatives, who recently won Supreme Court rulings on issues like prayer on school grounds and state money for religious schools. ''It's a very dangerous time for a foundational principle that supports our democracy, which is church-state separation,'' she said.

Supporters see it another way: helping more families access the kind of education they want.

''This is a way to bring new families that never thought they could do private school,'' said Daniel Scoggin, a co-founder of Great Hearts, who said the Christos schools will cater to middle- and lower-income families.

To fulfill that mission, tuition was calibrated at $9,700, just above the $7,200 voucher.

Even that relatively low price feels out of reach to many families. In the ***working-class*** neighborhood around their Phoenix location, a few hundred dollars a month can be the equivalent of ''breakfast, lunch and dinner,'' said Wayne Wynter, the pastor at Redemption Alhambra church, where the Christos school will be based.

Great Hearts Christos will rely on philanthropy to cover the difference for up to 100 low-income students.

Statewide, families who use vouchers tend to be relatively well off. Nearly 15,000 voucher recipients resided in ZIP codes with a median household income over $100,000, according to state data from May. Just 6,400 or so recipients lived in ZIP codes with a median household income under $50,000.

About half of students using vouchers have never been enrolled in public school -- suggesting that many families were previously paying for home-schooling or private school.

Simple economics is also at play. At prestigious schools in the Phoenix area, tuition can exceed $18,000, far more than the average voucher. Even if some parents manage the difference, private schools tend to be in wealthier areas, making commuting a challenge.

Mr. Horne, the superintendent, said he wants to shift the demographics. That is one reason his department has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars advertising in English and Spanish.

''Rich people have always had the ability to choose private schools,'' he said. ''It shouldn't be limited.''

The Public School Impact

Will vouchers improve Arizona students' education?

That may be impossible to know because private school and home-schooling families are not required to submit academic data to the state. Earlier voucher research found limited academic improvement.

''My biggest single concern is the spotty evidence as to whether anybody is learning anything, because we don't have accountability built into many of these programs,'' said Chester E. Finn, Jr., a senior fellow at the Thomas B. Fordham Institute, who supports school choice but is wary of universal expansion.

Mr. Horne said that parents will deliver real-time feedback, pulling their children from private schools that do not deliver.

And he believes that giving families an offramp will drive improvements at public schools. ''Competition,'' he said, ''is better for everyone.''

But critics, including Arizona's largest teachers' union, believe the money spent on vouchers is needed far more in public schools.

Adjusted for local costs, Arizona spent $10,244 per public school student in 2020 -- the lowest of any state. Though state lawmakers have recently increased spending, Arizona's funding is just catching up from cuts during the Great Recession.

Lower public school investment is not uncommon in states with voucher programs, one analysis found. Of seven states analyzed, six -- including Arizona -- did not keep up with national increases in per-student spending between 2008 and 2019.

Cecilia Maes, the superintendent of Alhambra Elementary School District, near Great Hearts Christos's Phoenix location, has no shortage of ideas of what she could do with more money: Give raises to teachers. Hire a truancy officer. Stock closets with shoes, clothes and other necessities.

In her district, nearly nine in 10 students are economically disadvantaged.

''In public schools, we are committed to every child who walks through our doors, regardless of the challenges,'' Dr. Maes said, echoing critics who say that children with the fewest resources and highest needs tend to be left out of the school choice frenzy.

Gov. Katie Hobbs, a Democrat who took office this year, has sought to repeal universal vouchers, but she faces an uphill battle -- both in the Republican Legislature, and potentially with constituents.

Patrick Wolf, a University of Arkansas professor who studies school choice and has supported vouchers, said that expanding eligibility ''pulls in a broader customer base,'' which builds political support.

Steve Perez, a 38-year-old mortgage loan officer who says he is politically independent, will use vouchers to send four children to Great Hearts Christos.

''What parent wouldn't,'' he asked, ''given this opportunity, choose what they believe to be a superior education if they can?''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/24/us/arizona-private-school-vouchers.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/24/us/arizona-private-school-vouchers.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Ryan and Esther Brooks with four of their five children at the Great Hearts Christos at Evident Life Church in Gilbert, Ariz. Mr. Brooks called the voucher program an ''essential enabler.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAITLIN O'HARA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Tom Horne, Arizona's superintendent of public instruction, backs the state voucher plan.

Beth Lewis, director of Save Our Schools Arizona, opposes the voucher program. This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** July 25, 2023

**End of Document**



[***As Stumping Starts, It's Beginning to Look Like 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:681K-5H21-DXY4-X54Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 17, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1154 words

**Byline:** By Maggie Astor

**Body**

Candidates are visiting early primary states, attending cattle calls and holding donor summits. The nascent campaign seems to be kicking into gear.

From small towns in Iowa and New Hampshire to the grand stages of interest groups' conventions, the 2024 presidential campaign is underway, whether or not Americans are ready.

The past week has brought at least four declared or likely candidates to New Hampshire, three to Iowa and one to South Carolina. Nine addressed the National Rifle Association's annual forum in Indianapolis, and three attended a Republican donor retreat in Nashville.

The formal choreography of the campaign is falling into place. Last Tuesday, the Democratic National Committee chose Chicago to host its convention next August. On Wednesday, the Republican National Committee, in a surprise to no one, chose Fox News to host the party's first debate this August.

The declared candidates filed their quarterly fund-raising reports late this week, revealing the first big campaign finance error of the season. The campaign of Nikki Haley, the former South Carolina governor and United Nations ambassador, exaggerated her fund-raising total by more than $2 million by double-counting sums transferred between different committees.

Five major candidates have officially announced campaigns: four Republicans (former President Donald J. Trump, Ms. Haley, former Gov. Asa Hutchinson of Arkansas and Vivek Ramaswamy, a multimillionaire entrepreneur and author) and one Democrat (the self-help author and 2020 candidate Marianne Williamson).

But on the campaign trail, it seems like more.

Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina, who announced an exploratory committee on Wednesday, had a particularly packed week, with trips to Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina. A tour of Alex's Restaurant in Goose Creek, S.C., on Friday had the look and feel of a full-blown campaign stop, with supporters holding signs and the number of reporters rivaling the number of diners.

Mr. Scott talked with voters and restaurant staff before heading outside to take questions from reporters -- walking a thin line between being a declared candidate and one in waiting.

''The message is resonating,'' he said, underlining his belief that his conservative talking points with religious overtones will appeal to a broad swath of Republican voters. Asked if he had made up his mind about running for president, he said: ''I'm getting closer. Without any question.''

He added that he would return to Iowa and New Hampshire in the coming days and had plans to stop in Nevada, another early-voting state.

While Mr. Scott was in South Carolina, Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida -- the top challenger to Mr. Trump in early polls, though not officially in the race -- spoke at Liberty University in Virginia and then flew to New Hampshire. Mr. DeSantis addressed a crowd of 500 at a state Republican Party dinner in Manchester.

The event raised $250,000 for the state party, with the party chairman saying Mr. DeSantis had directed his own donors to give an additional $132,000.

After his nearly 40-minute speech, Mr. DeSantis spent just as long methodically working his way through the crowd, visiting all 50 tables for handshakes, backslaps, photos and small talk. ''Did you get it?'' he asked picture takers. ''County chairman for where?''

The low-stakes interactions appeared designed to dispel criticism that Mr. DeSantis was unwilling to engage in the traditional retail campaigning that political activists in early-voting states like Iowa and New Hampshire value. On Saturday, he also stopped by an airport diner.

The governor of New Hampshire, Chris Sununu, was in Nashville, far away from home, testing out his own possible campaign at the Republican National Committee's private donor retreat. There he spoke at a luncheon on Saturday and implicitly blamed Mr. Trump for the party's underwhelming performance in the midterm elections. (Data backs him up: A New York Times analysis found that candidates Mr. Trump supported in primaries performed about five percentage points worse than other Republicans did in the general election.)

Mr. Trump was at the retreat, too, casting himself against that evidence as the only candidate who could win a general election. So was his former vice president, Mike Pence, whom Trump supporters declared their desire to hang when they stormed the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

''The old Republican Party is gone, and it's never coming back,'' Mr. Trump said in a speech Saturday, less than two weeks after he was arraigned in New York on 34 felony charges of falsifying business records. ''Instead of being the party of the establishment class, we are now the party of the ***working class***, the party of all Americans.''

The evening before, Mr. Pence cast the 2024 election as a fight between ''one vision grounded in traditional Republican principles, and another vision that grasps what some think the American people want to hear.'' He took repeated but indirect aim at Mr. Trump, noting that in 2022, ''candidates that were focused on the past, particularly those focused on relitigating the last election, did not do well.''

On Sunday, Mr. Hutchinson, the former Arkansas governor who announced his campaign this month and was in Iowa a few days ago, partook in another campaign staple: the Sunday morning talk show interview.

Appearing on CBS News' ''Face the Nation,'' Mr. Hutchinson gave the usual answer to the question of why he was running -- ''because we need leadership that brings out the best of America and doesn't appeal to our worst instincts.'' Then the host, Margaret Brennan, pressed him on how he would respond to the country's bleak parade of mass shootings.

He did not endorse any new federal legislation and expressed skepticism about whether red-flag laws -- which allow the removal of guns from people deemed to pose a danger to themselves or to others -- protected due process. At the same time, he urged states to make greater use of existing laws that allow the institutionalization of people deemed to pose a danger to themselves or to others.

There has been much less activity across the aisle, where President Biden is inching toward formally declaring a re-election campaign that he has already said was definite. (''We'll announce it relatively soon,'' he said on Friday.)

No one with a large support base has risen to challenge him. But he does have one official competitor, Ms. Williamson, who has been traversing New Hampshire since Friday, hitting Dover, Henniker, Keene, Lancaster and Littleton.

A second challenger, the anti-vaccine activist Robert F. Kennedy Jr., plans to announce his campaign this Wednesday.

The election will be just 566 days away.

Rebecca Davis O'Brien, Shane Goldmacher, Maggie Haberman and Maya King contributed reporting.Rebecca Davis O'Brien, Shane Goldmacher, Maggie Haberman and Maya King contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/16/us/politics/2024-presidential-campaign-trail.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/16/us/politics/2024-presidential-campaign-trail.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida has engaged in some traditional retail campaigning.

Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina made stops in Iowa and New Hampshire last week.

Gov. Chris Sununu of New Hampshire spoke at the National Rifle Association's forum. This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** April 17, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A Surprisingly Tight Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65X9-WP21-JBG3-63M0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 13, 2022 Wednesday 13:12 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1811 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** Despite Biden’s low approval ratings, Democrats are roughly tied with Republicans in the midterm polls. We explain why.

**Body**

Despite Biden’s low approval ratings, Democrats are roughly tied with Republicans in the midterm polls. We explain why.

My colleague Nate Cohn, The Times’s chief political analyst, has spent a lot of time thinking about [*the changing politics of economic class in the U.S.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/us/politics/how-college-graduates-vote.html) College graduates used to favor Republicans, while blue-collar voters favored Democrats. Increasingly, though, the opposite is true.

The social liberalism of Democrats — on immigration, marijuana, L.G.B.T. rights, affirmative action, abortion and more — has simultaneously [*attracted progressive college graduates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/04/briefing/democrats-election-working-class-voters.html) and repelled more culturally conservative ***working-class*** voters. If you’re trying to figure out why Latino voters have shifted right in the past few years, even during the Trump presidency, this dynamic offers an explanation.

In this year’s midterm elections, the changing politics of class may get supercharged, Nate notes. Why? Look at the stories in the news. Many ***working-class*** voters are frustrated over inflation and other economic disruptions, making them unhappy with the Biden administration and Democrats. Many college graduates are angry about [*the recent decisions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/03/briefing/supreme-court-behind-scenes.html) from a Supreme Court dominated by Republican appointees.

These attitudes are evident in the first [*New York Times/Siena College poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/upshot/poll-2022-midterms-congress.html) of the midterm cycle: Among registered voters who never attended college, Republicans lead by almost 20 percentage points. Among college graduates, Democrats lead by almost 30 points. One startling comparison is that Democrats lead by almost as much among white college graduates as among all voters of color.

To give you a clearer sense for what these patterns mean for the likely outcome of the November midterms — and which party will control the House and the Senate for the next two years — I’m turning over the rest of today’s lead item to Nate.

With President Biden’s approval rating sagging into the low 30s and nearly 80 percent of voters saying the country is headed in the wrong direction, the ingredients would seem to be in place for a Republican landslide in this year’s midterm elections.

But the first Times/Siena survey of the cycle shows something else: a close, competitive race for Congress.

Overall, voters prefer Democrats to control Congress over Republicans by one point among registered voters, 41 to 40 percent. Once we exclude those people who are unlikely to vote, Republicans lead by one point, 44 to 43 percent.

It’s a pretty surprising result, given the circumstances. Analysts have all but written off the Democrats in the race for House control, not only because Biden’s ratings are so poor but also because there’s a long history of the president’s party getting pummeled in midterm elections. These factors help explain why [*FiveThirtyEight’s statistical forecast*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/2022-election-forecast/house/) gives the Republicans an 88 percent chance of winning House control.

But the Times/Siena poll is not alone in showing a competitive race at this stage. Since the court’s decision to overturn Roe v. Wade, most polls have shown a tight race on the so-called “generic ballot,” which asks whether voters would prefer Democrats or Republicans to control Congress. The race has shifted about three points in the Democrats’ direction, compared with surveys by the same pollsters before the court’s ruling.

At least for the moment, conservative policy victories — on abortion, climate policy, religious rights and gun laws — and a spate of mass shootings seem to have insulated Democrats. State polls have also [*looked good for Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/05/briefing/midterms-senate-democrats-hopeful.html). The party has led just about every poll of a hotly contested Senate race over the last few months, including polls of Republican-held states like Pennsylvania and Ohio.

If all this good polling for the Democrats reminds you of a story you’ve heard before, there is a reason. The polls have [*overestimated Democratic support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/12/us/politics/election-polls-trump-biden.html) for much of the last decade, partly because polls have a harder time reaching ***working-class*** voters, who have been trending Republican. It’s hard not to wonder whether the good news for Democrats might simply be a harbinger of yet another high-profile misfire.

It could also mean that the Democrats are at a high-water mark that will not last. Republicans will try to make the races a referendum on the president, and only 23 percent of undecided voters in the Times/Siena poll approve of Joe Biden’s performance. If inflation remains high this year, [*as many economists expect*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/17/business/economy/inflation-economy-recession.html), undecided voters might have further reason to break against the Democrats.

The general election campaign might be especially helpful to the Republican Senate candidates coming out of bruising primary elections. It’s understandable why Republican voters who just voted against damaged or flawed candidates — like J.D. Vance in Ohio and Dr. Mehmet Oz in Pennsylvania — may be reluctant to embrace these candidates immediately. Yet that could change when the race focuses on partisan issues and the stakes of congressional control, reminding these voters why they are Republicans.

For the moment, the Democrats are benefiting from a favorable news environment. The recent Supreme Court rulings, the mass shootings and even the Jan. 6 hearings have focused national attention on a relatively favorable set of issues for Democrats. For them to stay competitive, they might need to keep those issues in the limelight until November.

Related

* Another poll detail: We asked respondents to tell us what they thought was the most important problem facing the country — in an open-ended question, without any suggested answers. About 35 percent named inflation or the economy. Less than 1 percent named the pandemic.

1. Nate Cohn explains the poll on [*today’s episode of “The Daily.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/podcasts/the-daily/midterms.html)

THE LATEST NEWS

James Webb Telescope

* Scientists revealed [*images of stars and galaxies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/science/james-webb-telescope-images-nasa.html) that had been too far away or too dim to see.

1. Here’s how the Webb telescope, the most powerful ever, [*looks into the universe’s origins*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/07/12/science/webb-telescope-images-nasa#how-the-webb-telescope-sees-into-the-universes-origins).
2. Experts spent weeks picking out [*which images to share*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/science/webb-telescope-pictures.html). See [*their choices here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/science/space/james-webb-telescope-photos.html).
3. In Times Opinion, Shannon Stirone writes that the images remind us [*how small — and connected — we are*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/opinion/nasa-james-webb-space-telescope-awe.html).

Jan 6.

* Donald Trump mobilized supporters, [*some prepared for violence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/us/jan-6-hearing-takeaways.html), to travel to Washington to disrupt Congress’ election certification, new evidence at a Jan. 6 committee hearing showed.

1. “We basically were just following what he said,” testified Stephen Ayres, an Ohio man who entered the Capitol that day.
2. Trump planned for him and his supporters to go to the Capitol but he [*wanted it to seem spontaneous*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/us/jan-6-panel-explores-trumps-role-in-assembling-violent-extremist-groups-that-stormed-the-capitol.html).
3. During [*a profane, hourslong White House meeting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/us/politics/jan-6-trump-meeting-screaming.html) weeks earlier, Trump advisers including Sidney Powell and Michael Flynn proposed that the military seize voting machines.
4. Trump has [*tried to contact a committee witness*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/us/liz-cheney-witness-tampering-trump.html), which suggests he was trying to influence testimony.

Business

* One U.S. dollar [*is worth almost as much*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/business/euro-dollar-parity.html) as a euro for the first time in nearly 20 years.

1. Twitter sued Elon Musk to force him to go through with [*buying the company*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/technology/twitter-lawsuit-musk-acquisition.html).

Other Big Stories

* Sri Lanka’s president [*fled to the Maldives*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/07/12/world/sri-lanka-president-news), days after protesters stormed his residence.

1. On his trip to the Middle East, Biden [*will try to speed up oil flow to the U.S.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/us/politics/biden-mbs-saudi-arabia.html), among other things.
2. A sixth Covid wave is hitting New York City. Many people [*are shrugging it off*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/nyregion/ba5-variant-omicron-covid-nyc.html).
3. Republicans are pressing Florida’s governor, Ron DeSantis, [*to curb abortions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/us/politics/desantis-florida-abortion.html). He has stayed quiet about his plans.
4. The South Carolina lawyer Alex Murdaugh will probably be [*charged with murdering his wife and son*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/us/alex-murdaugh-murder-charges.html), one of his lawyers said.

Opinions

Laughing can be a valuable coping mechanism, [*even for abortion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/opinion/alison-leiby-abortion-comedy-show.html), Alison Leiby writes.

To navigate growing up poor, Joshua Hunt [*learned to lie*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/opinion/class-poverty-lying.html).

One redrawn Texas congressional district shows how partisan gerrymandering drives our politics [*toward the extremes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/opinion/texas-redistricting-maps-gerrymandering.html), Jesse Wegman explains.

MORNING READS

Checking in: [*Text your friends*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/11/well/family/check-in-text-friendship.html).

Dial 988: What to know about [*a new mental health crisis hotline*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/well/988-suicide-prevention-hotline.html).

Ask Well: [*Is chocolate good for you*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/well/eat/chocolate-health-benefits.html)

A Times classic: Why one man [*kayaked alone across the Atlantic*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/03/22/magazine/voyages-kayaking-across-ocean-at-70.html) at 70.

Lives Lived: In 1975, the singer and actor Adam Wade became the first Black host of a network television game show. He [*died at 87*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/arts/television/adam-wade-dead.html).

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

How M.L.B. could eliminate the infield shift: Jayson Stark [*reports that some change is now “inevitable”*](https://theathletic.com/3417955/2022/07/12/baseball-infield-shift-rule-change/) and it’s only a matter of when. Minor-league teams are already acting.

Another N.B.A. star could be traded: Donovan Mitchell of the Utah Jazz [*is the name to watch*](https://theathletic.com/3419248/2022/07/12/donovan-mitchell-trade-interest-jazz/). The New York Knicks would have interest. They aren’t alone.

Jimmy Garoppolo’s next stop: The San Francisco 49ers quarterback [*could be the next one dealt after Baker Mayfield was traded last week*](https://theathletic.com/3418784/2022/07/12/jimmy-garoppolo-49ers-trade-options/).

The Boston Red Sox get their ace back: Chris Sale returned last night, [*striking out five batters while not allowing a run in five innings*](https://theathletic.com/news/chris-sale-red-sox-season-debut/4pcHWjz4WR5q/). A healthy and effective Sale makes the Red Sox far more formidable.

ARTS AND IDEAS

The Emmy nominations

“Succession” dominated the Emmy nominations, [*which were announced yesterday*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/07/12/arts/emmy-awards-nominations), earning 25. In the best drama category, it will square off against the South Korean thriller “Squid Game,” which secured 14 nominations, the most ever for a foreign-language show. Other highlights:

Repeat nominees: Last year’s best actor and actress in a comedy, Jason Sudeikis (for “Ted Lasso”) and Jean Smart (for “Hacks”), received nominations. Sudeikis will be up against Steve Martin, for his role in “Only Murders in the Building.” The last time Martin won an Emmy was 1969.

Breakout star: Quinta Brunson, from the rookie hit “Abbott Elementary,” got her first nominations.

Hulu: The streaming service could score its biggest Emmys haul with nominations for the limited series “Dopesick,” “The Dropout” and “Pam &amp; Tommy.”

Snubs: Neither Sterling K. Brown nor Mandy Moore were recognized for the final season of “This Is Us.”

Full list: Here are [*all the nominees*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/07/12/arts/emmy-awards-nominations/here-are-this-years-emmy-nominees?smid=url-share).

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

[*Savory Thai noodles and seared brussels sprouts*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1020480-savory-thai-noodles-with-seared-brussels-sprouts) make for a delicious vegan dinner.

What to Read

“Carnality,” by Lina Wolff, starts as a conventional novel. [*That doesn’t last*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/books/review-carnality-lina-wolff.html).

What to Watch

The director of “Persuasion” argues that the movie is [*faithful to Jane Austen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/movies/persuasion-netflix-jane-austen.html).

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday’s Spelling Bee was alchemy. Here is [*today’s puzzle*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: Wild guesses (five letters).

And here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). After, [*use our bot*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/upshot/wordle-bot.html) to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

P.S. Two Times correspondents are swapping roles: Norimitsu Onishi will cover Canada, and Catherine Porter [*will replace him in Paris*](https://www.nytco.com/press/global-moves-for-nori-onishi-and-catherine-porter/).

Here’s [*today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2022/07/13/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about The Times’s new political poll.

Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: A Latinos for Trump demonstration in Miami in 2020. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mario Cruz/EPA, via Shutterstock FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 27, 2023

**End of Document**



[***She Redefined Trauma. Then Trauma Redefined Her.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6834-D021-JBG3-623K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 24, 2023 Monday 20:16 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** HEALTH

**Length:** 2491 words

**Byline:** Ellen Barry

**Highlight:** Dr. Judith Herman, who helped launch the field of trauma studies, has returned to publishing after a long, mysterious ordeal.

**Body**

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — In the fall of 1994, the psychiatrist Dr. Judith Herman was at the height of her influence. Her book “Trauma and Recovery,” published two years earlier, had been [*hailed in The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/1992/08/23/books/the-shellshocked-woman.html) as “one of the most important psychiatric works to be published since Freud.”

Her research on sexual abuse in the white, ***working class*** city of Somerville, Mass., laid out a thesis that was, at the time, radical: that trauma can occur not only in the blind terror of combat, but quietly, within the four walls of a house, at the hands of a trusted person.

More than most areas of science, psychology has been driven by individual thinkers and communicators. So what happened to Dr. Herman — as arbitrary as it was — had consequences for the field. She was in a hotel ballroom, preparing to present her latest findings, when she tripped on the edge of a rug and smashed her kneecap.

“Just, wham,” she said. “Smack.”

On and off for more than two decades, Dr. Herman groped her way through a fog of chronic pain, undergoing repeated surgeries and, finally, falling back on painkillers. The trauma researchers who surrounded her in the Boston area moved on with their work, and the field of trauma studies swung toward neurobiology.

“She is a brilliant woman who lost 25 years of her career,” said her friend and colleague Dr. Bessel van der Kolk, whose 2014 book, “The Body Keeps the Score,” helped propel the field toward brain science. “If you talk about tragedy, that is a tragedy.”

At the age of 81, Dr. Herman has rejoined the conversation, publishing [*“Truth and Repair,” a follow-up to her 1992 book*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/14/books/review/judith-herman-truth-repair.html) “Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence — From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror.” During that period, trauma has gained broad acceptance in popular culture as a way to understand mental health.

But the dominant idea now comes from Dr. van der Kolk, who argues that traumatic experiences are stored in the body and can best be addressed through the unconscious mind. “The Body Keeps the Score” has appeared [*on the best-seller list for an astonishing 232 weeks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/08/books/review/the-body-keeps-score-bessel-van-der-kolk.html). TikTok bulges with testimonials from members of Gen Z, identifying [*all manner of habits and health conditions*](https://slate.com/technology/2021/10/tiktok-trauma-response-why.html) as trauma responses.

Dr. Herman does not want to use this flush of attention to debate her old friend. But in “Truth and Repair,” she picks up where she left off in 1992, arguing that trauma is, at its heart, a social problem rather than an individual one.

Drawing on interviews with survivors, she [*lays out a theory of justice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/14/books/review/judith-herman-truth-repair.html) designed to help them heal, centering on collective acknowledgment of what they have suffered. Her approach is frankly political, rooted in the feminist movement and unlikely to go viral on TikTok.

This does not seem to trouble her at all. “In my own life, I feel like I’m in a good place,” she said. “On the other hand, I think psychiatry will have to be dragged, kicking and screaming, into any kind of progressive future.”

A pledge

When Dr. Herman and Dr. van der Kolk met in the 1980s, she was treating the daughters of ***working-class*** Irish and Italian families, who were coming forward with stories of sexual abuse. He had been treating veterans who seemed trapped in the past, exploding with extreme rage at minor frustrations.

She was reserved; he was expansive. Dr. Herman likes to call herself “plain vanilla,” doggedly faithful to psychodynamic psychotherapy; Dr. van der Kolk is “flavor of the month,” always exploring new treatments, first Prozac, then body work and eye movement desensitization and reprocessing.

They had this in common: The patients they treated had been routinely dismissed by the psychiatric establishment as malingerers or hysterics. “We were in explicit agreement,” Dr. van der Kolk said. “We noted that people in academia were often very cruel to each other, and we made a pledge to have each other’s back.”

The diagnosis of PTSD was brand-new, having first appeared in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, or DSM, in 1980, and the Boston area, Dr. van der Kolk said, “was to trauma what Vienna was to music.” A trauma study group convened monthly in the elegant stretch of Cambridge mansions known as Professors’ Row.

Passing around glasses of sherry and cups of coffee, they argued, Dr. Herman said, about “what counted” as trauma. “The guys who worked with the vets, we had some back and forth, shall we say,” she said. “We had some knockdown drag-outs, calling out the sexism of the men who thought combat trauma was trauma and everything else was just whining.”

Dr. Herman is widely credited with putting this question to rest. “Trauma and Recovery” addressed a general audience in “measured, gripping, almost surgically precise” language, as the Times review put it, and with the authority of a Harvard psychiatrist.

Her ideas also radiated into the communities where she practiced, said Rosie McMahan, whose family worked with Dr. Herman and her colleague Emily Schatzow to confront sexual abuse by her father.

“She did this remarkable thing — ‘Wait a minute, the same things that were happening to those soldiers, in a sense, happened in families,’” said Ms. McMahan, whose book, [*“Fortunate Daughter,”*](https://www.amazon.com/Fortunate-Daughter-Reconciliation-Rosie-McMahan/dp/1647420245) describes her family’s reconciliation. “They recognized that it was trauma and called it such. They behaved as if it was.”

Their ideas were gaining ground. In 1994, the editors of the DSM expanded the definition of PTSD, dropping the requirement that the traumatic event be “outside the range of usual human experience.” Dr. Herman and Dr. van der Kolk began lobbying for the inclusion of complex PTSD, the result of recurring or long-term traumatic events.

Then came what’s known as the “memory wars” — a pushback from leading psychiatrists against therapy that encouraged patients to unearth memories of sexual abuse. The criticism often zeroed in on Dr. van der Kolk, who served as an expert witness in high-profile cases, and Dr. Herman, whose work on dissociation was regularly cited by defenders of repressed-memory therapy.

Dr. Herman shrugged off this critique as “predictable,” the same resistance that Vietnam War veterans and rape victims had encountered when they came forward. “You know, history is a dialectical process,” she said. “When you have a movement that challenges the power structure, you’re going to have a backlash.”

Some clinicians did go overboard, Dr. van der Kolk said. They “started talking about satanic ritual abuse, kids being sacrificed in altars,” he said. “It got a little bit weird. Judy and I never went with that crowd. But they were part of our crowd.”

By the time the debate faded, his laboratory at Massachusetts General Hospital had been shut down, and he lost his affiliation with Harvard Medical School. “Almost all of us bit the dust in the memory wars,” he added.

Since the mid-1990s, the editors of the DSM have consistently opposed further expanding the definition of PTSD. The original definition was “intentionally strict, meant to avoid the possibility that all mental disorders are simply caused by trauma,” said Dr. Allen Frances, who chaired the task force for the DSM’s fourth edition.

While stress contributes to most psychiatric problems, he said, PTSD diagnoses can be made quickly and carelessly, without pursuing underlying mental disorders, such as anxiety and depression. Taking that leap, he added, means “all the rest of the knowledge ever accumulated about mental disorders goes out the window.”

Dr. Frances was similarly skeptical of “trauma-informed therapy,” which he said provided “a misleadingly reassuring explanation” to complicated psychiatric problems. He added that proponents of the idea, like Dr. Herman and Dr. van der Kolk, had succeeded in winning over a large part of the general public.

“You can write best-sellers on this because it’s an appealing model for people searching for an explanation for the distress in life,” Dr. Frances said. That avenue was closing. But that wasn’t the only thing that happened.

Pain of unexplained origin

On the day she broke her kneecap, Dr. Herman was preparing to deliver a workshop on her latest findings, and was carrying a carousel of slides to a projector. She was distracted and did not see that a binding had come loose from the rug.

Dr. Herman has offered vague explanations for the 30-year gap between her books. “Life intervened, in the form of illnesses and a move to an assisted-living community,” she writes in a forward to “Truth and Repair.” In an interview, she flicked away the question, calling it “a very long, sad tale which I won’t bore you with.”

But there is a story. Her kneecap healed, but nerve tumors had formed in her leg, and the pain grew steadily worse. For long stretches, daily life became a challenge. There were remissions, but there were also times she could not get out of bed, where even changing positions was “extremely, extremely painful.” At one point, she was so desperate that she asked a doctor if he could amputate her leg.

“All you could think about was pain,” she said. “It wasn’t even thinking about pain. It was being pain. One’s existence was just pain. It’s like being in a tunnel.” Like “your whole existence is pain, and nothing exists outside of it,” she added.

There was a subtext in her doctors’ response, early on, which she, as a fellow physician, was uniquely qualified to identify: They did not quite believe her. “I was a middle-aged woman with pain of unexplained origin,” she said. In the jargon of medical residents, she said, she was a “crock,” or a female hypochondriac.

Eleven years and three surgeries later, her doctors said there was nothing more they could do. This was the worst of it, when there was no hope of reprieve. “It made me not want to live,” she said. “That is literally what happened.”

“Judy’s fall had a gigantic impact,” Dr. van der Kolk said. “When you talk about suffering, that was suffering. She was really suffering physically. A large part of the joy and triumph of publishing a great book she did not get to enjoy.”

He also said the injury had created a distance in their relationship. He was on fire with the ideas that would later become “The Body Keeps the Score,” among them a view that chronic pain may be an expression of suppressed trauma. He thought he could help. But she was, he said, “too injured to be all that curious.” After that, he said, “Judy and I started to go in different directions.”

“It really was the source of sadness on my part, as I was entering this body world, that Judy did not go in the same direction,” he said.

Dr. Herman had little recollection of this exchange. But she did not see any larger meaning to her pain; it was just pain, a bunch of malfunctioning neurons, and it preoccupied her entirely. She was fitted with a brace and crutches, and managed to continue teaching and supervising trainees by taking large doses of fentanyl, applied through a transdermal patch.

Asked what the experience taught her, she paused and said, “I guess I just had more empathy for people who go through various forms of torture.”

A remedy appeared in 2019, almost by chance. She had gone to see a surgeon about arthritis in her hand, and instead, he peered at her knee. After she left, he emailed her [*an article*](https://journals.lww.com/annalsofsurgery/fulltext/2019/08000/targeted_muscle_reinnervation_treats_neuroma_and.10.aspx) about a surgery that had been developed at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center to treat amputees, war veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan.

Later that year, surgeons removed the damaged nerves, sutured them to a motor nerve harvested from her quadriceps and then implanted them into her muscle. She weaned herself off fentanyl, set aside the brace and the crutches. She compared the relief she felt to the sensation women have when childbirth ends.

“I mean, it’s really heavenly,” she said. “I’m in a permanent state of gratitude.”

And that, she said, was why she had the energy to finish another book.

“It’s a totally crazy story,” she said. “I owe it all to the forever wars.”

The queen of trauma

When Dr. Herman walked into a launch event at the Harvard Book Store last month, wearing orthopedic shoes and multiple shades of purple, there was an intake of breath from the audience, largely made up of older women in mental health professions.

The store offered books on healing trauma through weight lifting, quitting one’s job or blocking the nerves known as the stellate ganglion; books on trauma in the music of Dolly Parton, polyamorous families and the Indian caste system; and, of course, “The Body Keeps the Score,” one of those books that, the store’s buying manager said, “even people who aren’t necessarily readers have heard about.”

This did not escape Dr. Herman’s admirers, who waited in folding chairs, grumbling discreetly about the authors who rode on her coattails. “All the noise around trauma is all about white men,” remarked Mary Gorman, a psychiatric nurse specialist. “It’s like she’s the forgotten stepchild.”

Dr. van der Kolk, who has been helping Dr. Herman to publicize her book, was acutely aware of this dynamic. “The Body Keeps the Score,” he said, benefited enormously from its focus on neurobiology. “In the culture right now, if it’s based on the brain, it’s real,” he added. “Everything else is woozy stuff.”

As his book neared publication, he said, he worried that it would supplant Dr. Herman’s as the best-known title on trauma. “She must have known that, to some degree, I would bump her to second position,” he said. “I wondered how she would deal with it.”

Considering the whole story, he sounded stricken. Were it not for her injury, he said, “Judy really would have been the queen of trauma.”

Dr. Herman, in contrast, sounded cheerful as she looked back on it all. For a woman of her generation to become a full professor at Harvard was a big deal, she said. As for the years lost to pain, she said that the work she had done in her 40s and 50s had already helped to launch a generation of younger scholars.

“It wasn’t so much of a cult of personality,” she said. “The field is haunted by all that. But in my case, once ‘Trauma and Recovery’ came out, I wasn’t the only messenger.”

At 81, she has the aches and pains of old age, but cannot shake the feeling of having been reborn. In the Black Lives Matter and the #MeToo movements, and in the psychiatric residents she supervises, she sees a return to the politics that shaped her as a young doctor.

“I’m back in that exploring kind of moment,” she said. “It’s quite exciting. I just wish I had a 40-year-old body instead of an 80-year-old body to be able to keep up with it.”

PHOTOS: Judith Herman’s work in trauma helped establish the field. Her career was put on hold for decades after she tripped on a rug. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KAYANA SZYMCZAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D1); Judith Herman, top, in 1977, and her new book “Truth and Repair,” above right, which advances her exploration of trauma. Above, a page from Dr. Herman’s journal from 1976. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUDITH HERMAN; KAYANA SZYMCZAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D5) This article appeared in print on page D1, D5,

**Load-Date:** April 25, 2023

**End of Document**



[***It’s Beginning to Look a Lot Like 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:681K-5GT1-JBG3-6034-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 17, 2023 Monday 03:00 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1192 words

**Byline:** Maggie Astor

**Highlight:** Candidates are visiting early primary states, attending cattle calls and holding donor summits. The nascent campaign seems to be kicking into gear.

**Body**

Candidates are visiting early primary states, attending cattle calls and holding donor summits. The nascent campaign seems to be kicking into gear.

From small towns in Iowa and New Hampshire to the grand stages of interest groups’ conventions, the 2024 presidential campaign is underway, whether or not Americans are ready.

The past week has brought at least four declared or likely candidates to New Hampshire, three to Iowa and one to South Carolina. Nine addressed the National Rifle Association’s [*annual forum in Indianapolis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/14/us/politics/nra-guns-republicans-2024.html), and three attended a Republican donor retreat in Nashville.

The formal choreography of the campaign is falling into place. Last Tuesday, the Democratic National Committee [*chose Chicago*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/11/us/politics/chicago-2024-democratic-convention.html) to host its convention next August. On Wednesday, the Republican National Committee, in a surprise to no one, [*chose Fox News*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/us/politics/republican-primary-debate-milwaukee.html) to host the party’s first debate this August.

The declared candidates filed their quarterly fund-raising reports late this week, revealing the first big campaign finance error of the season. The campaign of Nikki Haley, the former South Carolina governor and United Nations ambassador, exaggerated her fund-raising total by more than $2 million by double-counting sums transferred between different committees.

[*Five major candidates*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/us/politics/presidential-candidates-2024.html) have officially announced campaigns: four Republicans (former President Donald J. Trump, Ms. Haley, former Gov. Asa Hutchinson of Arkansas and Vivek Ramaswamy, a multimillionaire entrepreneur and author) and one Democrat (the self-help author and 2020 candidate Marianne Williamson).

But on the campaign trail, it seems like more.

Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina, who [*announced an exploratory committee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/11/us/politics/tim-scott-president-exploratory-committee.html) on Wednesday, [*had a particularly packed week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/15/us/politics/tim-scott-president-2024.html), with trips to Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina. A tour of Alex’s Restaurant in Goose Creek, S.C., on Friday had the look and feel of a full-blown campaign stop, with supporters holding signs and the number of reporters rivaling the number of diners.

Mr. Scott talked with voters and restaurant staff before heading outside to take questions from reporters — walking a thin line between being a declared candidate and one in waiting.

“The message is resonating,” he said, underlining his belief that his conservative talking points with religious overtones will appeal to a broad swath of Republican voters. Asked if he had made up his mind about running for president, he said: “I’m getting closer. Without any question.”

He added that he would return to Iowa and New Hampshire in the coming days and had plans to stop in Nevada, another early-voting state.

While Mr. Scott was in South Carolina, Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida — the top challenger to Mr. Trump in early polls, though not officially in the race — spoke at Liberty University in Virginia and then flew to New Hampshire. Mr. DeSantis addressed a crowd of 500 at a state Republican Party dinner in Manchester.

The event raised $250,000 for the state party, with the party chairman saying Mr. DeSantis had directed his own donors to give an additional $132,000.

After his nearly 40-minute speech, Mr. DeSantis spent just as long methodically working his way through the crowd, visiting all 50 tables for handshakes, backslaps, photos and small talk. “Did you get it?” he asked picture takers. “County chairman for where?”

The low-stakes interactions appeared designed to dispel criticism that Mr. DeSantis was unwilling to engage in the traditional retail campaigning that political activists in early-voting states like Iowa and New Hampshire value. On Saturday, he also stopped by an airport diner.

The governor of New Hampshire, Chris Sununu, was in Nashville, far away from home, testing out his own possible campaign at the Republican National Committee’s private donor retreat. There he spoke at a luncheon on Saturday and implicitly blamed Mr. Trump for the party’s underwhelming performance in the midterm elections. (Data backs him up: [*A New York Times analysis found*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/upshot/trump-effect-midterm-election.html) that candidates Mr. Trump supported in primaries performed about five percentage points worse than other Republicans did in the general election.)

Mr. Trump was at the retreat, too, casting himself against that evidence as the only candidate who could win a general election. So was his former vice president, Mike Pence, whom Trump supporters declared their desire to hang when they stormed the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

“The old Republican Party is gone, and it’s never coming back,” Mr. Trump said in a speech Saturday, less than two weeks after [*he was arraigned in New York*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/04/nyregion/trump-arraignment-felony-charges.html) on 34 felony charges of falsifying business records. “Instead of being the party of the establishment class, we are now the party of the ***working class***, the party of all Americans.”

The evening before, Mr. Pence cast the 2024 election as a fight between “one vision grounded in traditional Republican principles, and another vision that grasps what some think the American people want to hear.” He took repeated but indirect aim at Mr. Trump, noting that in 2022, “candidates that were focused on the past, particularly those focused on relitigating the last election, did not do well.”

On Sunday, Mr. Hutchinson, the former Arkansas governor who announced his campaign this month and was in Iowa a few days ago, partook in another campaign staple: the Sunday morning talk show interview.

Appearing [*on CBS News’ “Face the Nation,”*](https://www.cbsnews.com/video/asa-hutchinson-says-there-is-not-a-federal-law-to-be-passed-on-red-flag-laws/#x) Mr. Hutchinson gave the usual answer to the question of why he was running — “because we need leadership that brings out the best of America and doesn’t appeal to our worst instincts.” Then the host, Margaret Brennan, pressed him on how he would respond to the country’s bleak parade of mass shootings.

He did not endorse any new federal legislation and expressed skepticism about whether red-flag laws — which allow the removal of guns from people deemed to pose a danger to themselves or to others — protected due process. At the same time, he urged states to make greater use of existing laws that allow the institutionalization of people deemed to pose a danger to themselves or to others.

There has been much less activity across the aisle, where President Biden is inching toward formally declaring a re-election campaign that he has already said was definite. (“We’ll announce it relatively soon,” [*he said on Friday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/14/us/politics/biden-2024-campaign.html).)

No one with a large support base has risen to challenge him. But he does have one official competitor, Ms. Williamson, who has been traversing New Hampshire since Friday, hitting Dover, Henniker, Keene, Lancaster and Littleton.

A second challenger, the anti-vaccine activist Robert F. Kennedy Jr., plans to [*announce his campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/05/us/politics/robert-kennedy-jr-presidential-run-2024.html) this Wednesday.

The election will be just 566 days away.

Rebecca Davis O’Brien, Shane Goldmacher, Maggie Haberman and Maya King contributed reporting.

Rebecca Davis O’Brien, Shane Goldmacher, Maggie Haberman and Maya King contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida has engaged in some traditional retail campaigning.; Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina made stops in Iowa and New Hampshire last week.; Gov. Chris Sununu of New Hampshire spoke at the National Rifle Association’s forum. This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** April 17, 2023

**End of Document**



[***$7,200 for Every Student: Arizona’s Ultimate Experiment in School Choice***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68SG-MRK1-DXY4-X302-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 24, 2023 Monday 13:16 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1908 words

**Byline:** Sarah Mervosh

**Highlight:** More states are making all students eligible for private school subsidies. In Arizona, it has often benefited wealthier families.

**Body**

More states are making all students eligible for private school subsidies. In Arizona, it has often benefited wealthier families.

Tom Horne’s whole job is public education. It’s in his title — superintendent of public instruction in Arizona — where he oversees the education of 1.1 million public school students.

But in an advertising [*campaign*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R19lzj4qBLc&amp;ab_channel=ArizonaDepartmentofEducation) this summer, Mr. Horne makes a pitch to parents who are unhappy with public school: You can choose a private school, and Arizona will help pay for it.

Mr. Horne, a Republican who won election last year promising conservative values, is overseeing a pioneering effort in Arizona to offer private school subsidies, known as school vouchers, to all students.

In a plan approved by the Republican-controlled Legislature last year, Arizona became the first state to make every student, even those from wealthy families, eligible for a school voucher — on average worth about $7,200 per student annually.

The state deposits the money into [*education savings accounts*](https://www.future-ed.org/the-new-wave-of-public-funding-of-private-schools-explained/) for parents, which can be used to pay for private school or home-schooling. If the student was enrolled in public school, the money follows the student. If the student was being privately educated, the voucher is a new cost to the state.

The program has been highly contentious — and hugely popular.

Since launching last September, it has grown from about 12,000 students to more than 59,000, outpacing projections. State education officials [*estimate*](https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/23830832-jlbc-background-on-esa-report) enrollment could grow to 100,000 by next summer.

Fueled by the pandemic and an ascendant parents’ rights movement, other Republican states are moving in a similar direction. Arkansas, Florida, Iowa and Utah approved universal programs this year, and Indiana and Ohio expanded existing programs to nearly all students.

For decades, vouchers were limited to certain students: low-income children, students with disabilities, children zoned to low-performing schools. Major expansion efforts were often blocked, including by Arizona voters [*in 2018*](https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/expansion-of-school-vouchers-gets-trounced-in-arizona/2018/11).

Now, advocates are finding new success with an encompassing message: parent choice for all. Every family, they say, should be able to choose a school that is right for them, and every child should have access to high-quality education.

“Nobody can do a better job of choosing what’s best for the child than the parents,” Mr. Horne said in an interview at the Department of Education, where “EMPOWER PARENTS” signs punctuate the hallways.

The message is ripe for the political moment. At a time when Americans cannot agree on much in education — from how history should be taught, to which pronouns students can use — universal vouchers seem to say: You don’t have to agree. Choose your own education adventure.

That is especially true in Arizona, a vanguard of school choice. It has the country’s largest share of charter school students and a robust home-schooling network. It created the model of education savings accounts, first used for students with disabilities in 2011 — and now expanded to all students.

Voucher supporters say Arizona is giving options to families; critics say it is sucking money from public education in a state with middling [*academic outcomes*](https://www.nationsreportcard.gov/reading/states/achievement/?grade=8) and [*low public school funding*](https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2023/public-school-spending.html).

“The mentality is this wild, wild west, maverick-y vibe,” said Beth Lewis, director of Save Our Schools Arizona, which fought the expansion. With universal vouchers, she added, “we are at the end point of this long game.”

So far, Arizona’s program is still small — 90 percent of students attend public schools — and it has not significantly shifted public school budgets. That is in part because many students in the program were already in private schools or home schools.

But the expansion — projected to cost $376 million next school year, paid for by the state’s general fund — is already creating new demand for private schools and sending more public money to middle and upper-income families and religious schools.

The vouchers come with little accountability.

Unlike public schools, including charters, private schools and home-school parents are generally not required to administer state tests or report student outcomes.

“I’ve never seen anything that I think would fundamentally alter the nature of public education before this,” said Doug Harris, an economist at Tulane University who studies school choice. “Even charter schools, it was different. You had accountability. The students were still taking the same tests, collecting data.”

“This,” he added, “is very different.”

A New Kind of Private School

Vouchers have been a boon to parents like Ryan and Esther Brooks of Mesa, east of Phoenix.

They had taken advantage of other school choice options, sending two children to charter schools and another to a neighborhood school. But they had grown disenchanted with what they viewed as the politics of public education.

In one symbolic incident, they said, their third grader came home saying that Christopher Columbus “did some bad things.” Though they were not opposed to exploring moral complexities, the emphasis seemed off.

“That was the main thing he remembered,” said Mr. Brooks, 43.

The Brookses, who are Lutheran, enrolled in Great Hearts Christos, a new private Christian school that they hope will better fit their values. (Ms. Brooks, 30, a former teacher, used to work at an affiliated school and is optimistic about its curriculum.)

The voucher is an “essential enabler,” said Mr. Brooks, who works as an engineer while his wife stays home.

Great Hearts Christos is an offshoot of Great Hearts, a public charter school network known for its classical education and academic performance. The new venture will offer private Christian education at two schools opening next month in Phoenix and Gilbert, a nearby suburb.

With vouchers expanding, more public money will likely go toward religious schools.

In Iowa, which is launching a universal program, all but six of the state’s 183 private schools have a religious or spiritual affiliation, [*according to The Des Moines Register*](https://www.desmoinesregister.com/story/news/education/2023/02/07/iowa-school-choice-who-could-help-demographics-number-schools-wealth/69867400007/).

Rachel Laser, president of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, sees vouchers as part of a broader push by Christian conservatives, who recently won Supreme Court rulings on issues like [*prayer on school grounds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/27/us/politics/supreme-court-coach-prayers.html#:~:text=WASHINGTON%20%E2%80%94%20The%20Supreme%20Court%20ruled,three%20liberal%20members%20in%20dissent.) and [*state money for religious schools*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/21/us/politics/supreme-court-maine-religious-schools.html). “It’s a very dangerous time for a foundational principle that supports our democracy, which is church-state separation,” she said.

Supporters see it another way: helping more families access the kind of education they want.

“This is a way to bring new families that never thought they could do private school,” said Daniel Scoggin, a co-founder of Great Hearts, who said the Christos schools will cater to middle- and lower-income families.

To fulfill that mission, tuition was calibrated at $9,700, just above the $7,200 voucher.

Even that relatively low price feels out of reach to many families. In the ***working-class*** neighborhood around their Phoenix location, a few hundred dollars a month can be the equivalent of “breakfast, lunch and dinner,” said Wayne Wynter, the pastor at Redemption Alhambra church, where the Christos school will be based.

Great Hearts Christos will rely on philanthropy to cover the difference for up to 100 low-income students.

Statewide, families who use vouchers tend to be relatively well off. Nearly 15,000 voucher recipients resided in ZIP codes with a median household income over $100,000, according to state data from May. Just 6,400 or so recipients lived in ZIP codes with a median household income under $50,000.

About half of students using vouchers have never been enrolled in public school — suggesting that many families were previously paying for home-schooling or private school.

Simple economics is also at play. At prestigious schools in the Phoenix area, tuition can exceed $18,000, far more than the average voucher. Even if some parents manage the difference, private schools tend to be in wealthier areas, making commuting a challenge.

Mr. Horne, the superintendent, said he wants to shift the demographics. That is one reason his department has spent [*hundreds of thousands of dollars*](https://azcapitoltimes.com/news/2023/06/07/ade-recently-spent-600k-to-advertise-esa-program/) advertising in English and Spanish.

“Rich people have always had the ability to choose private schools,” he said. “It shouldn’t be limited.”

The Public School Impact

Will vouchers improve Arizona students’ education?

That may be impossible to know because private school and home-schooling families are not required to submit academic data to the state. Earlier voucher research found [*limited academic improvement*](https://www.chalkbeat.org/2017/7/12/21108235/school-choice-vouchers-system-pros-and-cons-research#:~:text=Recent%20studies%20find%20little%20evidence,Older%20studies%20are%20more%20positive.).

“My biggest single concern is the spotty evidence as to whether anybody is learning anything, because we don’t have accountability built into many of these programs,” said Chester E. Finn, Jr., a senior fellow at the Thomas B. Fordham Institute, who supports school choice but is wary of universal expansion.

Mr. Horne said that parents will deliver real-time feedback, pulling their children from private schools that do not deliver.

And he believes that giving families an offramp will drive improvements at public schools. “Competition,” he said, “is better for everyone.”

But critics, including Arizona’s largest teachers’ union, believe the money spent on vouchers is needed far more in public schools.

[*Adjusted for local costs*](https://edlawcenter.org/research/making-the-grade-2022.html), Arizona spent $10,244 per public school student in 2020 — the lowest of any state. Though state lawmakers have recently increased spending, Arizona’s [*funding*](https://www.azjlbc.gov/units/allfunding2004.pdf) is just catching up from cuts during the Great Recession.

Lower public school investment is not uncommon in states with voucher programs, [*one analysis*](https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/2023-splc-pfps-report.pdf) found. Of seven states analyzed, six — including Arizona — did not keep up with national increases in per-student spending between 2008 and 2019.

Cecilia Maes, the superintendent of Alhambra Elementary School District, near Great Hearts Christos’s Phoenix location, has no shortage of ideas of what she could do with more money: Give raises to teachers. Hire a truancy officer. Stock closets with shoes, clothes and other necessities.

In her district, nearly nine in 10 students are economically disadvantaged.

“In public schools, we are committed to every child who walks through our doors, regardless of the challenges,” Dr. Maes said, echoing critics who say that children with the fewest resources and highest needs tend to be left out of the school choice frenzy.

Gov. Katie Hobbs, a Democrat who took office this year, has sought to repeal universal vouchers, but she faces an uphill battle — both in the Republican Legislature, and potentially with constituents.

Patrick Wolf, a University of Arkansas professor who studies school choice and has supported vouchers, said that expanding eligibility “pulls in a broader customer base,” which builds political support.

Steve Perez, a 38-year-old mortgage loan officer who says he is politically independent, will use vouchers to send four children to Great Hearts Christos.

“What parent wouldn’t,” he asked, “given this opportunity, choose what they believe to be a superior education if they can?”

PHOTOS: Ryan and Esther Brooks with four of their five children at the Great Hearts Christos at Evident Life Church in Gilbert, Ariz. Mr. Brooks called the voucher program an “essential enabler.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAITLIN O’HARA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Tom Horne, Arizona’s superintendent of public instruction, backs the state voucher plan.; Beth Lewis, director of Save Our Schools Arizona, opposes the voucher program. This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** July 25, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Read Your Way Through Los Angeles***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68N9-MVK1-DXY4-X4C4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 9, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1671 words

**Byline:** By Héctor Tobar

**Body**

Héctor Tobar is a son of Los Angeles, a city of ''perpetual cultural mixing.'' Here, he guides readers through the books and writers that cut through the city's layers.

Read Your Way Around the World is a series exploring the globe through books.

On Sunset Boulevard in Bel Air, street vendors offer ''Maps to the Stars' Homes.'' The vendors don't sell ''Maps to the Authors' Homes,'' which is a shame, because F. Scott Fitzgerald, Tennessee Williams and Truman Capote all lived nearby. A map to the homes of Angeleno authors might also guide you to the bungalow where Bertolt Brecht penned one of his greatest plays, ''The Caucasian Chalk Circle.'' And to the mansion where a teenager named Susan Sontag visited one of her literary heroes, the German exile and Nobel laureate Thomas Mann.

Outsiders often think of Los Angeles as an anti-intellectual place, all Hollywood glitz and no substance, but writers have always been drawn to my hometown. In David L. Ulin's ''Writing Los Angeles: A Literary Anthology,'' I read about Simone de Beauvoir's 1947 journey to L.A.'s Eastside, where she learned about the city's anti-Mexican prejudice and admired Dia de los Muertos skulls. She ate spicy chili con carne on Olvera Street, the same tourist trap where I entertained visiting authors half a century later. ''I sit down to drink the tequila, and I am utterly dazed with pleasure,'' she wrote.

Los Angeles gave those authors the same thing it's given me: a vision of a metropolis filled with natural delights and stark injustices, an Eden where people from around the world invent new versions of themselves -- and a hellish stage of social unrest. It's no accident that two very different, canonical works of L.A. literature climax with riots, even though they were written more than a half century apart: Nathanael West's 1939 novel ''The Day of the Locust,'' and Anna Deavere Smith's play ''Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992.''

Is there a book, or a writer, who captures the essence of Los Angeles?

When East Coast literati ask themselves this question, they often answer: Joan Didion. With her iconic 1960s and '70s essays about Los Angeles and the West, in collections such as ''Slouching Towards Bethlehem,'' Didion helped invent New Journalism. But I would pair Didion with a writer from a community on the opposite side of the metaphorical tracks.

At about the same time Didion was settling into a home in Malibu and writing about our notorious Santa Ana winds, Luis J. Rodriguez was joining a street gang. Rodriguez's memoir ''Always Running: La Vida Loca, Gang Days in L.A.'' is set in the gritty suburban sprawl of the San Gabriel Valley. It is an epic tale of family, brotherly love, prejudice, drive-by shootings and the everyday pleasures of a neighborhood where there are still open fields, swimming holes and other reminders of a recent rural past. Rodriguez gives us something we rarely see in movies set in Los Angeles: the richness and drama of its ***working-class*** life.

So does another San Gabriel Valley work: ''Curse of the Starving Class,'' the 1977 play by Sam Shepard about a family living on an avocado farm, with a freeway nearby. A few literary decades later, you'll find the same landscape filling in with food stands selling menudo in Salvador Plascencia's experimental 2005 novel, ''The People of Paper.'' And finally, the San Gabriel Valley becomes the surreal stage of the stories in Carribean Fragoza's excellent 2021 collection, ''Eat the Mouth That Feeds You.''

Where can I get out of my car and walk through some of L.A.'s literary history?

Begin at downtown's Grand Central Market, at its western entrance. To your left, you'll see the funicular Angels Flight, which gives its name to a detective novel by the immensely popular Michael Connelly. Angels Flight will take you up to Bunker Hill, the setting of many an L.A. novel from the mid-20th century. ''Bunker Hill is old town, lost town, shabby town, crook town,'' the noir master Raymond Chandler wrote, long before the neighborhood's old rooming houses were demolished.

I love this spot because it's the closest I can get to John Fante's ''Ask the Dust,'' my favorite Los Angeles novel. Fante set most of ''Ask the Dust'' on Bunker Hill and in the downtown streets below, where his protagonist, Arturo Bandini, meets his love interest, the Mexican waitress Camilla. And here, in the office building above the market, Bandini buys a marijuana cigarette from a friend who hides his stash in a compartment inside his wooden leg.

Didn't William Faulkner live in Los Angeles?

Faulkner came to Los Angeles to write screenplays. He famously called it (and I paraphrase here) the plastic anus of the world. One of his favorite hangouts can be found just two blocks from Grand Central Market: the stunning (and decidedly non-plastic) Gallery Bar at the Biltmore Hotel. Continuing on my walking tour, you'll find a park facing the Biltmore: Pershing Square, which features in John Rechy's pioneering novel about gay life ''City of Night.''

A few blocks to the north lies the former site of the all-night doughnut shop where Rechy and other gay and trans patrons fought back against police harassment, and the cafeteria where Jack Kerouac's alter-ego, Sal Paradise, dines with his Mexican American girlfriend in ''On the Road.''

A bit further north you'll come upon the Hall of Justice, where Charles Manson was jailed and went on trial, as reported in the 1974 true crime best seller ''Helter Skelter'' -- and where Chandler's fictional detective Philip Marlowe is locked up in ''The Long Goodbye.''

Finally, you'll reach Union Station. The parking lot and the small, sloping lawn across Alameda Street are the site of the city's original Chinatown. Lisa See's great-grandfather owned a shop here, as we learn in her beautiful family memoir ''On Gold Mountain.'' And a Mexican nanny on an odyssey with the two boys in her care passes through Union Station itself in my novel ''The Barbarian Nurseries.''

Is there an audiobook I can listen to while I'm stuck in L.A. traffic?

Los Angeles helped pioneer noir fiction, so let's go with a good detective yarn. My favorite: ''Devil in a Blue Dress,'' by Walter Mosley, with the audiobook read by the wonderful, multivoiced Michael Boatman. The novel tells the story of a Texas-born working man unwittingly becoming a detective as he untangles a mystery that takes him to L.A.'s Black, white and Latino neighborhoods. Mosley's Black protagonist is drawn into a world of glamour, corruption and deep, Jim Crow-era racism. He longs for the simplest of L.A.'s pleasures -- the one that keeps so many of us here: a home with a garden of his own.

What's a good bookstore to visit while I'm in town?

My first bookstore was the long-ago vanquished Pickwick Books on Hollywood Boulevard, the same locale where a young Susan Sontag was caught shoplifting a copy of ''Doctor Faustus.'' These days I consider the venerable Vroman's, in Pasadena, my neighborhood bookstore. And I love wandering through the huge stacks and book tunnels of downtown's The Last Bookstore -- the location, by the way, of a steamy sex scene in the film adaptation of ''Gone Girl.''

Is there a book of poetry you would recommend?

Charles Bukowski made his name in Los Angeles, as did many other poets, including Eloise Klein Healy, Douglas Kearney, Amy Uyematsu and Sesshu Foster. Many observers of our literary scene called Wanda Coleman, who died in 2013, the ''unofficial poet laureate of Los Angeles.'' Her poems tell of coming-of-age in the Watts neighborhood, her childhood victories over racist librarians and the joys and tribulations of single motherhood. I'd start with her 2001 collection, ''Mercurochrome.''

What book would give me an insight into the city's hidden history?

Back in 1990, Mike Davis caused a sensation with his ''City of Quartz,'' which recounts stories about forgotten socialist communes, brush fires, the birth of L.A. noir and the scandals of L.A.'s old money and its nouveau riche. Kelly Lytle Hernández's ''City of Inmates'' shows Los Angeles as being, from its founding, a place of mass incarceration and popular resistance to policing.

And finally, in William D. Estrada's ''The Los Angeles Plaza,'' we see three centuries of the city's history unfold in the handful of blocks surrounding its original town square. Estrada spins a tale with an incredibly varied cast of characters, from the Tongva people who built the city's first Spanish church to the anarchist Emma Goldman and the Japanese American merchants who were hauled off to concentration camps during World War II. This book, like so many others about my hometown, paints a picture of Los Angeles that is entirely familiar to me: a city of perpetual cultural mixing, where each day brings new encounters and struggles.

Héctor Tobar's Los Angeles Reading List

''Writing Los Angeles: A Literary Anthology,'' David L. Ulin

''The Day of the Locust,'' Nathanael West

''Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992,'' Anna Deavere Smith

''Slouching Towards Bethlehem,'' Joan Didion

''Always Running: La Vida Loca, Gang Days in L.A.,'' Luis J. Rodriguez

''Curse of the Starving Class,'' Sam Shepard

''The People of Paper,'' Salvador Plascencia

''Eat the Mouth that Feeds You,'' Carribean Fragoza

''Angels Flight,'' Michael Connelly

''Ask the Dust,'' John Fante

''City of Night,'' John Rechy

''On the Road,'' Jack Kerouac

''Helter Skelter,'' Vincent Bugliosi and Curt Gentry

''The Long Goodbye,'' Raymond Chandler

''On Gold Mountain,'' Lisa See

''Devil in a Blue Dress,'' Walter Mosley

''Mercurochrome,'' Wanda Coleman

''City of Quartz,'' Mike Davis

''City of Inmates,'' Kelly Lytle Hernández

''The Los Angeles Plaza,'' William D. Estrada

Héctor Tobar's books include the novels ''The Tattooed Soldier,'' ''The Barbarian Nurseries'' and ''The Last Great Road Bum.'' His most recent book, ''Our Migrant Souls,'' is nonfiction and personal, touching on his parents' migration from Guatemala and his upbringing in Los Angeles.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/17/books/los-angeles-books.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/17/books/los-angeles-books.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Valerie Hanley, owner of Casa California souvenir shop. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AE C. HONG/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Takeaway food stalls at Grand Central Market in Los Angeles. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ETIENNE LAURENT/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) This article appeared in print on page BR14.

**Load-Date:** July 9, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Russell Brand's Alternate Reality***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69NN-XRR1-DXY4-X06P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 19, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 32

**Length:** 4463 words

**Byline:** By Matt Flegenheimer

**Body**

On Sept. 12, four days before he was expected at the Troubadour Wembley Park Theater for another sold-out show, Russell Brand asked his fans for a favor. ''I've always struggled with authority and being told what to do,'' he wrote to ticketholders, attaching a questionnaire for a planned bit with his audience. ''Even when it comes to something small like being offered a seat by a doctor, I'll purposefully refuse rather than comply. Tell me about your relationship with authority -- whether you tend to yield to authority or fight it.''

At the time, Brand's more-than-two-decade quest for lasting attention had been proceeding apace along two tracks. In mainstream entertainment circles, at home and abroad, he remained the fading but still bankable British comedian whose selectively confessional accounts of heroin addiction and promiscuity made him an avatar of a very mid-aughts sort of fame -- the guy who played a rocker version of himself in the 2008 film ''Forgetting Sarah Marshall'' and would later marry Katy Perry (it was brief). But for those partial to Brand's midlife canon, he had come to resemble something more like a political sage.

With Jesus-length hair, multidenominational tattoos and promises of unspecified revolution, Brand, 48, had in recent years been reaching millions daily across a media and wellness empire, fusing the downward-facing dogmatism of a proper guru with the cold efficiency of the YouTube algorithm. His remit was nothing less than ''a social-political-spiritual movement,'' he told listeners. His prime offering was a trove of foreboding and regularly misleading videos from his flagship series, ''Stay Free with Russell Brand,'' lobbed at a cumulative social media following of more than 20 million. His episode titles charted the ideological swerve of a man who once used his celebrity to elevate progressive causes: ''STATE OF FEAR! COVID Propaganda EXPOSED!'' ''Leaked Audio PROVES Trump Right!''

For the past year, Brand's recording studio in the Oxfordshire countryside has been blessed as an emerging nerve center of the American right, or at least the anti-anti-right, with a procession of presidential candidates beaming in. In July alone, Brand interviewed Ron DeSantis, who compared Brand favorably to loathsome ''corporate journalists''; hyped a pull-up contest with Robert F. Kennedy Jr., conservative media's favorite lapsed Democrat and Covid conspiracy theorist; and scored the first sit-down with Tucker Carlson after the host's dismissal from Fox News. ''Maybe I've just been called a right-wing crazy for so long that I thought I was,'' Carlson told me recently. ''But if I agree with pretty much everything Russell Brand says, I don't know what I am.''

Like Joe Rogan, the carnivorous pooh-bah of this intellectual space, Brand appeared interested in teaching a certain kind of man how to be a certain kind of man, mining the tension between think-for-yourself riffs and listen-to-me conclusions. (Brand has been a repeat guest on Rogan's podcast.) Unlike Rogan, he appeared to model a more expansive vision of manhood -- vegan, sober, Aldous Huxley-quoting. The event in Wembley, part of a tour scheduled for late summer and early fall, seemed designed to accentuate Brand's overlapping profiles: electric live performer and terminally online click-hunter. As with much of his output lately, the marketplace would help dictate his direction. The tour was called ''Bipolarisation'' for two reasons, he joked: because people would be polled and ''because I'm severely mentally ill.'' His September email to attendees requested answers to several related prompts. ''What's the strangest way you've yielded to or gone against authority?'' the first question read. ''What's the weirdest/naughtiest/most embarrassing thing you've done in reaction to being told what to do?'' another asked.

Three days later, Brand's followers received a less whimsical communication. In a prebuttal video posted across his social media, Brand said he was about to face ''very serious allegations that I absolutely refute,'' without detailing them. He insisted that all past relationships were consensual. He darkly suggested that ''another agenda'' might be at play, noting that supporters had long warned him about ''getting too close to the truth.'' The next day, Sept. 16, The Sunday Times, The Times of London and Channel 4 Dispatches published a yearslong joint investigation in which four women accused Brand of sexual assault between 2006 and 2013. The accounts were specific, revolting and, in some cases, bolstered by medical records and other contemporaneous evidence. The accusers included a woman who was 16, the British age of consent, during her relationship with Brand, who was in his early 30s. She said Brand once forced her to perform oral sex as she strained to push him off, stopping only after she punched him in the stomach.

There was a time, as recently as a few years ago, when this sort of reputational earthquake almost certainly would have followed the dutiful rhythms of celebrity crisis management: performative introspection, nominal contrition (often paired with a narrow denial of the most grievous offenses), a pledge to disappear for a while. Instead, Brand's story quickly became a self-evident data point in two divergent realities.

In the first, the one still tethered at least somewhat to traditional notions of scandal and consequence, Brand was an overnight pariah and criminal suspect. The police in London opened investigations. More women came forward, including an extra on Brand's 2011 film ''Arthur,'' who filed a civil suit in New York claiming that Brand assaulted her in a bathroom on set. Brand's management company almost immediately dropped him. YouTube suspended him from making money from his channel, which has more than six million subscribers. A parliamentary committee chairwoman wrote to Rumble, the video platform that caters to the right and exclusively carries Brand's full episodes (shorter clips still appear on YouTube), expressing concern that he might continue to profit there and ''undermine the welfare of victims.''

In the second reality, the victim was Brand, and his welfare was suddenly the concern of many, from the powerful new friends he has made to the ''awakening wonders'' (as he addresses his flock) refusing to abandon him. His example has become a repentance-free case study in a very 2023 template for public survival, a post-post-#MeToo lesson in the spoils and fortifications available to those who are thought to be scorned by the right people. ''Criticize the drug companies, question the war in Ukraine, and you can be pretty sure this is going to happen,'' Carlson said of Brand on X (formerly Twitter), to which Elon Musk, the site's reply-guy owner, responded: ''Sure seems that way!'' Rumble also posted on X, calling the parliamentary letter a ''deeply inappropriate'' intrusion of the state.

Already, for those who support Brand and those who do not, his fate is being processed as a kind of referendum -- on who gets to decide what happens to the accused; on what a preternaturally charismatic figure can talk himself into or out of; on the limits, or limitlessness, of tribal loyalty.

Though the balance of his live tour was scrapped within days, Brand kept one last date, Sept. 16 in Wembley, hours after the allegations landed. ''You came,'' he said to a crowd of about 2,000, according to the BBC, walking out to ''You Don't Own Me,'' the feminist standard performed by Lesley Gore. He told his guests he loved them and talked about teaching his young children to be skeptical. One fan held a sign reading, ''We stand by you.'' Another threatened to kick down a ladder carrying paparazzi outside. And by the end of the night, the room had a new answer to Brand's preshow queries.

How had they most memorably snubbed authority? How had they responded when told what to do and think?

With a standing ovation for a freshly accused predator.

More than a week after the allegations, ''Stay Free'' returned, unbowed but discernibly altered. Brand appeared alone, his bare chest visible beneath a largely unbuttoned white button-down. The show credits, which once ran about 20 names deep, were gone -- not necessarily because Brand's whole team was but perhaps because associating with him had become more complicated. ''The corporatist state and global media war against free speech is in full swing!'' Brand told his listeners. ''How do I know? Take a guess.''

Seated at a desk, with a ''Daily Show''-style prosecutorial montage of videos and text, Brand blamed the ''collusion between big tech and government'' and a ''centralist state and globalist elite'' that he suggested was persecuting him. He discussed the letter from Parliament, alleging ties between its author and Google (''a competitor to Rumble''). He welcomed Jimmy Dore, another conspiracy-theory-minded comedian-podcaster, for a remote interview, thanking him for a mood lift ''at a time where I plainly need it.'' ''Stay strong,'' Dore said.

This booking choice was notable. Dore, who has himself been accused of sexual harassment, is among a cluster of high-profile Brand supporters who seem particularly invested in the idea that false or agenda-led accusations are an occupational hazard for their lot. Andrew Tate, the misogynist mega-influencer awaiting trial on rape and human-trafficking charges in Romania, tagged Brand on X: ''Welcome to the club.'' Donald Trump Jr., whose father has been serially accused, posted a meme on Instagram showing the former president, Brand, Tate and Julian Assange, the WikiLeaks founder, who was accused of rape. ''Notice a pattern?'' the meme read, alongside Trump Jr.'s caption: ''One day they'll be coming for you. I don't believe in this much coincidence and neither should you.''

For Brand's audience, long encouraged to consider his voice too dangerous for entrenched interests to abide, the allegations stand as proof of concept, only making him more credible. ''Enough of us know what's going on here,'' one commenter assured him upon his return. ''No wonder they're trying to silence you,'' another posted on an October video that criticized President Biden.

''It's almost like cancel capital,'' Nick Marx, a professor of film and media studies at Colorado State University and the co-author of a book on right-wing comedy, told me. ''It's something he recognizes as having a value distinct from money.'' With Trumpian verve, Brand has reframed accusations against him as an act of war against everyone who backs him. ''They're out to get you,'' he told his audience in November, citing ''censorial forces'' like YouTube and quoting from Kafka's ''The Trial.'' ''I'm just in the way.'' And like the former president, Brand has channeled lessons from his early rise, betting on his basest self -- and on the accommodations and calculations that those around him have always made.

Since his public beginnings, Brand has derived his power from appearing to get away with something, from saying and doing what others never would. His fame was entwined with an almost ostentatious misogyny, a sizzle reel of mistreated women and gleefully poor taste for which he was broadly celebrated. His best-selling 2007 memoir relayed such rollicking tales as breaking the phone of a Turkish sex worker mid-encounter because the ringing bothered him. The British tabloid The Sun saluted him as its Shagger of the Year from 2006 to 2008. A breezy 2008 GQ profile winked at the ''souvenir'' that Brand acquired at a photo shoot (''her name is Penny'') and shared an anecdote from another romantic partner who claimed he told her, ''I'm Russell Brand -- I can do anything I like.'' Brand denied this, semantically. ''That may be the informing attitude,'' he told the magazine, ''but that's never explicitly stated.''

Even scandal generally served Brand's ends. In 2008, he and a co-host set off a national uproar after broadcasting on Brand's BBC radio show the prankish voice messages they left for Andrew Sachs, a beloved former actor on ''Fawlty Towers.'' Sachs's granddaughter Georgina Baillie was in a relationship with Brand in her early 20s. The messages to Sachs included singsongy Brand lyrics: ''It was consensual/and she wasn't menstrual.'' Suspensions followed. Gordon Brown, the sitting prime minister, scolded him. Brand eventually resigned. His cad-for-the-masses legend grew anyway. ''He was being very much rewarded,'' Baillie, now 38, told me. ''It didn't even occur to me that I deserved an apology.''

In interviews, people who know Brand described him to me as someone almost pathologically incapable of not having an audience and willing to do virtually anything to keep it. He has often admitted as much, joking that he could be whatever his followers wanted. ''Are you unapologetically yourself?'' he asked in August. ''Because I'm not. I'm apologetically myself. 'Hello, I'm me. Is this OK with everyone? I can change it if you want.''' (Brand and a longtime associate did not respond to an interview request or fact-checking queries.)

In the 2008 GQ piece, Brand identified one clear gift (''attracting attention'') and warned playfully that his wider influence should be curbed. ''I don't think for a minute that I should be the person that comes up with how we organize a new postapocalyptic order,'' he said, ''because I think I'd exploit it to get girls.''

When Brand speaks now about forging a new social order, he attributes his rise as a media force, accurately enough, to a collapse of faith in traditional institutions. Left unsaid is that Brand himself was a creation of legacy gatekeepers and their customers -- the media companies that employed him, the outlets that toasted him, the viewers who couldn't resist -- and a leering testament to their priorities. What has lingered for some lately is not how so many people missed the signs about him but why they seemed so eager to ignore them. In recent months, two former employers, the BBC and Channel 4, announced internal inquiries into Brand's past workplace behavior. Channel 4, where Brand was accused of flashing a female colleague, aired the investigative documentary about him in September. Its title: ''In Plain Sight.''

''It was this wash of devil-may-care, it's-exciting-to-push-boundaries-or-just-have-no-boundaries, and women were less than,'' Shaparak Khorsandi, an early peer of Brand's on the comedy circuit, told me of the era that made him. ''Yet a man behaving absolutely appallingly was given endless television and radio contracts.''

The subject of the day in December 2014 was immigration, and the lineup for a BBC political panel was suitably formidable: a Conservative member of Parliament, another from Labour, a Sunday Times columnist. But two combatants stood out: Nigel Farage, then the leader of the U.K. Independence Party, reprising his argument that new entrants to Britain were a dangerous resource drain, and Brand.

''There is a corrupt group in our country using our resources, taking away our jobs, taking away our housing, not paying taxes,'' Brand agreed. But it was ''the economic elite'' funding Farage's party. ''His mates in the city farted,'' Brand continued; Farage was ''pointing at immigrants'' and ''holding his nose.'' The studio audience roared.

Raised as a ***working-class*** ''bloke'' in his frequent telling, Brand had long angled to amplify his voice on the left, infusing early appearances with sometimes deliberately shocking allusions to global affairs. He has delighted in claiming that on Sept. 12, 2001, while employed as a presenter at British MTV, he showed up at work dressed as Osama bin Laden. The following spring, he was detained by the police after fully disrobing at a protest in Piccadilly Circus, ''explaining himself by mentioning 'ecological,' 'Armageddon' and 'culture' without making a great deal of sense,''' according to a news report from the time. (''Oh, God,'' an MTV spokeswoman said then. ''That sounds like Russell.'')

''Even before he was famous, he sort of fancied himself a bit of a Che Guevara,'' Khorsandi told me. After he was famous, Brand expanded his political footprint proportionally. In 2012, he was invited to testify before a parliamentary committee on drug policy, walking the halls in a black tank top and bolero hat. The same year, he developed a short-lived talk show for American TV, FX's ''Brand X With Russell Brand,'' appearing with Matt Stoller, a liberal policy researcher. (The men met while Brand was shooting ''Forgetting Sarah Marshall,'' which Stoller's brother, Nicholas, directed; they reconnected in 2011 at the Occupy Wall Street protest at Zuccotti Park in New York.) ''They wanted to do a more radical version of 'The Daily Show,''' Stoller told me of ''Brand X'' in August. ''It was a bad show.''

Brand's political breakthrough came in a viral BBC interview in 2013 with Jeremy Paxman, one of Britain's most fearsome questioners. Paxman appraised Brand as a ''trivial man'' whose calls for revolution and apathy about voting gave him away. ''You've spent your whole career berating and haranguing politicians,'' Brand responded. ''Then when someone like me, a comedian, goes, 'Yeah, they're all worthless -- what's the point in engaging with any of them?' you sort of have a go at me because I'm not poor anymore.'' The exchange enshrined Brand as perhaps the nation's foremost lefty. ''It had a massive impact,'' George Monbiot, a well-known environmentalist and writer, told me. ''It galvanized people. It galvanized me.''

In short order, Brand was hailed as a kind of crossover intellectual, validated by authors and thinkers who schlepped to his East London home to appear on his popular YouTube series, ''The Trews,'' a portmanteau of ''true'' and ''news.'' Academics said they could become entranced by Brand's free-associative conviction on their subjects, even when he sounded only semi-sensical -- absorbing the quick-draw wit and baroque vocabulary of a host liable to deploy ''perspicacity'' or ''effulgent'' off the cuff. ''I actually remember thinking at the time, Oh, this is how a new religion would start,'' Edward Slingerland, an expert on ancient Chinese thought now teaching at the University of British Columbia, told me of their interview.

For activists, Brand became a treasured ally, showing up at rallies -- to oppose austerity, protect tenants, support firefighters -- and invariably attracting cameras. He also began ingratiating himself with more mainstream politicos, at one point initiating a correspondence with Bill de Blasio, whose 2013 mayoral victory in New York had briefly stirred the left. ''I do remember thinking of him as a fellow traveler,'' de Blasio told me. In 2015, Ed Miliband, then the Labour Party's leader, made a pilgrimage to Brand's home for the web series, hoping to reach younger voters within its seven-figure following. Both men came to rue their choices. ''Obviously knowing what I know now, I regret doing it,'' Miliband said after the assault allegations. Brand's second thoughts arrived sooner, when his imprimatur could not prevent a Conservative election triumph. ''My only regret,'' he said afterward, ''is I thought I could be involved.''

If Brand felt disillusioned, he was not alone on the British left. ''They used Russell,'' Monbiot said of Labour. ''But they never embraced him.'' Brand has since resolved to live ''beyond all political systems.''

Among onetime admirers, the most generous interpretation for Brand's political transformation is bleak but straightforward: Today's version of him is the logical upshot of social media incentives, boundless ego and a bespoke personal radicalism that was always a little ominously amorphous. (''I don't know how to describe Russell's politics,'' Marianne Williamson told me in August, warmly recounting the fund-raiser he helped host for her during the 2020 Democratic presidential primary.)

In this reading, Brand is simply who we told him to be -- or at least what the algorithm did. He has been known to track his trend lines on social media obsessively, staying apprised of follower counts and video performance. A job posting on Brand's website earlier this year for a ''YouTube Optimiser'' was bracingly explicit: The task was to juice viewership and propose topics ''based upon topics covered by similar channels and those that our audience watch.'' This is the path from interviewing favored commentators of the right, like Ben Shapiro or Jordan Peterson, to having those videos recommended to fans of Ben Shapiro and Jordan Peterson, to sounding increasingly like Ben Shapiro and Jordan Peterson.

''You can either try to drive the masses or be driven by them,'' Faiz Shakir, the 2020 campaign manager for Bernie Sanders, told me after appearing on Brand's show in August to push his labor-supporting nonprofit. ''He's more driven by them. It's 'Here's where I think they already are.'''

Brand has said that at least half his viewers are in the United States. After he interviewed DeSantis last summer, a person close to the campaign's decision-making told me the host was seen as a conduit to men under 45, especially those who were not lifelong Republicans. On air, Brand can sound occasionally uncomfortable with his new constituency. Last year, he pressed Peterson to ''prioritize compassion'' rather than antagonize trans people. In the otherwise slobbering session with DeSantis, Brand almost begged him to agree that imposing an ideology on others was illiberal. ''What about the freedom of those opposed?'' Brand asked. But such flashes have been rare. In 2015, Brand called Trump a joke whose ''punchline is a worse world for everyone''; by this February, he was posing with Trump Jr. at a Rumble event in Florida. He once quoted Gandhi on nonviolent protest; now he mocks those ''clutching their pearls over Jan. 6.'' Jeff Krasno, a former manager of Brand's, suggested on his own podcast in September that Brand has by now ''likely drunk his own kombucha,'' adding, ''there's a clear business rationale for the content that Russell generates.''

Onstage, Brand has prided himself on a thrill-seeking gameness. ''You have to be truthful and honest,'' he has said of his comedy, ''self-aware and willing to take risks.'' Yet in many ways, Brand's reinvention was exceedingly safe. He would be rewarded for playing the hits, for doing the expected. He would be cancel-proofed, if it came to it, with an army of backers primed to distrust anyone who attacked him.

This is the less charitable read on Brand's evolution: His alt-rightward drift -- and his escalating insistence that mainstream outlets were corrupt agents of the status quo -- has coincided roughly with the investigative journalism of mainstream outlets he now calls corrupt agents of the status quo. According to The Times of London, the reporting began in 2019, and Brand's team was made aware of one assault allegation in 2020. In the years since, Brand has been ''setting himself up more and more as the lone voice of truth,'' Monbiot, Brand's former progressive ally, told me. ''It would definitely align with an attempt then to exonerate himself using the same argument.''

Even privately, though, Brand's orbit seems increasingly paranoid. After the allegations were made public, Brand's father, Ron, wrote to Monbiot, who previously criticized Brand's political shifts, to suggest that no one was safe from whatever plot had ensnared his son. ''Do you think you could be next?'' Ron Brand asked, according to messages Monbiot shared with me. The elder Brand later sent a conspiracy video about the World Health Organization and the World Economic Forum, two favorite targets for Brand and others who use ''globalist'' unironically. Tucker Carlson, who said that he and Brand have been speaking often, told me the allegations against Brand were ''inevitable,'' suspicious and cynically engineered to play on the debauched past of a man who is now remarried with children. ''We're leaving the part of history where people try to persuade each other in good faith,'' Carlson said. ''We're entering the part where we just throw our opponents in jail or accuse them of crimes.''

So far, Brand's podcast guests have likewise stayed loyal. In an industry rife with voices insisting they are about to be silenced, loudly saying the things they swear you can't say anymore, Brand represents a rousing spectacle, Staying Free despite the designs of a sinister ''they.'' ''The cancelers of the world seem with each passing week to become more and more crap at their jobs,'' the writer Matt Taibbi said on Substack in October, promoting his interview with the ''conspicuously still-breathing Russell Brand.''

Teasing an interview in November with Alex Jones of Infowars, who has described the assault allegations against Brand as a vast conspiracy, Brand suggested a kinship: ''Have you noticed,'' he said, raising two fingers for scare quotes, ''how many of the wild Alex Jones 'conspiracy theories' have come to pass?''

More than anything else, Brand is testing a tantalizing kind of liberty before a group that reveres the word. He has hinted about a financial crunch since YouTube began blocking his profits, telling viewers on Rumble that he is ''plainly in a position where your direct support is going to be incredibly valuable.'' But if Brand's strategy is successful -- if he can subsist without the institutions that long sustained him, the collaborators who abandoned him, the former fans who might wince through his movie scenes now -- there is a new kind of power in that freedom, and a new kind of freedom in that power.

''We're planning a movement so that we can form new communities as the apocalypse apparently unfolds before our very eyes,'' he told listeners on Oct. 26. ''Without you, we are nothing.'' The episode turned moments later to another aspiring movement leader: Vivek Ramaswamy, a returning guest and the first presidential candidate to appear with Brand after the allegations. Speaking from Iowa, midcampaign, Ramaswamy called for a ''great uprising'' against establishment forces. ''It's when they tell you to shut up that you have to actually grow the spine to be more vocal than ever,'' Ramaswamy said.

''I can see why there would be an appetite to censor you,'' Brand replied admiringly. The host thanked his guest for ''elevating the caliber of the conversation'' in his ''stream of freedom.'' He previewed future episode subjects: the Covid lab-leak theory, another chat with Jordan Peterson, ''the necessity for radicalism in politics.'' Then he made a promise.

''Next week,'' Brand vowed, raising his open hands, ''the revolution will grow a little stronger.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/13/magazine/russell-brand-conspiracy-theory-sexual-assault.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/13/magazine/russell-brand-conspiracy-theory-sexual-assault.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page MM32, MM33, MM34, MM35, MM46, MM47.

**Load-Date:** November 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***How a ‘Goon Squad’ of Deputies Got Away With Years of Brutality***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69S1-3B91-DXY4-X00H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 30, 2023 Thursday 05:52 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 4954 words

**Byline:** Brian Howey, Nate Rosenfield and Rory Doyle for The New York Times

**Highlight:** They barged into homes in the middle of the night, then held people down while they beat and choked them, witnesses said. For years, signs of the violence went ignored.

**Body**

For nearly two decades, a loose band of sheriff’s deputies roamed impoverished neighborhoods across a central Mississippi county, meting out their own version of justice.

Narcotics detectives and patrol officers, some who called themselves the Goon Squad, barged into homes in the middle of the night, accusing people inside of dealing drugs. Then they handcuffed or held them at gunpoint and tortured them into confessing or providing information, according to dozens of people who say they endured or witnessed the assaults.

They described violence that sometimes went on for hours and seemed intended to strike terror into the deputies’ targets.

In the pursuit of drug arrests, deputies of the Rankin County Sheriff’s Department shocked Robert Jones with a Taser in 2018 while he lay submerged in a flooded ditch, then rammed a stick down his throat until he vomited blood, he said.

During a raid the same year, deputies choked Mitchell Hobson with a lamp cord and waterboarded him to simulate drowning, he said, then beat him until the walls were spattered with his blood. That raid took place at the home of Rick Loveday, a sheriff’s deputy in a neighboring county, who said he was dragged half-naked from his bed at gunpoint, before deputies jabbed a flashlight threateningly at his buttocks and then pummeled him relentlessly.

The string of violence might have continued unchecked if not for one near-fatal raid in January.

According to a Justice Department investigation, [*deputies broke into the home of two Black men*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/28/us/mississippi-officers-fired-lawsuit-black-men.html), Michael Jenkins and Eddie Parker, shocked them with Tasers and threatened to rape them. Deputy Hunter Elward shoved the barrel of a gun into Mr. Jenkins’s mouth, not realizing a bullet was in the chamber, and pulled the trigger. Mr. Jenkins was grievously injured, the incident was thrust into the national spotlight, and in August five deputies and a police officer [*pleaded guilty to criminal charges*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/14/us/mississippi-officers-guilty-torture.html).

Rankin County Sheriff Bryan Bailey said in a press conference this summer that he was stunned to learn of the “horrendous crimes” committed by his deputies. “Never in my life did I think it would happen in this department.”

But an investigation by The New York Times and the Mississippi Center for Investigative Reporting at Mississippi Today reveals a history of blatant and brutal incidents stretching back to at least 2004.

Reporters examined hundreds of pages of court records and sheriff’s office reports and interviewed more than 50 people who say they witnessed or experienced torture at the hands of the Rankin County Sheriff’s Department. What emerged was a pattern of violence that was neither confined to a small group of deputies nor hidden from department leaders.

Many of those who said they experienced violence filed lawsuits or formal complaints, detailing their encounters with the department. A few said they had contacted Sheriff Bailey directly, only to be ignored.

The Times and Mississippi Today identified 20 deputies who were present at one or more of the incidents — many assigned to narcotics or the night patrol — but also several high-ranking officials: a former undersheriff, former detectives and a former deputy who is now a local police chief.

Brett McAlpin, former chief investigator for the department, was involved in at least 13 of the arrests and was repeatedly described by witnesses as leading the raids. He was named in at least four lawsuits and six complaints going back to 2004. Even so, Sheriff Bailey named him investigator of the year in 2013. This year, he pleaded guilty to criminal charges for his role in the January raid.

Taken together, the reporting shows how Rankin deputies were allowed to operate with impunity, while racking up arrests for relatively minor drug infractions and leaving entire neighborhoods in fear of violent raids.

Among the dozens of allegations reviewed, The Times and Mississippi Today were able to corroborate 17 incidents involving 22 victims based on witness interviews, medical records, photographs of injuries and other documents.

In nearly half the cases, Taser logs obtained from the department through a public records request helped corroborate the allegations. Electronically recorded dates and times of Taser triggers lined up with witness accounts and suggested that deputies repeatedly shocked people for longer than is considered safe.

The Taser logs also suggest that the scope of the violence may extend much farther.

At least 32 times over the past decade, Rankin deputies fired their Tasers more than five times in under an hour, activating them for at least 30 seconds in total — double the recommended limit. Experts in Taser use who reviewed the logs called these incidents highly suspicious.

“This is not typical Taser use,” said Seth Stoughton, faculty director of the Excellence in Policing &amp; Public Safety program at the University of South Carolina. “There’s just no justification for that.”

It is impossible to tell from the logs alone whether a series of shocks were aimed at one target, and whether they all made contact. Incident reports by the deputies offer little clarity, because in nearly every case they failed to mention that a Taser was used at all.

Over the past year, The Times and Mississippi Today have investigated how powerful sheriffs in rural Mississippi have dodged accountability in the face of misconduct allegations. The reporting exposed numerous [*sexual abuse accusations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/19/us/mississippi-sheriff-sexual-abuse.html) against two sheriffs in counties near Rankin, along with evidence that Sheriff Bailey [*obtained subpoenas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/27/us/rankin-county-mississippi-sheriff-abuse.html) to surveil his girlfriend’s phone calls.

Sheriff Bailey has faced increased scrutiny since the Justice Department began to investigate his deputies’ conduct this year, and the NAACP and local activist groups have called for his resignation. After 12 years as sheriff, he was re-elected in November when he ran unopposed.

The deputies accused of being involved in violent arrests declined to comment or did not respond to repeated requests for interviews.

It is not always clear what actions individual deputies took during the incidents. Witnesses often did not know their names and many of the deputies did not wear uniforms or name tags during the raids.

Jason Dare, a lawyer for the department, declined to comment on The Times and Mississippi Today’s findings.

During a brief phone interview on Sunday, Sheriff Bailey repeatedly declined to comment. Told that several high-ranking deputies were involved in arrests that had sparked accusations of brutal treatment, he said, “I have 240 employees, there’s no way I can be with them each and every day.”

On Tuesday, the department announced that it had updated its internal policies and that deputies would receive training on federal civil rights laws.

A statement from the department that referred to the January assault without acknowledging a broader pattern said, “Even though the prior actions were abnormal and extreme, we will make every effort to ensure that they do not occur in the future.”

New Problems, Old Tactics

For most of its history, Rankin County was a rural area dominated by farmland and forests.

That began to change when white flight reached the capital city of Jackson in the 1960s and Rankin’s fields gave way to subdivisions and strip malls.

But tucked among the stately homes and manicured lawns, some of the county’s most impoverished residents live in run-down trailers and makeshift shacks, a few without running water or electricity.

These neighborhoods were hit hard in the early 2000s as meth — cheap, highly addictive and easy to manufacture in isolated places — spread across rural America like wildfire.

Local sheriffs, even in small departments, set up special narcotics units and joined state and federal task forces in the War on Drugs. The Rankin County Sheriff’s Department responded by targeting low-income communities and policing them relentlessly.

In an area called Robinhood, residents said home raids became routine and it felt as if they couldn’t go to the corner store without being stopped and searched.

“Once they start picking on you,” said a former resident, Matasha Harris, “they will not leave you alone.”

Though Rankin deputies appear to have targeted people based on suspected drug use, not race — most of their accusers were white — their tactics could have been pulled from the Jim Crow era, when sheriffs and their deputies harassed and beat Black Southerners and civil rights activists.

During that period, deputies coerced false confessions, sometimes using cattle prods or “the water cure”: pouring water into suspects’ nostrils until they complied.

Priscilla Perkins, co-president of the John &amp; Vera Mae Perkins Foundation, a nonprofit based in Jackson, Miss., that promotes racial reconciliation, said the Goon Squad’s acts reminded her of the reign of terror against civil rights activists that often involved law enforcement officers.

“It’s the hidden shame of Mississippi and America,” she said. “People are still trying to cover it up.”

Among the officers of that era accused of beating Black residents was Lloyd Jones, a state trooper who would become sheriff in nearby Simpson County.

A Justice Department investigation long after his death found that he had bragged to a colleague about fatally shooting a Black man, Benjamin Brown, in the back during a 1967 standoff between police officers and civil rights protesters.

In 1970, Mr. Jones participated in the beating of the Rev. John Perkins in the Rankin County jail, which culminated with a deputy jabbing a fork up his nose, according to the pastor and witnesses who [*testified*](https://casetext.com/case/perkins-v-state-of-mississippi) against the officers.

As sheriff, he gave Bryan Bailey his first job in law enforcement.

“He is on my life’s wall of gratitude and had a huge impact on who I am,” Sheriff Bailey wrote on Facebook in 2015. “Not a day goes by that I don’t think about him or recall something that he taught me.”

Sheriff Bailey called him a mentor. But years before, Simpson County residents had begun calling him something else: “Goon” Jones.

Scope of Abuse

It’s unclear when Rankin County deputies adopted their nickname, but last year, they ordered commemorative coins emblazoned with cartoonish gangsters and the words “Lt. Middleton’s Goon Squad.” Lt. Jeffrey Middleton was the squad’s supervisor. He is among the five deputies who pleaded guilty to criminal charges stemming from the January raid on Mr. Parker and Mr. Jenkins.

A Justice Department investigation this year found that Rankin County deputies chose the name Goon Squad “because of their willingness to use excessive force and not report it.”

The investigation found that Mr. McAlpin, along with a narcotics detective, Christian Dedmon, and Goon Squad members burst into Mr. Parker’s home, tortured and humiliated the men while demanding to know where drugs were, and then disposed of the evidence.

Across the 17 cases for which reporters found corroborating witnesses and evidence, accusers described similar tactics by deputies, almost always over small drug busts.

Deputies held people down while punching and kicking them or shocked them repeatedly with Tasers. They shoved gun barrels into people’s mouths. Three people said deputies had waterboarded them until they thought they would suffocate. Five said deputies had told them to move out of the county.

Many of the targets teetered on the edge of homelessness and were caught with a few grams of meth or with only drug paraphernalia — a glass pipe or used syringe. Several people sat in jail for days or weeks only to have their charges dropped.

The largest bust among the incidents examined was for a $420 heroin sale.

In 2018, a confidential informant arranged an $80 meth deal at Jerry Manning’s home. Mr. Manning, who denies being part of the sale, said he heard deputies burst into his trailer and scream his name.

When he went to investigate, deputies pinned him to the floor. They said they wanted to test their new Tasers on him to see which hurt more, he said.

“They got me in my private parts, they got me in my head,” Mr. Manning said. “They kept tasing and tasing and tasing.”

Taser logs indicate that three of the nine deputies involved that night, James Rayborn, Luke Stickman and Cody Grogan, together triggered their Tasers 14 times during the two-and-a-half-hour raid.

As the deputies ransacked his home looking for drugs, Mr. Manning said, they wrapped a pair of jeans around his head and punched him repeatedly in the face before using a blowtorch to melt a metal nutcracker handle onto his bare leg as he screamed. On Mr. McAlpin’s orders, Mr. Manning said, a deputy then forced him to sit, pulled a belt around his neck and yanked it upward, choking him until he believed he would suffocate.

Three other men in the trailer that night described violent attacks. Garry Curro, a 64-year-old Air Force veteran, said deputies handcuffed, beat and shocked him. Adam Porter says Mr. McAlpin threw him into a glass mirror, then took Mr. Porter’s pocketknife and sliced his pants to ribbons, demanding to know where the drugs were. Mr. Manning’s roommate, James Lynch, said Mr. McAlpin dragged a blowtorch flame across his feet while interrogating him.

People’s accounts of the raids shared striking similarities, beyond the patterns in the violence.

At least 12 of the 17 cases began as Mr. Manning’s did, with a suspect being set up by a confidential informant, someone the deputies had persuaded to stage a drug buy while they waited nearby.

In six cases, people said deputies threatened to continue assaulting them until they disclosed either the name of a drug dealer or the location of drugs. Five people said the deputies ransacked their kitchens and destroyed their food or used it to humiliate them — smashing a cake into a man’s face before arresting him, dumping flour and rice onto a kitchen floor, pouring milk into a freshly cooked dinner. Every Black accuser said deputies had hurled racial slurs at them.

Most of the targets were men in their 30s or 40s with a history of drug use. But in 2009, Mr. McAlpin knocked out 19-year-old Christopher Hillhouse’s tooth with a Maglite, he and his mother say. The next year, deputies beat and shocked Dustin Hale, then 17, until he urinated on himself while his girlfriend watched, he said. When his mother and grandmother went to the county jail to pick him up, they said, they hardly recognized him through the bruises and swelling.

The story of Jeremy Travis Paige, who was targeted in 2018, fits a typical pattern described by the accusers.

Mr. Paige, a 41-year-old with several arrests, was pulling up to his home in a ***working-class*** neighborhood outside Jackson when he realized deputies were there waiting for him, he said.

He drove away, hoping they wouldn’t notice. But Mr. McAlpin chased him and pulled him over, then deputies beat him unconscious in the intersection, Mr. Paige alleged in a lawsuit against the county.

The suit claimed that he regained consciousness as the deputies dragged him, handcuffed, into his home. Mr. McAlpin and another deputy then pummeled him in the living room for nearly an hour, according to Mr. Paige and a witness who spoke on the condition of anonymity, fearing retribution from the deputies.

In interviews, Mr. Paige said the deputies pulled him into his roommate’s bedroom and sat him upright on the bed, where he felt someone press a knee into his back and stretch a washcloth across his mouth. Then, he said, deputies poured gallon after gallon of water over his face. As he struggled to breathe, he said, one of them pressed a lit cigarette into his thigh.

All the while, they shocked his groin intermittently with Tasers, Mr. Paige said. Taser logs show that one of the four deputies who reported being at the scene triggered his Taser during the arrest.

Three people, including Mr. Paige, said they had been shocked not only with gun-shaped Tasers — the type issued by the department — but also with small, rectangular ones, suggesting that some deputies used personal stun guns that were not being tracked.

“They had the devil in them,” Mr. Paige said. “I thought they was going to kill me.”

Deputies ordered him to send Facebook messages to friends asking to buy drugs. He struck out, and the deputies took him to jail.

Before leaving, they stuffed the blood- and water-soaked bedding in trash bags and removed them from the house, Mr. Paige said.

The next day, when Mr. Paige was in jail, his son Trace visited the house. He found evidence of the violence, he said, including a bent bed frame where his father had been held down by deputies and a puddle of blood on the floor.

Pictures taken by Mr. Paige’s roommate show the bed stripped of linens and blood spattered on the wall.

Mr. McAlpin wrote in his report that deputies restrained Mr. Paige after he tried to kick them during the arrest, but the detective did not mention the use of Tasers or other force that might explain the blood.

During Mr. Paige’s trial for drug sale charges, Mr. McAlpin testified that deputies might have injured Mr. Paige when they pulled him out of his car, because he was resisting. He denied hurting Mr. Paige in his home.

Mr. Paige was sentenced to five years in prison. When he sued the sheriff’s department, no lawyer would take his case and he resorted to representing himself. He wrote a letter to the judge explaining that he had only a seventh-grade education.

“I don’t know how to present big words or anything like that,” he wrote. “But I do know the truth.”

After he missed several court deadlines, the judge dismissed his case.

Who Knew

Over the years, more than a dozen people have directly confronted Sheriff Bailey and his command staff about the deputies’ brutal methods, according to court records and interviews with accusers and their families.

At least five people have sued the department alleging beatings, chokings and other abuses by deputies associated with the Goon Squad.

The department settled two of those cases. Two others, including Mr. Paige’s, were dismissed over procedural errors by accusers representing themselves.

But the mounting allegations signaled that something was profoundly wrong in the narcotics unit of Sheriff Bailey’s department.

Mr. McAlpin, the department’s former chief investigator who led most of the raids reviewed by reporters, was involved in at least four arrests that prompted lawsuits, court records show.

According to one suit that was settled, Mr. McAlpin kicked 19-year-old Brett Gerhart in the face and pressed a pistol to his temple in 2010 during a mistaken raid at the wrong address. In a 2012 case, tossed out because of missed court deadlines, Gary Michael Frith claimed that he had been beaten and choked in the back of a squad car during a drug bust; records show that Mr. McAlpin was one of the arresting officers.

Mr. McAlpin also figured prominently in complaints lodged with the department. Seven people told reporters they had mailed letters, filed formal complaints or called the sheriff personally to tell him about the abuse they experienced.

Joshua Rushing said he wrote several letters to the department in 2020, after Mr. McAlpin and Mr. Dedmon drove him to an isolated dead-end road and shocked and beat him. He said he never heard back.

Nicole Brock said that when she went to the sheriff’s office to submit a formal complaint against Mr. McAlpin for ransacking her car during a search, he tore up the form, threw it in the garbage and arrested her for a syringe he had found during the car search.

Ms. Brock said she left several messages on Sheriff Bailey’s office phone to report the deputy’s behavior, but he never returned her calls.

Mr. Dare, the department lawyer, declined to provide copies of complaints, saying they were considered personnel records protected by state law. When asked to confirm the existence of the seven complaints described by accusers, he said he could not immediately provide it.

Chuck Wexler, executive director of the Police Executive Research Forum, said this long list of complaints and lawsuits should have prompted investigations by the sheriff.

“If you’re getting multiple complaints about the same officers, from different sources, that’s a red flag,” he said. “If you don’t do anything about it, you’re in denial.”

Despite the allegations against him, Mr. McAlpin continued to rise through the ranks of the department, winning Investigator of the Year and eventually being promoted to the top investigator position.

Until this year, the Rankin County Sheriff’s Department did not have anyone assigned full time to handle complaints. Instead, supervisors were responsible for investigating the deputies they oversaw, according to four former employees who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they feared retribution from the department.

Among those supervisors were Mr. McAlpin and Lieutenant Middleton, who both pleaded guilty in August for their roles in the assault of Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Parker.

On Tuesday, Sheriff Bailey announced that the department would allow residents to file complaints against deputies on the department’s website.

Beyond the lawsuits and complaints, there were other obvious signs of the violence, including injuries that would have been visible to jail workers and court officials who saw the injured shortly after their encounters.

Hospital records show that Mr. Hobson was treated for a gash over his eye after a 2018 raid in which he says deputies waterboarded him and punched him repeatedly. His face is bandaged in his jail booking photo.

Robert Jones, the man who said deputies rammed a stick down his throat, arrived at the jail with a swollen and mud-streaked face after deputies beat him and threw him into a ditch.

Many of the mug shots from the Rankin County jail feature bandaged faces, swollen cheeks and black eyes associated with drug-related arrests.

But the most glaring evidence of the violence inflicted by deputies has been collecting in the department’s computer files for more than two decades.

The Taser Logs

Every time a Taser is fired, the device keeps a record of it. In Rankin County, deputies upload this data to a computer, compiling detailed departmentwide logs that allow supervisors to monitor deputy Taser use.

The data, reviewed by The Times and Mississippi Today, contained tens of thousands of Taser triggers stretching back 24 years.

The logs supported the accounts of nine people who described being shocked by deputies while handcuffed or held down. In all but three of these cases, the deputies did not report their Taser use, violating department policy.

“I don’t believe I’ve ever come across an agency in which it would be acceptable for an officer to deploy a Taser and not report it in some way,” said Ashley Heiberger, a retired officer and an expert in police use of force.

After several studies linking prolonged Taser exposure to severe medical problems and even death, the Police Executive Research Forum developed [*national guidelines*](https://www.policeforum.org/assets/docs/Free_Online_Documents/Use_of_Force/electronic%20control%20weapon%20guidelines%202011.pdf) advising against shocking a person for more than 15 seconds during an encounter.

The logs contain dozens of instances of Tasers being fired for at least double the recommended time limit over the course of an hour. In April 2016, a device assigned to a deputy who participated in Goon Squad raids was triggered nine times in four minutes, delivering 31 seconds of current.

Several experts in police use of force said the logs showed abnormal Taser use that was hard to explain. Seth Stoughton, from the University of South Carolina, said the frequency of the deputies’ Taser triggers suggested they were not using the weapons for their intended purpose: to quickly subdue a combative person.

“It just doesn’t suggest that the Taser is actually being used to induce compliance,” he said.

By comparing the logs to department records, reporters identified four people who claim they were at the receiving end of Taser shocks recorded in the data.

In 2016, Deputy James Rayborn fired his Taser for 20 seconds over the course of 20 minutes during a raid of Samuel Carter’s home.

Mr. Carter, a 64-year-old Army veteran, had had previous run-ins with Rankin sheriff’s deputies over alleged drug use. On the night of the raid, he said, deputies dragged him to his bedroom, shocked him and demanded that he open a safe where they expected to find drugs and cash.

Instead, deputies found a tub of cake frosting he had stashed in the safe to hide from houseguests with a sweet tooth.

Mr. Carter said they became enraged and shocked him again until his leg began to bleed.

Down the hall, Christopher Holloway, a 26-year-old who had been helping Mr. Carter maintain his property, was beaten and shocked until he defecated on himself, he said. Then they dragged him outside and threatened to push him, handcuffed, into Mr. Carter’s pool.

Mr. Holloway and Mr. Carter were charged with paraphernalia and drug possession — Mr. Holloway for marijuana, Mr. Carter for several grams of methamphetamine.

Like many people targeted by Rankin deputies, Mr. Carter said the first raid was just the beginning. Three months later, deputies arrested him again, this time for drinking in front of his home, Mr. Carter said. He was arrested four more times over the next year, department records show, mostly for drug or paraphernalia possession.

Ballooning legal fees left Mr. Carter unable to pay his bills.

“They had the power,” he said. “And they used it.”

‘I Lost My Life’

The Goon Squad has left a long trail of shattered lives in its wake. Some people who said they were brutalized are jolted awake by nightmares after their encounters with deputies. Four said they fled the county for good. Several are serving lengthy prison terms.

In 2015, Ron Shinstock was struggling with a methamphetamine addiction, even as he raised a family with his wife and ran a mechanic shop with his brother.

Everything changed, he said, after Mr. McAlpin led a violent raid of his home, holding his children at gunpoint and forcing him to strip naked in his backyard. The arrest led to a 40-year prison sentence for a $260 meth sale within 1,500 feet of a church.

Mr. Shinstock’s wife left him. He is scheduled to be released in 2056, two months before his 82nd birthday.

“I lost my family, I lost my home,” Mr. Shinstock said. “I lost my life.”

Andrea Dettore, a former resident of Rankin County, witnessed deputies brutalize three people in two incidents. She said she was there in 2018 when the Goon Squad attacked Mr. Loveday, the former deputy, and Mr. Hobson.

During a raid on her own home in January, she said, she heard deputies beat her friend, Robert Grozier, behind a closed door, and saw a deputy, Christian Dedmon, shove a sex toy into his mouth, threatening to shock him with a Taser if he spat it out.

Ms. Dettore and Mr. Grozier were each fined several hundred dollars, and she has since left Rankin County. Mr. Hobson sat in jail for six months before his charges were dropped, and Mr. Loveday lost his job as a sheriff’s deputy. Court records show he was never convicted of a crime.

After Mr. McAlpin arrested Mr. Loveday and accused him of consorting with drug dealers, he ordered him to leave town. Mr. Loveday fled the state, fearing he would be targeted again. He couldn’t forget that night.

“If they did that to me, how many other people have they done it to?” he wondered.

Before he left Mississippi, Mr. Loveday said, he called Sheriff Bailey personally to warn him about his deputies’ behavior.

But Mr. Bailey wouldn’t listen, he said. He called Mr. Loveday a dirty cop and accused him of secretly recording the call.

Then, Mr. Loveday said, “He hung up on me.”

Jerry Mitchell, Ilyssa Daly, Eric Sagara and Irene Casado Sanchez contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research. This article was reported in partnership with Big Local News at Stanford University and supported in part by a grant from the Pulitzer Center.

A correction was made on Dec. 23, 2023: An earlier version of this article incorrectly described how deputies used Tasers during a June 1, 2018, raid in Rankin County. Three deputies, James Rayborn, Luke Stickman and Cody Grogan, together triggered their Tasers 14 times.

Jerry Mitchell, Ilyssa Daly, Eric Sagara and Irene Casado Sanchez contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research. This article was reported in partnership with Big Local News at Stanford University and supported in part by a grant from the Pulitzer Center.

PHOTOS: A “Goon Squad” coin. An investigation found abuses by the group went back years. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RANKIN COUNTY SHERIFF’S OFFICE) (A1); Rick Loveday, a sheriff’s deputy in a neighboring county, looked at a picture of injuries he sustained when Rankin County deputies raided his home.; Jeremy Travis Paige alleged in a lawsuit that deputies forced him to arrange drug deals and beat him unconscious. “They had the devil in them,” he said.; Christopher Holloway, left, and Sam Carter said they were repeatedly shocked with a Taser during a home raid. Both then faced drug charges. (A12); Brandon, a city in Rankin County, Miss. An investigation reveals a history of brutal incidents by sheriff’s deputies that stretches back to at least 2004. (A12-A13); Andrea Dettore moved out of Rankin County after witnessing two raids by its deputies, one in her own home in which her friend was beaten.; Mitchell Hobson said he was waterboarded, choked and beaten in 2018. He sat in jail for six months before his charges were dropped. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RORY DOYLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Rankin County Sheriff Bryan Bailey won re-election this fall, running unopposed, despite federal scrutiny of his office and his deputies.; A federal investigation found that deputies broke into the home of Michael Jenkins and Eddie Parker and beat them. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROGELIO V. SOLIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A12, A13.

**Load-Date:** March 27, 2025

**End of Document**



[***The ‘Hard Hat Riot’ Was a Preview of Today’s Political Divisions***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YYK-J8J1-DXY4-X4NG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 22, 2020 Friday 12:02 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1351 words

**Byline:** Jefferson Cowie

**Highlight:** Mayor Lindsay saw a country “virtually on the edge of a spiritual — and perhaps even a physical — breakdown.”

**Body**

This was something genuinely new, and raw. Even jaded viewers tuning in to the network news on May 8, 1970, must have been shocked to see helmeted construction workers waving enormous American flags and chanting “All the way, U.S.A.” as they tore through an antiwar demonstration in Manhattan’s financial district — all of it just days after four students had been shot dead by National Guardsmen during a peaceful protest at Kent State University in Ohio.

Pummeling anyone in their way, the workers kicked and beat demonstrators, battering them with their hard hats. News cameras shakily recorded the workers as they stormed the steps of Federal Hall on Wall Street. One of the workers, upon reaching the top, delivered a vicious right hook to a demonstrator, dropping him to his knees, just below the statue of George Washington.

As they jubilantly raised their flags over the crowd and burst into a chorus of “God Bless America,” the mass of workers seemed, from a distance, to have restaged the raising of the flag over Iwo Jima. “It damn near put a lump in your throat,” [*said*](https://www.nytimes.com/1970/06/28/archives/why-the-construction-workers-hollerusa-all-the-way-joe-kelly-has.html) Joe Kelly, an elevator builder who was working on the World Trade Center. Cliff Sloane, a student interviewed later that month by The New York Times, felt differently. “If this is what the class struggle is all about,” he   [*said*](https://www.nytimes.com/1970/06/28/archives/why-the-construction-workers-hollerusa-all-the-way-joe-kelly-has.html), “there’s something wrong somewhere.”

Today, the chaotic scene looks like a harbinger of current divisions, which have only become deeper with the recent public health crisis and economic tailspin.

Back then, it looked like proof of something John Lindsay, New York’s mayor, had said earlier that week: “The country is virtually on the edge of a spiritual — and perhaps even a physical — breakdown.”

Lindsay’s remark came two days after the Kent State shootings, six days after President Richard M. Nixon’s announcement of the invasion of Cambodia and five years after the deployment of U.S. combat troops to Vietnam, where some 50,000 Americans had already been killed, with no end in sight. At home, there were racial uprisings in cities like Newark and Detroit, students occupied universities, women protested the Miss America pageant, and gay people fought with police at the Stonewall Inn.

Amid the turmoil, the “non-shouters” of Nixon’s “silent majority” thundered to life. The “Hard Hat Riot,” as it came to be known, created new visibility and possibilities for a right-wing populism that shaped American politics for decades to come. As the ground of white ***working-class*** identity shifted from economics to culture, it appeared that the new class war would be waged not against the old corporate robber barons but the impudent snobs of the cultural elite.

“Family life, some form of religion and patriotism — that’s how you get a proper understanding and respect for these matters,” [*said*](https://www.nytimes.com/1970/06/28/archives/why-the-construction-workers-hollerusa-all-the-way-joe-kelly-has.html) the second-generation dockworker and military veteran John Cooke about the nation’s divisions. Working men like Cooke felt silenced in the noise of the ’60s. They resented the erosion of the patriarchy, the rise of moral permissiveness and affirmative action programs meant to integrate their historically white union shops. To them, the social contract lay in tatters, torn up by liberals, a meddlesome government, and demands from African-Americans and coddled college students.

The workers weren’t alone in their sentiments. A [*poll released*](https://www.nytimes.com/1970/06/28/archives/why-the-construction-workers-hollerusa-all-the-way-joe-kelly-has.html) weeks after the hard-hat incident showed that Americans thought “campus unrest” was a bigger problem than the Vietnam War.

As Cooke put it, “Protest is the only thing that works today.”

After winning the battle for Federal Hall, the hard hats rampaged across Lower Manhattan. They marched to City Hall, where the flag was flying at half-mast to honor the dead at Kent State. A postal worker who had joined the fray managed to climb onto the roof and raise the stars and stripes to its proper, prideful position. When city officials returned it to half-mast, the workers rushed the building, leaping over police barricades and running over the hoods of cars.

Fearing a disaster, officials raised the flag back to full mast. Running battles continued at Pace College (now University), where workers broke into buildings and smashed windows. They punched and kicked antiwar students who curled up on the ground to protect themselves. Some 70 people were injured, and six were [*reportedly*](https://www.nytimes.com/1970/06/28/archives/why-the-construction-workers-hollerusa-all-the-way-joe-kelly-has.html) arrested.

In the days and weeks that followed, lunch time became patriotic protest hour, as marches continued. The ranks of the hard hats grew from hundreds to thousands, and sympathetic office workers joined their midday marches. They demanded more support for the war and less coddling of subversives, [*carrying signs*](https://www.nytimes.com/1970/06/28/archives/why-the-construction-workers-hollerusa-all-the-way-joe-kelly-has.html) that read “God Bless the Establishment” and “We Love Nixon, Agnew, Mitchell, His Wife, and Reagan.”

These demonstrations culminated on May 20, with a march staged by the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York that drew a crowd estimated at 100,000 people. “Flags, fervent oratory, patriotic tunes and a river of yellow, red, and blue hard hats” flowed down Broadway, beneath a blizzard of ticker tape, The Times reported.

Peter Brennan, the leader of the building-trades unions, summarized the us-versus-them logic of the march. “We’re the fellas who build this country,” he said. “We’re the fellas who build the hospitals when they need ‘em, when they get sick. We build the bridges and tunnels for them to get around in. We build the schools that they want to burn down.”

Antiwar groups, already angry and bewildered by the A.F.L.-C.I.O.’s support for the Vietnam War, saw a labor movement that no longer stood at the forefront of social progress, with workers vehemently defending the establishment — “Karl Marx upside down,” as the saying went. A [*letter*](https://www.nytimes.com/1970/06/28/archives/why-the-construction-workers-hollerusa-all-the-way-joe-kelly-has.html) to The Times asked, has “trade unionism’s just and single-minded pursuit of a living wage created among its members a pigheaded insularity that borders on fascism?”

Nixon, however, saw political opportunity. “Pete Brennan’s people were with us when some of the elitist crowd were running away from us,” he said. “Thank God for the hard hats!” Nixon’s administration had been working on a “blue collar strategy” to shift white ***working-class*** voters to a “New Majority,” and his aide Pat Buchanan believed that the white workers “who gave F.D.R. those great landslides” were in rebellion against the “intellectual aristocracy and liberal elite who now set the course of their party.”

Six days after the rally, Nixon hosted the leaders of the building trades at the White House. They honored him with a hard hat inscribed with “Commander in Chief.”

For all of its drama, however, the hard hat revolt was not a wholesale shift in ***working class*** identity. The building trades were among the most conservative unions, and even though the A.F.L.-C.I.O. endorsed the war effort, Vietnam divided the labor movement just like it had the rest of the country. The ***working class*** was becoming more diverse than ever by the 1970s, as women and people of color filled new roles in the work force, and the service sector began to overshadow manufacturing. Less a complete rightward transformation of “the” ***working class***, the hard hat protests represented its political fragmentation into smaller and more resentful pieces.

Still, there were consequences. In 1972, Nixon ran for a second term against George McGovern, a Democratic Senator from South Dakota. McGovern was one of the most pro-labor major-party candidates to date, but he was also an antiwar candidate and allied with the new social movements of the sixties. Nixon beat him in a landslide, winning a majority of the ***working-class*** vote, by several measures. The following year, he made Peter Brennan his secretary of labor.

Jefferson Cowie is a professor of history at Vanderbilt University and the author of “Stayin’ Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the ***Working Class***.”

PHOTO: On May 8, 1970, construction workers violently disrupted a peaceful demonstration on Wall Street before marching to City Hall and Pace College. The event became known as the “Hard Hat Riot.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Neal Boenzi/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 22, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Landlord’s Worst Nightmare Is a Basic Human Right***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64HH-2Y41-DXY4-X2G2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 12, 2022 Wednesday 09:12 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 271 words

**Byline:** Jeff Seal, Chris Libbey and Nick Libbey

**Highlight:** The comedian and journalist Jeff Seal takes to the streets to rally support for a little-known bill that would protect millions of New Yorkers from unjust evictions. But a powerful lobby stands in its way.

**Body**

New Yorkers pay some of [*the highest rents*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/25/nyregion/nyc-rent-relief.html) in the nation — and are among the most vulnerable to being evicted with little notice. For years, the city’s real estate industry has [*spent a fortune*](https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&amp;s=NY&amp;y=2018,2017,2016,2015,2014,2013,2012,2011,2010,2009,2008,2007,2006,2005,2004,2003,2002,2001,2000&amp;f-fc=2&amp;d-cci=51#[%7B1%7Cgro=y%7B1%7C) exerting its influence in the State Capitol, leaving tenants largely at its mercy. Meanwhile the cost of living [*continues to rise*](https://www.pewtrusts.org/-/media/assets/2018/04/rent-burden_report_v2.pdf) and the number of rent-regulated apartments [*continues to dwindle*](https://www.propublica.org/article/the-vote-that-made-new-york-city-rents-so-high).

Unlike in [*Oregon*](https://www.statesmanjournal.com/story/news/2019/02/28/what-tenants-landlords-need-know-oregons-rent-control-law/3010007002/), [*California*](https://www.natlawreview.com/article/ab-1482-tenant-protection-act-summary-key-provisions) and [*New Jersey*](https://www.nj.gov/dca/divisions/codes/publications/pdf_lti/grnds_for_evicti_bulltin.pdf), landlords in most of New York State can jack up rents or refuse to renew a lease without cause. A little-known bill in Albany, known as[*Good Cause Eviction*](https://citylimits.org/2022/01/07/as-nys-eviction-moratorium-nears-its-end-will-albany-pass-good-cause-bill/), could change the lives of millions of New Yorkers who are simply trying to get by. If passed, it would regulate rent increases and require landlords to [*renew leases*](https://www.nysenate.gov/legislation/bills/2021/s3082) for most tenants. In the video above, Jeff Seal, a comedian and housing advocate, takes an unconventional approach to educating New York tenants about a law that he believes will offer more security to millions of renters and ***working-class*** New Yorkers.

[*Jeff Seal*](https://www.youtube.com/user/Jeffseal) is a comedian, visual journalist and advocate who serves on the Operations Committee of the Lower Manhattan chapter of Democratic Socialists of America, as well as its working group on housing. Chris Libbey and Nick Libbey are [*documentary filmmakers*](https://libbeybrothers.com/) based in New York City.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 13, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Adams's Lively Stories Don't Always Check Out***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68CC-VW71-JBG3-64SV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 2, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1401 words

**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Body**

The New York City mayor has made an art form of telling stories about himself that are nearly impossible to verify, adding fresh details to often-told anecdotes.

If there is one thing that Mayor Eric Adams has shown in his rise to power in New York City, it's that he knows the value of telling a good story.

There was the one about the family's pet rat, Mickey, and the one about the gang fight, when he got hit in the head with a bat with a nail in it.

And just last week, Mr. Adams recalled a new detail from the oft-told story of his teenage arrest: Soon after he was taken into custody, he said, the police discovered he was carrying fake gold chains.

''I used to go and sell them on Canal Street to the tourists,'' he said at a community event. ''Listen, the statute of limitations is over.''

Two days later, Mr. Adams casually mentioned that he had been a skateboarder and ''knew how to do a few tricks.'' Ample evidence, including his very brief attempt at gingerly boarding a skateboard last year, suggests he may be rusty.

You could look it up, as Casey Stengel, the fabled New York Yankees manager, was fond of saying many decades ago. But in the mayor's case, you often cannot.

Since beginning his run for mayor in 2021, Mr. Adams has made an art form of telling stories about himself that are nearly impossible to verify, often adding fresh details to well-worn anecdotes.

Many of his stories seem intended for dramatic effect to help him connect to voters, rather than mislead them, as Representative George Santos did in misrepresenting his education, work history and background. But when Mr. Adams's tendency to hyperbole strays into policy, there are more serious implications.

In early May, the mayor twice claimed that New York City schoolchildren ''start their day going to the corner bodega buying cannabis and fentanyl,'' despite there being little evidence of the trend.

The mayor recently told reporters that nearly half of New York City's hotel rooms were occupied by migrants, suggesting that the influx of asylum seekers was hurting the tourism industry and taking rooms away from vacationers.

City Hall officials later walked back Mr. Adams's claim, explaining that the mayor had meant to say that migrants had taken up 40 percent of the occupancy in the city's midsize hotels. Hotel industry leaders said that migrants had not hurt tourism and that more than 20,000 rooms remained unoccupied.

Mr. Adams has also tried to put pressure on federal officials to help pay for what his administration is estimating will be $4.3 billion in migrant-related costs by next summer -- even though the Independent Budget Office has said the price tag should actually be between $2.7 billion and $3.7 billion.

''At a time when the city is facing real crises, how can New Yorkers tell if the mayor is telling the truth when he keeps misleading them?'' said Monica Klein, a Democratic political strategist and a deputy press secretary for former Mayor Bill de Blasio.

Part of the mayor's campaign strategy involved highlighting his ***working-class*** upbringing, underscoring the challenges he said he faced growing up in Queens and his understanding of the struggles that many New Yorkers face.

By the time he was 17, he has said, he had been a so-called squeegee man, a gang member and a victim of police brutality.

Mr. Adams's press secretary, Fabien Levy, questioned the fairness of suggesting that ''memories from the mayor's youth and young adult life never happened without anything to substantiate these suggestions.''

''In his 62 years on this planet, the mayor has experienced more than 32 million moments, the vast majority of which have not been documented by even the most zealous members of the New York City press corps,'' Mr. Levy said, apparently suggesting that Mr. Adams has, on average, had a moment for each minute of his life.

Even the mayor's foundational story -- his arrest and subsequent beating by two police officers -- has undergone revisions.

He had long said that he and his older brother entered the home of a prostitute to take money she owed them for running errands. By late 2021, in an interview with The Times, Mr. Adams had changed the occupation of the woman to ''a go-go dancer who we were helping that broke her leg.''

Kenneth Sherrill, a professor emeritus of political science at Hunter College in Manhattan, said that some of the mayor's exaggerations or dramatic anecdotes appear to stem from his eagerness to connect with New Yorkers.

''Maybe I'm being too generous, but it's entirely possible that this is his way of saying, 'Listen, I understand where you're coming from -- I've experienced things like this, too,''' he said. ''And then comes the fable which has some basis in truth.''

Indeed, in recent weeks, Mr. Adams has told worshipers that he received a divine message telling him to ''talk about God, Eric.'' He spoke about the fake gold chains a block or so away from the former Spofford Juvenile Center in the Bronx, where Mr. Adams said he was held after his arrest.

And his window washing story came in the late stages of the 2021 mayoral race, when Mr. Adams was asked about the nuisance of squeegee men in Midtown Manhattan. He said that he understood their plight because when he was 17, he, too, washed car windows at street corners.

''I had a dirty rag with some Windex that I watered down, and used to stand at the corner of Jamaica Avenue washing windows so I could save up enough money to give my mother the money so we could have a meal to eat,'' Mr. Adams told reporters.

I. Daneek Miller, a former City Council member from Queens and a political ally of the mayor, said that part of Mr. Adams's allure was his ability to connect with ordinary New Yorkers, in part by relating shared experiences.

''You can't govern from an ivory tower, sending out memorandums saying, 'I want everyone to do this,' without them knowing why,'' Mr. Miller said. ''You have to get buy-in.''

On the rare occasion when the mayor is presented with evidence of a lie, he has clung to the ''perfectly imperfect'' defense.

When Mr. Adams, an evangelist for veganism who wrote a book about his diet, was confronted by reporters last year over witness accounts of him eating fish, he first sought to rebuff the queries, while his top aide denied the accusations. He finally acknowledged, ''I am perfectly imperfect and have occasionally eaten fish.''

He used that phrase again last week when he was asked about his story of selling gold chains.

''When I go through my journals that I've been keeping for a long time, I look at a whole lot of things that have not been told,'' he said. ''All I can tell you is that you're looking at a perfectly imperfect mayor that has gone through a lot, and I'm qualified to help people who are going through a lot.''

There have been other concessions. Mr. Adams said that he graduated from Bayside High School in 1978, but he actually graduated in January 1979, according to a copy of his high school transcript. Asked about the discrepancy, Mr. Adams acknowledged that he graduated late.

At a 2019 commencement address, Mr. Adams told a story about intimidating a neighbor whose dog was befouling his yard. He acknowledged to The Times in 2021 that the tale had been co-opted from another source. It was not that it didn't happen, he said; it just didn't happen to him.

There were also campaign questions about where Mr. Adams lived -- a topic still somewhat unresolved. After concerns were raised about whether Mr. Adams actually lived in Fort Lee, N.J., he invited the news media into a property he owns in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, hoping to prove that he lived there. But questions persisted: The Brooklyn apartment included non-vegan food and sneakers that appeared to belong to his son.

As for being an experienced skateboarder, Mr. Adams is sticking to his story.

On Tuesday, the mayor's office put out a statement insisting that Mr. Adams had skated as a child nearly a half century ago, asserting that he had made his own skateboard with metal wheels and a piece of plywood.

There were no skate parks then, nor was there a World Skateboarding Federation, Mr. Levy, the mayor's press secretary, said. So Mr. Adams made simple ramps with cinder blocks and plywood. ''It was called skate, fall and get your ass up,'' Mr. Levy said.

Jeffery C. Mays contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/01/nyregion/eric-adams-life-stories-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/01/nyregion/eric-adams-life-stories-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams mentioned at the Brooklyn Banks reopening that he had been a skateboarder and ''knew how to do a few tricks.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY LANNA APISUKH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

**Load-Date:** June 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***33 Nonfiction Books to Read This Fall; Fall Preview***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:693F-FKS1-JBG3-62PM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 4, 2023 Monday 08:22 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 2328 words

**Byline:** Shreya Chattopadhyay and Miguel Salazar

**Highlight:** Memoirs by Barbra Streisand, Patrick Stewart, Jada Pinkett Smith; hotly anticipated books on Elon Musk and Sam Bankman-Fried; and plenty more.

**Body**

[*Beyond the Wall: A History of East Germany*](https://www.hachettebookgroup.com/titles/katja-hoyer/beyond-the-wall/9781541602571/?lens=basic-books), by Katja Hoyer

A historian turns her eye to the country of her birth in this political history of the German Democratic Republic, which existed from 1949 to 1990. Contrary to common depictions, Hoyer presents a picture of a vibrant society that weathered intense state suppression but also enacted solidarity.

Basic Books, Sept. 5

[*Crossings: How Road Ecology Is Shaping the Future of Our Planet*](https://wwnorton.com/books/9781324005896), by Ben Goldfarb

Humans have built 40 million miles of road on earth, which have profoundly influenced our world. Goldfarb’s account examines roads in context of the environment around them — touching on the Trans-Canada highway that conservationists called “the meatmaker,” and even the mountain lions trapped in California’s Santa Monica Mountains — and profiles the scientists, engineers and organizers seeking to mitigate their ecological harm.

Norton, Sept. 12

[*Elon Musk*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Elon-Musk/Walter-Isaacson/9781982181284), by Walter Isaacson

The best-selling author of “Steve Jobs” returns with a biography of the richest man on earth. Isaacson spent two years shadowing Musk, the head of X (formerly Twitter), Tesla and SpaceX, and interviewing both his friends and foes. The resulting book delves deep into the billionaire’s demons, including childhood bullies and a difficult father, and interrogates their relationship to his success.

Simon &amp; Schuster, Sept. 12

[*Glossy: Ambition, Beauty, and the Inside Story of Emily Weiss’s Glossier*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Glossy/Marisa-Meltzer/9781982190606), by Marisa Meltzer

The cosmetics behemoth Glossier began in 2010, with the lifestyle blog “Into the Gloss.” Meltzer emphasizes the entrepreneurial savvy of the brand’s founder, Emily Weiss, who blogged in the mornings before her internship at Vogue and eventually secured funding from the same venture capital firm as Apple and Google, turning Glossier into the rare billion-dollar company helmed by a woman.

Atria/One Signal, Sept. 12

[*Larry McMurtry: A Life*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9781250282330/larrymcmurtry), by Tracy Daugherty

A celebrated literary biographer takes on the life of McMurtry, a fellow Texan known for his Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, “Lonesome Dove,” and other best selling Westerns. Daugherty’s perceptive analysis brings alive McMurtry’s trademark wit — he [*often wore*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/26/books/larry-mcmurtry-dead.html) a shirt that said “minor regional novelist” — along with his solitary tendencies and disciplined approach to writing.

St. Martin’s, Sept. 12

[*Father and Son: A Memoir*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/136964/father-and-son-by-jonathan-raban/), by Jonathan Raban

Raban died in January, but this meditative memoir tells two parallel stories: Raban’s own, coming to terms with the limitations of his body after suffering a stroke at 68; and his father’s, who was evacuated at the Battle of Dunkirk during World War II and with whom his relationship was distant for many years.

Knopf, Sept. 19

[*American Gun: The True Story of the AR-15*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9780374103859/americangun), by Cameron McWhirter and Zusha Elinson

Two Wall Street Journal reporters dig into the history of this controversial weapon, which was invented in a 1950s California garage, used widely by the U.S. military during the Vietnam War and adopted by mass shooters in the 2000s. The book’s measured examination considers how World War II, pop culture and profit contributed to the AR-15’s proliferation.

Farrar, Straus &amp; Giroux, Sept. 26

[*Germany 1923: Hyperinflation, Hitler’s Putsch, and Democracy in Crisis, by Volker Ullrich*](https://wwnorton.com/books/9781324093466). Translated by Jefferson Chase.

This history investigates the forces that led to the Weimar Republic’s eventual collapse, many of which came to a head in 1923. Economic pressures, along with occupation by French troops and Hitler’s failed coup all made for a “year of lunacy,” Ullrich writes, though such forces would not succeed in toppling Germany’s first democracy for another decade.

Liveright, Sept. 26

[*Thicker Than Water: A Memoir*](https://www.hachettebookgroup.com/titles/kerry-washington/thicker-than-water/9780316497398/), by Kerry Washington

The star of “Scandal” and “Little Fires Everywhere” offers a view into her private life and identity. Her memoir touches on childhood traumas, the mentors who helped her career, the motivations behind her political advocacy and her tumultuous but satisfying path to finding her authentic self.

Little Brown Spark, Sept. 26

[*Alfie and Me: What Owls Know, What Humans Believe*](https://wwnorton.com/books/alfie-and-me), by Carl Safina

The author, an ecologist, and his wife rescued a screech owl in bad shape, expecting it would be well on its way soon. But the owl’s prolonged stay, which coincided with the Covid-19 pandemic, brought a sense of “consistent magic,” prompting Safina to reflect on nature, spirituality and human existence.

Norton, Oct. 3

[*Collision of Power: Trump, Bezos, and The Washington Post*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9781250844217/collisionofpower), by Martin Baron

The former executive editor of the Post details the many difficult decisions involved in maintaining journalistic integrity during the years he ran the paper, from 2013-2021. Especially fascinating is Baron’s inside analysis of the forces at play when Jeff Bezos bought the Post in 2013, and three years later, when Donald Trump became president and expected Bezos to censor it.

Flatiron, Oct. 3

[*A Day in the Life of Abed Salama: Anatomy of a Jerusalem Tragedy*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9781250854971/adayinthelifeofabedsalama), by Nathan Thrall

A Palestinian father desperately looks for his 5-year-old son after his school bus crashes outside of Jerusalem. As his search is slowed down by bureaucratic hurdles and a scattered emergency response, Thrall depicts the agony of losing a child and how it’s intensified by the discrimination Palestinians face under Israeli rule.

Metropolitan, Oct. 3

[*Eve: How the Female Body Drove 200 Million Years of Human Evolution*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/227568/eve-by-cat-bohannon/), by Cat Bohannon

Bohannon traces the development of mammalian milk from a field mouse that lived 200 million years ago, investigates the biological mystery of menopause and provides evidence that women utilized tools before men in this comprehensive book, which synthesizes a wide breadth of scientific research to reframe the story of evolution around the female body.

Knopf, Oct. 3

[*Extremely Online: The Untold Story of Fame, Influence, and Power on the Internet*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Extremely-Online/Taylor-Lorenz/9781982146863), by Taylor Lorenz

The Washington Post reporter presents a history of social media, “the greatest and most disruptive change in modern capitalism.” She reports on “mommy bloggers” and the birth of influencers, catalogs the rise and fall of platforms that have shaped online culture and offers a sober assessment of their toll on our collective mental health.

Simon &amp; Schuster, Oct. 3

[*Going Infinite: The Rise and Fall of a New Tycoon*](https://wwnorton.com/books/9781324074335), by Michael Lewis

Lewis, the author of “The Big Short” and other books cataloging financial breakdowns, [*first met*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/16/books/michael-lewis-ftx-bankman-fried-going-infinite.html) Sam Bankman-Fried after a friend asked him to vet Bankman-Fried’s cryptocurrency platform FTX. About a year later, both men were in the Bahamas when Bankman-Fried was arrested and charged with fraud. This new book, based on many months of interviews, chronicles the [*meteoric rise and fall*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/16/books/michael-lewis-ftx-bankman-fried-going-infinite.html) of both the company and the man.

Norton, Oct. 3

[*How to Say Babylon: A Memoir*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/How-to-Say-Babylon/Safiya-Sinclair/9781982132330#:~:text=With%20echoes%20of%20Educated%20and,as%20a%20woman%20and%20poet.), by Safiya Sinclair

“The scorch-marks of his anger were everywhere I looked, my family withered and blistered,” the Jamaican poet recalls. As she recounts her upbringing under the surveillance of a restrictive and volatile Rastafari father, she reflects on childhood trauma, colonialism and her growing affinity for poetry.

37 Ink, Oct. 3

[*Making It So: A Memoir*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Making-It-So/Patrick-Stewart/9781982167738), by Patrick Stewart

Stewart reflects on not only his years in the Royal Shakespeare Company and his famous “Star Trek” role as Picard (about which his feelings have changed), but also his ***working-class*** childhood in northern England, his changing relationship to family and even his love for nearly-burned toast. Now 83, the actor insists he has no intention of retiring from his lifelong calling: “Why would I stop?”

Gallery, Oct. 3

[*A Man of Two Faces: A Memoir, a History, a Memorial*](https://groveatlantic.com/book/a-man-of-two-faces/), by Viet Thanh Nguyen

The [*Pulitzer Prize-winning writer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/21/books/viet-thanh-nguyen-the-committed.html) pushes the boundary of genre in his new memoir, which investigates his personal history as a Vietnamese refugee forced to flee at age 4, as well as the many narratives that form the idea of America itself. Film criticism, poetry and self-effacing jokes are involved, but ultimately, “this is a war story,” he writes.

Grove, Oct. 3

[*Madonna: A Rebel Life*](https://www.hachettebookgroup.com/titles/mary-gabriel/madonna/9780316456449/?lens=little-brown), by Mary Gabriel

At over 800 pages long, Gabriel’s detailed biography seems to follow every peak and valley of Madonna’s life, tracing her childhood in 1960s Michigan and the loss of her mother at 5 years old; rise to fame in the nascent years of MTV; AIDS advocacy; and much more.

Little, Brown, Oct. 10

[*The Canceling of the American Mind: Cancel Culture Undermines Trust and Threatens Us All — But There Is a Solution*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/The-Canceling-of-the-American-Mind/Greg-Lukianoff/9781668019146), by Greg Lukianoff and Rikki Schlott

Lukianoff, an author of “[*The Coddling of the American Mind*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/27/books/review/splintering-william-egginton-coddling-greg-lukianoff-jonathan-haidt.html),” explains the phenomenon of cancel culture, shows how it’s employed by liberals and conservatives alike and explores its context within a greater struggle for status and power in America. Along with Schlott, a columnist at The New York Post, he provides suggestions for reclaiming free speech.

Simon &amp; Schuster, Oct. 17

[*Judgment at Tokyo: World War II on Trial and the Making of Modern Asia*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/533855/judgment-at-tokyo-by-gary-j-bass/), by Gary J. Bass

After World War II ended, Japanese military leaders were put on trial for war crimes, an attempt to reckon with atrocities that took more than two years. Bass’s history shows that, unlike its more famous counterpart in Nuremberg, the Tokyo trial provided few decisive resolutions, and argues that its legacy still reverberates today.

Knopf, Oct. 17

[*Worthy*](https://www.harpercollins.com/products/worthy-jada-pinkett-smith?variant=41038092501026), by Jada Pinkett Smith

Pinkett Smith described her upcoming memoir as “an adventure, a search for love and self-worth.” In it, she opens up about her early life in Baltimore, her marriage to Will Smith and addresses the “falsehoods” she says have circulated about her life over the past several years.

Dey Street, Oct. 17

[*I Must Be Dreaming*](https://www.bloomsbury.com/us/i-must-be-dreaming-9781620403228/), by Roz Chast

“I am creating them. So why, as they unfold, am I always so surprised?” the renowned cartoonist asks about her dreams in this inspired graphic narrative. She enlists everyone and everything she can — Aristotle, Freud, neuroscientists — in her quest to find out, in vivid color.

Bloomsbury, Oct. 24

[*Romney: A Reckoning*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Romney/McKay-Coppins/9781982196202), by McKay Coppins

Romney has played many political roles — Massachusetts governor, presidential candidate, senator from Utah. He granted Coppins, a staff writer at The Atlantic who has covered the Republican Party and religion for years, access to private journal entries, emails and texts and sat for interviews. Coppins said he was “[*astonished*](https://twitter.com/mckaycoppins/status/1623696056893726720?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1623696056893726720%7Ctwgr%5E8a586391637f3a5c83ba98b5cc5bffd402c812a0%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.kirkusreviews.com%2Fnews-and-features%2Farticles%2Fmitt-romney-shared-private-emails-with-biographer%2F) by his level of candor” while working on this biography.

Scribner, Oct. 24

[*Tupac Shakur: The Authorized Biography*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/556731/tupac-shakur-by-staci-robinson/), by Staci Robinson

Robinson, who knew Shakur in high school, draws on the rapper’s letters and notebooks along with interviews with close family and friends, in the first biography authorized by the Shakur estate. It includes photos, handwritten lyrics, and other artifacts from the estate’s archives.

Crown, Oct. 24

[*Being Henry: The Fonz … and Beyond*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9781250888099/beinghenry), by Henry Winkler

Winkler is known for his role on the beloved 1970s sitcom “Happy Days,” and he’s been a television fixture for decades; his performance on “Barry” won an Emmy in 2018. His new memoir chronicles the vagaries of his career, his struggle with dyslexia, his experience writing children’s books and more.

Celadon, Oct. 31

[*Class: A Memoir of Motherhood, Hunger, and Higher Education*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/Class/Stephanie-Land/9781982151393), by Stephanie Land

In this follow-up to “[*Maid*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/books/review/stephanie-land-maid.html),” a best-selling memoir about her grueling life as a domestic worker in Washington State, Land recounts the years in which she juggled her pursuit of a writing career with the reality of life as a single parent “who struggled to make ends meet in endless, sometimes impossible ways.”

Atria/One Signal, Nov. 7

[*To Free the Captives: A Plea for the American Soul*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/706866/to-free-the-captives-by-tracy-k-smith/), by Tracy K. Smith

Smith, a former U.S. Poet Laureate, draws on her personal and family history to make sense of the “din of human division and strife” in America. Beginning with her grandfather’s experience as a World War I veteran in Sunflower, Ala., and touching on her own spiritual life, she offers searching questions about the nation’s future.

Knopf, Nov. 7

[*My Name is Barbra*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/318615/my-name-is-barbra-by-barbra-streisand/), by Barbra Streisand

This book has been hotly anticipated since its announcement years ago. Streisand offers a highly detailed (nearly 1,000 pages) account of her life. It covers her early struggles to become an actress, the hardships she endured as a Jewish woman directing in Hollywood, her friendships with fellow celebrities and much more.

Viking, Nov. 7

[*World Within a Song: Music That Changed My Life and Life That Changed My Music*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/714352/world-within-a-song-by-jeff-tweedy/), by Jeff Tweedy

The frontman and a founding member of Wilco reflects on 50 songs that have shaped his life and art, including tracks by Joni Mitchell, Otis Redding and Billie Eilish, as he meditates on what compels us to listen to and create music.

Dutton, Nov. 7

[*Broken Code: Inside Facebook and the Fight to Expose Its Harmful Secrets*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/712678/broken-code-by-jeff-horwitz/#:~:text=Populated%20by%20concerned%2C%20brave%20employees,turning%20narrative%20of%20immense%20importance.%E2%80%9D), by Jeff Horwitz

Horwitz, a technology reporter at The Wall Street Journal, has [*written award-winning investigations*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-facebook-files-11631713039) of how Facebook shielded its elite users, enabled human and drug trafficking and amplified anger on the platform. He expands on that reporting in this book, providing a view of the company’s operations and highlighting the employees who identified concerns, proposed solutions and fought efforts to slow them.

Doubleday, Nov. 14

[*Chasing Bright Medusas: A Life of Willa Cather*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/672433/chasing-bright-medusas-by-benjamin-taylor/), by Benjamin Taylor

Taylor’s biography captures Cather’s early life in Virginia and Nebraska in the late 19th century, and covers her development as a journalist and writer who eschewed contemporary fashions. It offers a thoughtful analysis of her work and makes a case for its relevance today.

Viking, Nov. 14

[*Milton Friedman: The Last Conservative*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9780374601140/miltonfriedman), by Jennifer Burns

Burns, a historian at Stanford and the author of an intellectual biography of Ayn Rand, gives Friedman, a driving force in the postwar embrace of free-market economics, similar treatment in this rigorous account. She draws on archival material to trace his influences, assess his work and recount the struggles and triumphs that shaped his life.

Farrar, Straus &amp; Giroux, Nov. 14

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘A Perfect Storm for the Ambitious, Extreme Ideologue’; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:696W-0J81-JBG3-60N7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 20, 2023 Wednesday 09:29 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2738 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** Is there something unique to the United States that exacerbates partisan animosity, even in good times?

**Body**

Economic conditions are improving [*at a much faster rate*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/europeans-poorer-inflation-economy-255eb629) in the United States than they are in Europe, but partisan polarization is worsening here at a more intense pace than elsewhere. What gives?

While no issue divides America today as slavery did in the 1850s, or as the struggle between agricultural and industrial interests did at the turn of the last century, voters are now split into warring camps at remarkable levels of hostility.

Is there something unique to the United States that exacerbates partisan animosity, even in good times, perhaps especially in good times? Is this yet another dark side to American exceptionalism?

A forthcoming paper by [*Pippa Norris*](https://www.pippanorris.com/), a political scientist at Harvard’s Kennedy School, “Fractionalized and Polarized Party Systems in Western Democracies,” and a paper from 2021, “[*Cross-Country Trends in Affective Polarization*](https://scholar.harvard.edu/sites/scholar.harvard.edu/files/shapiro/files/cross-polar.pdf#page=10),” by the economists [*Levi Boxell*](https://iriss.stanford.edu/people/levi-boxell) and [*Matthew Gentzkow*](https://www.matthewgentzkow.com/), of Stanford, and [*Jesse M. Shapiro*](https://scholar.harvard.edu/shapiro/home) of Harvard, forcefully raise the question: What’s going on in this country?

Norris shows in her paper how the gulf between the Democratic and Republican parties on social and economic issues is extreme compared with other Western democracies.

The United States, Norris writes, is

deeply divided into red and blue tribes. Bitter disagreements divide Republican and Democratic members of the party leadership, lawmakers in the U.S. Congress and state houses, and grass roots party activists on the core issues of the state’s role in managing the economy, climate change, and health care, moral issues ranging from reproductive rights to gun control, the role of religion in public life, immigration, racial justice and affirmative action, and foreign policy questions such as U.S. support for Ukraine and the importance of nationalism, as well as profound disagreements over constitutional rights and rule of law, electoral integrity, trust in the authorities, and the legitimacy of American democracy.

While Norris focuses on “ideological polarization” — differences between the parties on issues — the cross-country trends paper concentrates on what has come to be called “[*affective polarization*](https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/10.1146/annurev-polisci-051117-073034).”

Five political scientists — Shanto Iyengar, Yphtach Lelkes, [*Matthew Levendusky*](https://www.asc.upenn.edu/people/faculty/matthew-levendusky-phd), [*Neil Malhotra*](https://www.gsb.stanford.edu/faculty-research/faculty/neil-malhotra) and Sean J. Westwood — have constructed a definition of affective polarization:

While previously polarization was primarily seen only in issue-based terms, a new type of division has emerged in the mass public in recent years: Ordinary Americans increasingly dislike and distrust those from the other party. Democrats and Republicans both say that the other party’s members are hypocritical, selfish, and closed-minded, and they are unwilling to socialize across party lines. This phenomenon of animosity between the parties is known as affective polarization.

In their examination of affective polarization in advanced democracies, Boxell, Gentzkow and Shapiro tracked patterns in 12 countries over the 40 years from 1980 to 2020 and found that

The U.S. exhibited the largest increase in affective polarization over this period. In five other countries — Switzerland, France, Denmark, Canada, and New Zealand — polarization also rose, but to a lesser extent. In six other countries — Japan, Australia, Britain, Norway, Sweden, and Germany — polarization fell.

In 1978, they write, “the average (American) partisan rated in-party members 27.4 points higher than out-party members”; by 2020, the difference had doubled, to 56.3 points.

The authors stress that they are measuring the rate of increase in the levels of polarization, as opposed to comparing absolute levels of polarization in different countries.

In the case of affective polarization, the authors collected “data on trends in economic, media, demographic and political factors that may be related to” partisan animosity and found that “trends in measures of inequality, openness to trade, the share getting news online, and the fraction foreign-born are either negatively or weakly associated with trends in affective polarization.”

Conversely, “trends in the number of 24-hour news channels, the nonwhite share, partisan sorting, and elite polarization are positively associated with trends in affective polarization. The association is strongest for the nonwhite share and elite polarization.”

I asked Gentzkow to elaborate, and he made a series of points in an email:

First, “the likelihood that someone in the other party looks like you, thinks like you, shares your values, has similar views on some issues to you has gone steadily down.”

Second, “racial and native/immigrant divisions matter a lot.” Not only is the nonwhite share of the population a significant factor, but in the United States the parties are “becoming more sorted by race — e.g., fewer Black Republicans or fewer conservative white Democrats in the South.”

Third, “we have good evidence that the rise of partisan cable TV in the U.S. has played a non-trivial role in increasing polarization. (This is in contrast to social media, which I think the evidence suggests played a more limited role.)”

Fourth, “maybe most important for recent years, I think the role of leaders is large.” A good example, Gentzkow continued, “is Covid: I doubt things like masks and vaccines would have become so polarized politically if politicians had not found it to their advantage to make them so.”

[*Sean Westwood*](https://govt.dartmouth.edu/people/sean-j-westwood), who teaches at Dartmouth, succinctly described the contemporary contradictions in American politics in an email:

Life in the United States is, by many measures, better than it has ever been: Unemployment is low, women are earning fairer wages, violence against minorities has shrunk, average life expectancy is near historic highs, and developments in medicine and technology have comforted our lives. So why are we so politically divided? It is a simple question without a simple answer.

Two factors Westwood cited are the self-interest of politicians and the intensity of partisan loyalty superseding other considerations: “Politicians, instead of focusing on the large list of issues where there is broad agreement in the American public, endlessly re-litigate social divides like gay rights and abortion to mobilize a base they fear will stay home if they focus on the mundane details of pragmatic governance.”

At the same time, Westwood said, “even when partisan Americans disagree with the candidate from their party on a large number of issues, most are unwilling to entertain crossing the aisle to vote for a candidate from the other party.”

This subservience to party, in Westwood’s view, is driven by “activists on both sides of the aisle who have reframed political conflict as a battle over moral truth and not a conflict over issue positions. If you disagree with the other party’s stance on an issue, you are not just wrong, but amoral.”

I asked [*Steven Hahn*](https://as.nyu.edu/faculty/steven-hahn.html), a historian at N.Y.U. whose forthcoming book, “[*Illiberal America*](https://wwnorton.com/books/9780393635928),” will be published next year, for his views on our current predicament. He emailed in response:

A confluence of developments over the last several decades has led to polarization among parties and many voters. These include: the stagnation of wages and salaries for the white middle and ***working class*** since the 1970s; the process of deindustrialization and the weakening of the labor movement; the recognition that white people will become a numerical minority by the middle of the 21st century, and the related belief that people of color have become the political clients of the Democratic Party (a party which has until very recently abandoned social democratic ambitions and instead also cultivated segments of the college-educated upper middle class).

But “especially important,” Hahn continued, “has been the organization and mobilization of the Christian right, certainly since the late 1970s, but especially since the 1990s. They have been demonizing the state and the public sector more generally and have helped turn the Republicans into a Christian (and effectively white) nationalist party.”

I asked [*Ariel Malka*](https://www.yu.edu/faculty/pages/malka-ariel), a professor of psychology at Yeshiva University, a similar set of questions about polarization, and he, too, replied by email.

“The two major parties,” he said, “have diverged from one another ideologically at both the [*elite level*](https://global.oup.com/academic/product/polarization-9780190867782?cc=us&amp;lang=en&amp;) and [*among partisans in the general population*](https://academic.oup.com/poq/article/80/S1/392/2223374) over the last five decades.” He argued that “it’s most useful to talk about this in terms of the institutional incentives that arise in our political system and how these intersect with cultural and demographic changes in society and the geographic distribution of partisans.”

First, Malka wrote,

Consider the continued cultural liberalization of many sections of society and the various forms of backlash to this that have occurred between the late 1960s and now. This creates a setting of constraints and opportunities for American politicians, as they try to exploit or adapt to high profile conflicts that arise over race, LGBT-related matters, what constitutes acceptable speech, what to teach in schools, etc.

Then, he continued,

Consider that this has coincided with increased [*geographic polarization*](https://www.nature.com/articles/s41562-021-01066-z) and a setting in which most legislators represent uncompetitive constituencies. In this context, many partisan elites have political incentives to take, or at least refrain from pushing back on, relatively extreme partisan positions.

Why do these forces differ in their impact in this country compared with other Western democracies?

Malka:

Two factors stand out to me. One is that most Western democracies have some form of proportional representation, which encourages more [*moderation and compromise*](https://academic.oup.com/book/36918), relative to a two-party electoral system that collapses a wide range of issue conflicts and cultural differences into a single dimension of partisan conflict. Another is that the United States seems to have a more inflammatory and widely [*encompassing cultural traditionalism vs. progressivism division*](https://cup.columbia.edu/book/the-great-divide/9780231120593). This has become increasingly central to partisan competition since the 1990s, and it has displayed a capacity to absorb a range of issues and policy disagreements (e.g., over Covid-19 measures) into a seemingly high stakes conflict over the cultural character of the nation.

Those I queried repeatedly cited the role of the two-party winner-take-all system in exacerbating polarization in this country.

[*Shanto Iyengar*](https://politicalscience.stanford.edu/people/shanto-iyengar), a political scientist at Stanford, emailed me on this issue:

The U.S. is a two-party system, making the contrast between the “in” and “out” party crystal clear. In multiparty systems, there is no single out group. Coalition politics makes it possible for partisans to see several parties as part of their team. And since proportional representation means that everyone gets some representation, elections have less of a zero-sum property, a characteristic of conflicts known to exacerbate polarization.

Iyengar cited two other “big differences between the U.S. and the other industrialized democracies”:

The U.S. is the outlier, in the sense that we are the one case without a major public broadcaster. In Norway, Sweden, Germany, the U.K., and Japan, on the other hand, the public broadcaster is the dominant media source commanding huge audiences. By definition, public broadcasters are committed to nonpartisan journalism, meaning that citizens are exposed to fact-based reporting rather than commentary.

In addition, Iyengar continued, “A second major difference concerns the length of political campaigns.” American elections “are not only prolonged, they also generate a much louder message and the message is overwhelmingly negative.”

[*Eric Foner*](http://www.ericfoner.com/), a historian at Columbia, maintained in an email that the continuing issue of inclusion of marginalized groups — racial, ethnic and sexual — plays a key role in American polarization:

The long existence of slavery, and its legacies to this day, have a lot to do with this. “We The People” — the first words of the Constitution — requires a definition of the people and throughout our history there have been many Americans who wish to exclude various groups from inclusion in the body politic. In other words, our democracy has always been contested and political polarization has often been intense.

Foner shares the view that the two-party system fosters polarization, noting that “it may even be that the political system produces polarization, even though on many issues Americans may not be as divided as appears on the surface.”

Some scholars view polarization as part of a larger problem.

[*Jefferson Cowie*](https://as.vanderbilt.edu/history/bio/jefferson-cowie/), a historian at Vanderbilt and the winner of the Pulitzer Prize for history this year for his book “[*Freedom’s Dominion*](https://www.pulitzer.org/winners/jefferson-cowie): A Saga of White Resistance to Federal Power,” emailed me his view that “the problem is not just polarization. In most social and political indicators of advanced industrial nations, the United States is an outlier in terms of inequality and the attendant negative social and political outcomes.”

Polarization, Cowie wrote, “might be the easiest to explain (no parliamentary system, post-civil rights era sorting of liberals and conservatives, etc.) but the overall problems posed by inequality, and how far beyond every other nation the United States is, are deep.”

[*Yphtach Lelkes*](https://www.asc.upenn.edu/people/faculty/yphtach-lelkes-phd), a political scientist at the University of Pennsylvania, pointed out by email that “it’s fairly clear that the current era of polarization in the United States started after the Civil Rights Act was passed, and political parties became far more homogeneous. The Republicans became conservative; the Democrats liberals.”

In general, Lelkes wrote, “I am skeptical of any monocausal explanation, and these things probably interact in complex ways. For instance, aspects of the political system in the United States, the legal system, e.g., campaign finance, and the media system, which rewards extremity and sensationalism, create a perfect storm for the ambitious, extreme ideologue.”

In addition, he continued, in the United States, “while partisanship is very strong, [*parties are very weak*](https://www.vox.com/mischiefs-of-faction/2016/11/3/13512362/weak-parties-strong-partisanship-bad-combination). [*Models show that when parties are strong*](https://www.jstor.org/stable/3088416?casa_token=1AzQTE2n3k0AAAAA%3A_2QXGEGTVTzI1JAZ7RpYXwtAidPQmiweBiXJuwqmIwT9-wCxsS7ZPh0uFnA0qn6ldtl70MwKBYx7azwsKb2AxdDdwKPuNwNh6f6zbiIEez7NUFirzVM), and leaders can impose discipline on their members, the parties will converge on the median voter (who is far more moderate than the median politician).”

Lelkes wrote that he is “also skeptical of the argument that it’s this issue or that issue. Voters’ positions on policies tend to follow their party’s positions on issues. Politicians manufacture culture wars for political gain.”

While scholars have mixed views on the role of inequality as an explanation for high levels of partisan polarization in this country, the United States stands far apart from most other democracies on measures of the gap between rich and poor.

Take the case of inequality calculated by the [*Gini index*](https://ourworldindata.org/what-is-the-gini-coefficient) of 0 to 1, with 0 no inequality at all and 1 the most extreme inequality possible.

According to the most recent data comparing the level of inequality among the 38 member countries of the [*Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development*](https://data.oecd.org/inequality/income-inequality.htm), the Gini index for the United States, at 0.375, was higher than it was for 33 other countries, exceeded only by Costa Rica, Mexico, Turkey and Bulgaria.

A very similar pattern emerges in the case of the O.E.C.D.’s [*most recent data*](https://data.oecd.org/inequality/income-inequality.htm) on deaths by assault. The violent death rate in United States is substantially higher, 7.4 for every 100,000 residents, than it is for 34 other countries, exceeded only by Mexico, Colombia and Costa Rica.

At one level, then, the question is: Are the negatives — hostility, violence, inequality, government dysfunction and polarization — inevitable companions to American dynamism, economic growth, innovation and the availability of ever-expanding services and goods that improve the quality of life?

Whatever the answer to that question, it masks a larger issue. How much damage will affective polarization and ideological conflict wreak on the fragile democratic underpinnings that have sustained the nation through a civil war, the Great Depression and many lesser recessions, two world wars, presidential assassinations and centuries of racial upheaval?

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: Let me know when it’s safe to come out. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kenny Holston/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 21, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Why Does New Hampshire Go First?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68MN-GKB1-DXY4-X0J4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 6, 2023 Thursday 09:24 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1713 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** New Hampshire has a strikingly poor record of identifying the strongest Democratic presidential candidates.

**Body**

New Hampshire has a strikingly poor record of identifying the strongest Democratic presidential candidates.

The Democratic Party is engaged in a roiling debate over the order of its presidential primaries, as [*a Times Magazine story by Ross Barkan explains*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/magazine/democratic-national-committee-2024.html).

President Biden and other top Democrats want South Carolina to go first next year. State officials in New Hampshire insist on keeping their first-in-the-nation status and say they will simply move their primary to take place before South Carolina’s. The outcome remains unclear.

Holding the country’s first primary certainly offers big benefits to a state. Presidential candidates make repeated visits. So do political organizers and members of the media, filling hotels and restaurants. A single state’s voters get to shape the national discourse. No wonder New Hampshire is fighting so hard to keep a privilege that it has had since the 1950s.

But there is also an inconvenient question to which New Hampshire officials have failed to offer a persuasive answer: How has the rest of the country benefited from the state’s special status?

New England bias

New Hampshire’s critics often point out the many ways it does not look like the rest of America. It is one of the country’s whitest, highest-income and most educated states. It is home to ski resorts, lake retreats and boarding schools — but not a single city with more than 125,000 residents.

New Hampshire’s defenders respond that its intimacy allows for a purer version of politics. Candidates talk directly with voters in restaurants and at town meetings, rather than competing mostly through advertisements. As in ancient Greece or the early United States, citizens can take the measure of the people who want to represent them. I have covered the New Hampshire primary, and I too found it charming.

The results are less impressive, though. There is no evidence that New Hampshire’s voters have a talent for picking presidents that other Americans lack. If anything, the state’s record is worse than average, at least on the Democratic side:

* New Hampshire voted against each of the past three Democratic presidents during their ultimately victorious nomination campaigns: Biden ([*who finished fifth!*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/us/politics/bernie-sanders-new-hampshire-primary.html)) in 2020, Barack Obama in 2008 and Bill Clinton in 1992. Not since Jimmy Carter, almost 50 years ago, has an eventual Democratic president won the state.

1. No two-term Democratic presidency has started with a New Hampshire win. In 1992, Clinton did spin his second-place finish as a victory, [*calling himself “the comeback kid,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/02/08/us/politics/bill-hillary-clinton-new-hampshire.html) but he received less than 25 percent of the vote.
2. The clearest pattern is that New Hampshire prefers Democrats from nearby, regardless of their ideology or national appeal. Every time a major candidate from neighboring Massachusetts or Vermont has run in the past 35 years, that candidate has won New Hampshire: [*Bernie Sanders in 2020 and 2016*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/11/us/politics/bernie-sanders-hillary-clinton.html), John Kerry in 2004, Paul Tsongas in 1992 and Michael Dukakis in 1988.

The closest thing to a substantive counterargument from New Hampshire officials is that their state is a swing state, unlike South Carolina, which is solidly Republican. If New Hampshire does still go first (as state law dictates) and Biden skips the state’s primary (as his aides have said he would), the primary campaign would be filled with criticisms of him from both Republican candidates running for the 2024 nomination and fringe Democrats challenging Biden like Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and Marianne Williamson.

“The reality is that New Hampshire is going to keep the first-in-the-nation primary,” Ray Buckley, the chairman of the New Hampshire Democratic Party, said, “and the question only is whether or not the president is going to put his name on the ballot.”

If he is not on the ballot, the criticism of Biden could theoretically damage his image in the state and hurt his chances when New Hampshirites vote next November in the general election. In a very close national election, New Hampshire might even determine the Electoral College result. But that scenario seems remote. A sitting president is always subject to harsh criticism during the other party’s open primary, and most sitting presidents nonetheless win re-election.

Ultimately, the main beneficiary of New Hampshire’s privileged primary status is New Hampshire, which explains why the state is fighting so hard to keep it. As Ross Barkan, the author of the Times Magazine article, writes, “Democrats there insist that it is their right to go first.”

Related: Biden has his own self-interested motives in pushing for South Carolina, [*Ross explains*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/magazine/democratic-national-committee-2024.html). The state — home to many ***working-class*** Black voters — rocketed Biden to the front of the Democratic field in 2020 after his losses in New Hampshire and Iowa.

More on politics

* Ron DeSantis has [*made a series of unforced campaign errors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/us/politics/desantis-campaign-president.html), including the release of a controversial video.

1. Yusef Salaam, one of the Central Park Five, [*won the Democratic primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/nyregion/yusef-salaam-harlem-city-council.html) for a City Council seat in Harlem.
2. Members of Congress are pushing for more nonstop flights to Reagan National Airport in Washington on [*routes they use to commute*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/04/us/politics/dca-long-distance-flights.html).

THE LATEST NEWS

War in Ukraine

* The leader of Belarus said that Yevgeny Prigozhin, who led the Wagner uprising, [*was in Russia, not Belarus*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/07/06/world/russia-ukraine-news). The claim could not be immediately confirmed.

1. President Biden told Sweden’s prime minister that he was “anxiously” waiting for the [*country to join NATO*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/us/politics/biden-sweden-prime-minister-nato-turkey.html). Its inclusion is unlikely because of [*Turkey’s opposition*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/06/world/middleeast/nato-summit-sweden-turkey.html).

Media

* A judge’s ruling to limit the government’s contact with social media companies will [*hurt the fight against disinformation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/business/media/disinformation-researchers-judge-restrictions.html), experts say. Conservatives say the decision [*combats censorship of their views*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/us/politics/social-media-ruling-government.html).

1. The “Twitter killer”: [*Instagram introduced Threads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/technology/threads-app-meta-twitter-killer.html), an app for text updates.
2. GQ [*removed an article*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/business/media/gq-david-zaslav-warner-bros-discovery.html) about the Warner Bros. Discovery C.E.O. from its website after the company complained.

Gun Violence

* The long Fourth of July weekend was [*full of gun violence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/us/shreveport-louisiana-shooting.html) that killed at least 15 people and wounded more than 50 others.

1. In Florida, a 7-year-old boy was killed by bullets fired as people fought over jet skiing. His grandfather tried to shield him.

International

* Janet Yellen, the Treasury secretary, arrives in China on a [*high-stakes diplomatic visit today*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/06/business/janet-yellen-china-treasury.html).

1. Israel’s incursion into Jenin, a city in the occupied West Bank, was one of the largest in decades, but some analysts say it [*lacked a deeper strategy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/world/middleeast/israel-military-jenin-palestinians.html).
2. A man who etched his name into a wall of the Colosseum in Rome apologized, saying he [*didn’t know it was an ancient site*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/world/europe/tourist-colosseum-rome-apology.html).
3. Her husband was smart and intensely private. Then the Chinese authorities stormed their home, leaving her to uncover that he was also, she suspects, [*a famed dissident blogger*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/world/asia/china-dissident-blog-program-think.html).

Other Big Stories

* The U.S. is destroying the [*last of its chemical weapons stockpile*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/06/us/chemical-weapons-stockpile.html), decades behind schedule.
* Federal health officials will urge older people to get new vaccines for [*Covid, flu and R.S.V. before winter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/health/vaccines-rsv-covid-flu.html).

1. Most people released from U.S. prisons [*struggle to find jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/06/business/economy/jobs-hiring-after-prison.html), despite programs intended to help them.
2. A man in California [*hid his mother’s death for three decades*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/us/death-benefits-fraud-california.html) to collect her government benefits.

Opinions

To [*integrate artificial intelligence into medicine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/06/opinion/artificial-intelligence-medicine-healthcare.html), doctors can’t expect traditional testing to work with new technology, Daniela J. Lamas writes.

In the wake of the failed mutiny against Vladimir Putin, there are signs his close relationship with China’s Xi Jinping [*has peaked*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/06/opinion/xi-putin-relationship-china.html), Ryan Hass argues.

Here are columns by [*Charles Blow*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/opinion/supreme-court-affirmative-action.html), [*David French*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/29/opinion/affirmative-action-supreme-court-harvard.html) and [*John McWhorter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/04/opinion/race-academia-preferences.html) on affirmative action.

MORNING READS

“You can’t fake it”: Bill de Blasio and Chirlane McCray explain [*what went wrong in their relationship*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/nyregion/de-blasio-marriage-chirlane-mccray.html).

Inked: People are [*getting freckle tattoos*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/04/style/freckle-tattoos-microblading.html).

Gum disease: Nearly half of Americans over 30 show symptoms. [*Here’s how to recognize them*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/04/well/live/gum-disease-prevention-treatment.html).

Road trip: Prue Leith, the “Great British Baking Show” judge, [*drives from California to Florida*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/03/travel/prue-leith-gbbs-road-trip.html).

Lives Lived: Edward Fredkin was an influential professor at M.I.T., despite never having graduated from college, who championed the idea that the entire universe might function like one big computer. He [*died at 88*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/04/science/edward-fredkin-dead.html).

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

Tension: A year after Wimbledon banned Russian and Belarusian players, those returning to the competition have been [*met with a frosty reception in locker rooms*](https://theathletic.com/4665967/2023/07/04/wimbledon-russia-belarus-players-ban/).

An unusual end: Once ranked No. 2 in the world, Anett Kontaveit [*is retiring*](https://theathletic.com/4668730/2023/07/05/retiring-wimbledon-anett-kontaveit/) after this year’s Wimbledon — with Netflix cameras documenting every second of her career’s last days.

Golf wunderkind: Rose Zhang, the 20-year-old phenom, [*is the favorite*](https://theathletic.com/4669374/2023/07/06/u-s-womens-open-how-to-watch/) in this weekend’s Women’s U.S. Open in just her third tournament as a professional.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Written in the stars: Visitors have flocked to Iconic Magazines in Lower Manhattan this summer to enter their birth date into a machine that offers life advice. It’s not a fortune teller (though it was influenced by the old Zoltar machines in arcades); [*it’s an astrology machine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/04/style/astrology-co-star-ai.html), created by Co-Star. The device, which looks like a retro NASA creation, combines astrological info with an A.I. chatbot to generate personalized readings. On a recent trip to the shop, some users said the A.I. technology made them trust it more: “I’d be more inclined to believe that an old lady leaning over a crystal ball is lying to me than a computer,” one said.

More on culture

* Coco Lee, the musician best known for [*performing an Oscar-nominated song*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/arts/music/coco-lee-dead.html) in “Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon,” has died at 48.

1. The Smithsonian’s pick to [*direct a women’s museum*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/arts/design/director-smithsonian-womens-history-withdraws.html) withdrew, citing “family issues,” after a review of how she handled earlier harassment claims.
2. The band Wham! is the [*focus of a new Netflix documentary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/movies/andrew-ridgeley-wham.html). It is a “[*nostalgic, fantastical elixir,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/movies/wham-review-documentary.html)” Wesley Morris writes.

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Add [*garlic-chile oil and burrata*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1020235-spaghetti-with-burrata-and-garlic-chile-oil?action=click&amp;region=Bright%20and%20Beautiful%20Summer%20Pastas&amp;rank=5) to spaghetti.

Splurge on [*this lip balm*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/money/fresh-sugar-lip-balm-deal/) (it’s on sale).

Wear this [*summer’s best sneaker*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/blog/onitsuka-tiger-mexico-66-sneakers/).

Spend five minutes falling in love with [*avant-garde jazz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/05/arts/music/avant-garde-jazz-music.html).

GAMES

Here are [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee) and [*the Bee Buddy*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/upshot/spelling-bee-buddy.html), which helps you find remaining words. Yesterday’s pangram was nonbelief.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html) and [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/sudoku/easy).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

PHOTO: A primary night party for Pete Buttigieg in 2020. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tamir Kalifa for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘Lingua Franca’ Review: Lives Under Stress***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60NV-M181-DXY4-X1XS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2020 Tuesday 01:11 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 327 words

**Byline:** Jeannette Catsoulis

**Highlight:** A transgender migrant and a recovering alcoholic form a connection in this modest ***working-class*** drama.

**Body**

A transgender migrant and a recovering alcoholic form a connection in this modest ***working-class*** drama.

A low-key blend of romance and immigration drama, “Lingua Franca” follows Olivia (Isabel Sandoval, who also wrote and directed), an undocumented Filipino transgender woman living in Brighton Beach.

Desperate to obtain legal residency, Olivia works as a caregiver to an aging Russian expatriate named Olga (Lynn Cohen). Solicitous to her mentally declining charge, Olivia is anxiously saving the money she needs to pay off a man who has promised to marry her. She has been let down before; but, in the absence of a genuine relationship, she sees no other option. Then she meets Alex (Eamon Farren), Olga’s troubled grandson, and recognizes that her immigration status might not be her most paramount concern after all.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/U4BNdAaa948)]

Glancingly addressing major issues — privacy, personal liberty, sexual satisfaction — Sandoval, working from an idea formed during her own gender transition, quietly contemplates lives under stress. Against a backdrop of ICE raids and anti-immigrant commentary, Olivia navigates green-card setbacks while Alex juggles dependency issues, a distrustful family and a dangerous new job.

As Alex finds tenderness in their connection and an escape from judgment, Farren brings a heat to the role that the movie instinctively bends toward. Sandoval’s directing style is humane and empathetic, but her acting has an aloofness that risks leaving Olivia unattended, an emotional question mark. The mood is meditative, the camera patient; yet the film is too dramatically shy and narratively slight to stir.

“You’re safe now,” Alex promises Olivia at one point. Yet, strangely, he’s the one who finally seems at peace.

Lingua Franca

Not rated. In English, Tagalog and Russian, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 29 minutes. [*Watch on Netflix*](http://youtube.com/embed/U4BNdAaa948).

PHOTO: Isabel Sandoval plays an undocumented worker in “Lingua Franca.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY ARRAY)

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2020

**End of Document**



[***When Celebrities Sling Mud, It's Fertile Soil for Drama***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:680H-9M41-JBG3-63PM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 12, 2023 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 1181 words

**Byline:** By Isabella Kwai

**Body**

A dramatization of the trial between the wives of two soccer stars is returning to the West End in London, joining TV shows, podcasts and documentaries about the high-profile spat.

With its stage transformed into a green soccer pitch, ''Vardy v. Rooney: The Wagatha Christie Trial'' at Wyndham's Theater in London last November promised its nearly sold-out audience a game, and the two women onstage were both trying to score a goal.

But as two pundits ooh'ed and aah'ed from the sidelines, the actresses sparring were not playing soccer stars but the women married to them, caught at the center of an Instagram feud turned high-profile libel case that captured the British public's attention last May and peeled back the curtain hiding the machinations of British celebrity and the glitzy world of English soccer.

''I see it as a comedy of manners,'' said Liv Hennessy, the writer of the play, which returns to the West End on Thursday at the Ambassadors Theater. ''It's a theatrical way for us to look at the way people behave in our current society.''

The play is just one recent retelling of the real-life case that became known as the ''Wagatha Christie'' trial, in which Rebekah Vardy, the wife of the Leicester City striker Jamie Vardy, sued Coleen Rooney, the wife of the former Manchester United star Wayne Rooney, for defamation. The catalyst: Rooney's accusation, on Twitter, that Vardy had leaked her personal information to the British press.

The wives and girlfriends of soccer players -- commonly known in Britain by the acronym WAGs -- have long been followed by tabloids, but Rooney's post caused an online furor. Its escalation into the legal realm led to breathless coverage, drawing in powerhouse lawyers and unearthing revelations about both women's personal lives.

The legal side of the long-running saga came to an end last July, with the High Court ruling against Vardy, saying that the reputational damage from the scandal was not libel and ordering Vardy to pay almost all of Rooney's legal costs, which amounted to about £1.7 million, or $1.9 million.

But the case's power as a story has lived on, with production companies, documentary makers, podcasters and journalists finding the unfolding trial and its cast of characters just too irresistible not to dissect, all helped by the availability of the weeklong case's court transcripts.

''It's the old adage of: You can't write this,'' said Thomas Popay, the creative director of Chalkboard TV, which produced a two-part dramatization, ''Vardy v. Rooney: A Courtroom Drama,'' that aired on Channel 4 in Britain last December. ''We literally didn't. We took the transcripts and recreated them.''

Alongside the West End play and Channel 4 show, offerings for followers of the feud include a BBC podcast called ''It's ... Wagatha Christie'' and the Discovery+ documentary ''Vardy vs Rooney: The Wagatha Trial.'' Rooney has signed a Disney+ deal for a three-part documentary looking at the events leading up to the trial, and the saga is reportedly being considered for a retelling as part of the series ''A Very British Scandal.''

''All of us can relate to the idea of being betrayed -- especially betrayed by someone who we trusted,'' Popay said. ''And on Vardy's side -- we can all relate to not being believed.''

In her 2019 social media post, Rooney described how she concocted a sting operation to reveal the betrayer by posting false stories that were visible to a single account -- Vardy's -- to test if they would turn up in The Sun, a London tabloid.

The popularity of the post led to Rooney being nicknamed ''Wagatha Christie'' -- a portmanteau of WAG and Agatha Christie, the mystery writer -- for her detective work. Vardy quickly denied she was the leaker and sued Rooney for defaming her.

''We are absolutely interested in people's misfortunes and what goes on in celebrity lives,'' said Adrian Bingham, a professor of modern British history at the University of Sheffield who has studied media and gender issues. The women's involvement with the soccer world gave their dispute resonance with a wider audience, he added, while the legal case gave the non-tabloid media a legitimate reason to cover it. Producers of the adaptations say they have asked their own lawyers to look over scripts, lest they find themselves accused of defamation.

The court transcript itself had moments and revelations that many say were ripe for re-enactment: a phone with key evidence in the form of WhatsApp messages, apparently lost to the bottom of the North Sea; lawyers in wigs formally reading out text messages from the women, some containing profanities; Vardy's tears on the witness stand after cross-examination by David Sherborne, Rooney's lawyer.

''It was positively Shakespearean in terms of how it went down,'' said Popay. ''We decided the best thing to do and the most accurate thing to do was to completely recreate the trial by using the court transcripts verbatim.'' His company's show, which was commissioned in May during the trial and aired in December, drew 1.5 million viewers.

Hennessy, the writer of the West End play, also relied heavily on the court transcripts, but took liberties by leaning into the soccer world, structuring the play like a game itself. Reading the transcripts, she said she was struck by the humanity of the two women, who have both been criticized (Vardy has said that people made abusive threats toward her and her unborn baby following that fateful post, while the trial laid bare tensions in Rooney's marriage and her experience growing up with fame).

''It does ask how complicit we are in creating public figures, and tearing them down when they don't meet our standards,'' Hennessy said.

Even at a rehearsal in late March, before the play's official return, it was clear the trial continued to intrigue and perplex even the cast members. During a pivotal scene in which Rooney is grilled by Vardy's lawyer on precisely why she made the fateful decision to share the feud with the world, the actors broke character to pose their own burning questions: Was that decision one of a calculating woman, or a woman at a breaking point? Why had she not privately confronted Vardy? And what did it feel like to live, as they imagined Rooney did, in a world where one's image could become a public commodity?

Though celebrity gossip can be easy to dismiss as frivolous, the two opponents in the trial were both women from ***working-class*** backgrounds who laid out one aspirational pathway for others like them, said Rebecca Twomey, an entertainment correspondent who has covered both women closely.

''We like to put people on pedestals -- and bring them down,'' she said, adding that many people enjoyed a modern-day pantomime. ''You might think they're airhead WAGs, but these are two sharp, intelligent women.''

Still, the enduring appeal of the high drama of ''Wagatha Christie'' is also simple, Professor Bingham said.

''The reason people are telling it is not because it's insightful,'' he added. ''It's because it's a great story -- with great lines.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/06/theater/wagatha-christie-play.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/06/theater/wagatha-christie-play.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, ''Vardy v. Rooney: The Wagatha Christie Trial,'' a play based on the transcript of a defamation trial involving Rebekah Vardy, above left, and Coleen Rooney, above right. It returned to a London stage this month. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAMELA RAITH

DANIEL LEAL/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** April 12, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Not All Democrats Are Embracing Biden's Student Loan Forgiveness***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667P-0HC1-JBG3-64RP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 26, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1302 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman and Maggie Astor

**Body**

Democratic candidates had starkly different responses to President Biden's plan, with splits along racial and generational lines and among those in tight races.

President Biden's executive order Wednesday to cancel thousands of dollars in college debt for millions of Americans has divided Democratic candidates like few other policies of his administration, with some Democrats using the plan to distance themselves from a president who could prove to be a heavy burden in their states and districts.

The responses were starkly divided along racial and generational lines, with Black candidates and younger voters more likely to approve and Democrats running as centrists more likely to be critical. But among Democratic candidates in tough campaigns, there was little consistency to be found.

Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia and Lt. Gov. Mandela Barnes of Wisconsin, both Black and both hoping to be in the Senate next year, were supportive. Senator Catherine Cortez Masto of Nevada, a Democrat in a tight race for re-election and running as a moderate conciliator, was highly critical.

Yet Senator Mark Kelly of Arizona, another Democrat seeking re-election in a swing state as a bipartisan moderate, backed the plan.

Lt. Gov. John Fetterman of Pennsylvania, a Senate candidate hoping to appeal to ***working-class*** voters, praised the move as relief to struggling Pennsylvanians too often forgotten by policymakers. Representative Tim Ryan of Ohio, also running for the Senate as a voice of the ***working class***, decried it as a gift to those already on a path to success at the expense of Ohioans shut out of higher education.

''While there's no doubt that a college education should be about opening opportunities, waiving debt for those already on a trajectory to financial security sends the wrong message to the millions of Ohioans without a degree working just as hard to make ends meet,'' Mr. Ryan said in a statement.

The sharp divisions over the debt relief order were somewhat surprising considering how long the plans were under consideration and the lengthy journey the issue has taken from a rallying cry at Occupy Wall Street protests more than a decade ago to a Biden campaign promise in 2020.

The provenance of the plan was no doubt from the left wing of the party -- including Senators Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont, and Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts -- that campaigned on promises of far more generous debt forgiveness. The fact that Mr. Biden issued a moderate version a little more than two months before the November midterm elections might have been expected to unite the party, not divide it.

But the move was coming from an unpopular president at a time when Republicans -- and some Democratic economists -- have been portraying any expensive social welfare proposal as jet fuel for skyrocketing inflation.

''There's still a real debate in the party on how interventionist the government should be,'' said Waleed Shahid, a liberal strategist and spokesman for Justice Democrats, a progressive group that has strongly pushed for student debt relief. He added, ''Some of these Democrats feel like they have to punch back at the president in purple states, and this is what they have chosen to punch back on.''

Beneath the raw politics of the moment are substantive criticisms. Mr. Biden's action would cancel $10,000 in debt for Americans earning less than $125,000 per year and cancel $20,000 for low-income students who received Pell grants.

Ms. Cortez Masto and Mr. Ryan both said the debt relief was not targeted enough at low-income Americans or college students entering fields with low pay and desperate need, like rural health care or emergency medicine.

Loan forgiveness should be a tool to fill societal needs, not a blanket gift, Mr. Ryan said. And debt relief alone, they and others argued, would not address the root cause of the problem -- soaring tuition costs that have forced students to take on larger and larger debt loads.

''We should be focusing on passing my legislation to expand Pell grants for lower-income students, target loan forgiveness to those in need and actually make college more affordable for working families,'' Ms. Cortez Masto said in a statement.

That position echoed remarks by Senator Michael Bennet, Democrat of Colorado, who is also up for re-election in a swing state.

But to Democrats on the party's left flank, those positions appeared calculated. The bulk of the debt relief would most likely go not to graduates of elite institutions with huge debt loads but to young people who attended community college and left, perhaps without a degree but with modest debt and difficult economic prospects.

Mr. Fetterman's campaign praised Mr. Biden's plan as ''entirely reasonable'' but also called for more investment in career and technical programs for Pennsylvanians not attending college and for tuition-free two-year and community college, platforms Mr. Biden also embraced.

''This really isn't an either/or issue,'' said Joe Calvello, a Fetterman campaign spokesman. ''We must be helping folks who need it, with or without college degrees.''

State electorates are different. Georgia's young voters backed debt relief when Mr. Warnock championed it in his first campaign in 2020. They will be needed again if he hopes to win against his Republican opponent, Herschel Walker. The enthusiasm of young voters for the plan loaded up TikTok with gushing videos.

On the other hand, the backbone of the Democratic Party in Nevada has long been the Culinary Workers Union and Service Employees International Union, whose work force is mostly in roles that do not require college degrees.

Mr. Ryan's opposition was an open appeal to the three-quarters of Ohioans without college degrees who might feel left out by a policy that could cost the government hundreds of billions of dollars in lost loan repayment.

It was also a response to his Republican opponent, J.D. Vance, who went on Fox News to declare, ''If you want to give student debt relief, you should penalize the people who have benefited from this very corrupt system, not ask plumbers in Ohio to subsidize the life decisions of college-educated young people, primarily young people who are going to make a lot of money over the course of their lifetime anyway.''

Izzi Levy, a Ryan campaign spokesman, said the candidate's position was ''not just being contrarian.''

But other candidates in difficult races did not feel compelled to issue such criticism. Mr. Warnock claimed credit for ''pushing the Biden administration since my swearing in'' to make the move, which he said was only a ''first step.''

''This announcement will help many Georgians, some of whom have been struggling with debt for decades, get their financial footing, and it will help keep our economy strong and growing,'' he said in a statement.

Mr. Kelly in Arizona saw the president's order not Mr. Warnock's ''first step'' but as a sign of moderation. And he came to the opposite conclusion of Mr. Ryan, saying the Biden order was ''more targeted than past proposals to cancel all student debt'' and was ''directed at those who need it most, including relief for those who attended a community college.''

Republicans saw no such divisions. They all castigated the president's announcement. Senator Marco Rubio, a Republican running for re-election in Florida against Representative Val B. Demings, promoted, as an alternative, legislation he has introduced to eliminate interest on federal student loans.

''Forgiving student loan debt isn't free,'' he said in a statement. ''It means the 85 percent of Americans with no undergraduate debt from college will be carrying the burden for those that do. That is not a relief, it is an unfair burden to place on working families.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/25/us/politics/student-loan-forgiveness-democrats-gop.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/25/us/politics/student-loan-forgiveness-democrats-gop.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The sharp divisions over the debt relief order were somewhat surprising considering how long the plans were under consideration. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SHAWN THEW/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Biden’s Student Loan Forgiveness Plan Divides Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667H-RK71-JBG3-64CN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2022 Thursday 09:08 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1317 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman and Maggie Astor

**Highlight:** Democratic candidates had starkly different responses to President Biden’s plan, with splits along racial and generational lines and among those in tight races.

**Body**

Democratic candidates had starkly different responses to President Biden’s plan, with splits along racial and generational lines and among those in tight races.

[*President Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/joe-biden)’s executive order Wednesday to [*cancel thousands of dollars in college debt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/us/politics/student-loan-forgiveness-biden.html) for millions of Americans has divided Democratic candidates like few other policies of his administration, with some Democrats using the plan to distance themselves from a president who could prove to be a heavy burden in their states and districts.

The responses were starkly divided along racial and generational lines, with Black candidates and younger voters more likely to approve and Democrats running as centrists more likely to be critical. But among Democratic candidates in tough campaigns, there was little consistency to be found.

Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia and Lt. Gov. Mandela Barnes of Wisconsin, both Black and both hoping to be in the Senate next year, were supportive. Senator Catherine Cortez Masto of Nevada, a Democrat in a tight race for re-election and [*running as a moderate conciliator,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/16/us/politics/catherine-cortez-masto-adam-laxalt-nevada.html) was highly critical.

Yet Senator Mark Kelly of Arizona, another Democrat seeking re-election in a swing state as a bipartisan moderate, backed the plan.

[*Lt. Gov. John Fetterman of Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/12/us/politics/fetterman-oz-senate-pennsylvania.html), a Senate candidate hoping to appeal to ***working-class*** voters, [*praised the move as relief*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z03JHvywXk4) to struggling Pennsylvanians too often forgotten by policymakers. Representative Tim Ryan of Ohio, also running for the Senate as a voice of the ***working class***, decried it as a gift to those already on a path to success at the expense of Ohioans shut out of higher education.

“While there’s no doubt that a college education should be about opening opportunities, waiving debt for those already on a trajectory to financial security sends the wrong message to the millions of Ohioans without a degree working just as hard to make ends meet,” Mr. Ryan said in a statement.

The sharp divisions over the debt relief order were somewhat surprising considering how long the plans were under consideration and the lengthy journey the issue has taken from a rallying cry at Occupy Wall Street protests more than a decade ago to a Biden campaign promise in 2020.

The provenance of the plan was no doubt from the left wing of the party — including Senators Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont, and Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts — that campaigned on promises of far more generous debt forgiveness. The fact that Mr. Biden issued a moderate version a little more than two months before the November midterm elections might have been expected to unite the party, not divide it.

But the move was coming from an unpopular president at a time when Republicans — and some Democratic economists — have been portraying any expensive social welfare proposal as jet fuel for skyrocketing inflation.

“There’s still a real debate in the party on how interventionist the government should be,” said Waleed Shahid, a liberal strategist and spokesman for Justice Democrats, a progressive group that has strongly pushed for student debt relief. He added, “Some of these Democrats feel like they have to punch back at the president in purple states, and this is what they have chosen to punch back on.”

Beneath the raw politics of the moment are substantive criticisms. Mr. Biden’s action would cancel $10,000 in debt for Americans earning less than $125,000 per year and cancel $20,000 for low-income students who received Pell grants.

Ms. Cortez Masto and Mr. Ryan both said the debt relief was not targeted enough at low-income Americans or college students entering fields with low pay and desperate need, like rural health care or emergency medicine.

Loan forgiveness should be a tool to fill societal needs, not a blanket gift, Mr. Ryan said. And debt relief alone, they and others argued, would not address the root cause of the problem — soaring tuition costs that have forced students to take on larger and larger debt loads.

“We should be focusing on passing my legislation to expand Pell grants for lower-income students, target loan forgiveness to those in need and actually make college more affordable for working families,” Ms. Cortez Masto said in a statement.

That position echoed remarks by [*Senator Michael Bennet*](https://twitter.com/SenatorBennet/status/1562527164737544193/photo/1), Democrat of Colorado, who is also up for re-election in a swing state.

But to Democrats on the party’s left flank, those positions appeared calculated. The bulk of the debt relief would most likely go not to graduates of elite institutions with huge debt loads but to young people who attended community college and left, perhaps without a degree but with modest debt and difficult economic prospects.

Mr. Fetterman’s campaign praised Mr. Biden’s plan as “entirely reasonable” but also called for more investment in career and technical programs for Pennsylvanians not attending college and for tuition-free two-year and community college, platforms Mr. Biden also embraced.

“This really isn’t an either/or issue,” said Joe Calvello, a Fetterman campaign spokesman. “We must be helping folks who need it, with or without college degrees.”

State electorates are different. Georgia’s young voters backed debt relief when Mr. Warnock championed it in his first campaign in 2020. They will be needed again if he hopes to win against his Republican opponent, Herschel Walker. The enthusiasm of young voters for the [*plan*](https://www.tiktok.com/@dukelovestaxes/video/7135478230534016302?is_from_webapp=v1&amp;item_id=7135478230534016302) loaded up [*TikTok*](https://www.tiktok.com/@thezolyspirit/video/7135222246309907758?is_from_webapp=v1&amp;item_id=7135222246309907758) with gushing videos.

On the other hand, the backbone of the Democratic Party in Nevada has long been the Culinary Workers Union and Service Employees International Union, whose work force is mostly in roles that do not require college degrees.

Mr. Ryan’s opposition was an open appeal to the three-quarters of Ohioans without college degrees who might feel left out by a policy that could cost the government hundreds of billions of dollars in lost loan repayment.

It was also a response to his Republican opponent, J.D. Vance, [*who went on Fox News to declare*](https://twitter.com/ColumbiaBugle/status/1562600108616830976), “If you want to give student debt relief, you should penalize the people who have benefited from this very corrupt system, not ask plumbers in Ohio to subsidize the life decisions of college-educated young people, primarily young people who are going to make a lot of money over the course of their lifetime anyway.”

Izzi Levy, a Ryan campaign spokesman, said the candidate’s position was “not just being contrarian.”

But other candidates in difficult races did not feel compelled to issue such criticism. Mr. Warnock claimed credit for “pushing the Biden administration since my swearing in” to make the move, which he said was only a “first step.”

“This announcement will help many Georgians, some of whom have been struggling with debt for decades, get their financial footing, and it will help keep our economy strong and growing,” [*he said in a statement*](https://www.warnock.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/following-senator-reverend-warnocks-advocacy-white-house-announces-student-debt-cancellation-for-georgians/).

Mr. Kelly in Arizona saw the president’s order not Mr. Warnock’s “first step” but as a sign of moderation. And he came to the opposite conclusion of Mr. Ryan, saying the Biden order was “more targeted than past proposals to cancel all student debt” and was “directed at those who need it most, including relief for those who attended a community college.”

Republicans saw no such divisions. They all castigated the president’s announcement. Senator Marco Rubio, a Republican running for re-election in Florida against Representative Val B. Demings, promoted, as an alternative, legislation he has introduced to eliminate interest on federal student loans.

“Forgiving student loan debt isn’t free,” he said in a statement. “It means the 85 percent of Americans with no undergraduate debt from college will be carrying the burden for those that do. That is not a relief, it is an unfair burden to place on working families.”

PHOTO: The sharp divisions over the debt relief order were somewhat surprising considering how long the plans were under consideration. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SHAWN THEW/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Interpreting the Week’s Most Important Stories; The Interpreter Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67RJ-21S1-JBG3-62RG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 10, 2023 Friday 12:38 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD

**Length:** 1094 words

**Byline:** Amanda Taub

**Highlight:** The larger themes behind the protests in Israel, the U.K.’s tough new immigration plan and a fight over U.S. labor unions.

**Body**

The larger themes behind the protests in Israel, the U.K.’s tough new immigration plan and a fight over U.S. labor unions.

I’m trying something a little different in today’s newsletter. A big part of what I try to do is to look for insights that explain the patterns and trends in world events, in ways that go beyond any single news story. Reading this newsletter should help you understand not just the latest development, but the bigger picture.

But when new developments happen, it’s not always possible to write a whole column to connect the dots, creating a bit of a gap in the Interpreter’s explanatory mission.

So this week, instead of a “what I’m reading” list, I’m switching it around: I’ll run through a few of the week’s major stories, then briefly connect them to bigger ongoing themes.

The politics of protests in Israel

[*Mass demonstrations continued in Israel this week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/world/middleeast/israel-military-judiciary.html), as outrage grows over the [*right-wing government’s proposal to limit the power of the judiciary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/10/world/middleeast/israel-judicial-reform-netanyahu.html). In the early weeks of the protests, the government, led by Benjamin Netanyahu, seemed determined to press ahead with its plans. But now there are hints of a shift: Patrick Kingsley, The Times’s Jerusalem bureau chief, writes that a small group of lawmakers and academics are [*holding secret talks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/07/world/middleeast/israel-judiciary-compromise-meetings.html) to find a compromise.

What explains the shift? For one possible explanation, check out Patrick’s article with Ronen Bergman about [*protests spreading to the Israeli military*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/world/middleeast/israel-military-judiciary.html): Hundreds of soldiers in the reserves have signed letters expressing reluctance to participate in nonessential duties, or have already pulled out of training missions. Many are from the country’s most elite units, including the military intelligence division.

In January, I wrote about [*the power politics of protest and social change*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/18/world/the-power-politics-of-social-change.html), drawing on research that showed social movements in countries like South Africa were most successful when they connected with a political constituency that had leverage over the government.

In Israel, the military is a tremendously powerful institution, culturally and politically as well as for security reasons. It’s easy to see how protests within its ranks could exert much more effective pressure on the government than mass street demonstrations alone.

Importantly, military officers are concerned that weakening the judiciary could leave them vulnerable to future prosecution if the lack of judicial oversight makes it more likely that they could be ordered to engage in illegal operations, and that it could also strengthen calls for Israelis to be tried by the International Criminal Court. Those concrete concerns about self-interest may be far more difficult for the government to defuse than if the protests were just motivated by ideology and political solidarity.

Elsewhere in the Middle East: Saudi Arabia and Iran announced today that they had reached a [*surprise agreement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/10/world/middleeast/saudi-arabia-iran-reestablish-ties.html) — brokered by China — that paves the way for the re-establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries. That could be a setback for Israel, which had hoped to establish closer ties with Saudi Arabia to protect against threats from its archenemy, Iran; and also for the United States, which has long been the dominant superpower in the Middle East.

Immigration politics in Britain

In Britain this week, the government unveiled a [*controversial new bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/07/world/europe/uk-migration-asylum.html) that it claims will make it nearly impossible for people who arrive in small boats to successfully seek asylum. The risks for people with legitimate asylum claims are existential: refugees are some of the world’s most vulnerable people, and this new bill would erect even greater barriers between them and safety. It’s not clear whether the proposed laws would be able to survive a legal challenge. But it’s the latest example of how the Conservative Party engages with the politics of immigration in Britain.

[*Last week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/01/world/europe/brexit-immigration-eu.html), I wrote about how the salience of immigration has dropped significantly in Britain in the last few years. Since Britain left the European Union, it has become more difficult for politicians to whip up support by appealing to fears of uncontrolled borders.

Taking a hard, repressive stance on asylum seekers can be a way for the current government to [*tap into the same kind of fear-based politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/20/world/border-control-politics.html) that led to Brexit and helped the Conservatives win a large majority in the last election.

Prime Minister Rishi Sunak seems to be reaching back into the same playbook.

Why unions matter (for more than workers’ rights)

In [*today’s installment of The Morning*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/10/briefing/labor-unions-democratic-party-right-to-work.html), David Leonhardt writes about a political fight over labor unions in Michigan that could have much wider consequences.

David’s piece notes that strengthening unions might help the Democrats appeal more broadly to voters on economic issues. “Many ***working-class*** Americans hold progressive economic views while also being religious, patriotic and socially moderate,” he writes. “When a labor union talks to these voters about economic policy, they become more likely to vote for a Democrat. When they are not in a union, they may instead be swayed to vote Republican by their evangelical church or Fox News.”

Another way to think about it is that unions have historically been part of the infrastructure of the Democratic Party in the United States, serving as a kind of subcontractor of party functions like getting out the vote, distributing messaging and helping to select candidates for office. (For more on that, I recommend “[*When Movements Anchor Parties: Electoral Alignments in American History*](https://press.princeton.edu/books/hardcover/9780691164694/when-movements-anchor-parties)” by Daniel Schlozman.) When Republican officials have undermined or dismantled labor unions, they undermined the Democratic Party along with workers’ bargaining power.

The impact of that goes far beyond economic issues. As I discussed in my January column about [*social movements and protests,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/18/world/the-power-politics-of-social-change.html) unions played a crucial role in forcing the Democratic Party to support civil rights, even though the party leadership resisted out of (entirely correct) fears that doing so would cause it to lose support in the South. As unions have weakened in recent decades, so has social movements’ ability to use them as a lever of change — which has ramifications for American politics that go far beyond just economic issues.

(For more on that civil rights history, I highly recommend “[*Racial Realignment: The Transformation of American Liberalism, 1932–1965*](https://press.princeton.edu/books/hardcover/9780691153872/racial-realignment),” by Eric Schickler.)

PHOTO: Israelis protest in Tel Aviv on Thursday against plans by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s government to overhaul the judicial system. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Oded Balilty/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Confessions of a Liberal Heretic; The On Politics Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64MF-1HS1-JBG3-63SF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 25, 2022 Tuesday 19:00 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1754 words

**Byline:** Blake Hounshell and Leah Askarinam

**Highlight:** Ruy Teixeira was co-author of one of the most influential political books of the 21st century. Now, he says, Democrats are getting its lessons all wrong.

**Body**

Ruy Teixeira was co-author of one of the most influential political books of the 21st century. Now, he says, Democrats are getting its lessons all wrong.

A funny thing happened on the way to the emerging Democratic majority. Twenty years on, the co-authors of a hugely influential work on the subject acknowledge that their party took a detour.

In 2002, the political scientist [*Ruy Teixeira*](mailto:ruyteixeira11@gmail.com) and the journalist John B. Judis published a book that struck a chord among liberals despondent over the success of George W. Bush, a president who was then so popular that he gained seats in that year’s midterm election.

[*“The Emerging Democratic Majority”*](https://www.amazon.com/dp/B0036QVPEU/ref=dp-kindle-redirect?_encoding=UTF8&amp;btkr=1) took note of the demographic change pulsing through the country, and boldly predicted that the Democratic Party was poised to dominate American politics for the foreseeable future.

“Over the next decade, this bloc of voters is expected to continue to increase and, extrapolating from recent trends, could make up nearly a quarter of the electorate,” Teixeira and Judis wrote. “If these voters remain solidly Democratic, they will constitute a formidable advantage for any Democratic candidate. Democrats could suffer from an embarrassment of political riches.”

Six years later, the American public elected Barack Obama, an African American president whose rainbow coalition [*seemed to vindicate*](https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2012/11/the-emerging-democratic-majority-turns-10/265005/) the thesis. A [*Time magazine cover*](http://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,20090518,00.html) from May 2009 pictured an elephant below the headline “Endangered Species,” capturing the feeling that Republicans’ demographic reckoning had finally arrived.

But it unraveled quickly with the election of Donald Trump, who not only discovered pockets of white ***working-class*** voters that few knew existed, but also appealed to more voters of color than anyone had expected.

Now, as President Biden sinks in the polls, Teixeira finds himself fighting against what he says is a caricature of his famous book. His Substack newsletter, [*The Liberal Patriot*](https://theliberalpatriot.substack.com/), delivers “no-holds-barred, reality-based analysis,” unafraid to take on what he calls a “race-essentialist” dogma that is dominating the Democratic Party.

Teixeira is unsparing about the party strategists who he believes are leading Democrats astray — and unapologetic about offending many on his own side. His newsletter has become a kind of samizdat for like-minded liberals who aren’t as willing to speak their minds.

“There are some people who think I’ve completely lost it,” he told us in a wide-ranging interview about his book, his party and lessons not yet learned. “But I feel like we’re making some progress.”

The following excerpts have been edited for length and clarity:

There’s lots of nuance that gets lost in translation, but the narrative that a lot of people took from your book was that the Democratic Party would benefit from the inevitable growth of people of color, young people, this new cadre of voters who at the time seemed ready to join the party and put the Republican Party in the rearview mirror. And the narrative has been complicated since then, hasn’t it?

Well, it was even complicated back then. You fairly summarized what is a bowdlerized version of what we said. That was only part of what we were saying. Demographic change was inevitably shifting the political terrain. It did not make it inevitable that Democrats would benefit.

And even on this raw demographic basis, it’s not crazy that there’s a natural popular-vote Democratic majority in the country. However, that does not translate into political power. We very specifically said — and this is widely ignored — that for this majority to attain and exercise political power, you have to retain a significant fraction of the white ***working class***. The country was changing, but it wasn’t changing that fast.

The second thing we didn’t anticipate was the eventual effect of professional-class hegemony in the Democratic Party — that it would tilt the Democrats so far to the left on sociocultural issues that it would actually make the Democratic Party significantly unattractive to ***working-class*** voters.

It’s a huge liability for the Democrats, because the people who staff the party, the people who staff the think tanks, the advocacy groups, the foundations, the staffers, they’re all singing from the same hymnal to some extent. They live in this liberal cultural bubble, particularly the younger members.

Can you give an example of that?

Sure. Go back to the 2020 Democratic primaries. It was remarkable the extent to which things that were alienating to the average voter, particularly your average ***working-class*** voter, were gaily promulgated, with no apparent second thoughts about how it might appear to people outside the bubble. Things like open borders; basically, let’s decriminalize the border. Anybody who knows anything about immigration and public opinion in the United States realizes that will not play well.

Arguably, Democrats would have been better off from the beginning saying, “Yeah, we believe in being humane to immigrants. We also believe in border security, and we’re going to enforce it.” You know, take a page out of the old Obama playbook. Obama got a lot of stuff right on some of these issues, which the party is now insisting on forgetting.

You had a lot of stuff about mass incarceration, but almost nothing about crime. Democrats now fit this profile of being relatively soft on crime, more interested in not putting people in jail than in putting them in jail when it’s appropriate. That’s really wound up hurting them.

In the aftermath of the George Floyd murder, there was a distinct, almost inflection point in the intensity of this professional-class hegemony on race, to the point where it became completely routine for people in and around the party to talk about white supremacy, systemic racism, how America has always been a benighted country and still is, we haven’t made any progress, everybody who is white has work to do in terms of discarding their racism.

You write about something you call “the Fox News Fallacy,” which you say is [*“blinding Democrats to real problems.”*](https://theliberalpatriot.substack.com/p/the-fox-news-fallacy)

The basic idea is when one of these criticisms appears — like, Democrats are allowing the intrusion of race-essentialist ideology into curriculum and teacher training — the first reaction is to deny it and just to say it’s simply a racist dog whistle to constituencies who aren’t that happy about the way the country has changed.

The same thing goes for crime. I mean, who wants to be tough on crime? Well, no one could possibly want to be tough on crime except for people who want to put a lot of Black people in jail; whereas actually, this is a huge matter of concern for people across races, and particularly in poor Black and Hispanic communities. The idea that concern about crime and a desire to be tough on criminals is simply a reflection of a bigoted, reactionary type of politics is completely ridiculous.

The base of the Democratic Party in many ways is older Black voters who are quite conservative on a lot of issues. And those are the people who elected Joe Biden.

Right. And the extent to which this is completely ignored by the dominant liberal Democratic discourse, to me, is completely astonishing. Do they really believe that the Black voters who formed the base of the Democratic Party think like Ibram X. Kendi, or the leaders of BLM? Are they crazy? I mean, how can they not understand there’s enormous sort of diversity among the worldviews of people within the Black community? They vary by class, they vary by age, they vary in all kinds of ways. And the idea that they are sort of all on board with this crusade against the superficial aspects of so-called systemic racism, that that’s really what they care about, is fanciful, really.

What would you recommend the Democratic Party do?

Well, it won’t be easy. You try to be productive, you try to get the Electoral Count Act and associated reforms done. You try to get some sort of Build Back Better thing through Congress with Joe Manchin’s support, or you break it up into pieces that are popular and try to get them through. These are the kinds of things you have to do to convince people you’re effective, and you can govern.

The second thing is, whatever you haven’t done to try to get the country back to normal, do it. We’re fast approaching the end of this pandemic. A Democrat should be ready to reopen the country. You’ve just got to send the message that what you want is for people to be happy and for things to be back to normal.

A third thing here that’s related to any elections: They’ve got to try to lift the ceiling on their support levels, which I think will necessitate some drawing of lines within the party, where you say, “No, no, we believe in being tough on crime. We think it is an absolutely atrocious idea to defund the police.”

You’ve got to win, and when you win, you’ve got to do stuff for the people who elected you. It’s not much more complicated than that.

What to read

* Democrats are [*searching for a new message on the coronavirus*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/25/us/politics/coronavirus-democrats-midterm-elections.html), as warning signs grow that voters are fed up with the pandemic and frustrated by President Biden’s handling of it.

1. American officials are scrambling to find additional alternative sources of energy for Europe, in what [*David E. Sanger describes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/25/us/politics/us-europe-fuel-supply-russian-cutoff.html)as an effort to pre-empt possible efforts by Russia to cut off gas supplies to European markets amid a showdown over Ukraine.
2. Neil MacFarquhar [*examines the “sprawling” prosecution*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/24/us/whitmer-kidnapping-trial.html) of the armed men who were accused of plotting to kidnap Gov. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan.

It’s coming from inside the house

The recent erosion in President Biden’s approval rating is happening within his own party, [*the latest Pew Research Center survey suggests*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2022/01/25/biden-starts-year-two-with-diminished-public-support-and-a-daunting-list-of-challenges/).

Over the last six months, Biden’s job approval has slipped by 20 percentage points among Democrats and independents who lean Democratic — from 88 to 68 percent. Just 29 percent of Democrats say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country, a decline of 18 percentage points since March.

Biden has lost ground with one group in particular, Pew found: Only 60 percent of Black adults now approve of his job performance. That’s down from 67 percent in September.

Is there anything you think we’re missing? Anything you want to see more of? We’d love to hear from you. Email us at [*onpolitics@nytimes.com*](mailto:onpolitics@nytimes.com).

PHOTO: In a 2002 book, Ruy Teixeira and John B. Judis argued that the Democratic Party was poised to dominate American politics. Teixeira now believes party strategists are leading Democrats astray. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Matthew Busch for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 25, 2022

**End of Document**



[***DeSantis to Visit Wisconsin, a 2024 Battleground, as He Circles Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:685M-N4W1-JBG3-61YT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 6, 2023 Saturday 12:57 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1240 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas and Alexandra Glorioso

**Highlight:** The Florida governor, who has slipped in polls as his expected entrance to the presidential race nears, is moving beyond early nominating states like Iowa and New Hampshire.

**Body**

The Florida governor, who has slipped in polls as his expected entrance to the presidential race nears, is moving beyond early nominating states like Iowa and New Hampshire.

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida is expanding his political travel as his poll numbers slip ahead of an expected presidential campaign, visiting rural north-central Wisconsin on Saturday in a sign of his intent to compete for voters beyond early nominating states like Iowa.

Declared candidates, including former President Donald J. Trump, have largely focused on making appearances in Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina, three of the first states on the Republican nominating calendar next year.

But Mr. DeSantis’s visit to a convention center outside the small city of Wausau, an area roughly 90 minutes west of Green Bay that [*voted heavily*](https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/politics/elections/2020/11/04/wisconsin-results-down-wire-again-milwaukee-ballot-count/6123344002/) for Mr. Trump in the last two elections, suggests that the governor is preparing to challenge the former president more directly in a crucial battleground state.

“It’s a smart move by DeSantis,” said Brandon Scholz, a lobbyist and former executive director of the Wisconsin Republican Party. “You don’t go to Wausau, Wisconsin, to get cheese curds. You go to get the grass roots talking. You go to get on local TV. It shows that DeSantis is thinking about his strategy beyond the early states, and that he’s picking his spots well.”

For Mr. DeSantis, who is expected to announce his 2024 bid in the coming weeks, the trip to the Midwest offers a chance for a reset. A trade mission abroad late last month — meant to elevate his foreign policy credentials — received only a [*lukewarm response*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/27/us/politics/desantis-israel.html). And his poll numbers against Mr. Trump have [*consistently dipped*](https://www.foxnews.com/official-polls/fox-news-poll-trump-still-top-2024-republican-preference-desantis-slipping).

On Friday, Mr. DeSantis dismissed [*concerns by some fellow Republicans*](https://apnews.com/article/desantis-2024-presidential-urgency-a224ad6222d5e8e11e485e5d8b7f99a9) that he was taking too long to announce a campaign.

“That’s chatter,” he said at a news conference at the Florida Capitol. “The chatter is just not something that I worry about. I don’t bother.”

At another point, he said of his political ambitions, “We’ll get on that relatively soon,” adding, “You either got to put up or shut up on that.”

Mr. DeSantis can point to a busy two-month legislative session in Tallahassee that ended on Friday and allowed him to notch [*conservative victories*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/us/politics/desantis-florida-legislature.html) on abortion, immigration and education, among other issues dear to his party’s base. With legislators returning home, he is expected to pick up his out-of-state travel schedule, which includes stops in Illinois and Iowa next week.

After helping vault Mr. Trump to the presidency in 2016, Wisconsin swung to Joseph R. Biden Jr. four years later. Republicans there have continued to take losses, including the re-election of Gov. Tony Evers, a Democrat, in November and a [*bruising loss*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/04/us/politics/wisconsin-supreme-court-protasiewicz.html) last month in a consequential State Supreme Court race.

The Saturday event for Mr. DeSantis, an evening fund-raiser for the Republican Party of Marathon County where he will speak about his memoir, is sold out with more than 560 attendees, according to organizers.

“It’s not just Marathon County,” said Kevin Hermening, the county party’s chairman. “We have people traveling in from Chicago, Minneapolis, Madison, Milwaukee and Green Bay,” he said. “There is a real interest in listening to somebody who represents the next generation of conservative thought.”

Mr. DeSantis may use the Wisconsin dinner to highlight his family’s Midwestern roots: His mother is from Youngstown, Ohio, and his wife, Casey DeSantis, is also from Ohio. His father was raised in western Pennsylvania.

Mr. DeSantis, who has spent most of his life in Florida, recently started to [*emphasize*](https://www.mcclatchydc.com/news/politics-government/article274789296.html) his ties outside the state.

“I was geographically raised in Tampa Bay, but culturally my upbringing reflected the ***working-class*** communities in western Pennsylvania and northeast Ohio — from weekly church attendance to the expectation that one would earn his keep,” Mr. DeSantis says in his memoir, “The Courage to Be Free,” which he is promoting nationwide. “This made me God-fearing, hard-working and America-loving.”

Saturday’s fund-raiser is not a high-dollar affair, allowing Mr. DeSantis to talk directly to his party’s base. Individual tickets cost $75. A table of eight went for $1,000. Representative Tom Tiffany, a Republican who represents the area in Congress and has not made a presidential endorsement, will introduce Mr. DeSantis.

Mr. DeSantis’s visit to Wisconsin could also invite further [*comparisons*](https://www.politico.com/news/2023/03/15/scott-walker-grades-ron-desantis-as-a-potential-gop-frontrunner-00087077) between him and Scott Walker, the state’s former governor and onetime front-runner in the 2016 Republican presidential primary, who [*ended his campaign*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2015/09/21/scott-walker-quits-2016-presidential-race/) after only two months. Like Mr. DeSantis, Mr. Walker was a young, popular governor. But he stumbled early on the campaign trail and saw his star quickly dim as Mr. Trump outshone his establishment rivals.

In Wisconsin — which will also host the Republican Party’s 2024 convention, in Milwaukee — Mr. DeSantis will be walking straight into the heart of Trump country.

The former president held several rallies in the state’s rural north during previous campaigns, and handily beat both Hillary Clinton and Mr. Biden there. Mr. DeSantis has so far largely avoided mentioning Mr. Trump by name, although a super PAC backing the governor’s campaign is stepping up its attacks.

“The die-hard people up here still love Trump,” said Linda Prehn, a Republican who helped organize the Saturday event. “But I know a lot of people who voted for him two times and do not want to vote for him a third time” in a primary.

Ms. Prehn said she did not know much about Mr. DeSantis, although her friends in Florida had praised how he handled the coronavirus pandemic and a [*recent devastating hurricane*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/29/us/hurricane-ian-florida-damage.html).

“People want to get a look at him,” she said.

In a recent survey of Wisconsin voters, Mr. DeSantis performed better in a head-to-head matchup against Mr. Biden than Mr. Trump did, according to the Republican polling firm Public Opinion Strategies.

Still, pro-Trump forces are mobilizing to challenge Mr. DeSantis in Wisconsin. On its Facebook page, the Republican Party in nearby Waupaca County posted an invitation calling for a rally in support of Mr. Trump outside the dinner where Mr. DeSantis will speak.

“Please gather with us,” the post [*said*](https://www.facebook.com/WaupacaCountyRepublicanParty/), “for a patriotic rally showing that Wisconsin is Trump Country!” The post was earlier [*reported*](https://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/meetthepressblog/desantis-draws-big-crowd-wisconsin-event-trump-protesters-rcna82969) by NBC News.

On Saturday, Mr. DeSantis is likely to make his case to party activists by extolling the results of Florida’s legislative session.

“I think we got probably 99 percent” of his agenda, he told reporters on Friday. He acknowledged, however, [*the failure of high-profile defamation bills*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/03/us/politics/desantis-florida-defamation-bills.html) that would have made it easier for private citizens to sue news outlets for libel, measures that some right-wing outlets had opposed.

“Look, the defamation, it’s a thorny issue,” Mr. DeSantis said. “Clearly I don’t want to incentivize frivolous lawsuits. That is totally unacceptable.”

As Mr. DeSantis makes the positive case for his candidacy, the main super PAC supporting his candidacy, Never Back Down, is attacking Mr. Trump.

The group released an [*ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bHM0aj_fLMo) this past week that features an actor putting a fresh bumper sticker on his truck.

The new sticker reads “DeSantis for President.”

The man places it directly over a tattered decal for Mr. Trump’s 2016 campaign.

PHOTO: Gov. Ron DeSantis is expected to speak on Saturday evening at a sold-out Republican fund-raising event outside of Wausau, Wis. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** May 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Elites' Misguided G.D.P. Fetish***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60PF-R681-DXY4-X2HK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 28, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 27

**Length:** 1171 words

**Byline:** By Oren Cass

**Body**

''Material living standards'' are not the same thing as ''quality of life.''

For Americans living through the recent months of crisis, some of the latest economic data may come as a surprise. Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.) over the past six months remained far above what we could have achieved even a decade ago. Investors have driven key stock indexes back above their February peaks. But rarely have such economic indicators been so entirely beside the point. Seriously: Who cares?

What good does G.D.P. do, if people we love are falling seriously ill and dying in unprecedented numbers; if the rhythms of daily life vital to our happiness have gone haywire and our social connections have atrophied?

Typically shielded from such problems, the country's professional class now finds itself experiencing a taste of the insecurity and anxiety that the ***working class*** has felt for decades: The dissolution of community; the suddenly prohibitive distances separating friends and family; the anger at experts selling ineffective, poorly planned schooling as adequate to their children's needs.

The calamity we're now all living through offers the professional class an opportunity to reconsider assessments of the national condition issued so confidently pre-pandemic: Economists focus on material living standards partly for ease of quantification, but also because that is what free markets most reliably produce. And for many on the right-of-center especially, a rise in living standards equals success, which conveniently supports the conclusion that the economy has been delivering well.

But ''material living standards,'' measured in dollars of consumption (or inches of flat-screen TV), are not the same thing as ''quality of life.'' They say little about relationships, dignity, agency, or life satisfaction.

Ask yourself what matters to you right now. Consider whether new apps on your smartphone compensate for the loss of control, sense of powerlessness, and strain of unpredictability. We could measure such things if we wanted: We survey ''consumer confidence'' each month, why not community confidence? We could track how well families are building long-term savings and report the children-with-married-parents rate alongside the unemployment rate.

Speaking in March at the Heritage Foundation, Senator Pat Toomey, a Republican said, ''many nuclear families are struggling, that families don't have the community support that they once had, extended families live apart,'' and ''civil society'' is in ''decline.'' Still, he argued, ''the standard of living of middle-class and ***working class*** Americans has improved,'' citing larger houses, better computers, and cars that are not only safer but also equipped with satellite radio and seat warmers.

Weighing these competing factors, he concluded, ''For all the problems that we undoubtedly have, the fact is life is better today than it has ever been for the vast majority of the American people.''

Michael Strain of the American Enterprise Institute has gone a step further, assessing ''the American dream'' itself by material living standards. In his book, ''The American Dream Is Not Dead,'' published just weeks before the nation went into lockdown because of the coronavirus, Dr. Strain acknowledged that economic measures are not the only ones that matter, but focused on them because they are ''so central.''

His seventh chapter, ''Quality of Life Has Clearly Improved,''leads with the availability of color television, air-conditioning, and affordable long-distance calling, before turning to enjoyment of a daily commute: ''My car is so comfortable and I have access to so much entertainment while driving,'' he writes.

By Senator Toomey's and Dr. Strain's standards, the past few months were the greatest in human history to be alive. The pandemic has allowed more time than ever to enjoy air-conditioning and color televisions, computers and phones. One can joy ride for hours streaming podcasts.

How much of that technology would you trade to erase the coronavirus? Put another way, how far back in history would you have to travel to find a time when Americans' true quality of life was lower than today's? Would it be 1980? 1950? That this is even a question serves as damning refutation of Senator Toomey's confidence that an improved standard of living more than compensates for weakened family bonds and waning community support.

While the right-of-center often dismisses ***working-class*** frustration with claims of economic prosperity, the left-of-center tends to dismiss their frustration as backward or racist. Candidate Barack Obama lamented people who ''get bitter, they cling to guns or religion or antipathy toward people who aren't like them.'' Hillary Clinton placed such people in her ''basket of deplorables.''

Many Democratic analysts continue to mock the specter of ''economic anxiety'' as a genuine motivating factor for white voters and assemble analyses explaining away their recent losses. ''Actually, these people were motivated by racism. It's just an important fact of the world,'' David Shor, a left-leaning data analyst, said recently in an interview with New York Magazine.

According to thinking like this, people can't rationally reject the buffet of entitlements often suggested as cure-all solutions by progressives. Yet, in this time of coronavirus, Americans from all walks of life can understand that the solution must be to fix problems, not merely compensate for them.

Perhaps there is no cure for what ails the ***working class***. Then again, perhaps we will never find an effective Covid-19 vaccine. But that's no argument against trying.

America could slow, or partially reverse, elements of globalization that have most disrupted ***working-class*** lives, if that were our priority. We could reorient our education system toward serving the majority of young people who still don't earn even a community-college degree. We could reform our system of organized labor to provide workers a genuine seat at the table and an institution in the community. We could emphasize geography when we talk about diversity, aiming to distribute talent and investment more widely.

These are forms of social redistribution. The task is not to write a larger check but to relinquish power and realign institutions on behalf of those who have been left behind for decades. That has not been a priority for the ''haves'' anywhere on the political spectrum. But it is necessary if the ''have-nots'' are to gain autonomy, build community, and find stability. Especially when times are tough, it is those things that we all value most.

Oren Cass is the executive director of American Compass and author of ''The Once and Future Worker.''

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/27/opinion/us-gdp-coronavirus.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/27/opinion/us-gdp-coronavirus.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY RACHEL BUJALSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 28, 2020

**End of Document**



[***European-Style Welfare State Built By the U.S. for Covid Is Largely Gone***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67YX-94X1-DXY4-X55D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 9, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 19

**Length:** 1241 words

**Byline:** By Claire Cain Miller and Alicia Parlapiano

**Body**

Medicaid and food stamps are the latest of the pandemic relief policies to expire. But some benefits, originally temporary, live on.

In the early, panicked days of the pandemic, the United States government did something that was previously unimaginable. It transformed itself, within weeks, into something akin to a European-style welfare state.

Congress rapidly fortified the social safety net, making it much stronger than at any point. It made policies like Medicaid and food stamps more generous. It created new federal benefits like paid sick and caregiving leave, and free school lunches. And it made some pandemic benefits, like stimulus checks and child allowances, nearly universal. The government is estimated to have spent about $5 trillion helping individuals and businesses since March 2020.

Since then, most of it has been disbanded. This week, Medicaid began unenrolling an estimated 15 million Americans who were guaranteed coverage during the pandemic, one of the longest-lasting benefits. Last week marked the end of higher SNAP benefits, or food stamps; most recipients will now receive between $95 and $250 less each month. A few policies -- including rental assistance, child care grants and more generous health insurance credits -- won't expire until next year or the year after. But for the most part, the pandemic-era American welfare state is over.

This was by design: The policies were created as a response to the crisis and wound down as the acute phase of the pandemic ended and the economy reopened. Efforts to extend certain programs -- or to formally create a more generous safety net, as President Biden laid out in his large social spending bill -- have failed.

There has been little political will to make policies permanent because they did not emerge from a deeper shift in how Americans view the role of government or the rights of citizens, said Sheri Berman, a political science professor at Barnard College who has studied social democracies.

''The set of goals -- protecting people from the downsides of unemployment, helping families with children and ensuring access to health care -- are totally accepted in Western Europe,'' she said. During the pandemic, she added, ''we looked more like that, in our own patchwork way.''

''But people did not have an ideological conversion, a new view of what American citizenship could be,'' she said. Rather, it was a recognition that during the crisis, ''without these things, the entire system could go under.''

Yet the country's brief flirtation with a much more generous safety net left its mark, researchers said.

Last month, North Carolina opted to expand Medicaid, following other states that had reversed their opposition since 2020. Some Republicans have joined Democrats in proposing policies like a child tax credit or paid family leave. A few of the new benefits, originally temporary, have become lasting, including the option for states to extend Medicaid for 12 months postpartum; an increase in the maximum SNAP allotment; and summer grocery money for school-aged children who qualify for free or reduced lunch during the school year.

None of these represent big, structural change, the way that other large-scale crises have reordered societies throughout history. But they suggest that pandemic policies may have made way for incremental changes in the role of government in supporting people during hard times, Professor Berman said, by showing what is possible.

''I'm not making the argument that we have a budding Western European welfare state, but I also don't think we've gone entirely backward on some of these issues,'' she said. ''And I'd expect in the next election for a lot of these issues to be more prominent.''

The United States has historically been opposed to the large government programs and high tax rates seen in much of Europe. As a result, it is unusual among its peers in not providing universal health care, entitlements for children and generous cash assistance to the poor, said Robert A. Moffitt, an economics professor at Johns Hopkins. The benefits it does provide are narrower, vary by state and have more restrictions on who qualifies.

Political polarization and congressional gridlock have made a permanent expansion of social benefits more difficult. So has the current economic climate, with high inflation and interest rates. While Republicans argue that the increases in government spending during the pandemic fueled inflation, people in the Biden administration have countered that other factors have played a bigger role, like the oil shock from Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and pandemic-related challenges like supply chain tangles and shifts in what Americans have wanted to buy.

''The politics of trying to make these programs permanent just isn't there today, not to mention budget constraints,'' said Samuel Hammond, an economist at the Lincoln Network, a right-leaning think tank. ''The macro environment has turned in a way that has sort of reaffirmed the fiscal conservatives.''

At the same time, there's a growing divide on the right between conservatives who want to limit government spending and encourage work and the social conservatives who are open to spending on families. This has hastened as the party has gained ***working-class*** supporters, and as some Republicans have emphasized family policies in the wake of the Supreme Court ruling that ended the national right to abortion.

Some of the largest new benefits directly addressed the circumstances of the pandemic: Stimulus checks cost $859 billion, and federal spending related to unemployment was $697 billion. Other, smaller programs -- like food assistance and the child tax credit expansion -- patched long-existing holes in the safety net. Now that the patches are being removed, the problems are more apparent.

During the pandemic, ''the federal and state governments really responded to economic instability and poverty in ways they historically have not,'' said Dr. Rita Hamad, a social epidemiologist at the University of California, San Francisco, who is building a database of policies enacted in response to the pandemic. ''There were still lots of holes. But there was a lot of action to fill in gaps in the safety net that have been known for some time.''

Unemployment insurance is one area in which some experts would like to see changes become permanent. More than 15 million people who aren't typically covered -- like part-time workers, independent contractors and the self-employed -- were covered for a year and a half.

Another is support for families with young children. The expanded child tax credit -- given monthly for half a year so families didn't have to wait until tax time -- reduced child poverty by one-third.

A third is health insurance access. A policy decreasing health insurance prices for people who buy their own insurance and making it free for the lowest earners is one reason the uninsured rate has dropped to a record low of 8 percent, and Congress has already extended the subsidies through 2025.

''We allow working conditions, and have a set of public benefits around people, that allow an enormous amount of instability and insecurity,'' said Sharon Parrott, president of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a left-leaning think tank. ''What we did show is we actually can help people stabilize their situations quite a bit if we're willing to provide assistance.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/07/upshot/the-us-built-a-european-style-welfare-state-its-largely-over.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/07/upshot/the-us-built-a-european-style-welfare-state-its-largely-over.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** April 9, 2023

**End of Document**



[***European-Style Welfare State Built By the U.S. for Covid Is Largely Gone***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67YX-94Y1-DXY4-X04C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 9, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; The Upshot; Pg. 19

**Length:** 1225 words

**Byline:** By Claire Cain Miller and Alicia Parlapiano

**Body**

In the early, panicked days of the pandemic, the United States government did something that was previously unimaginable. It transformed itself, within weeks, into something akin to a European-style welfare state.

Congress rapidly fortified the social safety net, making it much stronger than at any point. It made policies like Medicaid and food stamps more generous. It created new federal benefits like paid sick and caregiving leave, and free school lunches. And it made some pandemic benefits, like stimulus checks and child allowances, nearly universal. The government is estimated to have spent about $5 trillion helping individuals and businesses since March 2020.

Since then, most of it has been disbanded. This week, Medicaid began unenrolling an estimated 15 million Americans who were guaranteed coverage during the pandemic, one of the longest-lasting benefits. Last week marked the end of higher SNAP benefits, or food stamps; most recipients will now receive between $95 and $250 less each month. A few policies -- including rental assistance, child care grants and more generous health insurance credits -- won't expire until next year or the year after. But for the most part, the pandemic-era American welfare state is over.

This was by design: The policies were created as a response to the crisis and wound down as the acute phase of the pandemic ended and the economy reopened. Efforts to extend certain programs -- or to formally create a more generous safety net, as President Biden laid out in his large social spending bill -- have failed.

There has been little political will to make policies permanent because they did not emerge from a deeper shift in how Americans view the role of government or the rights of citizens, said Sheri Berman, a political science professor at Barnard College who has studied social democracies.

''The set of goals -- protecting people from the downsides of unemployment, helping families with children and ensuring access to health care -- are totally accepted in Western Europe,'' she said. During the pandemic, she added, ''we looked more like that, in our own patchwork way.''

''But people did not have an ideological conversion, a new view of what American citizenship could be,'' she said. Rather, it was a recognition that during the crisis, ''without these things, the entire system could go under.''

Yet the country's brief flirtation with a much more generous safety net left its mark, researchers said.

Last month, North Carolina opted to expand Medicaid, following other states that had reversed their opposition since 2020. Some Republicans have joined Democrats in proposing policies like a child tax credit or paid family leave. A few of the new benefits, originally temporary, have become lasting, including the option for states to extend Medicaid for 12 months postpartum; an increase in the maximum SNAP allotment; and summer grocery money for school-aged children who qualify for free or reduced lunch during the school year.

None of these represent big, structural change, the way that other large-scale crises have reordered societies throughout history. But they suggest that pandemic policies may have made way for incremental changes in the role of government in supporting people during hard times, Professor Berman said, by showing what is possible.

''I'm not making the argument that we have a budding Western European welfare state, but I also don't think we've gone entirely backward on some of these issues,'' she said. ''And I'd expect in the next election for a lot of these issues to be more prominent.''

The United States has historically been opposed to the large government programs and high tax rates seen in much of Europe. As a result, it is unusual among its peers in not providing universal health care, entitlements for children and generous cash assistance to the poor, said Robert A. Moffitt, an economics professor at Johns Hopkins. The benefits it does provide are narrower, vary by state and have more restrictions on who qualifies.

Political polarization and congressional gridlock have made a permanent expansion of social benefits more difficult. So has the current economic climate, with high inflation and interest rates. While Republicans argue that the increases in government spending during the pandemic fueled inflation, people in the Biden administration have countered that other factors have played a bigger role, like the oil shock from Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and pandemic-related challenges like supply chain tangles and shifts in what Americans have wanted to buy.

''The politics of trying to make these programs permanent just isn't there today, not to mention budget constraints,'' said Samuel Hammond, an economist at the Lincoln Network, a right-leaning think tank. ''The macro environment has turned in a way that has sort of reaffirmed the fiscal conservatives.''

At the same time, there's a growing divide on the right between conservatives who want to limit government spending and encourage work and the social conservatives who are open to spending on families. This has hastened as the party has gained ***working-class*** supporters, and as some Republicans have emphasized family policies in the wake of the Supreme Court ruling that ended the national right to abortion.

Some of the largest new benefits directly addressed the circumstances of the pandemic: Stimulus checks cost $859 billion, and federal spending related to unemployment was $697 billion. Other, smaller programs -- like food assistance and the child tax credit expansion -- patched long-existing holes in the safety net. Now that the patches are being removed, the problems are more apparent.

During the pandemic, ''the federal and state governments really responded to economic instability and poverty in ways they historically have not,'' said Dr. Rita Hamad, a social epidemiologist at the University of California, San Francisco, who is building a database of policies enacted in response to the pandemic. ''There were still lots of holes. But there was a lot of action to fill in gaps in the safety net that have been known for some time.''

Unemployment insurance is one area in which some experts would like to see changes become permanent. More than 15 million people who aren't typically covered -- like part-time workers, independent contractors and the self-employed -- were covered for a year and a half.

Another is support for families with young children. The expanded child tax credit -- given monthly for half a year so families didn't have to wait until tax time -- reduced child poverty by one-third.

A third is health insurance access. A policy decreasing health insurance prices for people who buy their own insurance and making it free for the lowest earners is one reason the uninsured rate has dropped to a record low of 8 percent, and Congress has already extended the subsidies through 2025.

''We allow working conditions, and have a set of public benefits around people, that allow an enormous amount of instability and insecurity,'' said Sharon Parrott, president of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a left-leaning think tank. ''What we did show is we actually can help people stabilize their situations quite a bit if we're willing to provide assistance.''Additional production by Aatish Bhatia

[*https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/04/06/upshot/pandemic-safety-net-medicaid.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/04/06/upshot/pandemic-safety-net-medicaid.html)

**Load-Date:** April 9, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Truss Tried to Reassure Britons With Media Blitz. Her Woes Multiplied.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66H6-GTD1-DXY4-X20N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 30, 2022 Friday 01:14 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1357 words

**Byline:** Mark Landler

**Highlight:** In a round of interviews, the prime minister showed little sympathy for the pain that high interest rates could inflict on mortgage holders, critics said.

**Body**

In a round of interviews, the prime minister showed little sympathy for the pain that high interest rates could inflict on mortgage holders, critics said.

LONDON — For Prime Minister Liz Truss, it was a chance to steady the waters after days of turmoil in the financial markets over her new fiscal plan: eight rapid-fire interviews with local BBC radio stations from Leeds to Nottingham.

By the time Ms. Truss signed off from the last one on Thursday morning, her political woes had multiplied, leaving her new government in a state of disarray almost without precedent in recent British politics.

She was, critics said, robotic in defending a tax-cut plan that had been eviscerated by the markets, and showed little sympathy for the pain that high interest rates could inflict on mortgage holders. One host described her as a “reverse Robin Hood.” A listener on another station asked, “Are you ashamed of what you’ve done?”

Barely three weeks into her job, Ms. Truss has suffered a dizzying loss of public support. Her Conservative Party now trails the opposition Labour Party by 33 percentage points, according to a new poll by the market research firm YouGov. That is the largest Labour lead since Tony Blair’s early days as prime minister in 1998, and the kind of gap that usually results in a landslide election defeat.

Her plunging poll numbers have badly damaged Ms. Truss’s standing in her party, which is gathering on Sunday in Birmingham for what promises to be an anxious annual conference. Some speak openly of the party ousting her before the next election, though the mechanics for doing that remain complicated.

“This is by far the biggest and swiftest hit to a party’s opinion poll rating that British politics has ever seen,” said Tim Bale, a professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London. “For Tory MPs, this is like realizing on your wedding night that you’ve made a truly terrible mistake.”

Matthew Goodwin, a politics professor at Kent University and an expert on the Tory Party, said, “I can’t think in my lifetime of any British prime minister who has mismanaged her first few weeks in office like Liz Truss.”

What makes Ms. Truss’s predicament so difficult is that none of the escape hatches are appealing. Reversing some of her tax cuts — particularly the one for the top income bracket of people earning more than 150,000 pounds, or about $164,000, a year — would mollify the markets and probably some voters.

But it would be a heavy psychological blow for a leader who ran her campaign, and has built her government, on the conviction that tax cuts and supply-side policies will reignite growth. Giving that up, Professor Bale said, would vitiate the ideological rationale of her government and potentially turn her into a lame-duck leader until the next election, which she will have to call by early 2025.

Sticking to her guns, which has been Ms. Truss’s response so far, leaves open the chance that Britain’s economy will pick up by the time she faces voters. But the stubborn threat of inflation all but guarantees that the Bank of England, Britain’s central bank, will keep raising interest rates. That will hurt people who need to refinance home mortgages and likely throw the broader economy into a recession.

When she was asked by BBC Radio Stoke about her fiscal plan’s impact on the housing market, Ms. Truss paused before saying, “Interest rates are a matter for the independent Bank of England.” She added that “interest rates have been rising around the world” and blamed much of the crisis on Russia’s war in Ukraine.

For the last few days, the bank has actually helped Ms. Truss by intervening in the market to buy British government bonds. That brought down interest rates and strengthened the pound, which had tumbled to its lowest level against the dollar since 1985. On Friday, the pound traded up to $1.11.

But the intervention, which was driven by fears of the damage done to British pension funds by the turbulent market, has put the Bank of England in an awkward position, economists said. It runs counter to the bank’s monetary policy of raising interest rates to cool inflationary pressures.

“The bank has had to reverse course on its objectives practically overnight,” said Eswar Prasad, a professor of economics at Cornell University. “It looks like the bank is being forced to clean up the adverse consequences of the U.K. Treasury’s actions.”

“This could have some longer-term implications for the bank’s independence, credibility, and effectiveness,” Professor Prasad continued. “That really hampers it in its ability to fulfill its objectives.”

Once the Bank of England completes its bond-buying program on Oct. 14, economists said they expected it to revert to its tighter monetary policy, which would suggest another increase in interest rates at its November meeting. The only government action that could forestall, or even moderate a sharp spike in rates, economists said, would be if the government reversed one of more of its tax cuts.

“Absent that U-turn, the bank is going to have to raise interest rates a lot,” said Adam S. Posen, who served on the Bank of England’s monetary policy committee. He said the bank needed to curb both the inflation from an expansionary fiscal budget and the additional inflation caused by a devalued pound.

Beyond the tug-of-war between fiscal and monetary policy, critics say Ms. Truss faces a more elemental problem: her chancellor of the Exchequer, Kwasi Kwarteng, has lost the faith of the markets in his economic stewardship.

That is partly because when Mr. Kwarteng announced the tax cuts last week, he did not submit the package to the scrutiny that a government budget normally receives. That fed fears that the tax cuts were “unfunded,” meaning that they would not be matched with cuts in spending and so would require massive borrowing.

On Friday, Mr. Kwarteng and Ms. Truss met at Downing Street with officials from the government’s forecasting agency, the Office of Budget Responsibility — a move designed to signal they now welcomed the scrutiny. The office will submit its projections for the cost of the fiscal program and its effect on Britain’s growth on Oct. 7, but the government will not publish the numbers until Nov. 23.

For Ms. Truss, the political fallout from her program’s botched rollout has been profound. Political analysts point out that she won the support of only a third of Conservative Party lawmakers in the first stage of the leadership contest. Now, the collapsing polls have left the lawmakers angry, fearful, and divided.

Unless the trends are reversed, many of the party’s members in Parliament will be swept out of their seats in the next election, particularly in the “red wall” districts of the Midlands and the North, where Ms. Truss’s predecessor, Boris Johnson, lured traditional Labour voters to switch to the Tories with his promise to “Get Brexit done.”

That realignment of British politics is in jeopardy. Professor Goodwin, of the University of Kent, said these voters did not want Ms. Truss’s low-tax, neoliberal economic policies. Adding to the alienation, he said, she was determined to relax immigration laws, another core issue for ***working-class*** voters.

“We’re seeing the complete implosion of the Conservative vote,” Professor Goodwin said. “They’re losing middle-class voters who are alienated by Brexit, and ***working-class*** voters who are alienated by their economic policy.”

For all the hand-wringing, it is not immediately clear what the Tories can do about it. Three months after evicting Mr. Johnson from Downing Street, few people want to go through with another protracted, divisive leadership contest.

Professor Bale said another option would be for the party to settle on a consensus alternative to Ms. Truss and then pressure her to step down, so the new leader could be crowned without any delay. The problem with this scenario, he said, is a lack of obvious candidates to step into the role of the party’s savior.

PHOTO: Liz Truss hoped a series of radio appearances would build support for her fiscal plan, but they instead exposed her to fresh criticism. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ROB PINNEY/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** October 1, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Republicans Say, 'Let Them Eat Hate'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6585-T041-DXY4-X0B1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 19, 2022 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 17; PAUL KRUGMAN

**Length:** 908 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

So Donald Trump has endorsed J.D. Vance in the race for Ohio's Republican Senate nomination. Will Trump's nod tip the balance? I have no idea, and frankly I don't care.

Ohio's G.O.P. primary has, after all, been a race to the bottom, with candidates seemingly competing to see who can be crasser, who can do the most to dumb down the debate. Vance insists that ''what's happening in Ukraine has nothing to do with our national security'' and that we should focus instead on the threat from immigrants crossing our southern border. Josh Mandel, who has been leading in the polls, says that Ohio should be a ''pro-God, pro-family, pro-Bitcoin state.'' And so on. Any of these candidates would be a terrible senator, and it's anyone's guess who'd be worst.

But the thing about Vance is that while these days he gives cynical opportunism a bad name, he didn't always seem that way. In fact, not that long ago he seemed to offer some intellectual and maybe even moral heft. His 2016 memoir, ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' drew widespread and respectful attention, because it offered a personal take on a real and important problem: The unraveling of society in Appalachia and more broadly for a significant segment of the white ***working class***.

Yet neither Vance nor, as far as I can tell, any other notable figure in the Republican Party is advocating any real policies to address this problem. They're happy to exploit white ***working-class*** resentment; but when it comes to doing anything to improve their supporters' lives, their implicit slogan is, ''Let them eat hate.''

Let's talk for a minute about the reality Vance was writing about back when many took him seriously.

I still encounter people who imagine that social dysfunction is mainly a problem involving nonwhite residents of big cities. But that picture is decades out of date. The social problems that have festered in 21st-century America -- notably large numbers of prime-age males not working and widespread ''deaths of despair'' from drugs, suicide and alcohol -- have if anything fallen most heavily on rural and small-town whites, especially in parts of the heartland that have been left behind as a knowledge-centered economy increasingly favors high-education metropolitan areas.

What can be done? Progressives want to see more social spending, especially on families with children; this would do a lot to improve people's lives, although it's less clear whether it would help revive declining communities.

Back in 2016 Trump offered a different answer: protectionist trade policies that, he claimed, would revive industrial employment. The arithmetic on this claim never worked, and in practice Trump's trade wars appear to have reduced the number of U.S. manufacturing jobs. But back then Trump was at least pretending to address a real issue.

At this point, however, neither Trump nor any other important Republican is willing to go even that far. I'd say that G.O.P. campaigning in 2022 is all culture war, all the time, except that this would be giving Republicans too much credit. They aren't fighting a real culture war, a conflict between rival views of what our society should look like; they're riling up the base against phantasms, threats that don't even exist.

This isn't hyperbole. I'm not just talking about things like the panic over critical race theory, although this has come to mean just about any mention of the role that slavery and discrimination have played in U.S. history. Florida is even rejecting many math textbooks, claiming that they include prohibited topics.

That's bad. But we're seeing a growing focus on even more bizarre conspiracy theories, with frantic attacks on woke Disney, etc. And roughly half of self-identified Republicans believe that ''top Democrats are involved in elite child sex-trafficking rings.''

What people may not realize is that Vance's anti-immigrant rhetoric is almost as detached from reality as QAnon-type theories about Democratic pedophiles. I mean, yes, undocumented immigrants do exist. But the idea that they pose a major threat to public order is a fantasy; indeed, the evidence suggests that they're considerably more law-abiding than native-born Americans.

And making the alleged insecurity of the southern border your signature campaign issue is especially bizarre if you're running for office in Ohio, where immigrants make up only 4.8 percent of the population -- around a third of the national average. (Almost 38 percent of the population of New York City, and 45 percent of its work force, is immigrant. It's not exactly a dystopian hellhole.)

But look, none of this is a mystery. Republicans are following an old playbook, one that would have been completely familiar to, say, czarist-era instigators of pogroms. When the people are suffering, you don't try to solve their problems; instead, you distract them by giving them someone to hate.

And history tells us that this tactic often works.

As I said, I have no idea whether Trump's endorsement of Vance will matter. What I do know is that the G.O.P. as a whole has turned to hate-based politics. And if you aren't afraid, you aren't paying attention.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/18/opinion/republicans-senate-immigration-jd-vance.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/18/opinion/republicans-senate-immigration-jd-vance.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: J.D. Vance (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 19, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Republicans Say, ‘Let Them Eat Hate’; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6582-D4W1-DXY4-X02W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 18, 2022 Monday 11:25 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 914 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** Don’t think culture war; think pogroms.

**Body**

So Donald Trump has [*endorsed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/15/us/politics/ohio-jd-vance-trump-endorsement.html) J.D. Vance in the race for Ohio’s Republican Senate nomination. Will Trump’s nod tip the balance? I have no idea, and frankly I don’t care.

Ohio’s G.O.P. primary has, after all, been a race to the bottom, with candidates seemingly competing to see who can be crasser, who can do the most to dumb down the debate. Vance [*insists*](https://twitter.com/JDVance1/status/1495941342391853059?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1495941342391853059%7Ctwgr%5E%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=about%3Asrcdoc) that “what’s happening in Ukraine has nothing to do with our national security” and that we should focus instead on the threat from immigrants crossing our southern border. Josh Mandel, who has been [*leading in the polls*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2022/senate/oh/ohio_senate_republican_primary-7456.html), [*says*](https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/josh-mandel-bitcoin-christianity-twitter-b1984122.html) that Ohio should be a “pro-God, pro-family, pro-Bitcoin state.” And so on. Any of these candidates would be a terrible senator, and it’s anyone’s guess who’d be worst.

But the thing about Vance is that while these days he gives cynical opportunism a bad name, he didn’t always seem that way. In fact, not that long ago he seemed to offer some intellectual and maybe even moral heft. His 2016 memoir, “[*Hillbilly Elegy*](https://www.harpercollins.com/products/hillbilly-elegy-j-d-vance?variant=32207704391714),” drew widespread and respectful attention, because it offered a personal take on a real and important problem: the unraveling of society in Appalachia and more broadly for a significant segment of the white ***working class***.

Yet neither Vance nor, as far as I can tell, any other notable figure in the Republican Party is advocating any real policies to address this problem. They’re happy to exploit white ***working-class*** resentment, but when it comes to doing anything to improve their supporters’ lives, their implicit slogan is, “Let them eat hate.”

Let’s talk for a minute about the reality Vance was writing about back when many took him seriously.

I still encounter people who imagine that social dysfunction is mainly a problem involving nonwhite residents of big cities. But that picture is decades out of date. The social problems that have festered in 21st-century America — notably large numbers of prime-age males [*not working*](https://www.brookings.edu/interactives/saving-men-in-the-heartland-the-case-for-place-based-employment-policies/) and widespread “[*deaths of despair*](https://press.princeton.edu/books/hardcover/9780691190785/deaths-of-despair-and-the-future-of-capitalism)” from drugs, suicide and alcohol — have if anything fallen most heavily on rural and small-town whites, especially in parts of the heartland that have been left behind as a knowledge-centered economy increasingly favors high-education metropolitan areas.

What can be done? Progressives want to see more social spending, especially on families with children; this would do a lot to improve people’s lives, although it’s less clear whether it would help revive declining communities.

Back in 2016 Trump offered a different answer: protectionist trade policies that, he claimed, would revive industrial employment. The arithmetic on this claim never worked, and in practice Trump’s trade wars appear to have [*reduced*](https://www.brookings.edu/podcast-episode/how-have-trumps-trade-wars-affected-rust-belt-jobs/) the number of U.S. manufacturing jobs. But back then Trump was at least pretending to address a real issue.

At this point, however, neither Trump nor any other important Republican is willing to go even that far. I’d say that G.O.P. campaigning in 2022 is all culture war, all the time, except that this would be giving Republicans too much credit. They aren’t fighting a real culture war, a conflict between rival views of what our society should look like; they’re riling up the base against phantasms, threats that don’t even exist.

This isn’t hyperbole. I’m not just talking about things like the panic over critical race theory, although this has come to mean just about any mention of the role that slavery and discrimination have played in U.S. history. Florida is even rejecting [*many math textbooks*](https://www.cnn.com/2022/04/17/us/florida-math-textbooks-critical-race-theory/index.html), claiming that they include prohibited topics.

That’s bad. But we’re seeing a growing focus on even more bizarre conspiracy theories, with frantic attacks on woke Disney, etc. And [*roughly half*](https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/articles-reports/2022/03/30/which-groups-americans-believe-conspiracies) of self-identified Republicans believe that “top Democrats are involved in elite child sex-trafficking rings.”

What people may not realize is that Vance’s anti-immigrant rhetoric is almost as detached from reality as QAnon-type theories about Democratic pedophiles. I mean, yes, undocumented immigrants do exist. But the idea that they pose a major threat to public order is a fantasy; indeed, the evidence suggests that they’re [*considerably more law-abiding*](https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2014704117) than native-born Americans.

And making the alleged insecurity of the southern border your signature campaign issue is especially bizarre if you’re running for office in Ohio, where immigrants make up only [*4.8 percent of the population*](https://www.statista.com/statistics/312701/percentage-of-population-foreign-born-in-the-us-by-state/) — around a third of the national average. (Almost 38 percent of the population of [*New York City*](https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/immigrants/downloads/pdf/moia_annual_report_2018_final.pdf#page=9), and 45 percent of its work force, is immigrant. It’s not exactly a dystopian hellhole.)

But look, none of this is a mystery. Republicans are following an old playbook, one that would have been completely familiar to, say, czarist-era instigators of [*pogroms*](https://www.history.com/topics/russia/pogroms). When the people are suffering, you don’t try to solve their problems; instead, you distract them by giving them someone to hate.

And history tells us that this tactic often works.

As I said, I have no idea whether Trump’s endorsement of Vance will matter. What I do know is that the G.O.P. as a whole has turned to hate-based politics. And if you aren’t afraid, you aren’t paying attention.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: J.D. Vance (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 20, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Russell Brand’s Alternate Reality***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69MD-KR01-JBG3-63CR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 13, 2023 Monday 23:57 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 4414 words

**Byline:** Matt Flegenheimer

**Highlight:** The British entertainer built an army of fans with his conspiracy-minded podcast. Now, amid sex-assault claims against him, they’ve become his whole world.

**Body**

On Sept. 12, four days before he was expected at the Troubadour Wembley Park Theater for another sold-out show, Russell Brand asked his fans for a favor. “I’ve always struggled with authority and being told what to do,” he wrote to ticketholders, attaching a questionnaire for a planned bit with his audience. “Even when it comes to something small like being offered a seat by a doctor, I’ll purposefully refuse rather than comply. Tell me about your relationship with authority — whether you tend to yield to authority or fight it.”

At the time, Brand’s more-than-two-decade quest for lasting attention had been proceeding apace along two tracks. In mainstream entertainment circles, at home and abroad, he remained the fading but still bankable British comedian whose selectively confessional accounts of heroin addiction and promiscuity made him an avatar of a very mid-aughts sort of fame — the guy who played a rocker version of himself in the 2008 film “Forgetting Sarah Marshall” and would later marry Katy Perry (it was brief). But for those partial to Brand’s midlife canon, he had come to resemble something more like a political sage.

With Jesus-length hair, multidenominational tattoos and promises of unspecified revolution, Brand, 48, had in recent years been reaching millions daily across a media and wellness empire, fusing the downward-facing dogmatism of a proper guru with the cold efficiency of the YouTube algorithm. His remit was nothing less than “a social-political-spiritual movement,” he told listeners. His prime offering was a trove of foreboding and regularly misleading videos from his flagship series, “Stay Free with Russell Brand,” lobbed at a cumulative social media following of more than 20 million. His episode titles charted the ideological swerve of a man who once used his celebrity to elevate progressive causes: “STATE OF FEAR! COVID Propaganda EXPOSED!” “Leaked Audio PROVES Trump Right!”

For the past year, Brand’s recording studio in the Oxfordshire countryside has been blessed as an emerging nerve center of the American right, or at least the anti-anti-right, with a procession of presidential candidates beaming in. In July alone, Brand interviewed Ron DeSantis, who compared Brand favorably to loathsome “corporate journalists”; hyped a pull-up contest with Robert F. Kennedy Jr., conservative media’s favorite lapsed Democrat and Covid conspiracy theorist; and scored the first sit-down with Tucker Carlson after the host’s dismissal from Fox News. “Maybe I’ve just been called a right-wing crazy for so long that I thought I was,” Carlson told me recently. “But if I agree with pretty much everything Russell Brand says, I don’t know what I am.”

Like Joe Rogan, the carnivorous pooh-bah of this intellectual space, Brand appeared interested in teaching a certain kind of man how to be a certain kind of man, mining the tension between think-for-yourself riffs and listen-to-me conclusions. (Brand has been a repeat guest on Rogan’s podcast.) Unlike Rogan, he appeared to model a more expansive vision of manhood — vegan, sober, Aldous Huxley-quoting. The event in Wembley, part of a tour scheduled for late summer and early fall, seemed designed to accentuate Brand’s overlapping profiles: electric live performer and terminally online click-hunter. As with much of his output lately, the marketplace would help dictate his direction. The tour was called “Bipolarisation” for two reasons, he joked: because people would be polled and “because I’m severely mentally ill.” His September email to attendees requested answers to several related prompts. “What’s the strangest way you’ve yielded to or gone against authority?” the first question read. “What’s the weirdest/naughtiest/most embarrassing thing you’ve done in reaction to being told what to do?” another asked.

Three days later, Brand’s followers received a less whimsical communication. In a prebuttal video posted across his social media, Brand said he was about to face “very serious allegations that I absolutely refute,” without detailing them. He insisted that all past relationships were consensual. He darkly suggested that “another agenda” might be at play, noting that supporters had long warned him about “getting too close to the truth.” The next day, Sept. 16, The Sunday Times, The Times of London and Channel 4 Dispatches published a yearslong [*joint investigation in which four women accused Brand of sexual assault*](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/russell-brand-rape-sexual-assault-abuse-allegations-investigation-v5hxdlmb6) between 2006 and 2013. The accounts were specific, revolting and, in some cases, bolstered by medical records and other contemporaneous evidence. The accusers included a woman who was 16, the British age of consent, during her relationship with Brand, who was in his early 30s. She said Brand once forced her to perform oral sex as she strained to push him off, stopping only after she punched him in the stomach.

There was a time, as recently as a few years ago, when this sort of reputational earthquake almost certainly would have followed the dutiful rhythms of celebrity crisis management: performative introspection, nominal contrition (often paired with a narrow denial of the most grievous offenses), a pledge to disappear for a while. Instead, Brand’s story quickly became a self-evident data point in two divergent realities.

In the first, the one still tethered at least somewhat to traditional notions of scandal and consequence, Brand was an overnight pariah and criminal suspect. The police in London opened investigations. More women came forward, including an extra on Brand’s 2011 film “Arthur,” who filed a civil suit in New York [*claiming that Brand assaulted her in a bathroom on set.*](https://www.vulture.com/2023/11/russell-brand-new-sexual-assault-lawsuit-arthur.html) Brand’s management company almost immediately dropped him. YouTube suspended him from making money from his channel, which has more than six million subscribers. A parliamentary committee chairwoman wrote to Rumble, the video platform that caters to the right and exclusively carries Brand’s full episodes (shorter clips still appear on YouTube), expressing concern that he might continue to profit there and “undermine the welfare of victims.”

In the second reality, the victim was Brand, and his welfare was suddenly the concern of many, from the powerful new friends he has made to the “awakening wonders” (as he addresses his flock) refusing to abandon him. His example has become a repentance-free case study in a very 2023 template for public survival, a post-post-#MeToo lesson in the spoils and fortifications available to those who are thought to be scorned by the right people. “Criticize the drug companies, question the war in Ukraine, and you can be pretty sure this is going to happen,” Carlson said of Brand on X (formerly Twitter), to which Elon Musk, the site’s reply-guy owner, responded: “Sure seems that way!” Rumble also posted on X, calling the parliamentary letter a “deeply inappropriate” intrusion of the state.

Already, for those who support Brand and those who do not, his fate is being processed as a kind of referendum — on who gets to decide what happens to the accused; on what a preternaturally charismatic figure can talk himself into or out of; on the limits, or limitlessness, of tribal loyalty.

Though the balance of his live tour was scrapped within days, Brand kept one last date, Sept. 16 in Wembley, hours after the allegations landed. “You came,” he said to a crowd of about 2,000, according to the BBC, walking out to “You Don’t Own Me,” the feminist standard performed by Lesley Gore. He told his guests he loved them and talked about teaching his young children to be skeptical. One fan held a sign reading, “We stand by you.” Another threatened to kick down a ladder carrying paparazzi outside. And by the end of the night, the room had a new answer to Brand’s preshow queries.

How had they most memorably snubbed authority? How had they responded when told what to do and think?

With a standing ovation for a freshly accused predator.

More than a week after the allegations, “Stay Free” returned, unbowed but discernibly altered. Brand appeared alone, his bare chest visible beneath a largely unbuttoned white button-down. The show credits, which once ran about 20 names deep, were gone — not necessarily because Brand’s whole team was but perhaps because associating with him had become more complicated. “The corporatist state and global media war against free speech is in full swing!” Brand told his listeners. “How do I know? Take a guess.”

Seated at a desk, with a “Daily Show”-style prosecutorial montage of videos and text, Brand blamed the “collusion between big tech and government” and a “centralist state and globalist elite” that he suggested was persecuting him. He discussed the letter from Parliament, alleging ties between its author and Google (“a competitor to Rumble”). He welcomed Jimmy Dore, another conspiracy-theory-minded comedian-podcaster, for a remote interview, thanking him for a mood lift “at a time where I plainly need it.” “Stay strong,” Dore said.

This booking choice was notable. Dore, who has himself been accused of sexual harassment, is among a cluster of high-profile Brand supporters who seem particularly invested in the idea that false or agenda-led accusations are an occupational hazard for their lot. Andrew Tate, the misogynist mega-influencer awaiting trial on rape and human-trafficking charges in Romania, tagged Brand on X: “Welcome to the club.” Donald Trump Jr., whose father has been serially accused, posted a meme on Instagram showing the former president, Brand, Tate and Julian Assange, the WikiLeaks founder, who was accused of rape. “Notice a pattern?” the meme read, alongside Trump Jr.’s caption: “One day they’ll be coming for you. I don’t believe in this much coincidence and neither should you.”

For Brand’s audience, long encouraged to consider his voice too dangerous for entrenched interests to abide, the allegations stand as proof of concept, only making him more credible. “Enough of us know what’s going on here,” one commenter assured him upon his return. “No wonder they’re trying to silence you,” another posted on an October video that criticized President Biden.

“It’s almost like cancel capital,” Nick Marx, a professor of film and media studies at Colorado State University and the co-author of a book on right-wing comedy, told me. “It’s something he recognizes as having a value distinct from money.” With Trumpian verve, Brand has reframed accusations against him as an act of war against everyone who backs him. “They’re out to get you,” he told his audience in November, citing “censorial forces” like YouTube and quoting from Kafka’s “The Trial.” “I’m just in the way.” And like the former president, Brand has channeled lessons from his early rise, betting on his basest self — and on the accommodations and calculations that those around him have always made.

Since his public beginnings, Brand has derived his power from appearing to get away with something, from saying and doing what others never would. His fame was entwined with an almost ostentatious misogyny, a sizzle reel of mistreated women and gleefully poor taste for which he was broadly celebrated. His best-selling 2007 memoir relayed such rollicking tales as breaking the phone of a Turkish sex worker mid-encounter because the ringing bothered him. The British tabloid The Sun saluted him as its Shagger of the Year from 2006 to 2008. A breezy [*2008 GQ profile*](https://www.gq.com/story/russell-brand-shock-jock) winked at the “souvenir” that Brand acquired at a photo shoot (“her name is Penny”) and shared an anecdote from another romantic partner who claimed he told her, “I’m Russell Brand — I can do anything I like.” Brand denied this, semantically. “That may be the informing attitude,” he told the magazine, “but that’s never explicitly stated.”

Even scandal generally served Brand’s ends. In 2008, he and a co-host set off a national uproar after broadcasting on Brand’s BBC radio show the prankish voice messages they left for Andrew Sachs, a beloved former actor on “Fawlty Towers.” Sachs’s granddaughter Georgina Baillie was in a relationship with Brand in her early 20s. The messages to Sachs included singsongy Brand lyrics: “It was consensual/and she wasn’t menstrual.” Suspensions followed. Gordon Brown, the sitting prime minister, scolded him. Brand eventually resigned. His cad-for-the-masses legend grew anyway. “He was being very much rewarded,” Baillie, now 38, told me. “It didn’t even occur to me that I deserved an apology.”

In interviews, people who know Brand described him to me as someone almost pathologically incapable of not having an audience and willing to do virtually anything to keep it. He has often admitted as much, joking that he could be whatever his followers wanted. “Are you unapologetically yourself?” he asked in August. “Because I’m not. I’m apologetically myself. ‘Hello, I’m me. Is this OK with everyone? I can change it if you want.’” (Brand and a longtime associate did not respond to an interview request or fact-checking queries.)

In the 2008 GQ piece, Brand identified one clear gift (“attracting attention”) and warned playfully that his wider influence should be curbed. “I don’t think for a minute that I should be the person that comes up with how we organize a new postapocalyptic order,” he said, “because I think I’d exploit it to get girls.”

When Brand speaks now about forging a new social order, he attributes his rise as a media force, accurately enough, to a collapse of faith in traditional institutions. Left unsaid is that Brand himself was a creation of legacy gatekeepers and their customers — the media companies that employed him, the outlets that toasted him, the viewers who couldn’t resist — and a leering testament to their priorities. What has lingered for some lately is not how so many people missed the signs about him but why they seemed so eager to ignore them. In recent months, two former employers, the BBC and Channel 4, announced internal inquiries into Brand’s past workplace behavior. Channel 4, where Brand was accused of flashing a female colleague, aired the investigative documentary about him in September. Its title: “In Plain Sight.”

“It was this wash of devil-may-care, it’s-exciting-to-push-boundaries-or-just-have-no-boundaries, and women were less than,” Shaparak Khorsandi, an early peer of Brand’s on the comedy circuit, told me of the era that made him. “Yet a man behaving absolutely appallingly was given endless television and radio contracts.”

The subject of the day in December 2014 was immigration, and the lineup for a BBC political panel was suitably formidable: a Conservative member of Parliament, another from Labour, a Sunday Times columnist. But two combatants stood out: Nigel Farage, then the leader of the U.K. Independence Party, reprising his argument that new entrants to Britain were a dangerous resource drain, and Brand.

“There is a corrupt group in our country using our resources, taking away our jobs, taking away our housing, not paying taxes,” Brand agreed. But it was “the economic elite” funding Farage’s party. “His mates in the city farted,” Brand continued; Farage was “pointing at immigrants” and “holding his nose.” The studio audience roared.

Raised as a ***working-class*** “bloke” in his frequent telling, Brand had long angled to amplify his voice on the left, infusing early appearances with sometimes deliberately shocking allusions to global affairs. He has delighted in claiming that on Sept. 12, 2001, while employed as a presenter at British MTV, he showed up at work dressed as Osama bin Laden. The following spring, he was detained by the police after fully disrobing at a protest in Piccadilly Circus, “explaining himself by mentioning ‘ecological,’ ‘Armageddon’ and ‘culture’ without making a great deal of sense,’” according to a news report from the time. (“Oh, God,” an MTV spokeswoman said then. “That sounds like Russell.”)

“Even before he was famous, he sort of fancied himself a bit of a Che Guevara,” Khorsandi told me. After he was famous, Brand expanded his political footprint proportionally. In 2012, he was invited to testify before a parliamentary committee on drug policy, walking the halls in a black tank top and bolero hat. The same year, he developed a short-lived talk show for American TV, FX’s “Brand X With Russell Brand,” appearing with Matt Stoller, a liberal policy researcher. (The men met while Brand was shooting “Forgetting Sarah Marshall,” which Stoller’s brother, Nicholas, directed; they reconnected in 2011 at the Occupy Wall Street protest at Zuccotti Park in New York.) “They wanted to do a more radical version of ‘The Daily Show,’” Stoller told me of “Brand X” in August. “It was a bad show.”

Brand’s political breakthrough came in a viral BBC interview in 2013 with Jeremy Paxman, one of Britain’s most fearsome questioners. Paxman appraised Brand as a “trivial man” whose calls for revolution and apathy about voting gave him away. “You’ve spent your whole career berating and haranguing politicians,” Brand responded. “Then when someone like me, a comedian, goes, ‘Yeah, they’re all worthless — what’s the point in engaging with any of them?’ you sort of have a go at me because I’m not poor anymore.” The exchange enshrined Brand as perhaps the nation’s foremost lefty. “It had a massive impact,” George Monbiot, a well-known environmentalist and writer, told me. “It galvanized people. It galvanized me.”

In short order, Brand was hailed as a kind of crossover intellectual, validated by authors and thinkers who schlepped to his East London home to appear on his popular YouTube series, “The Trews,” a portmanteau of “true” and “news.” Academics said they could become entranced by Brand’s free-associative conviction on their subjects, even when he sounded only semi-sensical — absorbing the quick-draw wit and baroque vocabulary of a host liable to deploy “perspicacity” or “effulgent” off the cuff. “I actually remember thinking at the time, Oh, this is how a new religion would start,” Edward Slingerland, an expert on ancient Chinese thought now teaching at the University of British Columbia, told me of their interview.

For activists, Brand became a treasured ally, showing up at rallies — to oppose austerity, protect tenants, support firefighters — and invariably attracting cameras. He also began ingratiating himself with more mainstream politicos, at one point initiating a correspondence with Bill de Blasio, whose 2013 mayoral victory in New York had briefly stirred the left. “I do remember thinking of him as a fellow traveler,” de Blasio told me. In 2015, Ed Miliband, then the Labour Party’s leader, made a pilgrimage to Brand’s home for the web series, hoping to reach younger voters within its seven-figure following. Both men came to rue their choices. “Obviously knowing what I know now, I regret doing it,” Miliband said after the assault allegations. Brand’s second thoughts arrived sooner, when his imprimatur could not prevent a Conservative election triumph. “My only regret,” he said afterward, “is I thought I could be involved.”

If Brand felt disillusioned, he was not alone on the British left. “They used Russell,” Monbiot said of Labour. “But they never embraced him.” Brand has since resolved to live “beyond all political systems.”

Among onetime admirers, the most generous interpretation for Brand’s political transformation is bleak but straightforward: Today’s version of him is the logical upshot of social media incentives, boundless ego and a bespoke personal radicalism that was always a little ominously amorphous. (“I don’t know how to describe Russell’s politics,” Marianne Williamson told me in August, warmly recounting the fund-raiser he helped host for her during the 2020 Democratic presidential primary.)

In this reading, Brand is simply who we told him to be — or at least what the algorithm did. He has been known to track his trend lines on social media obsessively, staying apprised of follower counts and video performance. A job posting on Brand’s website earlier this year for a “YouTube Optimiser” was bracingly explicit: The task was to juice viewership and propose topics “based upon topics covered by similar channels and those that our audience watch.” This is the path from interviewing favored commentators of the right, like Ben Shapiro or Jordan Peterson, to having those videos recommended to fans of Ben Shapiro and Jordan Peterson, to sounding increasingly like Ben Shapiro and Jordan Peterson.

“You can either try to drive the masses or be driven by them,” Faiz Shakir, the 2020 campaign manager for Bernie Sanders, told me after appearing on Brand’s show in August to push his labor-supporting nonprofit. “He’s more driven by them. It’s ‘Here’s where I think they already are.’”

Brand has said that at least half his viewers are in the United States. After he interviewed DeSantis last summer, a person close to the campaign’s decision-making told me the host was seen as a conduit to men under 45, especially those who were not lifelong Republicans. On air, Brand can sound occasionally uncomfortable with his new constituency. Last year, he pressed Peterson to “prioritize compassion” rather than antagonize trans people. In the otherwise slobbering session with DeSantis, Brand almost begged him to agree that imposing an ideology on others was illiberal. “What about the freedom of those opposed?” Brand asked. But such flashes have been rare. In 2015, Brand called Trump a joke whose “punchline is a worse world for everyone”; by this February, he was posing with Trump Jr. at a Rumble event in Florida. He once quoted Gandhi on nonviolent protest; now he mocks those “clutching their pearls over Jan. 6.” Jeff Krasno, a former manager of Brand’s, suggested on his own podcast in September that Brand has by now “likely drunk his own kombucha,” adding, “there’s a clear business rationale for the content that Russell generates.”

Onstage, Brand has prided himself on a thrill-seeking gameness. “You have to be truthful and honest,” he has said of his comedy, “self-aware and willing to take risks.” Yet in many ways, Brand’s reinvention was exceedingly safe. He would be rewarded for playing the hits, for doing the expected. He would be cancel-proofed, if it came to it, with an army of backers primed to distrust anyone who attacked him.

This is the less charitable read on Brand’s evolution: His alt-rightward drift — and his escalating insistence that mainstream outlets were corrupt agents of the status quo — has coincided roughly with the investigative journalism of mainstream outlets he now calls corrupt agents of the status quo. According to The Times of London, the reporting began in 2019, and Brand’s team was made aware of one assault allegation in 2020. In the years since, Brand has been “setting himself up more and more as the lone voice of truth,” Monbiot, Brand’s former progressive ally, told me. “It would definitely align with an attempt then to exonerate himself using the same argument.”

Even privately, though, Brand’s orbit seems increasingly paranoid. After the allegations were made public, Brand’s father, Ron, wrote to Monbiot, who previously criticized Brand’s political shifts, to suggest that no one was safe from whatever plot had ensnared his son. “Do you think you could be next?” Ron Brand asked, according to messages Monbiot shared with me. The elder Brand later sent a conspiracy video about the World Health Organization and the World Economic Forum, two favorite targets for Brand and others who use “globalist” unironically. Tucker Carlson, who said that he and Brand have been speaking often, told me the allegations against Brand were “inevitable,” suspicious and cynically engineered to play on the debauched past of a man who is now remarried with children. “We’re leaving the part of history where people try to persuade each other in good faith,” Carlson said. “We’re entering the part where we just throw our opponents in jail or accuse them of crimes.”

So far, Brand’s podcast guests have likewise stayed loyal. In an industry rife with voices insisting they are about to be silenced, loudly saying the things they swear you can’t say anymore, Brand represents a rousing spectacle, Staying Free despite the designs of a sinister “they.” “The cancelers of the world seem with each passing week to become more and more crap at their jobs,” the writer Matt Taibbi said on Substack in October, promoting his interview with the “conspicuously still-breathing Russell Brand.”

Teasing an interview in November with Alex Jones of Infowars, who has described the assault allegations against Brand as a vast conspiracy, Brand suggested a kinship: “Have you noticed,” he said, raising two fingers for scare quotes, “how many of the wild Alex Jones ‘conspiracy theories’ have come to pass?”

More than anything else, Brand is testing a tantalizing kind of liberty before a group that reveres the word. He has hinted about a financial crunch since YouTube began blocking his profits, telling viewers on Rumble that he is “plainly in a position where your direct support is going to be incredibly valuable.” But if Brand’s strategy is successful — if he can subsist without the institutions that long sustained him, the collaborators who abandoned him, the former fans who might wince through his movie scenes now — there is a new kind of power in that freedom, and a new kind of freedom in that power.

“We’re planning a movement so that we can form new communities as the apocalypse apparently unfolds before our very eyes,” he told listeners on Oct. 26. “Without you, we are nothing.” The episode turned moments later to another aspiring movement leader: Vivek Ramaswamy, a returning guest and the first presidential candidate to appear with Brand after the allegations. Speaking from Iowa, midcampaign, Ramaswamy called for a “great uprising” against establishment forces. “It’s when they tell you to shut up that you have to actually grow the spine to be more vocal than ever,” Ramaswamy said.

“I can see why there would be an appetite to censor you,” Brand replied admiringly. The host thanked his guest for “elevating the caliber of the conversation” in his “stream of freedom.” He previewed future episode subjects: the Covid lab-leak theory, another chat with Jordan Peterson, “the necessity for radicalism in politics.” Then he made a promise.

“Next week,” Brand vowed, raising his open hands, “the revolution will grow a little stronger.”

This article appeared in print on page MM32, MM33, MM34, MM35, MM46, MM47.

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Schools Like This One Need to Stay Open***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6856-NMR1-DXY4-X3RK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 4, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1261 words

**Byline:** By Tim Wu

**Body**

The area on the far western side of Manhattan now known as West Chelsea was once a ***working-class*** neighborhood of industrial docklands. Today it is better known for its art galleries and luxury apartments, but its past can still be glimpsed, sometimes literally.

On the High Line, the elevated park that has come to define the neighborhood, there is a place just north of West 21st Street where the walkway adjoins an old brick building with stained-glass windows. If you listen carefully, at the right times, you can hear the voices of children coming from a courtyard below. They belong to students at Guardian Angel School, a small private school founded in 1911 that serves students from pre-K through eighth grade. Its motto is ''educational excellence in the heart of Chelsea.''

The school is a link not just to Chelsea's history but also to the nation's, for Guardian Angel occupies a vanishing niche in today's America: the genuine middle -- neither outlandishly rich nor economically desperate. It is a school that primarily serves middle-class and poorer families looking for a better alternative to public schools. Research has shown that, especially for Black and Hispanic students, these schools can do a better job than some public schools when it comes to graduation rates, college attendance and future earnings.

In an age of persistent and often painful inequality, the need for institutions like Guardian Angel has never been greater. That is why the recent decision to close the school at the end of the current school year is so untimely and tragic -- and why it holds such an urgent lesson for donors and philanthropists looking for the most effective ways to help American society.

In New York City, private schools have grown shockingly expensive. At a for-profit school not far from Guardian Angel called Avenues New York, the tuition is more than $65,000 a year. Guardian Angel, overseen by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, charges about $5,750 a year, with discounts for larger families and scholarships for poor students. It has a principal and 11 full-time teachers who are invariably described as ''committed.'' My daughter, an alumna, can attest to that.

Guardian Angel does not have all the trappings associated with fancy private schools. There is no Mandarin immersion program, no media lab, no swimming pool. What it does offer, according to Priscilla Serrano, a 1993 graduate whose son is enrolled in first grade, is an educational environment that is safe and small, academically demanding and, above all, ''really looking out for the students.''

Ms. Serrano's parents, immigrants from Ecuador, raised their family in Chelsea's housing projects and sought a smaller and more structured learning environment than the local public school provided. A graduate of New York University who now works as a marketing executive, Ms. Serrano credits Guardian Angel for providing the educational foundation that led her and her siblings to college and good jobs.

Plenty of New York public schools serve their students well, but some do not. There needs to be an option for motivated parents who want a better education for their children but who can't afford astronomical tuitions or master the arcane testing systems that determine who can go to New York's elite public schools. An educational system meant to build a nation of economic equals must do more than pick a few geniuses out of poverty and call it a day.

The closing of Guardian Angel is a local story, but like many New York stories, it's an extreme version of a national predicament. America has always valorized education as the great economic equalizer: Schools are the tools we use to build and sustain a thriving middle class. And we have, to our credit, built some of the greatest educational institutions on earth. But we've come to neglect the less prestigious institutions that offer affordable and accessible avenues to economic security. That's why saving and improving schools like Guardian Angel should be a top priority.

The news of Guardian Angel's closing, announced in February by the Archdiocese of New York, came as a surprise to parents. In a letter, Michael Deegan, the superintendent of schools for the archdiocese, gave two reasons for the decision. First, that the Covid pandemic and changing demographics had diminished enrollment. Second, that the school was now facing a projected annual deficit of about $550,000. ''The factors leading to the closure of Guardian Angel,'' he concluded, ''are beyond anyone's control.''

Might Guardian Angel still be saved? Over the past few months, parents and alumni like Ms. Serrano sought to meet with archdiocese officials to propose a fund-raising campaign. In his letter, Mr. Deegan did not respond to requests to meet with them, saying instead that ''we simply cannot fund-raise out of this situation.'' But why not? The projected deficit of $550,000 -- about $3,000 per student -- is not a small number, but in the broader context it is a pittance, especially given the economic value of good teachers and a good education over a student's lifetime. (I reached out to Mr. Deegan for more detail, but his office referred me back to the letter he sent to parents.)

I don't want to suggest that there are easy answers for Guardian Angel -- or for other affordable private religious schools. The Archdiocese of New York, like Catholic institutions across the country, is struggling financially; Guardian Angel is one of 12 schools it is closing this year. But the High Line, which the school abuts, has raised hundreds of millions of dollars to fund its innovative landscaping and its cultural programs. A little farther north, in Hell's Kitchen, the Irish Arts Center, which celebrates one of the immigrant populations that originally attended Guardian Angel, recently raised $60 million. My employer, Columbia University, raised more than $5 billion during its last capital campaign.

Fund-raising is not a zero-sum game, and donors are not wrong to support well-funded institutions like Columbia, but schools like Guardian Angel need the money more. America's elite educational establishments are already strong. We need to provide support where we are weak: the institutions that give working- and middle-class people a step up to a more economically secure existence. Some of those institutions are public schools, some private, some religious, some not. What matters is the economic role they play.

There's an affecting documentary from 2015 called ''Class Divide,'' which explores hypergentrification in Chelsea. It features a Guardian Angel student named Rosa De Santiago, who was eight at the time. She is the kind of kid who embodies New York at its best -- energetic and ambitious, eager to make it in life. She aspired to make it to Columbia University, but she knew she faced obstacles. ''I hate money,'' she says in the movie. ''I hate, hate, hate, hate, hate, hate money.'' She adds, ''Money was made by the Devil, I think, because God didn't say, 'Oh, you have to pay for this.'''

Tim Wu (@superwuster) is a law professor at Columbia and the author, most recently, of ''The Curse of Bigness: Antitrust in the New Gilded Age.''

Source photograph by Mark Perlstein/Getty Images.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/opinion/catholic-school-closing-guardian-angel.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/opinion/catholic-school-closing-guardian-angel.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK PERLSTEIN/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** May 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Plan to Dismantle Bridge in Rotterdam for a Superyacht Is on Hold***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64PD-2K21-JBG3-62M7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 4, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 798 words

**Byline:** By Jenny Gross

**Body**

The Dutch city of Rotterdam walked back earlier comments that the historic Koningshaven Bridge would be briefly dismantled. On Thursday, officials said a decision had not yet been made.

The Dutch city of Rotterdam on Thursday walked back plans to dismantle part of the historic Koningshaven Bridge so that a superyacht built for Amazon's founder, Jeff Bezos, could pass through the city's river, saying that a decision had not yet been made.

This week, city officials had told the news media that Rotterdam had agreed to briefly dismantle the middle section of the 95-year-old bridge for the yacht's passage this summer.

But on Thursday evening, officials said in another statement that the city had not yet approved the plan, though it had received a request from the shipbuilder to temporarily lift the middle part of bridge.

The city's statement said the full cost of the dismantling, if approved, would be covered by the shipbuilder. The bridge, known locally as ''De Hef,'' would be restored immediately afterward.

A city spokeswoman had said that she did not have an estimate of how much the deconstruction would cost. The city statement said that officials would assess the environmental and economic effects of the plans.

A representative for Amazon did not respond to requests for comment about the cost or the yacht's destination. A spokeswoman for Oceanco, the Dutch custom yacht company that is building the boat, said in an email that she could not comment on projects under construction or clients because of confidentiality reasons.

Boat International, which publishes articles about the superyacht industry, reported that the 417-foot sailboat is set to become the largest sailing yacht in the world when it is finished later this year, surpassing the Sea Cloud, a 360-foot sailboat built in 1931 and owned by the Yacht Portfolio, an investment company based in Malta.

The superyacht Mr. Bezos commissioned is likely to cost more than $500 million to build, Bloomberg reported. Mr. Bezos is the world's second-richest person, after Tesla's chief executive, Elon Musk.

The bridge, which has a boat clearance of 130 feet, is not currently in use. A Rotterdam tour guide, Eddy le Couvreur, said that the bridge, designed by the Dutch architect Pieter Joosting and a fixture in the Rotterdam skyline, was once used for railway traffic. A vertical lift bridge, it was the first of its kind in the Netherlands, and was copied from similar bridges in the United States. The modern industrial aesthetics of the bridge inspired a short film in 1928, he said.

Until now, tall ships passed under the bridge before assembling their masts and taller structures, he said.

Dennis Tak, a Labor Party city councilor for Rotterdam, said he was fine with the bridge being dismantled -- since the city would not be paying for it -- because of the jobs the process would create. ''As a city, this is a great way to take some of his money,'' Mr. Tak said.

The structure is more than a bridge to the people of Rotterdam, said Siebe Thissen, the author of the book ''The Boy Who Jumped From the Bridge,'' about a ***working-class*** man who jumped from the bridge in 1933. ''It's a monument,'' he said. ''It's the identity of Rotterdam.''

When city officials tried to take the bridge down in the 1990s since it was no longer in use, there were major protests, he said, calling the bridge a reminder of ''the old days'' in Rotterdam.

''I think that's why there is so much turmoil about Jeff Bezos and his boat,'' he said, before referring to accusations against Amazon. ''People say, 'Why this guy?' It's a ***working-class*** town, and they all know that Jeff Bezos, of course, he exploits his workers, so people say, 'Why should this guy be able to demolish the bridge for his boat?'''

As of Thursday, more than 600 Facebook users said they would attend an event, titled ''Throwing eggs at superyacht Jeff Bezos,'' where they plan to gather by the bridge to throw eggs at the boat. ''Rotterdammers are proud of their city and don't tear down iconic buildings just because you are super rich,'' said Pablo Strörmann, the event organizer, who said he started the Facebook group ''mostly'' as a joke.

Mr. le Couvreur, who works for the company Tours by Locals, which connects tourists with local guides, said that Rotterdammers would likely enjoy the international attention that the spectacle had brought, he said. ''On the other hand, it shows the unimaginable wealth that people like Bezos have created for themselves, that nothing can stand in the way for them living out their dreams and hobbies,'' he said, adding that the outlook was ''worlds apart from those who will be watching the ship pass through the city.''

Claire Moses contributed reporting.Claire Moses contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/03/world/europe/jeff-bezos-yacht-rotterdam-bridge.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/03/world/europe/jeff-bezos-yacht-rotterdam-bridge.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Officials in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, received a request to dismantle part of the Koningshaven ''De Hef'' lift bridge to let Jeff Bezos' new luxury yacht pass. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Sebastien Bozon/Agence France-Presse -- Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 4, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘All My Friends Hate Me’ Review: Party Animals; Critic’s Pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64YN-RFP1-JBG3-608V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 10, 2022 Thursday 23:55 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 340 words

**Byline:** Jeannette Catsoulis

**Highlight:** Things turn nasty when a peculiar stranger infiltrates a reunion of college pals in this clever horror-comedy.

**Body**

Things turn nasty when a peculiar stranger infiltrates a reunion of college pals in this clever horror-comedy.

Cringe comedy hurtles toward psychological horror in “All My Friends Hate Me,” Andrew Gaynord’s delicious, fearless dive into age-related angst and chronic insecurity.

Years have passed since Pete (Tom Stourton) has seen his old friends from college, four of whom are throwing him a 31st birthday party at an ancestral home in the British countryside. After a couple of unnervingly odd encounters en route, Pete, already anxious and out of sorts, arrives to find the house empty. His mood is not improved when, hours later, his friends return from the pub with a weird stranger named Harry (Dustin Demri-Burns), who seems rather too familiar with Pete’s past and personality.

Dancing on the line between funny and menacing, the ingenious script (by Stourton and Tom Palmer) is a tonal tease, a limbo where every joke has a threatening edge and every “Just kidding!” only increases Pete’s unease. No one is interested in his volunteer work with refugee children; instead, they seem to be criticizing him at every turn, especially the unsettling Harry, whose mysterious notebook becomes a focus for Pete’s growing anger and paranoia.

Cleverly playing with our sympathies, Gaynord, in his feature debut, stirs upper-class twittery and ***working-class*** pragmatism into scenes prickling with ambiguity. Was it really a prearranged prank when Harry pursued Pete with an ax? And was Pete’s nightmarish birthday roast a ruse to force him to confess a long-ago sin?

Tightly paced and slickly composed, “All My Friends Hate Me” loses its nerve a trace in the final moments. Yet its commitment to unearthing the masochism that lurks at the heart of any reunion is unwavering.

All My Friends Hate Me

Rated R for liberal drug use and conservative nudity. Running time: 1 hour 33 minutes. In theaters.

PHOTO: From left, Georgina Campbell, Graham Dickson, Tom Stourton, Antonia Clarke and Joshua McGuire in “All My Friends Hate Me.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY SUPER LTD)

**Load-Date:** March 11, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Closing of This School Is Bad News for America; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:684K-4D61-JBG3-60MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 1, 2023 Monday 23:34 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1266 words

**Byline:** Tim Wu

**Highlight:** Guardian Angel School in Manhattan represents a national predicament.

**Body**

The area on the far western side of Manhattan now known as West Chelsea was once a ***working-class*** neighborhood of industrial docklands. Today it is better known for its art galleries and luxury apartments, but its past can still be glimpsed, sometimes literally.

On the High Line, the elevated park that has come to define the neighborhood, there is a place just north of West 21st Street where the walkway adjoins an old brick building with stained-glass windows. If you listen carefully, at the right times, you can hear the voices of children coming from a courtyard below. They belong to students at [*Guardian Angel School*](https://guardianangelschool-nyc.org/), a small private school founded in 1911 that serves students from pre-K through eighth grade. Its motto is “educational excellence in the heart of Chelsea.”

The school is a link not just to Chelsea’s history but also to the nation’s, for Guardian Angel occupies a vanishing niche in today’s America: the genuine middle — neither outlandishly rich nor economically desperate. It is a school that primarily serves middle-class and poorer families looking for a better alternative to public schools. Research has [*shown*](https://chronicle.uchicago.edu/970306/catholic.shtml) that, especially for Black and Hispanic students, these schools can do a better job than some public schools when it comes to graduation rates, college attendance and future earnings.

In an age of persistent and often painful inequality, the need for institutions like Guardian Angel has never been greater. That is why the recent decision to close the school at the end of the current school year is so untimely and tragic — and why it holds such an urgent lesson for donors and philanthropists looking for the most effective ways to help American society.

In New York City, private schools have grown shockingly expensive. At a for-profit school not far from Guardian Angel called Avenues New York, the tuition is more than $65,000 a year. Guardian Angel, overseen by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, charges about $5,750 a year, with discounts for larger families and scholarships for poor students. It has a principal and 11 full-time teachers who are invariably described as “committed.” My daughter, an alumna, can attest to that.

Guardian Angel does not have all the trappings associated with fancy private schools. There is no Mandarin immersion program, no media lab, no swimming pool. What it does offer, according to Priscilla Serrano, a 1993 graduate whose son is enrolled in first grade, is an educational environment that is safe and small, academically demanding and, above all, “really looking out for the students.”

Ms. Serrano’s parents, immigrants from Ecuador, raised their family in Chelsea’s housing projects and sought a smaller and more structured learning environment than the local public school provided. A graduate of New York University who now works as a marketing executive, Ms. Serrano credits Guardian Angel for providing the educational foundation that led her and her siblings to college and good jobs.

Plenty of New York public schools serve their students well, but some do not. There needs to be an option for motivated parents who want a better education for their children but who can’t afford astronomical tuitions or master the arcane testing systems that determine who can go to New York’s elite public schools. An educational system meant to build a nation of economic equals must do more than pick a few geniuses out of poverty and call it a day.

The closing of Guardian Angel is a local story, but like many New York stories, it’s an extreme version of a national predicament. America has always valorized education as the great economic equalizer: Schools are the tools we use to build and sustain a thriving middle class. And we have, to our credit, built some of the greatest educational institutions on earth. But we’ve come to neglect the less prestigious institutions that offer affordable and accessible avenues to economic security. That’s why saving and improving schools like Guardian Angel should be a top priority.

The news of Guardian Angel’s closing, [*announced in February*](https://catholicschoolsny.org/announcements/) by the Archdiocese of New York, came as a surprise to parents. In a letter, Michael Deegan, the superintendent of schools for the archdiocese, gave two reasons for the decision. First, that the Covid pandemic and changing demographics had diminished enrollment. Second, that the school was now facing a projected annual deficit of about $550,000. “The factors leading to the closure of Guardian Angel,” he concluded, “are beyond anyone’s control.”

Might Guardian Angel [*still be saved*](https://www.change.org/p/save-guardian-angel-school)? Over the past few months, parents and alumni like Ms. Serrano sought to meet with archdiocese officials to propose a fund-raising campaign. In his letter, Mr. Deegan did not respond to requests to meet with them, saying instead that “we simply cannot fund-raise out of this situation.” But why not? The projected deficit of $550,000 — about $3,000 per student — is not a small number, but in the broader context it is a pittance, especially given [*the economic value*](https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/aer.104.9.2633) of good teachers and a good education over a student’s lifetime. (I reached out to Mr. Deegan for more detail, but his office referred me back to the letter he sent to parents.)

I don’t want to suggest that there are easy answers for Guardian Angel — or for other affordable private religious schools. The Archdiocese of New York, like Catholic institutions across the country, is struggling financially; Guardian Angel is one of 12 schools it is closing this year. But the High Line, which the school abuts, has raised hundreds of millions of dollars to fund its innovative landscaping and its cultural programs. A little farther north, in Hell’s Kitchen, the Irish Arts Center, which celebrates one of the immigrant populations that originally attended Guardian Angel, recently raised $60 million. My employer, Columbia University, raised [*more than $5 billion*](https://magazine.columbia.edu/article/columbia-campaign-raises-56-billion) during its last capital campaign.

Fund-raising is not a zero-sum game, and donors are not wrong to support well-funded institutions like Columbia, but schools like Guardian Angel need the money more. America’s elite educational establishments are already strong. We need to provide support where we are weak: the institutions that give working- and middle-class people a step up to a more economically secure existence. Some of those institutions are public schools, some private, some religious, some not. What matters is the economic role they play.

There’s an affecting documentary from 2015 called “[*Class Divide*](https://www.hbo.com/movies/class-divide),” which explores hypergentrification in Chelsea. It features a Guardian Angel student named Rosa De Santiago, who was eight at the time. She is the kind of kid who embodies New York at its best — energetic and ambitious, eager to make it in life. She aspired to make it to Columbia University, but she knew she faced obstacles. “I hate money,” she says in the movie. “I hate, hate, hate, hate, hate, hate money.” She adds, “Money was made by the Devil, I think, because God didn’t say, ‘Oh, you have to pay for this.’”

Tim Wu ([*@superwuster*](https://twitter.com/superwuster)) is a law professor at Columbia and the author, most recently, of “The Curse of Bigness: Antitrust in the New Gilded Age.”

Source photograph by Mark Perlstein/Getty Images.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK PERLSTEIN/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** May 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Israelis Feeling Pain of Discord In Daily Lives***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:695B-TWP1-JBG3-60N4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 13, 2023 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 2605 words

**Byline:** By Patrick Kingsley and Moises Saman

**Body**

When Ana Lavi neared the gates of her village in southern Israel late one night in July, a small group of men appeared in the road, surrounded her car and blocked its path.

The men had gathered half in celebration, half in vengeance. Hours earlier, Israel's ultranationalist and religiously conservative governing coalition had passed the first part of its deeply contentious effort to weaken the Supreme Court.

To mark the moment, some of the government's supporters had rushed to what they saw as the nearest symbol of Israel's opposition: Ms. Lavi's village, Kibbutz Hatzerim, one of the collective farms that have long been associated with the country's secular and left-leaning elite.

Ms. Lavi phoned for help. The kibbutz security guard hurried to the scene, accompanied by other residents. A scuffle broke out, and the guard drew his pistol.

Ms. Lavi jumped from her car. ''What have we come to?'' she shouted, in a scene captured on video.

Then the gun went off.

The immediate trigger for the altercation was the far-right government's effort to reduce judicial power. That push could cause a constitutional crisis if the Supreme Court overrules part of it after an appeal hearing that starts on Tuesday.

But the fight extends far beyond a disagreement over the court: The judicial crisis has become a proxy for an even broader battle among Israelis about the future of their country, as well as about what it means to be both a Jewish state and a democratic one.

At the state's formation in 1948, three years after the end of World War II and the Holocaust, the founders of Israel declared that the country would be a haven for Jews that nevertheless respected the rights of all of its citizens, regardless of their religion or race. But they did not write a formal constitution, and they never fully clarified the role of Judaism in public life, how much autonomy Israel's ultra-Orthodox minority should have or the place of its Arab minority, who initially lived under martial law.

Decades later, these unresolved ambiguities have become existential challenges. The size and influence of the religious population, 14 percent of the nation's roughly seven million Jews, is growing larger, disconcerting secular Israelis who make up 45 percent, while the Arab minority is playing a bigger social, economic and political role, prompting a backlash from ultranationalist parts of Jewish society.

Historically, political coalitions between rival factions helped reduce these tensions, while the Supreme Court generally acted as a guarantor of minority rights and secular values. Now, profound demographic and social shifts have nudged the balance of power toward ultraconservative and ultranationalist groups. And in December, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu assembled the most right-wing and religious governing coalition in Israel's history, which promptly targeted the Supreme Court in order to remove a key bulwark against its national vision.

Since the start of that effort in January, the longstanding grievances have burst to the surface, foregrounding deep rifts, not only between the religious and the secular, but between different ethnic groups and social classes -- all of whom now feel under attack, and are quick to go on the offensive themselves. Each side is fearful that their opponents seek to destroy their Israel -- their way of life, their understanding of the country's past and their vision of its future.

That divisive debate is seeping into daily life, in ways both big and small. On the airwaves, commentators and politicians have warned of a looming civil war. On the ground, tensions are apparent in weekly mass protests that draw hundreds of thousands to the streets and in smaller, often heated confrontations between Israelis with opposing views, even as some try to find common ground.

The gunfire outside Ms. Lavi's kibbutz, which made national news, did not result in any casualties -- the security guard fired in the air and did not hit anyone. But it highlighted the febrile nature of the current moment in Israel.

''Israelis against Israelis,'' Ms. Lavi said in an interview. ''It's horrible.''

What Kind of Jewish State?

The emotions of the moment have been partly fueled by deep differences over the role of religion in public spaces and what it means to live a contemporary Jewish life.

After dropping his daughters at school one morning in May, Avishai Mendel, an ultra-Orthodox entrepreneur, was surrounded by a group of secular Israelis holding an early-morning protest outside the home of a cabinet minister.

Mr. Mendel's broad black hat, long beard and dangling forelocks had quickly attracted their attention: They marked him as a member of the ultra-Orthodox community, many of whom study religious law instead of serving in the military like most other Jewish Israelis.

''They judge us all the time because of how we look,'' Mr. Mendel said in an interview.

''You don't go to the army,'' one assailant yelled, in an exchange that attracted national media attention. ''If everyone was like you, there would be no army,'' shouted another.

Mr. Mendel, 42, sounded crestfallen in response. ''What did I do to you?'' he replied. ''Did I ever hurt you?''

Many secular Israelis fear a coming theocracy, citing efforts by religious conservatives in the coalition government to push their agenda -- and the growing confidence of those advocating stricter, religious-based rules for the country. Lawmakers have advanced plans to expand the power of all-male rabbinical courts, while a minister has sought to enforce gender-segregated bathing times at wild springs.

A fast-growing minority, the Haredim, as the ultra-Orthodox are known in Hebrew, are perceived to be reshaping Israeli society while doing too little to either protect it, through military service, or pay for it, through taxation. The employment rate of Haredi men is just 56 percent because many of them study religious law instead of working, although many of their wives are in the work force.

Many religious Israelis say that they should be able to live according to religious edicts, and that those desires should be respected by others. They push back against the secular calls to place marriage, which is currently overseen by senior rabbis, under the jurisdiction of the civil authorities, and to operate public transport on the Jewish Sabbath.

They also want to maintain their community's exemption from service in the armed forces, long a divisive practice in a country where the institution is largely seen as a proud symbol of the Israeli state.

Both sides say they feel targeted by the other. Secular Israelis have been outraged by episodes in which religious drivers or passengers have ordered young women to sit separately from men on public transport. Religious Israelis have been accosted by secular ones, in the street or aboard buses.

Unlike many Haredim, Mr. Mendel did serve in the army, one of around 1,000 in the community who do so every year. He then studied electrical engineering and now runs a company with his wife that organizes technology classes for schoolchildren, religious and secular alike.

''I work like they do,'' Mr. Mendel said of his secular critics. ''I pay my taxes, maybe more than they do.''

Still, Mr. Mendel defends conscription exemptions for those who study the Torah, a practice that he says sustained Jewish identity through 2,000 years of exile.

''We can't be a state like other states,'' Mr. Mendel said.

''What brings redemption is studying the Torah,'' he added. ''Without the Torah, we wouldn't be here.''

A Clash Over Class

Class, not religion, was the main driver of the episode in July outside Kibbutz Hatzerim, where Ms. Lavi lives.

A gated community of small, detached houses and tidy lawns surrounded by rocky desert, Hatzerim is one of hundreds of collective farms founded before Israel's formation in 1948.

To the kibbutzniks, their project was a heroic one that entrenched a Jewish presence in hostile areas. But to the residents of the surrounding towns, the gated kibbutzim often became symbols of inaccessible privilege.

After the men stopped Ms. Lavi's car, prompting her 10-year-old daughter to burst into tears, they yelled abuse that surfaced decades of social resentment.

''Oh, your privileged daughter needs to enter the kibbutz?'' Ms. Lavi, 50, a bookkeeper at the kibbutz council, recalled hearing one of the men say. ''You privileged kibbutzniks!''

The judicial crisis has reawakened dormant tensions between the residents of ***working-class*** towns -- who typically lean right -- and those of wealthy suburbs and kibbutzim, who tend to vote for centrist and left-wing parties.

The kibbutz is surrounded by less feted cities, like Beersheba and Dimona, where residents historically lived in fraying, dust-covered apartment blocks.

These communities are dominated by Jews of Middle Eastern origin, known as Mizrahim, whose parents faced discrimination during Israel's first decades.

The kibbutzim were built mainly by Jews from Europe who fled persecution, known as Ashkenazim, and who formed the backbone of Israel's founding generation.

''They always had the privileges that we didn't get,'' said Daniela Harmon, a right-wing activist and accountant from Dimona.

The inequities between the two groups have significantly ebbed over time, through intermarriage and social change.

Hatzerim's finance manager is the son of Moroccan immigrants. He joined the kibbutz 40 years ago after a childhood in Dimona. Beersheba is now a place of growing wealth and new neighborhoods filled with plush villas, and a major venture capital fund there is led by Mizrahi entrepreneurs.

''I see people who live in Beersheba who live a thousand times better than we do,'' Ms. Lavi said.

But for parts of the Israeli right, the old elites -- embodied, as they see it, by the kibbutzniks -- still retain too much power.

To them, the well-funded anti-government demonstrations -- held in cities like Beersheba and often attended by activists from out of town -- feel like last-gasp efforts by the elite to protect its interests. They say the counterdemonstrations outside the kibbutzim are a fair response.

''You're always protesting at our doors, blocking our roads,'' Ms. Lavi said she was told by the government supporters outside the kibbutz. ''What you've done to us, we'll do to you.''

Arab Alienation

Ranin Boulos, an Arab Israeli, lasted only a few minutes at a mass protest in August in Tel Aviv. After thousands of fellow demonstrators began singing the Israeli national anthem, a song about Jewish identity, Ms. Boulos quietly left the crowd, alienated and confused.

In that moment, Ms. Boulos felt the protest movement was ''a really internal Jewish matter,'' she said.

''This democracy they're asking for,'' she said, ''they're not asking it for me.''

When Ms. Boulos, 38, later described that feeling on social media, she was swiftly criticized by Jewish opposition figures. ''You are a minority, the anthem is decided by the majority,'' said Ben Caspit, a prominent Jewish Israeli columnist. Respect the anthem, he added, just as ''Jews did all those years in exile.''

''Only I'm not in exile,'' replied Ms. Boulos, a television presenter who has long worked alongside Jewish Israeli journalists and lives in a rare village shared by both Jews and Arabs. ''I'm in my home,'' she added.

This is the dilemma facing Israel's Arab minority, which forms roughly a fifth of Israel's nine million citizens.

Palestinian citizens of Israel, as many Israeli Arabs, like Ms. Boulos, prefer to be known, have long experienced neglect and discrimination. Now they feel they are the most vulnerable target of the ultranationalist coalition government. The coalition includes a senior minister convicted of anti-Arab incitement, and it has passed legislation that critics say makes it easier to exclude Arabs from Jewish villages.

And yet they have been largely left out of the broad discussion of nationhood that the government's actions have prompted. Most are wary of joining an opposition protest movement that mainly seeks to preserve Israel's status quo, in which Arabs already felt like second-class citizens.

Ms. Boulos feels alienated by the protesters' goal of fighting for a Jewish and democratic state, rather than just a democracy for people from any religious background.

While small groups of protesters have sought to highlight the Palestinian cause, key protest leaders have not. Ms. Boulos finds it hypocritical that they want to preserve their own rights while ignoring those of Palestinians living under Israeli occupation in the West Bank.

''No one went to the streets like this for Palestinians,'' she said. ''Now, they're in the streets because suddenly this touches them. Now, someone is playing with their toy.''

Still, Ms. Boulos has since returned to the protests -- sensing a chance to win over more Jewish Israelis to her cause.

''I'm like a wedding crasher,'' Ms. Boulos said. ''Part of me does think that I shouldn't be there.''

But part of her also thinks, ''Raise your own voice inside of this crowd and try to raise other issues.''

An Unlikely Friendship

Michael Swisa, a couples therapist, and Prof. Gal Ifergane, a neurologist, have almost nothing in common.

Mr. Swisa, 47, supports the government and its judicial overhaul. Prof. Ifergane, 55, protests against it every week. ''We disagree on everything,'' Prof. Ifergane said.

When Mr. Swisa approached Prof. Ifergane at a recent opposition protest, the stage was therefore set for yet another fiery confrontation.

But this time was different: Mr. Swisa had come for a dialogue, not an argument.

Fifteen minutes later, both men emerged from a surprisingly good-humored exchange with a better understanding of the other's position and a pledge to continue the conversation.

Days later, they spoke by phone for a longer discussion. They befriended each other on Facebook and read each other's posts. They met in person at Prof. Ifergane's home, inviting friends from either side of the debate, in a kind of political salon.

''Your views are very different to my views, and in my eyes, they are not moral,'' Mr. Swisa said to Prof. Ifergane at a separate discussion attended by The New York Times.

Nevertheless, Mr. Swisa added, ''He's a fabulous person, and I'm so glad there are people like him in our country.''

That kind of exchange shows why some Israelis still hold out hope for national reconciliation. While many Jewish Israelis disagree about the future of their country, the vast majority still share the goal of maintaining Israel as a haven for Jews.

Mr. Swisa, a highly conservative Jew who lives in a settlement in the West Bank, still resents the court for opposing segregation between men and women in certain public spaces and restraining Israeli military activity against Palestinians in the occupied West Bank. ''Generally, the court makes the state less Jewish,'' Mr. Swisa said.

Prof. Ifergane, a highly secular Jew who helps run a major hospital, still views the court as a bulwark against religious autocracy. Without the court, hospitals like his might be encouraged to discriminate against Arab, gay or even female patients, he said. ''The only check on the government is the Supreme Court,'' Prof. Ifergane said.

What binds them is a desire to keep the country united.

''This war will end -- someone will win and someone will lose,'' Prof. Ifergane said. After that, he added, ''The wounds will need to be healed.''

Myra Noveck contributed reporting.Myra Noveck contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/11/world/middleeast/israel-protests-judicial-crisis.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/11/world/middleeast/israel-protests-judicial-crisis.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top, a beach day in Tel Aviv

cooling off in Beersheba, a conservative town

Ranin Boulos, an Arab Israeli

Avishai Mendel, an ultra-Orthodox entrepreneur

Kibbutz Hatzerim, whose members are mostly secular Jews. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MOISES SAMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A9) This article appeared in print on page A1, A9.

**Load-Date:** September 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Here Are the Most Anticipated Films of the Holiday Season***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69JF-NSV1-DXY4-X2K7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 4, 2023 Saturday 11:41 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 3923 words

**Byline:** Ben Kenigsberg

**Highlight:** “The Color Purple” and “Poor Things” and Beyoncé lead a list packed with goodies. Mark your calendars.

**Body**

“The Color Purple” and “Poor Things” and Beyoncé lead a list packed with goodies. Mark your calendars.

The leaves are falling, and at least one of the strikes looming over the film season has been resolved. From Wiseman to Wonka, Beyoncé to Ferrari, here is a select list of the films you need to know about this winter. Release dates and platforms are subject to change.

November

DREAM SCENARIO An evolutionary biologist (Nicolas Cage) begins turning up in random people’s dreams, an inexplicable phenomenon that first intrigues the dreamers, then freaks them out. Julianne Nicholson also stars. Kristoffer Borgli wrote, directed and edited. (Nov. 10 in theaters)

THE KILLER Michael Fassbender plays a hyper-punctilious hit man who is forever checking his pulse and who soothes his nerves by listening to the Smiths. But his careful plans are upended when a job goes awry. The film reunites the director David Fincher and the screenwriter Andrew Kevin Walker, who together gave us “Seven” (1995), and here adapt the graphic-novel series by Matz and Luc Jacamon. (Nov. 10 on Netflix)

THE MARVELS Captain Marvel (Brie Larson), Ms. Marvel (Iman Vellani) and Captain Monica Rambeau (Teyonah Parris) join forces to take down whoever is threatening the Marvel Cinematic Universe these days. Nia DaCosta (the 2021 “Candyman” remake) directed. (Nov. 10 in theaters)

ORLANDO, MY POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY In this nonfiction feature, the philosopher Paul B. Preciado uses Virginia Woolf’s “Orlando” as a lens for exploring issues of gender identity, enlisting transgender and nonbinary people to play the character and reflect on their lives. (Nov. 10 in theaters)

STAMPED FROM THE BEGINNING The academic and activist Ibram X. Kendi’s 2016 book, “Stamped From the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America,” becomes a documentary film with commentary from Kendi and others, including Angela Davis and the poet Honorée Fanonne Jeffers. Roger Ross Williams directed. (Nov. 10 in theaters, Nov. 20 on Netflix)

A STILL SMALL VOICE A nonfiction highlight at Sundance, this documentary from Luke Lorentzen (“Midnight Family”) follows a hospital chaplain during a residency as she discovers whether she has the fortitude for the job. (Nov. 10 in theaters)

YOUTH (SPRING) Known for documentaries with lengthy running times and an unobtrusive style, the acclaimed Chinese filmmaker [*Wang Bing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/05/movies/wang-bing-dead-souls.html) (“Dead Souls”) chronicles the lives of migrants toiling in the textile workshops of Zhili, China. (Nov. 10 in theaters)

THE LADY BIRD DIARIES The latest nonfiction feature from Dawn Porter (“John Lewis: Good Trouble”) draws on archival audio of the first lady Lady Bird Johnson and assesses the part she played in President Lyndon B. Johnson’s administration. (Nov. 13 on Hulu)

BEST. CHRISTMAS. EVER! Mary Lambert (the original “Pet Sematary”) directed this holiday movie about a woman who tries to puncture her friend’s carefully cultivated aura of good cheer. Heather Graham and Brandy star. (Nov. 16 on Netflix)

DASHING THROUGH THE SNOW Magic helps restore the Yuletide spirit for a social worker (Chris Bridges, a.k.a. Ludacris) and his 9-year-old (Madison Skye). Lil Rel Howery and Teyonah Parris also star; Tim Story directed. (Nov. 17 on Disney+)

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SHERE HITE Nicole Newnham (a director of “Crip Camp”) made this documentary on the work of [*Shere Hite*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/11/books/shere-hite-dead.html), who in 1976 published “The Hite Report: A Nationwide Study of Female Sexuality,” which advanced the then-radical notion that women could achieve sexual satisfaction without intercourse. (Nov. 17 in theaters)

FALLEN LEAVES The latest from the Finnish treasure Aki Kaurismaki won the jury prize at the Cannes Film Festival; the award scanned as an affectionate third place. It’s a love story — in an unusually bittersweet and low-key register — between lonesome members of the ***working class*** (Alma Poysti and Jussi Vatanen), and between Kaurismaki and cinema. (Nov. 17 in theaters)

THE HUNGER GAMES: THE BALLAD OF SONGBIRDS &amp; SNAKES Set before the events of the Jennifer Lawrence films, this screen installment from Suzanne Collins’s books casts Tom Blyth as a teenage tyrant in the making and Rachel Zegler as the tribute he tries to prepare for the deadly games. Francis Lawrence returns to direct. (Nov. 17 in theaters)

MAXINE’S BABY: THE TYLER PERRY STORY Normally, Perry projects begin with “Tyler Perry’s” this or that in their titles. But this biographical documentary bears his mother’s name, and traces how Perry built his universe of film and TV shows. Gelila Bekele and Armani Ortiz directed. (Nov. 17 on Amazon Prime Video)

MAY DECEMBER Todd Haynes investigates what constitutes realistic acting — and what attracts viewers to tabloid sensationalism — in this drama, which casts Natalie Portman as a TV star shadowing her latest role’s infamous real-life inspiration (Julianne Moore), a woman whose past is not dissimilar from [*Mary Kay Letourneau’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/07/obituaries/mary-kay-letourneau-dead.html). With Charles Melton. (Nov. 17 in theaters, Dec. 1 on Netflix)

NEXT GOAL WINS Smarting from a [*record-breaking loss*](https://www.nytimes.com/2001/04/12/sports/plus-soccer-was-it-31-0-or-32-0-australia-wins.html), American Samoa’s soccer team braces for another try at the World Cup qualifying matches, this time with a new, curmudgeonly coach (Michael Fassbender). Taika Waititi directed. The team’s story was also told in a [*documentary with the same title*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/24/movies/in-next-goal-wins-american-samoa-tries-to-overcome-a-loss.html). (Nov. 17 in theaters)

RUSTIN Colman Domingo plays the civil rights activist Bayard Rustin, who was a principal organizer of the 1963 March on Washington and whose legacy has received renewed attention. (In 2020, Gov. Gavin Newsom of California [*granted him a posthumous pardon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/05/us/bayard-rustin-pardon.html) for a 1953 conviction on a charge that had been used to criminalize homosexual activity.) George C. Wolfe directed. Chris Rock, Glynn Turman and Audra McDonald co-star. (Nov. 17 on Netflix)

SALTBURN The writer-director Emerald Fennell’s first feature behind the camera since “Promising Young Woman” centers on a student at Oxford (Barry Keoghan) who becomes taken with the lifestyle of a classmate (Jacob Elordi) and accepts an invitation to his lavish home. (Nov. 17 in theaters)

THANKSGIVING Sixteen years is a long time from trailer to release. But the tongue-in-cheek coming attraction that Eli Roth made for the midpoint of [*“Grindhouse” (2007)*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/06/movies/06grin.html) is now a feature film in its own right. Patrick Dempsey stars. (Nov. 17 in theaters)

TROLLS BAND TOGETHER The Troll universe expands again as Poppy (voiced by Anna Kendrick) and Branch (Justin Timberlake) seek out Branch’s brothers, with whom he previously formed a boy band. Who knew the Trolls universe had one? (Nov. 17 in theaters)

LEO Adam Sandler lends his inimitable vocal stylings to a lizard in an elementary school classroom; it only has a year to live. Bill Burr and Cecily Strong also star. (Nov. 21 on Netflix)

THE BOY AND THE HERON Ten years after [*“The Wind Rises,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/08/movies/the-wind-rises-miyazakis-film-about-a-warplane-creator.html) which [*had been billed as a final feature*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/06/movies/hayao-miyazakis-film-the-wind-rises-gets-complaints.html), the master animator Hayao Miyazaki gives us this story of a boy who moves from Tokyo after his mother’s death during World War II. An enigmatic tower that stands near his new home becomes a gateway to a parallel world — a quintessentially Miyazakian realm. (Nov. 22 in theaters)

LEAVE THE WORLD BEHIND Julia Roberts plays a misanthropic New Yorker who ropes her husband (Ethan Hawke) and children into an impromptu getaway on Long Island. But after strange things start to happen, and the family who owns the rental house (Mahershala Ali and Myha’la play father and daughter) turns up, the atmosphere gets tense. Barack and Michelle Obama are among the executive producers. Sam Esmail directed. (Nov. 22 in theaters, Dec. 8 on Netflix)

MAESTRO In the director’s chair again after “A Star Is Born” (2018), Bradley Cooper also stars as the legendary conductor and composer Leonard Bernstein, in a biopic that focuses in particular on his marriage. A top-billed Carey Mulligan plays the actress Felicia Montealegre Bernstein, his wife for nearly three decades until her death. (Nov. 22 in theaters, Dec. 20 on Netflix)

MENUS-PLAISIRS — LES TROISGROS The 93-year-old Frederick Wiseman has made more than 40 feature documentaries, but never one as culinarily tantalizing as this four-hour look at a three-star restaurant (per Michelin) in France. You’ll see how the food is sourced, how dishes are devised, how patrons react and much more. (Nov. 22 in theaters)

NAPOLEON Stanley Kubrick’s Bonaparte biography will, alas, always be one of cinema’s great what-ifs. But we are getting Ridley Scott’s version of the life of the French military leader, with Joaquin Phoenix donning the [*bicorn*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/18/world/europe/napoleon-hat-auction-waterloo.html). Vanessa Kirby also stars. (Nov. 22 in theaters)

WISH Will Ariana DeBose belt out a hit as big as “Let It Go”? Disney’s latest animated offering, advertising its affinities with “Frozen,” among other movies, casts the “West Side Story” Oscar winner as a heroine who takes on a king with the help of a cosmic force and a goat. Alan Tudyk and Chris Pine lend their voices as well. (Nov. 22 in theaters)

AMERICAN SYMPHONY While the musician Jon Batiste is planning a symphony, his partner, the writer Suleika Jaouad, has a recurrence of cancer. Matthew Heineman (“Cartel Land”) documented their experiences. (Jaouad had previously written for The New York Times about [*having cancer in her 20s.*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/interactive/health/life-interrupted.html)) (Nov. 24 in theaters, Nov. 29 on Netflix)

SMOKE SAUNA SISTERHOOD The director Anna Hints documents the lives of women sweating things out in an Estonian sauna. The movie won a directing prize at Sundance. (Nov. 24 in theaters)

THEY SHOT THE PIANO PLAYER Jeff Goldblum provides the voice of a journalist investigating the disappearance of a Brazilian pianist in this animated documentary. Fernando Trueba and Javier Mariscal directed. (Nov. 24 in theaters)

SOUTH TO BLACK POWER In his book [*“The Devil You Know,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/books/review/the-devil-you-know-charles-m-blow.html) the New York Times Opinion columnist Charles M. Blow argued that Black Americans should reverse-migrate to the South. This documentary, directed by Sam Pollard (“MLK/FBI”) and Llewellyn M. Smith, explores that idea. (Nov. 28 on Max)

FAMILY SWITCH In the tradition of “Freaky Friday” and “Vice Versa,” this movie casts Jennifer Garner and Ed Helms as parents in a family that gets scrambled in a body swap before a big day. McG directed. (Nov. 30 on Netflix)

December

BAD PRESS In 2018, officials in the Muscogee (Creek) Nation repealed an act guaranteeing freedom of the press. This documentary concerns a reporter’s efforts to fight back. (Dec. 1 in theaters and on demand)

CANDY CANE LANE A spell cast by an elf (Jillian Bell) causes Christmastime trouble for a man (Eddie Murphy) and his family. With Tracee Ellis Ross. Reginald Hudlin directed. (Dec. 1 on Amazon Prime Video)

EILEEN A sophisticated new counselor at a Massachusetts prison (Anne Hathaway) piques the curiosity of a younger woman who works there (Thomasin McKenzie). William Oldroyd (“Lady Macbeth”) directed this adaptation of Ottessa Moshfegh’s novel. (Dec. 1 in theaters)

IN WATER It’s not uncommon for the prolific South Korean director Hong Sangsoo to turn out two films per year, with a high consistency of style and subject. The gimmick in this one is that, for most of the movie, the picture is out of focus. (Dec. 1 in theaters)

LA SYNDICALISTE Isabelle Huppert plays a whistleblower who reveals secrets about France’s nuclear sector. But when she is sexually assaulted, the investigation calls into question her veracity. (Dec. 1 in theaters)

RENAISSANCE: A FILM BY BEYONCÉ Last month, Taylor Swift conquered theaters with a [*cinematic document of her Eras Tour*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/13/movies/taylor-swift-eras-movie-review.html). Now it’s Beyoncé’s turn, in a movie that goes behind the scenes of the artist’s Renaissance World Tour, which ended Oct. 1. (Dec. 1 in theaters)

SHAYDA Zar Amir Ebrahimi plays a woman from Iran residing in a shelter in Australia who is desperate to prevent her estranged husband from taking their child back with him. Noora Niasari wrote and directed. (Dec. 1 in theaters)

SILENT NIGHT A father (Joel Kinnaman) seeks revenge for the Christmas Eve killing of his son. No, it’s not another “Death Wish” reboot — the director, in fact, is John Woo. (Dec. 1 in theaters)

THE SWEET EAST After getting away from an attack by a PizzaGate-style conspiracy theorist, a high schooler (Talia Ryder) has a series of outlandish adventures as she travels from place to place. Ayo Edebiri, Jeremy O. Harris and Simon Rex also star. The cinematographer Sean Price Williams directed from a script by the film critic Nick Pinkerton. (Dec. 1 in theaters)

THE APOCALYPTIC IS THE MOTHER OF ALL CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY The experimental filmmaker Jim Finn examines the ideas of the apostle Paul using oddball cultural detritus, including board games and sponsored films. (Dec. 6 in theaters)

WAITRESS: THE MUSICAL Sara Bareilles plays the lead role in the movie version of [*the stage musical*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/25/theater/review-jessie-mueller-serves-a-slice-of-life-with-pie-in-sara-bareilless-waitress.html) for which she wrote the music and lyrics. The show was itself adapted from Adrienne Shelly’s [*posthumously released 2007 film*](https://archive.nytimes.com/query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage-9505E1DF103EF931A35756C0A9619C8B63.html). (Dec. 7 in theaters)

ANSELM Similarly to what he did in “Pina,” his 2011 [*documentary tribute to the choreographer Pina Bausch*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/23/movies/pina-a-documentary-by-wim-wenders-review.html), Wim Wenders uses 3-D and high-resolution digital camerawork to give viewers a sense of the monumentality of [*Anselm Kiefer’s art*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/18/arts/design/anselm-kiefer.html). (Dec. 8 in theaters)

FAST CHARLIE Michael Fassbender’s character in “The Killer” isn’t the only assassin with a problem this season. There’s also the hit man in this movie (Pierce Brosnan), who has trouble proving that the headless person he has killed was the intended mark. James Caan, who died last year, plays the hit man’s mentor. Phillip Noyce directed. (Dec. 8 in theaters and on demand)

MERRY LITTLE BATMAN Bruce Wayne’s son has to become a mini-Batman to thwart what sound like “Home Alone”-style shenanigans in this animated feature. Luke Wilson is in the voice cast. (Dec. 8 on Amazon Prime Video)

ORIGIN Reviewing [*“Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/31/books/review-caste-isabel-wilkerson-origins-of-our-discontents.html) the 2020 book by the Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Isabel Wilkerson, Dwight Garner of The New York Times called it “an instant American classic and almost certainly the keynote nonfiction book of the American century thus far.” With Aunjanue Ellis-Taylor as Wilkerson, Ava DuVernay dramatizes the period of the book’s writing. (Dec. 8 in theaters)

POOR THINGS Yorgos Lanthimos combines the costume drama of “The Favourite” with the social satire of “Dogtooth” to follow the odyssey of Bella Baxter (a wildly dexterous Emma Stone), who, thanks to a Frankensteining by a mad-scientist father figure (Willem Dafoe), begins the movie as a grown woman with a child’s brain. Mark Ruffalo and Ramy Youssef also star. Based on the novel by Alasdair Gray, it won the top prize at this year’s Venice Film Festival. (Dec. 8 in theaters)

TOTAL TRUST In this documentary, the director Jialing Zhang looks at the nature of the surveillance state in China. (Dec. 8 in theaters)

THE TASTE OF THINGS Tran Anh Hung won the directing prize at Cannes for a film that, along with Frederick Wiseman’s “Menus-Plaisirs — Les Troisgros,” boasts the most mouthwatering display of cuisine in any movie this year. Inspired by the French novel known in English as “The Passionate Epicure,” it concerns the relationship between that epicure (Benoît Magimel) and his longtime cook and companion (Juliette Binoche). (Dec. 13 in theaters)

CHRISTMAS RESCUE Kidnapping the bride from a wedding in an effort to win her love sounds like a horrifying thing to do, but maybe it works out for these two crazy kids in this movie? With Robin Givens, Raven Goodwin and Mario Van Peebles. (Dec. 14 on BET+)

AMERICAN FICTION Adapting a [*2001 satirical novel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2001/10/07/books/books-in-brief-fiction-enuf-pafology.html) by Percival Everett, the [*TV writer and former Gawker editor Cord Jefferson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/24/well/mind/cord-jefferson-emmy-black-mental-health.html) directed Jeffrey Wright as a Black author who, in frustration and jest, writes a book that plays into stereotypes — and suddenly finds the success that has eluded him. Erika Alexander plays a potential love interest; Sterling K. Brown and Issa Rae also star. It won the People’s Choice Award at the Toronto International Film Festival. (Dec. 15 in theaters)

CHICKEN RUN: DAWN OF THE NUGGET To counter the existential threat posed by exceptionally delicious chicken nuggets, Ginger, Rocky and their daughter break into a poultry-processing plant. Thandiwe Newton, Zachary Levi and Bella Ramsey provide some of the voices. (Dec. 15 on Netflix)

THE FAMILY PLAN When his past catches up with him, a government assassin turned car salesman (Mark Wahlberg) tries to save his family while keeping his previous occupation secret. Michelle Monaghan also stars. (Dec. 15 on Apple TV+)

GODARD CINEMA The legacy of [*Jean-Luc Godard*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/13/movies/jean-luc-godard-appreciation.html), who died last year, is impossible to distill almost by design; he reinvented film with his first feature, “Breathless,” and never stopped reinventing. Still, the documentarian Cyril Leuthy gives a survey a try, interviewing people who worked with Godard. In New York, Film Forum will show this feature with a final short Godard work, “Trailer of a Film That Will Never Exist: ‘Phony Wars.’” (Dec. 15 in theaters)

WONKA While “Willy Wonka &amp; the Chocolate Factory” and Roald Dahl’s book left many questions, how Wonka defeated a chocolate cartel to found his factory was not exactly foremost among them. Will the movie at least explain how Timothée Chalamet, who plays Wonka in this prequel, could grow into Gene Wilder? (Dec. 15 in theaters)

THE ZONE OF INTEREST Loosely based on [*Martin Amis’s 2014 Holocaust novel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/05/books/review/martin-amiss-zone-of-interest.html), the director Jonathan Glazer’s first feature since “Under the Skin” a decade ago is an intensely formal exercise that tries to immerse viewers in the perspective of Rudolf Höss (Christian Friedel), the commandant of Auschwitz, as he carried on with his life next to the camp. With Sandra Hüller as Höss’s wife. (Dec. 15 in theaters)

ALL OF US STRANGERS A run-in with a neighbor (Paul Mescal) somehow causes a rupture in the life of a screenwriter (Andrew Scott), who visits the home where he grew up and encounters his parents (Claire Foy and Jamie Bell) — who died years earlier, but who now have a chance to get to know him as an adult. Andrew Haigh (“45 Years”) directed. (Dec. 22 in theaters)

ANYONE BUT YOU [*Advance word*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/13/movies/sex-comedies-no-hard-feelings-joy-ride.html) suggests that this film, starring Sydney Sweeney and Glen Powell as two wedding guests who pretend to be together but aren’t, is unusually racy by the standards of comedies faintly inspired by “Much Ado About Nothing.” Will Gluck directed. (Dec. 22 in theaters)

AQUAMAN AND THE LOST KINGDOM Jason Momoa has to form an alliance with his brother (Patrick Wilson) to save Atlantis. Amber Heard and Nicole Kidman return for this DC sequel, along with the director James Wan. (Dec. 22 in theaters)

THE IRON CLAW Sean Durkin (“The Nest”) directed this dramatization of what happened to the real-life Von Erich brothers, who beginning in the 1970s made a name for themselves wrestling and who almost all died young. Zac Efron and Jeremy Allen White star. (Dec. 22 in theaters)

MIGRATION A family of ducks — the Mallards — do what a lot of American families do: fly south for a winter getaway. Not surprisingly, travel proves to be a hassle. Mike White, a long way from “The White Lotus,” wrote the screenplay for this animated feature, which has the voices of Kumail Nanjiani, Elizabeth Banks, Awkwafina and Keegan-Michael Key, among others. (Dec. 22 in theaters)

REBEL MOON — PART ONE: A CHILD OF FIRE Sofia Boutella bands together misfit warriors to save the galaxy. Untethered from DC Comics characters and the zombies of his “Dawn of the Dead” and “Army of the Dead,” this could be the most unfiltered dose of [*Zack Snyder*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/14/movies/zack-snyders-rough-and-tumble-ride-with-justice-league.html) since “Sucker Punch” (2011). This is the first of two installments, with the next one due in April. (Dec. 22 on Netflix)

THE BOYS IN THE BOAT In 1936, the United States’s eight-man rowing team bested Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy at the Berlin Olympics. How the American team did it, and how its members got to that point from the University of Washington, is chronicled in this drama, directed by George Clooney and starring Joel Edgerton and Callum Turner. (Dec. 25 in theaters)

THE COLOR PURPLE The Broadway musical version of Alice Walker’s novel, which itself was already adapted into a movie by Steven Spielberg in 1985, hits the big screen. The singer Fantasia, a.k.a. Fantasia Barrino, plays Celie, the role Whoopi Goldberg embodied in the original film. With Taraji P. Henson, Danielle Brooks, Colman Domingo and Halle Bailey. Blitz Bazawule directed. (Dec. 25 in theaters)

THE CRIME IS MINE A stage actress (Nadia Tereszkiewicz) is accused of murdering a lecherous producer in this 1930s-set film from François Ozon. It also features Rebecca Marder and, as a Sarah Bernhardt-like star, Isabelle Huppert. (Dec. 25 in theaters)

FERRARI Michael Mann and the sleek Italian auto brand go way back. (See also “Miami Vice” in its [*TV*](https://www.volocars.com/blog/The%20Miami%20Vice%20Ferraris) and [*movie*](https://www.theguardian.com/film/2006/dec/01/1) versions.) Adam Driver plays the sports car maker Enzo Ferrari in 1957, as he grieves the death of one son, tries to keep the existence of a mistress (Shailene Woodley) and an out-of-wedlock child from his wife (Penélope Cruz) and braces for the Mille Miglia race across Italy. (Dec. 25 in theaters)

OCCUPIED CITY Working from a book by his wife, the Dutch filmmaker Bianca Stigter, the director Steve McQueen combines documentary footage from present-day Amsterdam with narration that recounts events in the city throughout World War II. “With formal rigor and adamant focus, it maps — street by street, address by address — the catastrophe that befell Amsterdam’s Jewish population,” [*Manohla Dargis wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/18/movies/cannes-maiwenn-johnny-depp-steve-mcqueen.html) when the film played at Cannes. (Dec. 25 in theaters)

THE TEACHERS’ LOUNGE A schoolteacher (Leonie Benesch) winds up in an awkward professional position — and a deepening ethical quagmire — after leveling an accusation against one of the school’s staff members. İlker Çatak directed this festival favorite. (Dec. 25 in theaters)

GOOD GRIEF Dan Levy (“Schitt’s Creek”) casts himself — in his first directorial feature — as a man who takes a trip to Paris with two friends (Ruth Negga and Himesh Patel) while grieving his husband’s death. (Dec. 29 in theaters, Jan. 5 on Netflix)

PHOTOS: Phylicia Pearl Mpasi as Young Celie, left, and Halle Bailey as Young Nettie in the adaptation of the musical version of “The Color Purple.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY WARNER BROS. PICTURES); From left, Michael Potts (open jacket), Aml Ameen, Chris Rock, Glynn Turman and Kevin Mambo as civil rights leaders in George C. Wolfe’s “Rustin.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID LEE/NETFLIX); Natalie Portman as an actress studying her subject in “May December.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY FRANCOIS DUHAMEL/NETFLIX); Brie Larson, center, as Captain Marvel and Iman Vellani as Ms. Marvel in, yes, “The Marvels.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY LAURA RADFORD/MARVEL) (AR9); Eddie Murphy and Tracee Ellis Ross deal with holiday woes in “Candy Cane Lane.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMAZON PRIME VIDEO); Joaquin Phoenix as the title character in Ridley Scott’s “Napoleon.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY SONY PICTURES/APPLE ORIGINAL); Beyoncé in Toronto on her Renaissance tour, the subject of her new movie.; Emma Stone in “Poor Things,” directed by Yorgos Lanthimos. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SEARCHLIGHT PICTURES); Jason Momoa dives back into “Aquaman and the Lost Kingdom.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY WARNER BROS./DC COMICS); Timothée Chalamet takes over as the title character in “Wonka.” Hugh Grant is an Oompa Loompa. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WARNER BROS.) (AR14); Adam Driver, who took on the role of Maurizio Gucci in 2021, is playing another figure synonymous with Italy this winter in “Ferrari.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY EROS HOAGLAND/NEON); Kumail Nanjiani provides the voice for one of the Mallards in “Migration.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY ILLUMINATION) (AR17) This article appeared in print on page AR9, AR14, AR17. This article appeared in print on page AR9

**Load-Date:** November 24, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Long-Suffering Town In Wales Finally Gets Its Hollywood Ending***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:684C-P151-JBG3-64K3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 30, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1190 words

**Byline:** By Euan Ward

**Body**

A former industrial hub, Wrexham had long been in decline. Now, it's reviving as the globally famous star of a reality series about its once forlorn soccer team's rejuvenation.

In the Welsh language, the virtually untranslatable word ''hiraeth'' (pronounced here-ayeth) describes a blend of nostalgia and longing for a time that can never be recreated.

For Wrexham, a ***working-class*** town in northern Wales, it was a feeling that came to define a postindustrial malaise that descended in the 1980s as the last remaining coal mines shuttered their rickety gates and, later, the furnaces at the nearby steelworks ran cold.

Only the beloved soccer club, Wrexham A.F.C., remained: the oldest team in Wales, a perennial also-ran but still an indomitable source of local pride.

''We went through so much as a town,'' said Terry Richards, 56, a lifelong fan of the club as he sat at home in the team's bright scarlet jersey. ''Those were difficult times.''

Wales has its legends of heroes returning to save the day, but few could have predicted that an unlikely pair of Hollywood actors, Ryan Reynolds and Rob McElhenney, would waltz into town just over two years ago and buy the ailing club. That set off a chain of events that catapulted the town out of the doldrums and into the international spotlight, casting the residents as the main characters in their own Hollywood reality show based around the soccer club, ''Welcome to Wrexham.''

Few could have predicted that the two famous actors would walk into the town in the first place. But Mr. McElhenney, an American who had binged on sports documentaries during lockdown, conducted an exhaustive search for a down-and-out soccer team with growth potential, landing on Wrexham A.F.C., and persuaded Mr. Reynolds to join him in his pet project.

After paying the bargain sum of around $2.5 million, they moved into town (the Canadian-born Mr. Reynolds even bought a house) and began overhauling the team's operation. They revitalized the training facilities and upgraded the roster, offering comparatively enormous salaries that attracted established players from the upper levels of English soccer.

Last Saturday, that Hollywood story finally got its very own Hollywood ending -- the team's promotion after its winning season into the English Football League, the next tier of England's multilevel soccer pyramid, after a 15-year absence. As the referee blew the final whistle, generations of teary-eyed supporters leaped from the stands onto the rain flecked field in joyous celebration.

In that moment, a town was reborn, and that lingering ''hiraeth'' was no more.

''The doom and gloom has lifted,'' said Mr. Richards, still nursing a headache after days of celebration. ''It's hard to put into words.''

''It's a new Wrexham,'' he said.

The glamour of the town's new honorary residents appears at stark odds with Mr. Richards's neighborhood of Caia Park, a long deprived corner of Wrexham that came to epitomize the town's decline. But few in the area find that contrast jarring. They are more than happy to bask in the Hollywood spotlight, especially when it comes with the fittingly Hollywood finale that shook the town last Saturday.

''They've brought a bit of sparkle with them,'' said Mr. Richards's partner, Donna Jackson, 55.

Mr. Richards's son, Nathan, 34, who played professionally for Wrexham in his teens, agreed. ''You don't need to be a football fan to see that.''

It is a sparkle that has lit up the underserved neighborhood, including at a local boxing gym that tries to keep disadvantaged teens out of trouble.

''This is known as a bit of a fighting town,'' said Gareth Harper, 43, the gym's coach. ''But after that match, with all of them fans and each pub being crammed, there was not one arrest. Everybody is just on such a high.''

As his students shadow boxed alongside him, he added: ''I think we're almost getting a little bit used to it now.''

Not everyone has made the adjustment. But Wayne Jones, the sleep-deprived, 40-year-old owner of the Turf Hotel, the pub made famous by the FX documentary, is not complaining.

Knowing what was coming, he tried frantically to stock up on supplies before the big game last Saturday, but the crowds just kept on coming. And on Sunday, they came back again. By night's end, the pub had been drunk dry, and he was left with no choice but to shut down for the first time in 15 years.

''I didn't ask for any of this. It sort of fell into my lap,'' he said, while staring into his coffee cup with weary eyes. ''But I don't think I have a big enough vocabulary to describe what they've done for this town,'' he said of the new celebrity owners. ''If the football team is doing well, the town is only going to prosper.''

While American entrepreneurs paying billions for clubs like Manchester United has bothered some British soccer fans, Wrexham's acceptance of outside ownership has surprised even the new owners themselves.

That is not to say there weren't some suspicions at first.

''Is this the 7th Cavalry coming over the hill? Or is it just, you know, somebody looking to make a quick buck,'' Geraint Parry, the club's longest-serving staff member, recalled thinking when the town first caught wind of the actors' proposed purchase.

But Mr. Parry, who has been attending games at the Racecourse Ground, the club's stadium, since 1974, soon put those doubts to rest -- even if he still struggles to comprehend the North American accents increasingly heard around town after the tourists began to roll in.

''I've got enough maple syrup to last me a lifetime now,'' he joked, referring to gifts some of the tourists brought from their home countries. He added: ''You can tell wherever in the world they are showing the series next, because suddenly you start getting emails from Brazil, Poland and Thailand.''

At times, the meeting of cultures seems straight out of an outdated sitcom script. At the club's fan shop this week, a tourist from Pennsylvania was met with puzzled looks when she asked to use the restroom. ''You want the err ... toilet?'' the shop assistant asked.

The town's museum is in the process of building a soccer section to cater to the growing public interest in the team. Amid the building's archives, however, the despondent days of the past are never far removed.

''Everything looks so grim,'' said Mark Taylor, the museum's assistant archivist, as he stared at the old newspaper snippets splayed out in front of him.

''END OF THE ROAD,'' read one headline documenting the closure of the town's brewery.

''I'LL SHUT THIS CLUB DOWN,'' another front page blasted, a window into darker days at Wrexham A.F.C. less than 20 years ago.

It all appeared alien to the glory now emanating across global airwaves and the team's dressing room (which, after the club's promotion on Saturday, took five hours to clean).

Back in Caia Park, Ms. Jackson reminded her partner Mr. Richards that they had yet to marry. As a setting sun streamed through the blinds, he promised they would get around to it next year, but on one strict condition -- the ceremony must take place on Wrexham's soccer pitch.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/29/world/europe/wrexham-afc-wales-reynolds-mcelhenney.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/29/world/europe/wrexham-afc-wales-reynolds-mcelhenney.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: A mural in Wrexham, Wales, promoting the FX series about the town's beloved soccer club, Wrexham A.F.C.

the Turf Hotel, where business has surged

a film crew covering the team, owned by the actors Ryan Reynolds and Rob McElhenney. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** April 30, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Is DeSantis Now the 2024 G.O.P. Front-Runner?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66TW-Y6J1-DXY4-X152-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 19; ROSS DOUTHAT

**Length:** 736 words

**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

A red wave swept Florida, but elsewhere, it barely lapped the shore. Endangered House Democrats are surviving all over, the battle for the Senate may be tilting toward the Democrats, and at best Republicans have won themselves a return to stalemate, not the victory that the circumstances seemed to promise.

If you're a Republican, this is all reason for severe disappointment -- unless, that is, you're a Republican with your eyes and hopes on Ron DeSantis as a potential presidential candidate for 2024. A world where Florida delivers a Republican landslide while the G.O.P. underperforms elsewhere is quite possibly your ideal scenario, because it seems to vindicate the theory that DeSantis will be offering, should he become a candidate in '24.

That theory, basically, is that there's a decisive right-of-center majority there for the taking in American politics, an opportunity magnified by the Biden administration's unpopularity. It's a majority that Donald Trump pushed the party toward, by picking up ***working-class*** white voters in 2016 and then Hispanic voters in 2020 -- proving that the G.O.P. coalition could be more blue collar and multiracial than its Romney-Ryan iteration and better optimized for Electoral College success.

But Trump himself is just too much, too erratic and polarizing and plainly dangerous, to complete the realignment on his own. And his influence on the party as a whole, manifest in the underperforming candidates he elevated in this cycle, is preventing the new G.O.P. majority from taking its natural shape. States like Pennsylvania, Arizona, Georgia and maybe even New Hampshire should have been easy Republican pickups; all they needed was a normal set of Senate nominees. Instead they got the kind of nominees Trump wanted, and the result is difficulty, defeat, disappointment and votes being counted late into the night.

Crucially, the DeSantis theory emphasizes, ''normal'' doesn't have to mean ''squishy.'' Instead, his sweeping success in Florida proves that you can be an avatar of cultural conservatism, a warrior against the liberal media and Dr. Anthony Fauci, a politician ready to pick a fight with Disney if that's what the circumstances require. You just also have to be competent, calculating, aware of public opinion as you pick your fights and capable of bipartisanship and steady leadership in a crisis. The basic Trump combination -- cultural pugilism and relative economic moderation -- can work wonders politically; it just has to be reproduced in a politician who conspicuously knows what he's doingâ€Œ â€Œand who conspicuously isn't Donald Trump.

Now, there are various ways that this analysis might overstate the DeSantis case. There are reasons apart from his political skills that Florida has trended sharply to the right, and his message and persona might not yield the same results elsewhere. You can't base a 2024 campaign just on being the guy who kept a sunny vacation destination open for business in 2021 (and drew many right-of-center migrants in the process). You can't assume that the Hispanic vote nationwide will follow the same patterns as in South Florida. You can't count on DeSantis's peculiar kind of anti-charisma playing nationally the way it has played in his home state.

But powerful narratives have a way of burying caveats and doubts, and right now it looks as if DeSantis will be able to sell himself as the Republican who overperformed amid general underperformance, the only Republican who fully exploited the openings the Biden Democrats gave the G.O.P., the Republican who actually achieved the kind of realigning victory that Trumpism's theoreticians kept promising was just around the corner.

In a normal political world, a normal political party, you would say that DeSantis effectively became the 2024 Republican front-runner last night. Nothing about the G.O.P. has been normal since Trump descended that escalator in 2015, so I won't be claiming anything so definite.

But the script has been written, the stage prepared: Now we'll see whether the governor of Florida can play the part that's waiting for him.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTOpinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/opinion/ron-desantis-midterms.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/opinion/ron-desantis-midterms.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** November 10, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Institute Members Want Answers on Sacklers' Funds***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:684C-P151-JBG3-64J9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 30, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 1349 words

**Byline:** By Christina Jewett

**Body**

The Academies accepted millions of dollars from members of the Sackler family -- including some who led Purdue Pharma, makers of OxyContin -- even while advising federal officials on opioid policy.

More than 75 members of the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine demanded on Thursday that the organization explain why it has for years failed to return or repurpose millions of dollars donated by the Sackler family, including some who led Purdue Pharma.

The company's drug, OxyContin, helped set in motion a prescription opioid crisis that has claimed hundreds of thousands of lives. The New York Times reported this month that even as the Academies advised the government on opioid policy, the organization accepted $19 million from the Sackler family and appointed influential members to its committees who had financial ties to Purdue Pharma.

One report issued by the Academies claimed that 100 million, or 40 percent of Americans, were in chronic pain. The figure, later found to be inflated, was cited by drugmakers to convince doctors to write large numbers of opioid prescriptions.

In a letter delivered to Marcia McNutt, president of the National Academies of Sciences, scientists and economists called on the organization to clarify how research committee members who ran nonprofits heavily funded by Purdue were chosen to provide guidance to federal authorities on opioid policy: ''How did the system fail in the past?'' the letter asked.

''The academy was looking like it had been morally asleep for the last 30 years,'' Robert Putnam, an author of the letter and Harvard public policy professor, said in an interview.

''We of course take the concerns of National Academy of Sciences members seriously, and their concerns were in part what prompted very serious conversations here about returning or repurposing the funds, to which the N.A.S. remains committed,'' the organization said in a statement on Friday.

The National Academies was chartered in 1863 by Abraham Lincoln to advise the nation on scientific and medical questions. The institution elects new members each year -- elite scientists and physicians -- and delivers influential advice to the White House, Congress and federal agencies.

Though about 70 percent of the National Academies budget comes from federal funds, it also raises private donations from individuals, nonprofits and companies, including Chevron, Google, Merck and Medtronic.

''If they begin to see the problem -- that is, this huge influx of private money, and private money often comes with implicit strings -- they will see it's a threat to the core principles of the Academies,'' Dr. Putnam said of the National Academies' current leadership.

Signatories of the letter include eight Nobel Prize winners. Two authors are National Academies of Sciences members who in 2017 urged top officials to distance the organization from the Sacklers.

Robert M. Hauser, a prominent social scientist, wrote in an October 2017 email to two top Academies officials: ''I have been thinking about the willingness of the N.A.S. to accept support from the Sackler family and to produce events and awards -- lectures, forums, colloquia, prizes -- however meritorious, in their name.''

He and another Academies member had concluded ''that the N.A.S. should disassociate itself from the Sacklers.'' The other member was Angus Deaton, a Nobel Laureate and co-author of a book about surging deaths tied to substance use and suicide among members of the white ***working class***.

Dr. Deaton said in an interview that he and Dr. Hauser had asked for a call with top officials about the Sacklers' involvement.

''We wanted more than anything to warn them that there was a lot of trouble ahead down this route, and that tens of thousands of people were dying and the Sacklers were giving them money,'' Dr. Deaton recalled in an interview.

Dr. Hauser, who worked at the National Academies from 2010 to 2016, referenced an in-depth New Yorker article about the Sackler family's ''ruthless'' marketing of OxyContin in the email, which was sent to Bruce Darling, then the executive officer, and James Hinchman, then the chief operating officer.

''Sooner or later I thought this was going to blow up in their faces,'' Dr. Hauser said in an interview. ''And it would really besmirch the reputation of the Academies, which I felt strongly about defending.''

Four minutes after Dr. Hauser's initial request was emailed, he received a reply from Mr. Darling: ''We had a conversation at the N.A.S. Council this past summer on the very issue that you raise, and we made a decision that I would be pleased to discuss with you.''

Mr. Darling and Mr. Hinchman did not respond to messages requesting comment.

Dr. Hauser recalled that Mr. Darling summarized the Sacklers' donations as something that had been discussed and required no new action. Dr. Deaton and Dr. Hauser felt their concerns had been dismissed.

Two National Academies reports on opioids have faced criticism from experts. One published in 2011 included two panelists with significant financial ties to Purdue and concluded that 100 million Americans were in chronic pain, a number that proved to be greatly inflated. (The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention later estimated that the condition affects 17 million to 52 million Americans.)

Still, the report armed drug companies with a talking point that proved influential with Food and Drug Administration officials who oversaw opioid approvals. It was also cited by Purdue Pharma attorneys in their response to a Senate inquiry.

Another Academies committee on opioid policy was singled out by Senator Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon, because of some members' links to Purdue. That panel, formed in 2016, went forward with a study after four members were replaced.

Articles in The Progressive and in The BMJ, or the British Medical Journal, have also noted the Sacklers' ties to the Academies and identified additional committee members with links to Purdue.

The letter on Friday asked for ''clear answers'' to what procedures are in place to ''ensure that advisory committee members are properly vetted,'' among other questions.

The Academies told The Times that beginning in 2019 Sackler family donations were no longer used for science-related events, research and awards, the purposes for which they were intended. The funds ''were never used to support any advisory activities on the use of opioids,'' Megan Lowry, a spokeswoman, said.

The donations amounted to roughly $19 million and, as invested funds in the institution's endowment, were worth about $31 million in late 2021, the most recent accounting available. Universities that accepted Sackler funds, including Tufts and Brown, have reallocated some of the money to addiction prevention and treatment efforts.

Members of the Sackler family who were active in running Purdue Pharma began donating in 2008 to the National Academies of Sciences. The money was used to sponsor forums and studies.

In 2015, family members donated $10 million to launch the Raymond and Beverly Sackler Prize in Convergence Research, according to reports by the organization's treasurer. Dr. and Ms. Sackler died in 2017 and 2019. An attorney for the family said those donations had ''nothing at all to do with pain, medications or anything related to the company.''

Dame Jillian Sackler, whose husband, Arthur, died years before OxyContin arrived on the market, began giving to the Academies in 2000, and donated $5 million by 2017, Academies reports show.

A day after The Times's report ran, the National Academies issued a statement saying it had explored returning or repurposing the funds. ''Doing so in an ethical and transparent manner will be the most important consideration,'' the organization said.

A perceived lack of urgency in the statement helped prompt the new letter from Academies members. ''It's another brushoff the way we read it,'' Dr. Hauser said.

He added: ''We wrote our letter to tell them, 'You guys have to be serious, prompt and sufficient about this.'''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/health/national-academies-sacklers.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/health/national-academies-sacklers.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine, in Washington, advises government officials on opioid policy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SHURAN HUANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** April 30, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Under the Hollywood Spotlight, a Fading Welsh Town Is Reborn***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6845-6441-DXY4-X398-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 29, 2023 Saturday 23:31 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1231 words

**Byline:** Euan Ward

**Highlight:** A former industrial hub, Wrexham had long been in decline. Now, it’s reviving as the globally famous star of a reality series about its once forlorn soccer team’s rejuvenation.

**Body**

A former industrial hub, Wrexham had long been in decline. Now, it’s reviving as the globally famous star of a reality series about its once forlorn soccer team’s rejuvenation.

In the Welsh language, the virtually untranslatable word “hiraeth” (pronounced here-ayeth) describes a blend of nostalgia and longing for a time that can never be recreated.

For Wrexham, a ***working-class*** town in northern Wales, it was a feeling that came to define a postindustrial malaise that descended in the 1980s as the last remaining coal mines shuttered their rickety gates and, later, the furnaces at the nearby steelworks ran cold.

Only the beloved soccer club, Wrexham A.F.C., remained: the oldest team in Wales, a perennial also-ran but still an indomitable source of local pride.

“We went through so much as a town,” said Terry Richards, 56, a lifelong fan of the club as he sat at home in the team’s bright scarlet jersey. “Those were difficult times.”

Wales has its legends of heroes returning to save the day, but few could have predicted that an unlikely pair of Hollywood actors, Ryan Reynolds and Rob McElhenney, would waltz into town just over two years ago and buy the ailing club. That set off a chain of events that catapulted the town out of the doldrums and into the international spotlight, casting the residents as the main characters in their own Hollywood reality show based around the soccer club, “[*Welcome to Wrexham*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/sports/soccer/wrexham-ryan-reynolds-rob-mcelhenney.html).”

Few could have predicted that the two famous actors would walk into the town in the first place. But Mr. McElhenney, an American who had binged on sports documentaries during lockdown, conducted an exhaustive search for a down-and-out soccer team with growth potential, landing on Wrexham A.F.C., and [*persuaded Mr. Reynolds to join him in his pet project*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/sports/soccer/welcome-to-wrexham-reynolds-mcelhenney.html).

After paying the bargain sum of around $2.5 million, they moved into town (the Canadian-born Mr. Reynolds even bought a house) and began overhauling the team’s operation. They revitalized the training facilities and upgraded the roster, offering comparatively enormous salaries that attracted established players from the upper levels of English soccer.

Last Saturday, that Hollywood story finally got its very own [*Hollywood ending*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/24/sports/soccer/wrexham-promoted-ryan-reynolds-rob-mcelhenney.html) — the team’s promotion after its winning season into the English Football League, the next tier of England’s multilevel soccer pyramid, after a 15-year absence. As the referee blew the final whistle, generations of teary-eyed supporters leaped from the stands onto the rain flecked field in joyous celebration.

In that moment, a town was reborn, and that lingering “hiraeth” was no more.

“The doom and gloom has lifted,” said Mr. Richards, still nursing a headache after days of celebration. “It’s hard to put into words.”

“It’s a new Wrexham,” he said.

The glamour of the town’s new honorary residents appears at stark odds with Mr. Richards’s neighborhood of Caia Park, a long deprived corner of Wrexham that came to epitomize the town’s decline. But few in the area find that contrast jarring. They are more than happy to bask in the Hollywood spotlight, especially when it comes with the fittingly Hollywood finale that shook the town last Saturday.

“They’ve brought a bit of sparkle with them,” said Mr. Richards’s partner, Donna Jackson, 55.

Mr. Richards’s son, Nathan, 34, who played professionally for Wrexham in his teens, agreed. “You don’t need to be a football fan to see that.”

It is a sparkle that has lit up the underserved neighborhood, including at a local boxing gym that tries to keep disadvantaged teens out of trouble.

“This is known as a bit of a fighting town,” said Gareth Harper, 43, the gym’s coach. “But after that match, with all of them fans and each pub being crammed, there was not one arrest. Everybody is just on such a high.”

As his students shadow boxed alongside him, he added: “I think we’re almost getting a little bit used to it now.”

Not everyone has made the adjustment. But Wayne Jones, the sleep-deprived, 40-year-old owner of the Turf Hotel, the pub made famous by the FX documentary, is not complaining.

Knowing what was coming, he tried frantically to stock up on supplies before the big game last Saturday, but the crowds just kept on coming. And on Sunday, they came back again. By night’s end, the pub had been drunk dry, and he was left with no choice but to shut down for the first time in 15 years.

“I didn’t ask for any of this. It sort of fell into my lap,” he said, while staring into his coffee cup with weary eyes. “But I don’t think I have a big enough vocabulary to describe what they’ve done for this town,” he said of the new celebrity owners. “If the football team is doing well, the town is only going to prosper.”

While American entrepreneurs [*paying billions for clubs like Manchester United*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/23/business/manchester-united-sale.html) has bothered some British soccer fans, Wrexham’s acceptance of outside ownership has surprised even the new owners themselves.

That is not to say there weren’t some suspicions at first.

“Is this the 7th Cavalry coming over the hill? Or is it just, you know, somebody looking to make a quick buck,” Geraint Parry, the club’s longest-serving staff member, recalled thinking when the town first caught wind of the actors’ proposed purchase.

But Mr. Parry, who has been attending games at the Racecourse Ground, the club’s stadium, since 1974, soon put those doubts to rest — even if he still struggles to comprehend the North American accents increasingly heard around town after the tourists began to roll in.

“I’ve got enough maple syrup to last me a lifetime now,” he joked, referring to gifts some of the tourists brought from their home countries. He added: “You can tell wherever in the world they are showing the series next, because suddenly you start getting emails from Brazil, Poland and Thailand.”

At times, the meeting of cultures seems straight out of an outdated sitcom script. At the club’s fan shop this week, a tourist from Pennsylvania was met with puzzled looks when she asked to use the restroom. “You want the err … toilet?” the shop assistant asked.

The town’s museum is in the process of building a soccer section to cater to the growing public interest in the team. Amid the building’s archives, however, the despondent days of the past are never far removed.

“Everything looks so grim,” said Mark Taylor, the museum’s assistant archivist, as he stared at the old newspaper snippets splayed out in front of him.

“END OF THE ROAD,” read one headline documenting the closure of the town’s brewery.

“I’LL SHUT THIS CLUB DOWN,” another front page blasted, a window into darker days at Wrexham A.F.C. less than 20 years ago.

It all appeared alien to the glory now emanating across global airwaves and the team’s dressing room (which, after the club’s promotion on Saturday, took five hours to clean).

Back in Caia Park, Ms. Jackson reminded her partner Mr. Richards that they had yet to marry. As a setting sun streamed through the blinds, he promised they would get around to it next year, but on one strict condition — the ceremony must take place on Wrexham’s soccer pitch.

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: A mural in Wrexham, Wales, promoting the FX series about the town’s beloved soccer club, Wrexham A.F.C.; the Turf Hotel, where business has surged; a film crew covering the team, owned by the actors Ryan Reynolds and Rob McElhenney. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** April 29, 2023

**End of Document**



[***National Academies Members Demand Answers About Sacklers' Donations***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6844-V3P1-DXY4-X2R5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 29, 2023 Saturday

The New York Times on the Web

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section ; Column 0; Science Desk

**Length:** 1349 words

**Byline:** By Christina Jewett

**Body**

The Academies accepted millions of dollars from members of the Sackler family -- including some who led Purdue Pharma, makers of OxyContin -- even while advising federal officials on opioid policy.

More than 75 members of the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine demanded on Thursday that the organization explain why it has for years failed to return or repurpose millions of dollars donated by the Sackler family, including some who led Purdue Pharma.

The company's drug, OxyContin, helped set in motion a prescription opioid crisis that has claimed hundreds of thousands of lives. The New York Times reported this month that even as the Academies advised the government on opioid policy, the organization accepted $19 million from the Sackler family and appointed influential members to its committees who had financial ties to Purdue Pharma.

One report issued by the Academies claimed that 100 million, or 40 percent of Americans, were in chronic pain. The figure, later found to be inflated, was cited by drugmakers to convince doctors to write large numbers of opioid prescriptions.

In a letter delivered to Marcia McNutt, president of the National Academies of Sciences, scientists and economists called on the organization to clarify how research committee members who ran nonprofits heavily funded by Purdue were chosen to provide guidance to federal authorities on opioid policy: ''How did the system fail in the past?'' the letter asked.

''The academy was looking like it had been morally asleep for the last 30 years,'' Robert Putnam, an author of the letter and Harvard public policy professor, said in an interview.

''We of course take the concerns of National Academy of Sciences members seriously, and their concerns were in part what prompted very serious conversations here about returning or repurposing the funds, to which the N.A.S. remains committed,'' the organization said in a statement on Friday.

The National Academies was chartered in 1863 by Abraham Lincoln to advise the nation on scientific and medical questions. The institution elects new members each year -- elite scientists and physicians -- and delivers influential advice to the White House, Congress and federal agencies.

Though about 70 percent of the National Academies budget comes from federal funds, it also raises private donations from individuals, nonprofits and companies, including Chevron, Google, Merck and Medtronic.

''If they begin to see the problem -- that is, this huge influx of private money, and private money often comes with implicit strings -- they will see it's a threat to the core principles of the Academies,'' Dr. Putnam said of the National Academies' current leadership.

Signatories of the letter include eight Nobel Prize winners. Two authors are National Academies of Sciences members who in 2017 urged top officials to distance the organization from the Sacklers.

Robert M. Hauser, a prominent social scientist, wrote in an October 2017 email to two top Academies officials: ''I have been thinking about the willingness of the N.A.S. to accept support from the Sackler family and to produce events and awards -- lectures, forums, colloquia, prizes -- however meritorious, in their name.''

He and another Academies member had concluded ''that the N.A.S. should disassociate itself from the Sacklers.'' The other member was Angus Deaton, a Nobel Laureate and co-author of a book about surging deaths tied to substance use and suicide among members of the white ***working class***.

Dr. Deaton said in an interview that he and Dr. Hauser had asked for a call with top officials about the Sacklers' involvement.

''We wanted more than anything to warn them that there was a lot of trouble ahead down this route, and that tens of thousands of people were dying and the Sacklers were giving them money,'' Dr. Deaton recalled in an interview.

Dr. Hauser, who worked at the National Academies from 2010 to 2016, referenced an in-depth New Yorker article about the Sackler family's ''ruthless'' marketing of OxyContin in the email, which was sent to Bruce Darling, then the executive officer, and James Hinchman, then the chief operating officer.

''Sooner or later I thought this was going to blow up in their faces,'' Dr. Hauser said in an interview. ''And it would really besmirch the reputation of the Academies, which I felt strongly about defending.''

Four minutes after Dr. Hauser's initial request was emailed, he received a reply from Mr. Darling: ''We had a conversation at the N.A.S. Council this past summer on the very issue that you raise, and we made a decision that I would be pleased to discuss with you.''

Mr. Darling and Mr. Hinchman did not respond to messages requesting comment.

Dr. Hauser recalled that Mr. Darling summarized the Sacklers' donations as something that had been discussed and required no new action. Dr. Deaton and Dr. Hauser felt their concerns had been dismissed.

Two National Academies reports on opioids have faced criticism from experts. One published in 2011 included two panelists with significant financial ties to Purdue and concluded that 100 million Americans were in chronic pain, a number that proved to be greatly inflated. (The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention later estimated that the condition affects 17 million to 52 million Americans.)

Still, the report armed drug companies with a talking point that proved influential with Food and Drug Administration officials who oversaw opioid approvals. It was also cited by Purdue Pharma attorneys in their response to a Senate inquiry.

Another Academies committee on opioid policy was singled out by Senator Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon, because of some members' links to Purdue. That panel, formed in 2016, went forward with a study after four members were replaced.

Articles in The Progressive and in The BMJ, or the British Medical Journal, have also noted the Sacklers' ties to the Academies and identified additional committee members with links to Purdue.

The letter on Friday asked for ''clear answers'' to what procedures are in place to ''ensure that advisory committee members are properly vetted,'' among other questions.

The Academies told The Times that beginning in 2019 Sackler family donations were no longer used for science-related events, research and awards, the purposes for which they were intended. The funds ''were never used to support any advisory activities on the use of opioids,'' Megan Lowry, a spokeswoman, said.

The donations amounted to roughly $19 million and, as invested funds in the institution's endowment, were worth about $31 million in late 2021, the most recent accounting available. Universities that accepted Sackler funds, including Tufts and Brown, have reallocated some of the money to addiction prevention and treatment efforts.

Members of the Sackler family who were active in running Purdue Pharma began donating in 2008 to the National Academies of Sciences. The money was used to sponsor forums and studies.

In 2015, family members donated $10 million to launch the Raymond and Beverly Sackler Prize in Convergence Research, according to reports by the organization's treasurer. Dr. and Ms. Sackler died in 2017 and 2019. An attorney for the family said those donations had ''nothing at all to do with pain, medications or anything related to the company.''

Dame Jillian Sackler, whose husband, Arthur, died years before OxyContin arrived on the market, began giving to the Academies in 2000, and donated $5 million by 2017, Academies reports show.

A day after The Times's report ran, the National Academies issued a statement saying it had explored returning or repurposing the funds. ''Doing so in an ethical and transparent manner will be the most important consideration,'' the organization said.

A perceived lack of urgency in the statement helped prompt the new letter from Academies members. ''It's another brushoff the way we read it,'' Dr. Hauser said.

He added: ''We wrote our letter to tell them, 'You guys have to be serious, prompt and sufficient about this.'''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/health/national-academies-sacklers.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/health/national-academies-sacklers.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The National Academies was chartered in 1863 by Abraham Lincoln to advise the nation on scientific and medical questions. The institution elects new members each year and delivers influential advice to the government. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Shuran Huang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 29, 2023

**End of Document**



[***In Tokyo, Seeing Some Old Familiar Places***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68F3-KRD1-DXY4-X39B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 10, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Travel Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1447 words

**Byline:** By Tom Downey

**Body**

Using a guidebook published more than 20 years ago, a writer searches out the bars and restaurants that express the city's traditional eating and drinking culture.

Upon landing in Tokyo in December, three years since my last visit, I thought about where I should first eat and drink in this vast, wondrous city. The answer was obvious: Iseto, an ancient sake-drinking den operating in the same wooden house since 1948.

I strolled down a narrow alleyway in the Kagurazaka neighborhood, slid open a door and was greeted by the owner, who asked me to wait while he cleared a spot at the bar. Four lone drinkers sat at the counter, pensive and serene. Two couples chatted quietly on the floor in the neighboring tatami-mat room. The homey yet horrifying scent of grilling kusaya, a salt-cured fermented fish, wafted through the place. It was just as if I was setting foot in here five, 15, maybe even 50 years ago -- exactly as Iseto wanted it.

I found Iseto in a travel guidebook called the ''Tokyo Q Guide,'' last published in 2001. I started using the guide -- and first visited Iseto -- in 2005, when the ''Q Guide'' should already have been out of date. But over the years I have found this lovingly curated paperback guide, now 22 years old, to be remarkable because it predicted the future, identifying not the newest, coolest places but selecting what would last.

Food- and drink-focused travelers seem always to be after what's best and what's new. But establishments like Iseto offer a persuasive counterargument that we should instead seek out what has endured -- locales that express a distinctive eating and drinking culture and offer insights into a region: Spanish customers like to congregate around a bar where everyone can converse; Japanese adore a place where they can be comfortably alone. Locations that reveal the most about a culture have often lasted not just a few years, but a few decades.

The long-term survival of old-school places like Iseto is an accurate barometer of how much a city has been able to stay true to itself and resist the onslaught of the hot and new, often bywords for globalized sameness. As Tokyo frantically knocks down and rebuilds itself, a process that greatly accelerated in the run-up to the Olympic Games held in 2021 and continues apace today, the many thousands of oddly shaped, often ancient spaces located underground, upstairs or down narrow alleyways, containing classic places like Iseto, are threatened by this wave of redevelopment.

Behind Iseto's low counter, the master knelt, clad in an indigo cloak. He tended sticks of red-hot charcoal used to heat sake, lowering metal vessels into a small sand pit that surrounds the coals in order to warm the brew. Modern bars have for decades been using thermometers to get the temperature right. At Iseto they use their bare hands, trained by years of practice warming these same flasks, feeling the metal on their skin and test-sipping this sake, the only one served here for 70 years.

But you don't come to Iseto just for the food and drink. You come for the evocative, transporting atmosphere, and because, unlike many other bars this old or this nostalgic, it remains a living, local place with rules that you disobey at your peril: If customers' voices become too loud, the master shushes everyone -- and they shut up. No photography is permitted. This is a drinking den, but of a peculiar kind. Last order is at 8:40 p.m., so it can only be the prelude to a longer evening or a pit stop before going home, not the site of a nightlong debauch.

Continuing my quest, I visited Fukube, another ''Q Guide'' favorite, located in a bustling neighborhood a couple blocks east of Tokyo Station. The main room, with just a handful of seats in front of a narrow bar counter, was full of suited salarymen. I squeezed into the last stool and ordered sake tapped from a barrel before me and a serving of grilled mackerel with grated daikon. There were a few changes since my last visit: The lighting was brighter. The master's son was now manning the bar. But the same bottles decorated the same shelves.

Then, as I turned and scanned the walls, it hit me: They'd removed the tobacco stains, fingerprints, charcoal residue and marks of humanity that decorated this 83-year-old establishment and rebuilt the interior. That old patina had been the kind you couldn't fake: grooves, scratches and streaks signifying decades of loving use. Before, I had savored the feeling each time I entered that Fukube was just as it had been since 1938. Now it felt unmoored from history.

The usual images of Tokyo oscillate between two extremes: gilded metropolis of the future and repository of the aristocratic past. The ''Q Guide'' evokes a different, real, thoroughly proletarian and much more intriguing city, most faithfully depicted in works of art and literature that I love.

I thought of Donald Richie's ''Tokyo: A View of the City,'' a short book published in 1999 that illuminates Tokyo's downtown culture, when I waited in line outside Dote no Iseya, a basic but brilliant tempura restaurant in what was once a lively red-light district. Yoshihiro Tatsumi's magnificent graphic novel, ''Abandon the Old in Tokyo,'' a collection of stories from 1970, focused on the city's postwar, ***working-class*** culture, came to life when I ducked into Uosan Sakaba, an izakaya located on the far eastern side of Tokyo. I trailed two salarymen, obviously a little tipsy, into the steamy space. The counterman said to them, with no greeting or preamble, ''Have you been drinking?''

''We had a few,'' the men replied.

''Get out,'' the counterman said, authoritatively, and that was it. Uosan may be cheap and loud, but they too have their rules. You can get drunk there, but you don't enter if you're already inebriated.

Unlike the precise, manual sake temperature control of Iseto, at Uosan the staff circulates with giant flasks of cheap, hot sake, filling glasses as fast as customers can drink. Handwritten menu items hang on every inch of wall space. Waiters scream to the kitchen, and food emerges lightning fast to soak up the drinks. Uosan serves comforting dishes like daikon stewed with monkfish until tender, dressed with a yellow streak of spicy mustard.

One of the authors of the ''Tokyo Q Guide,'' Robbie Swinnerton, Japan's most important English-language restaurant critic, told me that a foreign chef friend who often visits Tokyo insists on staying around the corner from Uosan so that he can soak up the atmosphere here every night. After a few glasses of sake and a bowl of fish stew, I emerged with the comforting conclusion that nothing at all had changed at Uosan and that, like many other such establishments -- and people -- in Japan, it had managed to live long beyond its normal life expectancy.

The real test of my ''Q Guide'' aptitude came when I tried to find my own places worthy of inclusion. How did a location qualify? I went to lunch at a longtime favorite, Sushi Yajima, in bustling Shibuya. The owners, the septuagenarian chef Susumu Yajima and his wife, Yoshiko, served exactly the same kind of sushi they'd been preparing for decades: a rapid-fire sequence of generously sized slabs of fish over strongly flavored rice that Susumu exhorted patrons to down before the rice got cold. This was a service that laid bare sushi's origins not as gourmet cuisine but as Edo-era, Tokyo street fare.

Yoshiko has learned English in recent years, which means that as their customer base has shifted to more and more foreigners they haven't become linguistic exiles. She can translate, interact, laugh and even make fun of her husband with these customers.

Sushi Yajima had stayed true to its Tokyo roots, retaining its regulars, yet it had also managed to evolve to attract a newfound clientele. Maybe there's another ''Tokyo Q Guide'' to be written, a book that someone like me will page through 20 years from now, charting places like Yajima, which have changed as needed, but still remain grounded in the enduring lifeblood of this city.

If You Go

Iseto and Sushi Yajima require reservations. For Iseto it's best to have a Japanese speaker reserve over the phone. For all of these old-school locations, patrons should observe Japanese protocol: Enter and linger near the door until someone approaches you to help rather than seating yourself as you might at a tavern in the United States.

Follow New York Times Travel on Instagram and sign up for our weekly Travel Dispatch newsletter to get expert tips on traveling smarter and inspiration for your next vacation. Dreaming up a future getaway or just armchair traveling? Check out our 52 Places to Go in 2023.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/29/travel/tokyo-restaurants-bars-guide.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/29/travel/tokyo-restaurants-bars-guide.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Iseto restaurant, in the Kagurazaka neighborhood, has been in the same house since 1948. Above, patrons leave Fukube, in a neighborhood near Tokyo Station. Far right, at Uosan Sakaba, on the city's far eastern side, you can enjoy a drink or, near right, simmered sea bream head. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES WHITLOW DELANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C8.

**Load-Date:** June 10, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A Conservative’s View on Democrats’ Biggest Weakness***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65KS-SCB1-DXY4-X4G4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 3, 2022 Friday 14:57 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 458 words

**Byline:** ‘The Ezra Klein Show’

**Highlight:** Reihan Salam explains how Republicans can build a more diverse party.

**Body**

“There is definitely a contest for the future of the center right,” [*says*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/10/opinion/anti-crt-politics.html) Reihan Salam, the president of the Manhattan Institute, a conservative think tank. In his telling, one side in this contest is “deeply pessimistic about the prospect of a diversifying America, explicitly anti-urban and increasingly willing to embrace redistribution and centralized power,” more so than conservatism before Donald Trump. This populist right has received a lot of attention since Trump’s election, and we’ve done other shows to try to understand it.

But Salam is advancing a very different set of ideas with a very different theory of the electorate. He’s identified what he sees as a core fissure between the progressive elites who run the Democratic Party and the ***working-class*** voters of color who make up a large part of its base — particularly on issues of race and gender. And he believes that by putting forward an “urban conservative” agenda centered on education, housing and public safety, Republicans can exploit those internal cleavages and begin to win over demographics that have been central to the Democratic coalition.

[You can listen to this episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” on [*Apple*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447), [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3oB5noYIwEB2dMAREj2F7S), [*Amazon Music*](https://music.amazon.com/podcasts/c4a3b1da-5433-49e6-8c14-0e1da53be78c/the-ezra-klein-show), [*Google*](https://www.google.com/podcasts?feed=aHR0cHM6Ly9mZWVkcy5zaW1wbGVjYXN0LmNvbS84MkZJMzVQeA%3D%3D) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article).]

So for the final episode in our “The Rising Right” series, I wanted to use Salam’s thoughts to explore this alternate path for the American right. We discuss why the Republican Party has turned against major cities, whether antiracism is the right framework for addressing racial inequality, why he believes that children of Latino and Asian immigrants could become a core G.O.P. constituency, the difference between antiracism and “antiracialism,” the tactics of the anti-critical-race-theory movement, why he thinks there’s been an “overcorrection” on the right in favor of state power and redistribution, what a supply-side conservatism beyond just tax cuts could look like, why he believes we could be entering an era of “fiscal constraints” that could radically reshape policymaking on both the left and right and more.

You can listen to our whole conversation by following “The Ezra Klein Show” on [*Apple*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447), [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3oB5noYIwEB2dMAREj2F7S), [*Google*](https://www.google.com/podcasts?feed=aHR0cHM6Ly9mZWVkcy5zaW1wbGVjYXN0LmNvbS84MkZJMzVQeA%3D%3D) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article). View a list of book recommendations from our guests [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/ezra-klein-show-book-recs.html).

(A full transcript of the episode is available [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/03/podcasts/transcript-ezra-klein-interviews-reihan-salam.html).)

“The Ezra Klein Show” is produced by Annie Galvin, Jeff Geld and Rogé Karma; fact-checking by Michelle Harris, Rollin Hu and Mary Marge Locker; original music by Isaac Jones; mixing and engineering by Jeff Geld; audience strategy by Shannon Busta. Our executive producer is Irene Noguchi. Special thanks to Kristin Lin and Kristina Samulewski.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jamie Meggas via Manhattan Institute FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 3, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘Wounds Will Need to Be Healed’: Collisions in a Fractured Israel***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:694Y-7VN1-JBG3-64CV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 11, 2023 Monday 14:21 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; middleeast

**Length:** 2622 words

**Byline:** Patrick Kingsley and Moises Saman

**Highlight:** Israelis are deeply split about what kind of country Israel should be. Four encounters at four recent protests show how that division plays out in daily life.

**Body**

When Ana Lavi neared the gates of her village in southern Israel late one night in July, a small group of men appeared in the road, surrounded her car and blocked its path.

The men had gathered half in celebration, half in vengeance. Hours earlier, Israel’s ultranationalist and religiously conservative governing coalition had [*passed the first part*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/24/world/middleeast/israel-judiciary-reasonableness-netanyahu.html) of its deeply contentious effort to weaken the Supreme Court.

To mark the moment, some of the government’s supporters had rushed to what they saw as the nearest symbol of Israel’s opposition: Ms. Lavi’s village, Kibbutz Hatzerim, one of the collective farms that have long been associated with the country’s secular and left-leaning elite.

Ms. Lavi phoned for help. The kibbutz security guard hurried to the scene, accompanied by other residents. A scuffle broke out, and the guard drew his pistol.

Ms. Lavi jumped from her car. “What have we come to?” she shouted, in a [*scene captured on video*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aA-ubq1Jj3M).

Then the gun went off.

The immediate trigger for the altercation was the far-right government’s effort to reduce judicial power. That push could cause a constitutional crisis if the Supreme Court overrules part of it [*after an appeal hearing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/10/world/middleeast/israel-judicial-overhaul-supreme-court.html) that starts on Tuesday.

But the fight extends far beyond a disagreement over the court: The judicial crisis has become a proxy for an [*even broader battle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/23/world/middleeast/israel-government-vote-netanyahu.html) among Israelis about the future of their country, as well as about what it means to be both a Jewish state and a democratic one.

At the state’s formation in 1948, three years after the end of World War II and the Holocaust, the founders of Israel declared that the country would be a haven for Jews that nevertheless respected the rights of all of its citizens, regardless of their religion or race. But they did not write a formal constitution, and they never fully clarified the role of Judaism in public life, how much autonomy Israel’s ultra-Orthodox minority should have or the place of its Arab minority, who initially lived under martial law.

Decades later, these unresolved ambiguities have become existential challenges. The size and influence of the ultra-Orthodox population, [*14 percent of the nation’s roughly seven million Jews*](https://www.cbs.gov.il/he/mediarelease/doclib/2018/195/32_18_195b.pdf), is growing larger, disconcerting secular Israelis who make up 45 percent, while the Arab minority is playing a bigger social, economic and political role, prompting a backlash from ultranationalist parts of Jewish society.

Historically, political coalitions between rival factions helped reduce these tensions, while the Supreme Court generally acted as a guarantor of minority rights and secular values. Now, profound demographic and social shifts have nudged the balance of power toward ultraconservative and ultranationalist groups. And in December, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu assembled the most right-wing and religious governing coalition in Israel’s history, which promptly targeted the Supreme Court in order to remove a key bulwark against its national vision.

Since the start of that effort in January, the longstanding grievances have burst to the surface, foregrounding [*deep rifts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/10/world/middleeast/israel-judicial-reform-netanyahu.html), not only between the religious and the secular, but between different ethnic groups and social classes — all of whom now feel under attack, and are quick to go on the offensive themselves. Each side is fearful that their opponents seek to destroy their Israel — their way of life, their understanding of the country’s past and their vision of its future.

That [*divisive debate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/07/world/middleeast/israel-divisions-judicial-overhaul.html) is seeping into daily life, in ways both big and small. On the airwaves, commentators and politicians have warned of a looming civil war. On the ground, tensions are apparent in weekly mass protests that draw hundreds of thousands to the streets and in smaller, often heated confrontations between Israelis with opposing views, even as some try to find common ground.

The gunfire outside Ms. Lavi’s kibbutz, which made national news, did not result in any casualties — the security guard fired in the air and did not hit anyone. But it highlighted the febrile nature of the current moment in Israel.

“Israelis against Israelis,” Ms. Lavi said in an interview. “It’s horrible.”

What Kind of Jewish State?

The emotions of the moment have been partly fueled by deep differences over the role of religion in public spaces and what it means to live a contemporary Jewish life.

After dropping his daughters at school one morning in May, Avishai Mendel, an ultra-Orthodox entrepreneur, was surrounded by a group of secular Israelis holding an early-morning protest outside the home of a cabinet minister.

Mr. Mendel’s broad black hat, long beard and dangling forelocks had quickly attracted their attention: They marked him as a member of the ultra-Orthodox community, many of whom study religious law instead of serving in the military like most other Jewish Israelis.

“They judge us all the time because of how we look,” Mr. Mendel said in an interview.

“You don’t go to the army,” one assailant yelled, in an [*exchange*](https://www.makorrishon.co.il/news/619467/) that attracted national media attention. “If everyone was like you, there would be no army,” shouted another.

Mr. Mendel, 42, sounded crestfallen in response. “What did I do to you?” he replied. “Did I ever hurt you?”

Many secular Israelis fear a coming theocracy, citing efforts by religious conservatives in the coalition government to [*push their agenda*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/09/world/middleeast/israel-ultra-orthodox-parties.html) — and the growing confidence of those advocating stricter, religious-based rules for the country. Lawmakers have advanced plans to expand the power of all-male rabbinical courts, while a minister has sought to enforce gender-segregated bathing times at wild springs.

A fast-growing minority, the Haredim, as the ultra-Orthodox are known in Hebrew, are perceived to be [*reshaping Israeli society*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/09/world/middleeast/israel-ultra-orthodox-parties.html) while doing too little to either protect it, through military service, or pay for it, through taxation. The employment rate of Haredi men is [*just 56 percent*](https://www.timesofisrael.com/rising-interest-rates-inflation-drive-employment-by-haredi-men-to-all-time-high/#:~:text=Record%2055.8%25%20participation%20in%20workforce,and%20that%20of%20Haredi%20women&amp;text=Amid%20rising%20interest%20rates%20and,to%20adults%20aged%2025%2D64) because many of them study religious law instead of working, although many of their wives are in the work force.

Many religious Israelis say that they should be able to live according to religious edicts, and that those desires should be respected by others. They push back against the secular calls to place marriage, which is currently overseen by senior rabbis, under the jurisdiction of the civil authorities, and to operate public transport on the Jewish Sabbath.

They also want to maintain their community’s exemption from service in the armed forces, long a divisive practice in a country where the institution is largely seen as a proud symbol of the Israeli state.

Both sides say they feel targeted by the other. Secular Israelis have been outraged by episodes in which religious drivers or passengers have ordered young women to sit separately from men [*on public transport*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/12/world/middleeast/israel-women-rights.html). Religious Israelis have been accosted by secular ones, in the street or aboard buses.

Unlike many Haredim, Mr. Mendel did serve in the army, one of around 1,000 in the community who do so every year. He then studied electrical engineering and now runs a company with his wife that organizes technology classes for schoolchildren, religious and secular alike.

“I work like they do,” Mr. Mendel said of his secular critics. “I pay my taxes, maybe more than they do.”

Still, Mr. Mendel defends conscription exemptions for those who study the Torah, a practice that he says sustained Jewish identity through 2,000 years of exile.

“We can’t be a state like other states,” Mr. Mendel said.

“What brings redemption is studying the Torah,” he added. “Without the Torah, we wouldn’t be here.”

A Clash Over Class

Class, not religion, was the main driver of the episode in July outside Kibbutz Hatzerim, where Ms. Lavi lives.

A gated community of small, detached houses and tidy lawns surrounded by rocky desert, Hatzerim is one of hundreds of collective farms founded before Israel’s formation in 1948.

To the kibbutzniks, their project was a heroic one that entrenched a Jewish presence in hostile areas. But to the residents of the surrounding towns, the gated kibbutzim often became symbols of inaccessible privilege.

After the men stopped Ms. Lavi’s car, prompting her 10-year-old daughter to burst into tears, they yelled abuse that surfaced decades of social resentment.

“Oh, your privileged daughter needs to enter the kibbutz?” Ms. Lavi, 50, a bookkeeper at the kibbutz council, recalled hearing one of the men say. “You privileged kibbutzniks!”

The judicial crisis has reawakened dormant tensions between the residents of ***working-class*** towns — who typically lean right — and those of wealthy suburbs and kibbutzim, who tend to vote for centrist and left-wing parties.

The kibbutz is surrounded by less feted cities, like Beersheba and Dimona, where residents historically lived in fraying, dust-covered apartment blocks.

These communities are dominated by Jews of Middle Eastern origin, known as Mizrahim, whose parents faced discrimination during Israel’s first decades.

The kibbutzim were built mainly by Jews from Europe who fled persecution, known as Ashkenazim, and who formed the backbone of Israel’s founding generation.

“They always had the privileges that we didn’t get,” said Daniela Harmon, a right-wing activist and accountant from Dimona.

The inequities between the two groups have significantly ebbed over time, through intermarriage and social change.

Hatzerim’s finance manager is the son of Moroccan immigrants. He joined the kibbutz 40 years ago after a childhood in Dimona. Beersheba is now a place of growing wealth and new neighborhoods filled with plush villas, and a major venture capital fund there is led by Mizrahi entrepreneurs.

“I see people who live in Beersheba who live a thousand times better than we do,” Ms. Lavi said.

But for parts of the Israeli right, the old elites — embodied, as they see it, by the kibbutzniks — still retain too much power.

To them, the well-funded anti-government demonstrations — held in cities like Beersheba and often attended by activists from out of town — feel like last-gasp efforts by the elite to protect its interests. They say the counterdemonstrations outside the kibbutzim are a fair response.

“You’re always protesting at our doors, blocking our roads,” Ms. Lavi said she was told by the government supporters outside the kibbutz. “What you’ve done to us, we’ll do to you.”

Arab Alienation

Ranin Boulos, an Arab Israeli, lasted only a few minutes at a mass protest in August in Tel Aviv. After thousands of fellow demonstrators began singing the Israeli national anthem, a song about Jewish identity, Ms. Boulos quietly left the crowd, alienated and confused.

In that moment, Ms. Boulos felt the protest movement was “a really internal Jewish matter,” she said.

“This democracy they’re asking for,” she said, “they’re not asking it for me.”

When Ms. Boulos, 38, later [*described*](https://twitter.com/Ranin_Boulos/status/1692969610448945509) that feeling on social media, she was swiftly criticized by Jewish opposition figures. “You are a minority, the anthem is decided by the majority,” [*said*](https://twitter.com/BenCaspit/status/1693324514803790107?s=20) Ben Caspit, a prominent Jewish Israeli columnist. Respect the anthem, he [*added*](https://twitter.com/BenCaspit/status/1693019872815419524?s=20), just as “Jews did all those years in exile.”

“Only I’m not in exile,” replied Ms. Boulos, a television presenter who has long worked alongside Jewish Israeli journalists and lives in a rare village shared by both Jews and Arabs. “I’m in my home,” she added.

This is the dilemma facing Israel’s Arab minority, which forms roughly a fifth of Israel’s nine million citizens.

Palestinian citizens of Israel, as many Israeli Arabs, like Ms. Boulos, prefer to be known, have long experienced neglect and discrimination. Now they feel they are the most vulnerable target of the ultranationalist coalition government. The coalition includes [*a senior minister*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/24/world/middleeast/israel-far-right-election.html) convicted of anti-Arab incitement, and it has passed [*legislation*](https://www.timesofisrael.com/expansion-of-admissions-committees-law-allows-more-towns-to-cherry-pick-residents/) that critics say makes it easier to exclude Arabs from Jewish villages.

And yet they have been largely left out of the broad discussion of nationhood that the government’s actions have prompted. Most are wary of joining an opposition protest movement that mainly seeks to preserve Israel’s status quo, in which Arabs [*already felt like second-class citizens*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/30/world/middleeast/israel-election-palestinians.html).

Ms. Boulos feels alienated by the protesters’ goal of fighting for a Jewish and democratic state, rather than just a democracy for people from any religious background.

While small groups of protesters have sought to highlight the Palestinian cause, key protest leaders have not. Ms. Boulos finds it hypocritical that they want to preserve their own rights while ignoring those of Palestinians living under [*Israeli occupation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/22/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-conflict.html) in the West Bank.

“No one went to the streets like this for Palestinians,” she said. “Now, they’re in the streets because suddenly this touches them. Now, someone is playing with their toy.”

Still, Ms. Boulos has since returned to the protests — sensing a chance to win over more Jewish Israelis to her cause.

“I’m like a wedding crasher,” Ms. Boulos said. “Part of me does think that I shouldn’t be there.”

But part of her also thinks, “Raise your own voice inside of this crowd and try to raise other issues.”

An Unlikely Friendship

Michael Swisa, a couples therapist, and Prof. Gal Ifergane, a neurologist, have almost nothing in common.

Mr. Swisa, 47, supports the government and its judicial overhaul. Prof. Ifergane, 55, protests against it every week. “We disagree on everything,” Prof. Ifergane said.

When Mr. Swisa approached Prof. Ifergane at a recent opposition protest, the stage was therefore set for yet another fiery confrontation.

But this time was different: Mr. Swisa had come for a dialogue, not an argument.

Fifteen minutes later, both men emerged from a surprisingly good-humored exchange with a better understanding of the other’s position and a pledge to continue the conversation.

Days later, they spoke by phone for a longer discussion. They befriended each other on Facebook and read each other’s posts. They met in person at Prof. Ifergane’s home, inviting friends from either side of the debate, in a kind of political salon.

“Your views are very different to my views, and in my eyes, they are not moral,” Mr. Swisa said to Prof. Ifergane at a separate discussion attended by The New York Times.

Nevertheless, Mr. Swisa added, “He’s a fabulous person, and I’m so glad there are people like him in our country.”

That kind of exchange shows why some Israelis still hold out hope for national reconciliation. While many Jewish Israelis disagree about the future of their country, the vast majority still share the goal of maintaining Israel as a haven for Jews.

Mr. Swisa, a highly conservative Jew who lives in a settlement in the West Bank, still resents the court for opposing segregation between men and women in certain public spaces and restraining Israeli military activity against Palestinians in the occupied West Bank. “Generally, the court makes the state less Jewish,” Mr. Swisa said.

Prof. Ifergane, a highly secular Jew who helps run a major hospital, still views the court as a bulwark against religious autocracy. Without the court, hospitals like his might be encouraged to discriminate against Arab, gay or even female patients, he said. “The only check on the government is the Supreme Court,” Prof. Ifergane said.

What binds them is a desire to keep the country united.

“This war will end — someone will win and someone will lose,” Prof. Ifergane said. After that, he added, “The wounds will need to be healed.”

Myra Noveck contributed reporting.

Myra Noveck contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top, a beach day in Tel Aviv; cooling off in Beersheba, a conservative town; Ranin Boulos, an Arab Israeli; Avishai Mendel, an ultra-Orthodox entrepreneur; Kibbutz Hatzerim, whose members are mostly secular Jews. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MOISES SAMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A9) This article appeared in print on page A1, A9.

**Load-Date:** September 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***National Academies Members Demand Answers About Sacklers’ Donations***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6840-D6Y1-JBG3-62KR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 28, 2023 Friday 12:15 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** HEALTH

**Length:** 1382 words

**Byline:** Christina Jewett

**Highlight:** The Academies accepted millions of dollars from members of the Sackler family — including some who led Purdue Pharma, makers of OxyContin — even while advising federal officials on opioid policy.

**Body**

The Academies accepted millions of dollars from members of the Sackler family — including some who led Purdue Pharma, makers of OxyContin — even while advising federal officials on opioid policy.

More than 75 members of the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine demanded on Thursday that the organization explain why it has for years failed to return or repurpose millions of dollars donated by the Sackler family, including some who led Purdue Pharma.

The company’s drug, OxyContin, helped set in motion a prescription opioid crisis that has claimed hundreds of thousands of lives. The New York Times reported this month that even as the Academies advised the government on opioid policy, the organization [*accepted $19 million from the Sackler family*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/23/health/sacklers-opioids-national-academies-science.html) and appointed influential members to its committees who had financial ties to Purdue Pharma.

One report issued by the Academies claimed that 100 million, or 40 percent of Americans, were in chronic pain. The figure, later found to be inflated, was cited by drugmakers to convince doctors to write large numbers of opioid prescriptions.

In a letter delivered to Marcia McNutt, president of the National Academies of Sciences, scientists and economists called on the organization to clarify how research committee members who ran nonprofits heavily funded by Purdue were chosen to provide guidance to federal authorities on opioid policy: “How did the system fail in the past?” the letter asked.

“The academy was looking like it had been morally asleep for the last 30 years,” Robert Putnam, an author of the letter and Harvard public policy professor, said in an interview.

“We of course take the concerns of National Academy of Sciences members seriously, and their concerns were in part what prompted very serious conversations here about returning or repurposing the funds, to which the N.A.S. remains committed,” the organization said in a statement on Friday.

The National Academies was chartered in 1863 by Abraham Lincoln to advise the nation on scientific and medical questions. The institution elects new members each year — elite scientists and physicians — and delivers influential advice to the White House, Congress and federal agencies.

Though about 70 percent of the National Academies budget comes from federal funds, it also raises private donations from individuals, nonprofits and companies, including Chevron, Google, Merck and Medtronic.

“If they begin to see the problem — that is, this huge influx of private money, and private money often comes with implicit strings — they will see it’s a threat to the core principles of the Academies,” Dr. Putnam said of the National Academies’ current leadership.

Signatories of the letter include eight Nobel Prize winners. Two authors are National Academies of Sciences members who in 2017 urged top officials to distance the organization from the Sacklers.

Robert M. Hauser, a prominent social scientist, wrote in an October 2017 email to two top Academies officials: “I have been thinking about the willingness of the N.A.S. to accept support from the Sackler family and to produce events and awards — lectures, forums, colloquia, prizes — however meritorious, in their name.”

He and another Academies member had concluded “that the N.A.S. should disassociate itself from the Sacklers.” The other member was Angus Deaton, a Nobel Laureate and co-author of a book about surging deaths tied to substance use and suicide among members of the white ***working class***.

Dr. Deaton said in an interview that he and Dr. Hauser had asked for a call with top officials about the Sacklers’ involvement.

“We wanted more than anything to warn them that there was a lot of trouble ahead down this route, and that tens of thousands of people were dying and the Sacklers were giving them money,” Dr. Deaton recalled in an interview.

Dr. Hauser, who worked at the National Academies from 2010 to 2016, referenced an in-depth [*New Yorker article*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/10/30/the-family-that-built-an-empire-of-pain) about the Sackler family’s “ruthless” marketing of OxyContin in the email, which was sent to Bruce Darling, then the executive officer, and James Hinchman, then the chief operating officer.

“Sooner or later I thought this was going to blow up in their faces,” Dr. Hauser said in an interview. “And it would really besmirch the reputation of the Academies, which I felt strongly about defending.”

Four minutes after Dr. Hauser’s initial request was emailed, he received a reply from Mr. Darling: “We had a conversation at the N.A.S. Council this past summer on the very issue that you raise, and we made a decision that I would be pleased to discuss with you.”

Mr. Darling and Mr. Hinchman did not respond to messages requesting comment.

Dr. Hauser recalled that Mr. Darling summarized the Sacklers’ donations as something that had been discussed and required no new action. Dr. Deaton and Dr. Hauser felt their concerns had been dismissed.

Two National Academies reports on opioids have faced criticism from experts. One published in 2011 included two panelists with significant financial ties to Purdue and concluded that 100 million Americans were in chronic pain, a number that proved to be greatly inflated. (The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention later estimated that roughly 52 million adults suffered from chronic pain, and more than 17 million U.S. adults experience high-impact or more severe chronic pain.)

Still, the report armed drug companies with a talking point that [*proved influential*](https://web.archive.org/web/20140427022240/http://www.fda.gov/NewsEvents/Speeches/ucm394400.htm) with Food and Drug Administration officials who oversaw opioid approvals. It was also [*cited by Purdue Pharma attorneys*](https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/7.%20Letter%20Purdue.pdf) in their response to a Senate inquiry.

Another Academies committee on opioid policy was [*singled out*](https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Senator%20Wyden%20to%20National%20Academy%20of%20Medicine%20re%20Opioid%20Committee%20Members%20(7-1-16).pdf) by Senator Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon, because of some members’ links to Purdue. That panel, formed in 2016, went forward with a study after four members were replaced.

Articles in [*The Progressive*](https://progressive.org/latest/opioid-profiteer-Sackler-family-gives-millions-to-National-Academy-of-Sciences-171214/) and in [*The*](https://www.bmj.com/content/366/bmj.l5167.full) [*BMJ*](https://www.bmj.com/content/366/bmj.l5167.full), or the British Medical Journal, have also noted the Sacklers’ ties to the Academies and identified additional committee members with links to Purdue.

The letter on Friday asked for “clear answers” to what procedures are in place to “ensure that advisory committee members are properly vetted,” among other questions.

The Academies told The Times that beginning in 2019 Sackler family donations were no longer used for science-related events, research and awards, the purposes for which they were intended. The funds “were never used to support any advisory activities on the use of opioids,” Megan Lowry, a spokeswoman, said.

The donations amounted to roughly $19 million and, as invested funds in the institution’s endowment, were worth about $31 million in late 2021, the most recent accounting available. Universities that accepted Sackler funds, including Tufts and Brown, have reallocated some of the money to addiction prevention and treatment efforts.

Members of the Sackler family who were active in running Purdue Pharma began donating in 2008 to the National Academies of Sciences. The money was used to sponsor forums and studies.

In 2015, family members [*donated $10 million to launch the Raymond and Beverly Sackler Prize in Convergence Research*](https://nap.nationalacademies.org/catalog/26628/report-of-the-treasurer-for-the-year-ended-december-31-2021), according to reports by the organization’s treasurer. Dr. and Ms. Sackler died in 2017 and 2019. An attorney for the family said those donations had “nothing at all to do with pain, medications or anything related to the company.”

Dame Jillian Sackler, whose husband, Arthur, died years before OxyContin arrived on the market, began giving to the Academies in 2000, and donated $5 million by 2017, Academies reports show.

A day after The Times’s report ran, the National Academies [*issued a statement*](https://www.nationalacademies.org/news/2023/04/statement-on-new-york-times-article-regarding-sackler-family-donations-to-nas) saying it had explored returning or repurposing the funds. “Doing so in an ethical and transparent manner will be the most important consideration,” the organization said.

A perceived lack of urgency in the statement helped prompt the new letter from Academies members. “It’s another brushoff the way we read it,” Dr. Hauser said.

He added: “We wrote our letter to tell them, ‘You guys have to be serious, prompt and sufficient about this.’”

PHOTO: The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine, in Washington, advises government officials on opioid policy. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SHURAN HUANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** May 1, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Jelly Roll Reinvents Himself In Nashville***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:683P-WCF1-DXY4-X48H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 27, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 7

**Length:** 1253 words

**Byline:** By Alan Light

**Body**

The 38-year-old artist born Jason DeFord has been turning his struggles into music for years. Now it has a bit more twang, and a lot more attention.

At the CMT Music Awards this month, the least likely nominee turned into the night's biggest story.

In a room full of country music royalty, the artist Jelly Roll -- a 38-year-old face-tattooed former addict and drug dealer who got his start selling his own hip-hop mixtapes out of his car -- took home the most trophies, beating superstars including Morgan Wallen, Kane Brown and Luke Combs. The crowd was on its feet as he performed his new single, ''Need a Favor,'' in a studded leather jacket, his gravelly voice backed by a full gospel choir.

''It was an absolute dream come true, the best-case scenario, and I've had a worst-case scenario life up to this point,'' Jelly Roll said in a telephone interview the following week, excitedly recounting his interactions backstage with Shania Twain and Slash. ''I spent my entire childhood feeling like I didn't belong -- in every situation, I felt like the uncomfortable fat kid. So that was like my high school prom and the graduation I never had, on national television.''

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

On June 2, Jelly Roll's debut country album, ''Whitsitt Chapel,'' arrives, but it's far from his first release. Since 2011, he has put out more than 20 albums, EPs and mixtapes, many of them independently released collaborations with other Southern white rappers like Lil' Wyte and Haystak. His music has often addressed his criminal past and his journey to sobriety -- what he calls ''real music for real people with real problems.''

Jelly Roll (born Jason DeFord) grew up in Antioch, a culturally diverse ***working-class*** suburb south of downtown Nashville. His father was a meat salesman with a side hustle as a bookie, while his mother struggled with her mental health and addiction. He was first arrested when he was 14 and spent the next decade in and out of juvenile centers and prison for charges including aggravated robbery and possession with intent to sell.

Inspired by Southern rappers like Three 6 Mafia, UGK and 8ball & MJG, Jelly Roll started writing rhymes of his own, getting serious about pursuing music after learning that he had a daughter, now age 15. He began touring relentlessly and eventually racked up hundreds of millions of streams with virtually no mainstream visibility.

In the last few years, though, he has leaned further into a heartfelt country-soul/Southern-rock style. ''The music started evolving as the man did,'' he said. ''The older I've gotten, the more I've found my singing voice and my love for instrumentation.''

Though Jelly Roll had several previous singles that had been certified gold, the real acceleration came with his 2020 song ''Save Me,'' a bluesy ballad sung over fingerpicked acoustic guitar. Emotional and despairing (''I'm so damaged beyond repair/Life has shattered my hopes and my dreams''), it was written on a Sunday, recorded and filmed on Monday, posted to YouTube on Tuesday and immediately exploded, racking up more than 165 million views to date. He recut the song as a duet with the rising star Lainey Wilson for the new album.

In the last year, his bruising, fuzzed-out song ''Dead Man Walking'' went to No. 1 on rock radio while the mid-tempo ''Son of a Sinner'' topped the country radio chart, and Jelly Roll held the No. 1 spot on Billboard's emerging artist chart for 25 straight weeks, the longest run in that ranking's history. In December, about a year after headlining Nashville's historic Ryman Auditorium, he sold out all 17,000 or so seats at Bridgestone Arena there. The Bridgestone show is chronicled in a new documentary, ''Jelly Roll: Save Me,'' premiering on Hulu on May 30.

''Some traditional country music fans might be scratching their heads at his image and style of music,'' Storme Warren, a host on SiriusXM's The Highway channel, wrote in an email, ''but I think they'll come around when they realize he's the real deal.''

''In my opinion, he's as country as any other artist,'' Warren continued. ''His stories are real and relatable. He's living proof that anything is possible.''

As Jelly Roll's profile grows, he's not slowing down his nonstop work habits. (''Drug dealers never take a day off,'' he said in 2021, ''and I wanted to apply that drive to music.'') This summer, he'll be on the road with his Backroad Baptism Tour, as well as playing some shows with the country standard-bearer Eric Church. Several Nashville A-listers, including Miranda Lambert and Hardy, wrote with him for ''Whitsitt Chapel.''

''I could tell right away we would be fast friends,'' Lambert wrote in an email. ''He is so genuine and kind. He is very strong in who he is and what he wants to say as an artist. I respect that so much.''

Jelly Roll, who notes that he's ''still trying to make fans when I'm at the gas station,'' has long been studying the careers of country legends and what he can learn from their relationship to their fans. ''They've stayed true to themselves,'' he said. ''You know who they are, and they know who they are and who they're singing for.''

He wrote more than 80 songs for ''Whitsitt Chapel'' before landing on the album's predominantly spiritual themes. ''Everything was great, but it didn't feel like it had a purpose,'' he said. ''I'm always diligent about the why, what's the purpose? And if it's just that it's catchy or it's easy to monetize, we don't put that out.''

Then in one night, he came up with ''Dancing With the Devil'' and ''Hungover in a Church Pew,'' which became the record's final tracks, and knew where he wanted the project to go. ''Those two songs were talking to each other, dealing with the same story,'' he said. ''I was thinking about the choices I made, some horrible decisions. My music is a constant cry for help and growth -- it tells a story of change, and I wasn't ready for this before now.''

He admitted he went out drinking after the CMT awards show (he had announced those plans from the stage), but said he is ''quite a few years removed from doing the drugs that were going to kill me,'' explaining that ''sobriety looks different on everybody.''

His focus is on the ''therapeutic'' role his music can play for people with addictions and on his work for at-risk youth in Nashville. He donated all the profits from the Bridgestone show and, working with the local nonprofit Impact Youth Outreach, built a recording studio inside Davidson County Juvenile Detention Center.

''That's not even scratching the surface of my plan,'' Jelly Roll said. ''I'm going to build halfway houses and transitional centers -- that's my real heart.''

''I just never forget being that kid,'' he continued. ''Those years in juvenile were so formative, and it was so devastating for me to miss that time. On my 16th birthday, I didn't get a car; I woke up incarcerated. I didn't get my G.E.D. until I was 23 and in jail. I just missed so much of life. So I want to be remembered as a guy that did something for the kids in this town.''

After grinding for a dozen years only to finally find himself recognized as a ''new artist,'' Jelly Roll isn't settling into a formula now. ''Music is like human nature,'' he said. ''It evolves or dies. Artists should always be pushing the boundaries of what's uncomfortable, and I plan to be doing that the rest of my career. That's what I was thinking about when I was leaving the CMTs -- now that I've gotten here, I deserve to stay.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/26/arts/music/jelly-roll-whitsitt-chapel.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/26/arts/music/jelly-roll-whitsitt-chapel.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABRIEL MCCURDY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C7.

**Load-Date:** April 27, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A Republican narrowly flipped a State House seat in San Antonio.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:640K-BY31-JBG3-61CD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 3, 2021 Wednesday 00:03 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 661 words

**Byline:** Edgar Sandoval and James Dobbins

**Highlight:** John Lujan, a 59-year-old retired firefighter, won the seat, a blow for Democrats in the Texas city.

**Body**

John Lujan, a 59-year-old retired firefighter, won the seat, a blow for Democrats in the Texas city.

SAN ANTONIO — Growing up in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in San Antonio, Adolfo Chagoy had long supported local and national Democrats who touted job growth and infrastructure projects.

But last week, as he stood in line to cast a ballot in a tightly contested runoff election for a State House seat, Mr. Chagoy thought instead about the issues he had come to care about more recently, such as strengthening the border, funding police departments and banning abortion. And so he checked the box for the Republican candidate, John Lujan, who narrowly emerged the winner on Tuesday to represent the city’s South Side and state’s 118th District.

“The thought has always been, ‘I’m poor, and if you are poor you can’t be a Republican,’” said Mr. Chagoy, a 66-year-old retired cook. “I don’t think you can buy values. I voted for the issues I care about, not about who’s from what party.”

Mr. Chagoy’s vote helped flip a once reliable Democratic bastion [*by 286 ballots*](https://results.texas-election.com/landing-page) in a runoff for a special election. Four of his five children, also longtime Democrats, also switched parties, choosing not to endorse 27-year-old Frank Ramirez, a Democrat and former legislative aide.

Mr. Ramirez conceded late Tuesday in a blow for Democrats in San Antonio, a majority Latino metropolis 150 miles north of the Mexican border that is known as the home to a number of prominent Democratic leaders, including the twin brothers Julián and Joaquin Castro. About 70 percent of the largely ***working-class*** families in the 118th District identify as Hispanic.

The victory has emboldened the Republican Party as it continues its all-out approach to compete with Democrats in San Antonio and South Texas. After none of the three Democrats and two Republicans who ran in the special election in September received a majority of votes, Mr. Lujan delivered a seat critical to Republican efforts to make inroads with Latino voters, who not long ago tended to favor Democrats.

In last year’s presidential election, [*56 percent of voters in the 118th District*](https://wrm.capitol.texas.gov/fyiwebdocs/PDF/house/dist118/r8.pdf) supported President Biden and 42 percent picked Donald J. Trump. But Latino voters have begun to move away from the Democratic Party, with Mr. Biden’s approval rating at about 50 percent among that demographic, [*according to recent polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/23/us/politics/biden-approval-ratings.html).

The Associated Republicans of Texas, a group that backed Mr. Lujan, said [*on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/ARTxPAC/status/1455751339342974978?s=20) that Mr. Lujan’s gain set the tone for Republicans as “we continue to reach out to Hispanic voters and South Texas communities to pick up more seats in ’22.” On Tuesday night, Gov. Greg Abbott and Dade Phelan, the speaker of the House, both called Mr. Lujan to congratulate him, a clear sign that they were happy with their strategy.

Moments after garnering a majority of the votes on Tuesday night, Mr. Lujan echoed that sentiment. He said voters responded to his message of job creation, public safety and family values. The son of a minister, he put faith, an issue important for many Latino families, front and center, he said. He is a regular member of Southside Baptist Church and often talks about having adopted three children.

“This speaks loudly that people are concerned about conservative values,” Mr. Lujan said. “You know, we want to secure our border, we want to grow our economy.”

“This says something that family, faith and country means so much,” he added.

Mr. Ramirez, who has served as a zoning and planning director for a San Antonio councilwoman, among other government roles, ran on a campaign to increase investments in public education, fixing aging infrastructure and offering property tax relief. But in the end it was not enough.

He hinted that he may seek to unseat Mr. Lujan during next year’s general election.

“We’re not done,” Mr. Ramirez [*said on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/FrankforTexas/status/1455763924314468352?s=20). “Our work isn’t done. Adelante!”

PHOTO: John Lujan, a retired firefighter, won a Texas House seat. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Meet Jelly Roll, the Rapper Turned Country Singer Rousing Nashville***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:683H-S9J1-DXY4-X3P0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 26, 2023 Wednesday 09:26 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 1249 words

**Byline:** Alan Light

**Highlight:** The 38-year-old artist born Jason DeFord has been turning his struggles into music for years. Now it has a bit more twang, and a lot more attention.

**Body**

The 38-year-old artist born Jason DeFord has been turning his struggles into music for years. Now it has a bit more twang, and a lot more attention.

At the CMT Music Awards this month, the least likely nominee turned into the night’s biggest story.

In a room full of country music royalty, the artist [*Jelly Roll*](https://jellyroll615.com/) — a 38-year-old face-tattooed former addict and drug dealer who got his start selling his own hip-hop mixtapes out of his car — took home the most trophies, beating superstars including Morgan Wallen, Kane Brown and Luke Combs. The crowd was on its feet as he performed his new single, [*“Need a Favor,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P1nRboaLTzU) in a studded leather jacket, his gravelly voice backed by a full gospel choir.

“It was an absolute dream come true, the best-case scenario, and I’ve had a worst-case scenario life up to this point,” Jelly Roll said in a telephone interview the following week, excitedly recounting his interactions backstage with Shania Twain and Slash. “I spent my entire childhood feeling like I didn’t belong — in every situation, I felt like the uncomfortable fat kid. So that was like my high school prom and the graduation I never had, on national television.”

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/qFq_L-ANNNQ)]

On June 2, Jelly Roll’s debut country album, “Whitsitt Chapel,” arrives, but it’s far from his first release. Since 2011, he has put out more than 20 albums, EPs and mixtapes, many of them independently released collaborations with other Southern white rappers like Lil’ Wyte and Haystak. His music has often addressed his criminal past and his journey to sobriety — what he calls “real music for real people with real problems.”

Jelly Roll (born Jason DeFord) grew up in Antioch, a culturally diverse ***working-class*** suburb south of downtown Nashville. His father was a meat salesman with a side hustle as a bookie, while his mother struggled with her mental health and addiction. He was first arrested when he was 14 and spent the next decade in and out of juvenile centers and prison for charges including aggravated robbery and possession with intent to sell.

Inspired by Southern rappers like Three 6 Mafia, UGK and 8ball &amp; MJG, Jelly Roll started writing rhymes of his own, getting serious about pursuing music after learning that he had a daughter, now age 15. He began touring relentlessly and eventually racked up hundreds of millions of streams with virtually no mainstream visibility.

In the last few years, though, he has leaned further into a heartfelt country-soul/Southern-rock style. “The music started evolving as the man did,” he said. “The older I’ve gotten, the more I’ve found my singing voice and my love for instrumentation.”

Though Jelly Roll had several previous singles that had been certified gold, the real acceleration came with his 2020 song [*“Save Me,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FxFNprPOdss) a bluesy ballad sung over fingerpicked acoustic guitar. Emotional and despairing (“I’m so damaged beyond repair/Life has shattered my hopes and my dreams”), it was written on a Sunday, recorded and filmed on Monday, posted to YouTube on Tuesday and immediately exploded, racking up more than 165 million views to date. He recut the song as a duet with the rising star Lainey Wilson for the new album.

In the last year, his bruising, fuzzed-out song [*“Dead Man Walking”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BxUFzTBPTAg) went to No. 1 on rock radio while the mid-tempo [*“Son of a Sinner”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n4Z1cpdkgQU) topped the country radio chart, and Jelly Roll held the No. 1 spot on Billboard’s emerging artist chart for 25 straight weeks, the longest run in that ranking’s history. In December, about a year after headlining Nashville’s historic Ryman Auditorium, he sold out all 17,000 or so seats at Bridgestone Arena there. The Bridgestone show is chronicled in a new documentary, “Jelly Roll: Save Me,” premiering on Hulu on May 30.

“Some traditional country music fans might be scratching their heads at his image and style of music,” Storme Warren, a host on SiriusXM’s The Highway channel, wrote in an email, “but I think they’ll come around when they realize he’s the real deal.”

“In my opinion, he’s as country as any other artist,” Warren continued. “His stories are real and relatable. He’s living proof that anything is possible.”

As Jelly Roll’s profile grows, he’s not slowing down his nonstop work habits. (“Drug dealers never take a day off,” he said in 2021, “and I wanted to apply that drive to music.”) This summer, he’ll be on the road with his Backroad Baptism Tour, as well as playing some shows with the country standard-bearer Eric Church. Several Nashville A-listers, including Miranda Lambert and Hardy, wrote with him for “Whitsitt Chapel.”

“I could tell right away we would be fast friends,” Lambert wrote in an email. “He is so genuine and kind. He is very strong in who he is and what he wants to say as an artist. I respect that so much.”

Jelly Roll, who notes that he’s “still trying to make fans when I’m at the gas station,” has long been studying the careers of country legends and what he can learn from their relationship to their fans. “They’ve stayed true to themselves,” he said. “You know who they are, and they know who they are and who they’re singing for.”

He wrote more than 80 songs for “Whitsitt Chapel” before landing on the album’s predominantly spiritual themes. “Everything was great, but it didn’t feel like it had a purpose,” he said. “I’m always diligent about the why, what’s the purpose? And if it’s just that it’s catchy or it’s easy to monetize, we don’t put that out.”

Then in one night, he came up with “Dancing With the Devil” and “Hungover in a Church Pew,” which became the record’s final tracks, and knew where he wanted the project to go. “Those two songs were talking to each other, dealing with the same story,” he said. “I was thinking about the choices I made, some horrible decisions. My music is a constant cry for help and growth — it tells a story of change, and I wasn’t ready for this before now.”

He admitted he went out drinking after the CMT awards show (he had announced those plans from the stage), but said he is “quite a few years removed from doing the drugs that were going to kill me,” explaining that “sobriety looks different on everybody.”

His focus is on the “therapeutic” role his music can play for people with addictions and on his work for at-risk youth in Nashville. He donated all the profits from the Bridgestone show and, working with the local nonprofit Impact Youth Outreach, built a recording studio inside Davidson County Juvenile Detention Center.

“That’s not even scratching the surface of my plan,” Jelly Roll said. “I’m going to build halfway houses and transitional centers — that’s my real heart.”

“I just never forget being that kid,” he continued. “Those years in juvenile were so formative, and it was so devastating for me to miss that time. On my 16th birthday, I didn’t get a car; I woke up incarcerated. I didn’t get my G.E.D. until I was 23 and in jail. I just missed so much of life. So I want to be remembered as a guy that did something for the kids in this town.”

After grinding for a dozen years only to finally find himself recognized as a “new artist,” Jelly Roll isn’t settling into a formula now. “Music is like human nature,” he said. “It evolves or dies. Artists should always be pushing the boundaries of what’s uncomfortable, and I plan to be doing that the rest of my career. That’s what I was thinking about when I was leaving the CMTs — now that I’ve gotten here, I deserve to stay.”

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABRIEL MCCURDY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C7.

**Load-Date:** April 27, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Bath, England***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68J3-65N1-JBG3-6278-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 24, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Travel Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1598 words

**Byline:** By Susanne Masters

**Body**

Friday

2:30 p.m. | Take time for tea

Start your weekend with afternoon tea at No. 15 by GuestHouse, a hotel in Bathwick (the area across the River Avon from the city's historic center) that occupies three adjoining Georgian townhouses. In the bar, where afternoon tea is served, glass-topped tables reveal colorful jewels displayed under their surfaces, and locally commissioned art hangs on the walls alongside theater programs from the 1800s. Afternoon tea (£35 per person) may include sandwiches with cave-aged Cheddar, a refreshing jelly made with Aperol and clementines, and lemon macarons, along with seven other dishes. Arrive hungry.

4 p.m. | Shop with independents

Walking from Bathwick to the city center will take you to Pulteney Bridge, which was completed in 1774 and is a rare example of a bridge with storefronts built along both sides. On the east side of the river, Bathwick Pharmacy is worth visiting for its elegant 1826 interior and a display of old dispensary bottles and jars. Nearby, the Antique Map Shop (closes at 4:30 p.m.) sells maps of the British Isles, Europe and the Americas; most are over a century old, and many are annotated in copperplate handwriting and decorated with mythical creatures and the coats of arms of landowners. Over the bridge, Independent Spirit of Bath has spirits, wines, beers and mead by local producers -- look for Bath Botanical No 1. Gin (£37.95), a classic London dry-style made in Bath.

5 p.m. | Visit the Roman baths

By making it in time for the last entry into the Roman Baths (£26), now a museum in the center of the city, you can catch the peace between daytime bustle and nightlife, even if there is no swimming allowed. Steaming spring water flows into the lead-lined pool that was originally built by the Romans around A.D. 60, when the town was known as Aquae Sulis, and resurrected by the Victorians, who discovered its ruins. The surrounding columns and walls provide a wheat-colored backdrop to the light green water, tinted by algae. See the Bath curse tablets on display -- metal sheets inscribed in British Latin with curses asking for the goddess Sulis Minerva to mete out punishment against thieves.

7:30 p.m. | Indulge in oenophilia

At Corkage, spend an evening perusing the wine list one glass at a time (from £5.75), either inside the bar, where the walls are decorated with old posters and shelves lined with bottles, or on the canopy-covered terrace, where lights and vines sprawl around the wooden beams. There is no need to be knowledgeable about wine to enjoy it here, and the waiters are happy to give recommendations. The menu of small plates (from £6 to £22), is perfectly sized for grazing. You can even buy a bottle to take home.

Saturday

10 a.m. | Step into another time

Inside No 1. Royal Crescent, a museum in a restored townhouse, period furnishings and a soundscape of imagined conversations between family members and staff convey a sense of life in the Georgian era. The characters discuss objects on display and concerns of the time: A fossilized mollusk prompts a discussion of creation and evolution. Talk of a slave rebellion in Jamaica and how it may affect the family's income offers a window into how opulent Georgian life was supported by products of slavery in the colonies, as well as industrial labor by the ***working class***. Admission is £15, or £22 for combined entry into the Herschel Museum of Astronomy.

11:30 a.m. | stroll in the gardens

Pop into the Green Bird Cafe for a coffee or a snack before taking an hourlong stroll through scenic streets and parks. Start with the Royal Crescent's curved sweep of Palladian-style townhouses, which are immortalized in the Netflix film ''Persuasion,'' based on the Jane Austen novel of the same name. Walk through Royal Victoria Park and its botanical gardens, where paths pass flower beds and a stream. Continue uphill along Cavendish Road, where you will see villa-style houses built in the 19th century, when a wealthy mercantile class began constructing permanent homes in Bath. In Lansdown Crescent, you can still occasionally see sheep grazing against a backdrop of trees and distant hills, and the city is almost obscured. Head downhill on Lansdown Road and then cut through Hedgemead Park to reach Walcot Street.

12:30 p.m. | Make a glass bauble

Walcot Street, which formed part of the road network during Roman times, has resisted urban development and corporate incursion to remain a home for artistic and independent endeavors. At the Bath Aqua Glass studio, you can blow your own glass bauble to take home (£22.50). Walking south, pass the Bell Inn and check the quirky live music schedule for anything appealing to see later. The pub is a customer-and-worker-owned cooperative, operating for the benefit of the community. Continue south to find Dangleberg, a shrine to spicy or fermented condiments, including blends and hot sauce, and the Yellow Shop, where both vintage and new clothes evoke nostalgia for decades past.

2 p.m. | Taste the West Country

Cheddar is the most famous cheese of Somerset, the county that encompasses Bath, and the sharpest renditions of Cheddar are a product of the green pastures nurtured by West Country rains combined with cave maturation. The Fine Cheese Co., on Walcot Street, sells cheeses made by small European producers who use traditional methods, although British cheeses are the highlight. Local varieties worth tasting include Bath Blue, which is made from herds on the nearby Mendip Hills, as well as Pitchfork Cheddar, which is dense and savory. Have a platter of your choice of three cheeses for £13, or try the staff's selection for £11, and enjoy in the shop's cafe.

3:30 p.m. | Ponder Mary Shelley

The author Mary Shelley stayed in Bath for five months, from 1816 to 1817, attending scientific lectures. By the time she left, most of ''Frankenstein'' was written. (Many say the novel started the modern science fiction genre.) Mary Shelley's House of Frankenstein (entry £17.50), a museum that opened in 2021 near Queen Square, explores Shelley's life and the time she spent in Bath, as well as her influences and her legacy. Gothic imagery guides you through her complicated romantic life, which led to social ostracism, and her loss of three children and her husband by the time she was 24. Basement rooms add to the creepy experience by pushing you through bad smells and weird textures while someone lurks in costume. Upstairs, explore the vast quantity of films and memorabilia inspired by the book.

5 p.m. | Soak in the famous water

Experience the naturally heated water that has brought visitors to the area for millenniums. The multifloor Thermae Bath Spa, near the Roman Baths, offers bathers a variety of geothermal pools. In the basement Minerva pool, sit in a bubbling hot tub that you have to swim to reach, or allow the currents to move you around the surrounding pool. The Wellness Suite offers a number of spa experiences, including heated loungers, scented steam rooms, an infrared sauna and an ice chamber for cooling down. Finish your journey at the rooftop pool, where you can take in the city views. (Two-hour sessions, from £45 on weekends. Massages and spa treatments are available for an extra charge.)

8 p.m. | Surrender to taste

Visitors to the Elder, a restaurant on South Parade serving seasonal British fare, will notice that the dining room is painted a shade of celadon that evokes the water of the Roman Baths. The celebration of heritage extends to the table with dishes like Bath Chaps (£12), a traditional cut of pork that is brined, bread-crumbed and fried. (The tasting menu, £85 for seven courses, is a good value.) While the Elder is excellent for omnivores, Oak, an outstanding restaurant on nearby North Parade, is entirely vegetarian -- and mostly vegan -- and grows some of its own produce. While Oak offers a five-course set menu at a very reasonable £49, with matched wines for an additional £26, both restaurants have à la carte menus as well.

Sunday

10 a.m. | See the cosmos

At the Herschel Museum of Astronomy, west of the city center, you can stand where the known edge of the solar system expanded when the astronomer William Herschel set up his homemade telescope and discovered a new planet: Uranus. Occupying the house that he and Caroline Herschel, his sister and a fellow astronomer, lived in for five years, the museum offers a glimpse of late-18th-century middle-class life and charts the advance of astronomy. Satirical prints of the time portray stargazing as a hobby of the Enlightenment and mock Caroline, who was an anomaly as an unmarried and educated female scientist. Despite this, she discovered several comets and is thought to be the first woman paid to be an astronomer. Entry is £12, or combined with entry to No. 1 Royal Crescent, £22.

11:30 a.m. | savor the river

The River Avon, which loops around Bath and connects to London via the Kennet and Avon Canal, is a place for recreation. Go for a paddle with Original Wild, a local outdoor adventure company, either by kayak or stand-up paddleboard (£36 for two hours). Architecture and wildlife come together when you spot the peregrine falcons that nest on St. John the Evangelist, a tall, Victorian, Gothic-style church. Guides also share unusual facts about Bath: For instance, they may point out a riverbank spot where you can slip an arm into cool river water to feel a warm current emerging. The warmth comes from the restored floor of Bath Abbey, a seventh-century church, which is now heated using Bath's thermal springs.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/19/travel/24hours-bath-print.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/19/travel/24hours-bath-print.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, the view over Bath, England, as seen from Bath Abbey, a seventh-century church. Above from left: afternoon tea at the hotel No. 15 by GuestHouse

blowing glass at Bath Aqua Glass, on Walcot Street, the city's creative heart

the pool atop Thermae Bath Spa, with dramatic city views. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEREMIE SOUTEYRAT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C9.

**Load-Date:** June 24, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Hot Books for Cold Days***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67MY-NY51-JBG3-60K6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 26, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 7; ROMANCE

**Length:** 1082 words

**Byline:** By Olivia Waite

**Body**

Writers adore putting writers in their fiction, and romance is no exception. This month's books feature modern fantasy novelists, fairy scholars, historical reading clubs and rakes turned art critics.

We begin with THE NEIGHBOR FAVOR (Berkley, 416 pp., paperback, $17), Kristina Forest's warm and welcoming new contemporary. Nick's epic fantasy novel with Black elves could have been a hit, if his publisher hadn't shut its doors a month later. Now he has a huge new contract to finish the series -- if only he weren't so distracted by his gorgeous new neighbor Lily, a book editor. He doesn't dare explain that he's not only the guy she flirts with in the elevator: He's N.R. Strickland, the author who ghosted her after an intense email romance earlier in the year.

Lily's still feeling bruised from the breakup, and frustrated to be stuck in nonfiction when she's dreamed of editing children's books. But most of all, she's dreading her sister's upcoming nuptials, because her family will not stop setting her up with men who are entirely wrong for her. Her hot neighbor Nick would have been the perfect wedding date -- if he hadn't turned her down with a bit more panic than seemed warranted.

This book gestures at several tropes -- a dash of fake dating, a soupçon of epistolary -- but primarily it's one of my favorite romance plots: These enjoyable people deserve better, so let's watch as they discover it. Lily's battered optimism and Nick's guarded sadness both mesh and conflict at just the right times, and for all its coincidence-dependent premise, the book breathes easily and pulls you right into its world. Especially recommended for anyone who ships Janine and Gregory from ''Abbott Elementary.''

If you also like elves and are looking for thoughtful fantasy with a romantic twist, along the lines of Terry Pratchett's ''Lords and Ladies'' or Olivia Atwater's ''Ten Thousand Stitches,'' this next book, by Heather Fawcett, is the one for you. EMILY WILDE'S ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF FAERIES (Del Rey, 336 pp., $28) has some impeccable Tam Lin vibes: Emily Wilde, a stoic and single-minded dryadologist, travels to wintry Ljosland to document an unknown species of faerie -- only to find that nothing in this snowbound village is entirely what it seems, and the Hidden Ones are not as far away as she supposed. The world-building here is exquisite, a weather-beaten village in an incredible Arctic landscape -- and fortunately, the characters are just as textured and richly drawn.

This is the kind of forlorn, folkloric fantasy that remembers the old, blood-ribboned source material about sacrifices and stolen children, but adds a modern gloss. For instance, sometimes the village's loveliest maiden spurns the faerie prince not because she's wise, but because she's queer. Emily herself is delightful, brilliant but flawed, and often darkly funny. Her frustration with her feckless but charming colleague Wendell Bambleby is the perfect spark, and the romance is light but hits surprisingly hard when it chooses to (one of the best hurt/comfort scenes I've read in ages!). I adored it, and cannot wait for the next.

Historical romance tends to skew aristocratic, but too many dukes and duchesses blur together for me. ***Working-class*** romances have the luxury of being specific: Farah Mendlesohn's button manufacturer's family in ''Spring Flowering,'' EE Ottoman's silversmith and quiltmaker in ''The Craft of Love,'' Rose Lerner's naval agent in ''Sailor's Delight.'' And now Annick Trent's SIXPENNY OCTAVO (self-published, ebook, $2.99), a sweet Sapphic historical where a dancing master's assistant and a clock mender find love while dodging sedition charges in a Regency-era reading club.

There is an extremely light mystery element (has someone turned informer on the reading club?), but the rest is all kind community, evocative Gothic novel excerpts, interesting historical jobs (my favorite!) and a world so finely drawn you can feel the closeness of rented rooms and hear the waves lapping the docks by the river. Despite the crushing censorship and prison realities that hover on the edges, the heart of this book is warm and gentle.

Speaking of breaking laws: Many romance readers give a hard pass to anything that looks like cheating in a romance, and they'll want to avoid our final book. But they will be missing out, because Julia Bennet's THE WORST WOMAN IN LONDON (self-published, paperback, $7.99) is the kind of historical I've been dying to read.

The first thing our heroine Francesca does in this book is marry the wrong man and stay married to him for 10 years. Edward Thorne is proud, embittered and perennially unfaithful. Fran can try to divorce him, but it's expensive and difficult and socially ruinous -- even her own family is urging her to accept a separation, and preserve the pristine shell of her rotten marriage.

Fran decides to divorce him anyway.

So Edward sends his charming best friend, James Standish, to persuade his stubborn wife to back down. James is heir to the fortune of his tyrannical aunt, so he knows a few things about playing to appearances for the sake of material comfort. He's a teasing, unserious type of person, but the more time he spends with Fran the more he starts to think she's better and stronger than the rumors suggest. Fran's friends in publishing give him hope that there's some practical use for his knowledge about art and culture -- maybe there's something more to expect from life than endless etiquette and the mere facade of goodness.

And the delicious question from almost the first page is: How long until Fran and James end up in bed together? Can they hold back until the divorce is granted, or will their affair give Edward precisely the leverage he needs to destroy Francesca in court? Bennet concocts a very classic romance mood, where the sex is spectacular even when (or because?) people are painfully conflicted about it. On the angst spectrum I'd rate it less chaotic than Scarlett Peckham but more messy than Tessa Dare.

Certainly it's one of the most complex and satisfying explorations of the idea that everyone is the hero of their own love story -- even the villains.

Olivia Waite is the Book Review's romance fiction columnist. She writes queer historical romance, fantasy and critical essays on the genre's history and future.Olivia Waite is the Book Review's romance fiction columnist. She writes queer historical romance, fantasy and critical essays on the genre's history and future.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/books/review/new-romance-novels.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/books/review/new-romance-novels.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page BR7.

**Load-Date:** February 26, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Tucker Realignment; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:683B-X461-JBG3-64MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 25, 2023 Tuesday 10:30 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1275 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** He embodied conservatism’s increasing skepticism of all American institutions.

**Body**

Across Donald Trump’s presidency and immediately afterward there was a lot of talk about realignment. Everyone could see that the Republican coalition was becoming more ***working-class*** and the Democratic coalition more dominated by upper-class professionals. The question was whether that shift would fundamentally transform the policy commitments of both parties, along lines suggested by Trump’s populist 2016 campaign, or whether Republicans and Democrats would snap back into their pre-Trump postures once he left the White House.

That question has not yet been fully answered. Seen from some angles, the parties look reshaped by their changing coalitions; seen from others, any deep realignment [*seems stillborn*](https://thespectator.com/topic/new-right-going-nowhere-pappin-vance-hazony-realignment/). Culture warriors are now more influential than class warriors on the left, but the Democrats are still resolutely redistributionist. The right is more protective of Medicare and Social Security than it was in 2012, but House Republicans are still pretending to be government cutters.

But if you look at cultural and intellectual life rather than policy and political coalitions, you can [*see a realignment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/25/opinion/michel-foucault.html) that’s more coherent and complete. This is a transformation of mentality as much as substance: The newer (and especially, younger) right is defined by a politics of suspicion — a deep distrust of all institutions; a comfort with outsider forms of knowledge and conspiratorial theories; a hostility toward official mouthpieces and corporate-governmental alliances; a skepticism about American empire and a pessimism about the American future — that used to be much more the province of the left.

And for six years, up until his sudden firing this week, Tucker Carlson’s prime-time hour at Fox was the place to watch this transformation happening.

The master key to understanding Tucker Carlson’s programming wasn’t ideology; it was suspicion. He had been the reliable sort of cable-news pundit, once upon a time — the cheerful partisan, the “Crossfire” Republican, the talking points purveyor (even if he purveyed them with a little more irony than most).

Then something changed — after the Iraq war, after Jon Stewart [*helped kill*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aFQFB5YpDZE) “Crossfire,” he gradually became disillusioned, radicalized. You could see it before his Fox News gig came along, in the way he wrote about Donald Trump in 2016, and then you could see it in the way he ran his show. People said it was fake, the bow-tied rich kid chasing the populist audience, and for sure there was some of the audience capture that afflicts almost everybody in the pundit game: That’s how Carlson ended up treating the right’s election-fraud mania with kid gloves, not giving it the endorsement that some other hosts gave it but affording it, against his private judgment, a costly (to Fox News) form of unwarranted respect.

But Carlson wasn’t like the right-wing personalities — a Mark Levin, say — who surrendered to Trumpism reluctantly because that’s where their listeners wanted them to go. He was a Trumpist only insofar as Trump [*went where he himself was heading anyway*](https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/01/donald-trump-is-shocking-vulgar-and-right-213572/) — toward a rejection of everything the Western political establishment stood for, an extreme open-mindedness toward everything that it ruled out of bounds.

Which is why his show was the farthest right on cable news but also sometimes the farthest left. You could assemble a set of Carlson clips — encompassing everything from his frequent interviews with Glenn Greenwald to his successful opposition to a U.S. conflict with Iran in 2019 and 2020 — that made him seem like a George W. Bush-era antiwar activist given a prime-time show on Fox by some mischievous genie. You could assemble a similar array in which he sounded [*left-wing notes on economics*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2019/06/06/she-sounds-like-trump-his-best-tucker-carlson-endorses-elizabeth-warrens-economic-populism/).

These forays were not in tension with his willingness to entertain the far right’s “Great Replacement” paranoia about immigration or fixate on a possible F.B.I. role in instigating the Jan. 6 riot. They were all part of the same hermeneutic: For any idea with an establishment imprimatur, absolute suspicion; for any outsider or skeptic, sympathy and trust. It didn’t have to be political or contemporary, either. The U.F.O. mystery? He was [*there for it*](https://www.imdb.com/title/tt15676266/). The Kennedy assassination and the C.I.A.? He [*had questions*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PAiRmhXvJHs).

His Covid [*coverage*](https://www.cnn.com/2020/03/10/media/tucker-carlson-coronavirus-warning-reliable-sources/index.html) was a notable example: At a time when the public health and political establishments weren’t taking the coronavirus as seriously as internet alarmists, Carlson was willing to issue dire warnings, to break with the partisan optimism of the other Fox hosts, even to make a pilgrimage to Mar-a-Lago to force Donald Trump out of his denial. But once the establishment went all-in on Covid restrictions, he swung all the way the other way, elevating not just criticism of shutdowns and vaccine mandates but the full [*anti-vaccine case*](https://www.nationalreview.com/2022/01/alex-berensons-dangerous-covid-vaccine-claims-on-tucker-carlson-tonight/).

In a recent [*interview*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2023/03/16/tucker_carlson_not_being_more_skeptical_about_the_iraq_war_is_my_greatest_regret.html) with the “Full Send” podcast, Carlson was asked about his greatest regret. He said, first, supporting and defending the Iraq war. And second, this:

… for too long, I participated in the culture where anyone who thinks outside these pre-prescribed lanes is crazy, is a “conspiracy theorist.” And I just really regret that. I’m ashamed that I did that. And partly, it was age and the world I grew up in. So when you look at me and say, “Yeah, of course [the media] is part of the means of control.” That’s obvious to you because you’re 28, but I just didn’t see it at all — at all. And I’m ashamed of that.

There have always been conservative versions of this kind of suspicionism; Richard Hofstadter’s famous essay “[*The Paranoid Style in American Politics*](https://harpers.org/archive/1964/11/the-paranoid-style-in-american-politics/)” was directed rightward. But for a long time after the 1960s the most influential version of suspicionism was left-wing. It was the hippies. It was don’t trust anyone over 30. It was Noam Chomsky. It was Oliver Stone. It was Michael Moore.

The young Reaganite or the George W. Bush admirer certainly believed the media was liberal and that the Ivy League could not be trusted. But he or she believed in the C.I.A. and NATO, in General Motors and Wall Street, in Coca-Cola and the American Medical Association and the United States Marine Corps.

Not so for the conservatives who have come of age since the Iraq war, the financial crisis and the Great Awokening. Alienated from many more American institutions than their predecessors, staring at a record of elite failure and a social landscape where it seems like there’s little to conserve, they increasingly start out where Carlson ended up — in a posture of reflexive distrust, where if an important American institution takes a position, the place to be is probably on the other side.

Which is why Carlson, more than other cable-news hosts, found a younger audience to supplement the baby boomer foundation that (for now) keeps the Fox News enterprise in business, putting the very old in touch with the very online.

The underlying boomer foundation is still solid enough (for a little longer, at least) that any successor will probably do just fine in the ratings, and any subsequent Carlson enterprise, on any platform, won’t command the kind of audience that’s available at 8 p.m. in Rupert Murdoch’s empire.

But it’s unlikely that Carlson’s successor will embody the cultural realignment as fully, or reveal as much about the alienated future of American conservatism, as the man who just disappeared from Fox.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTOpinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Stephen Voss/Redux FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 26, 2023

**End of Document**



[***After Historic Primary in Philadelphia, a New Mayor Will Face Old Problems***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6882-RXM1-DXY4-X28D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 17, 2023 Wednesday 22:09 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1369 words

**Byline:** Campbell Robertson

**Highlight:** Cherelle Parker’s win in the Democratic primary is a sign of how the city has changed. But Philadelphia’s challenges remain deep and daunting.

**Body**

Cherelle Parker’s win in the Democratic primary is a sign of how the city has changed. But Philadelphia’s challenges remain deep and daunting.

PHILADELPHIA — The afternoon before Election Day, Jennifer Robinson, 41, was trying to manage her two small children in the quiet corner of a public library in a pocket of her city that had endured [*generations of abandonment*](https://www.inquirer.com/opinion/strawberry-mansion-population-drop-pew-report-philadelphia-20190419.html). She was despondent about the state of Philadelphia, most of all about the crime, but she talked about the mayoral primary as if it had little bearing on any of it.

“Nobody has any answers,” Ms. Robinson said, shifting her restless 11-month-old from arm to arm. “It’s a feeling of hopelessness.”

This is the city that Cherelle Parker will be leading as mayor if she wins the general election in November, and these are the sentiments she will be trying to turn around. On Tuesday, Ms. Parker, a former state legislator and City Council member, secured a surprisingly decisive victory in a Democratic primary that had been seen as a tight five-way race up until Election Day.

The huge number of undecideds in the last polls appear to have broken heavily for Ms. Parker, 50, the only Black candidate of the five main contenders hoping to lead a city where Black people make up more than 40 percent of the population and where the Black neighborhoods have been especially hard hit by gun violence and Covid.

If she wins the general election, which she is favored to do given that registered Democrats outnumber Republicans in Philadelphia more than seven to one, Ms. Parker will be the first woman in a line of 100 mayors.

That list of men goes back centuries, before the city had established itself as the cradle of American independence, and long before President Biden came to Independence Hall last September to warn the nation about threats to democracy.

For Philadelphia, Ms. Parker’s primary victory is a sign of how the city has changed in just the last half-century. For most of the 1970s, the mayor was Frank Rizzo, a former police commissioner who embraced brutal police tactics, particularly toward Black Philadelphians. But the city’s challenges remain deep and daunting.

At least a half dozen Philadelphia public schools [*have been shut down*](https://www.inquirer.com/news/asbestos-philadelphia-school-district-vare-closed-building-20230428.html) because of asbestos contamination, a predictable debacle in a city where the average age of public school buildings is over 70 years. [*Housing costs are out of the reach*](https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/reports/2020/09/the-state-of-housing-affordability-in-philadelphia) for many residents. There is a city staffing shortage, with [*thousands of municipal positions unfilled*](https://www.inquirer.com/politics/philadelphia/philadelphia-worker-shortage-city-employees-20220717.html). Hundreds of Philadelphians [*have died in recent years*](https://www.dea.gov/engage/operation-engage-philadelphia#:~:text=In%202021%2C%20Philadelphia%20had%20a,%2C%20counterfeit%20pills%2C%20and%20others.) from opioid overdoses.

Looming over all of this are the killings. Rates of gun violence have risen in cities large and small across the country, but they have been particularly severe in Philadelphia, a city of 1.6 million, nearly a quarter of whom live in poverty. More than 500 people were killed in each of the past two years, the highest annual tolls for the city on record, and many hundreds more have been injured by gunfire. The number of shootings and homicides has declined this year, but [*the city is awash in guns*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/11/us/philadelphia-gun-violence-shootings.html); Republican legislators have tried to remove [*the district attorney*](https://www.pahousegop.com/phillycrime) over the enforcement of gun laws, while [*city officials have sued Republican legislators*](https://www.inquirer.com/news/philadelphia-violence-gun-control-lawsuit-preemption-pennsylvania-20201007.html) for limiting their ability to enact stricter ones.

Philadelphians are virtually unanimous in their alarm about the violence but have been less unified about the solutions. Larry Krasner, the progressive district attorney who has insisted that the city cannot simply arrest its way out of the crisis, was re-elected by an overwhelming margin in 2021, with some of his strongest showings in the neighborhoods most scarred by violence.

On Tuesday, [*many of those same neighborhoods*](https://www.inquirer.com/politics/election/inq2/philadelphia-2023-primary-election-analysis-updates-20230516.html) voted for Ms. Parker, who pledged to hire hundreds more police officers and bring back what she called “constitutional” stop-and-frisk.

“People are not feeling safe, they’re feeling that a sense of lawlessness is being allowed to prevail,” she said in an interview shortly before she launched her mayoral campaign. “We can’t ignore that.”

These proposals have faced strong pushback and skepticism about the ability to hire hundreds of officers at a time when police departments nationwide have struggled with recruiting.

Her Republican opponent in the November general election is David Oh, also a former City Council member.

In the Democratic primary, Ms. Parker’s pitch to voters was that she understood firsthand what their lives were like, as a Philadelphia native, as a Black woman who was the daughter of a teenage mother and as the mother of a Black son.

This appeal has created lofty hopes among Black voters, said Carl Day, a pastor who leads the Culture Changing Christians Worship Center in one of the poorest and most violent areas of the city. “The expectation is definitely there from the Black community that she knows what we’re going through and so she will definitely bring about change,” he said.

Still, he said, these hopes appeared to be mostly held by older Black voters, who were also more likely to embrace Parker’s agenda, including her push for more policing.

Younger Black Philadelphians, Pastor Day said, were more skeptical of Ms. Parker and even worried about some of her policing plans. Already, Pastor Day said, he had seen younger people online wondering what this means, and saying that nothing was going to change.

There is a seeming contradiction here: that a city [*deeply unhappy with the way things are going*](https://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/local/majority-of-philadelphians-feel-city-on-the-wrong-track-says-new-poll/3523157/) just voted for a candidate who was endorsed by dozens of sitting lawmakers, City Council members and ward leaders — even the current mayor, Jim Kenney, a term-limited Democrat who has become highly unpopular, [*said he voted for her*](https://www.inquirer.com/politics/philadelphia/mayors-race-jim-kenney-vote-cherelle-parker-endorsement-bill-green-20230508.html).

Isaiah Thomas, who won an at-large City Council seat on Tuesday, said that even with that support, it was not fair to call her the establishment candidate — most of her opponents had their own networks of connections. But he said the breadth of her support, including trade unions and lawmakers, showed that she knew how to build, and maintain, coalitions.

“She’s a worker,” said Mr. Thomas, who joined the Council in 2020 and worked alongside Ms. Parker managing its response to the crises of the last three years. “She understands government, she understands the budget.”

In state government, any Democratic mayor would find a more willing partner than his or her immediate predecessors. Last November, Democrats won control of the Pennsylvania House for the first time in a dozen years, a majority that was reconfirmed after a special election on Tuesday night. The current House Speaker, Joanna McClinton, represents part of Philadelphia, as does the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. The new governor, Josh Shapiro, and the majority of the Democratic caucus in the State Senate are from the region.

“There’s reason to be more optimistic about Harrisburg’s relationship with Philadelphia than there has been in many years,” said State Senator Nikil Saval, a Democrat, who endorsed one of Ms. Parker’s opponents in the race but praised some of her accomplishments on the City Council, such as [*a program she helped create*](https://www.phillytrib.com/news/local_news/city-loan-program-targets-40-million-at-fixing-up-older-homes/article_74841fd0-f991-5855-8ad0-a647d6378850.html) that offered low-interest loans to homeowners.

Still, in interviews in Philadelphia this week, voters and local politicians alike said that the most urgent task of the new mayor would be to give the city a jolt of optimism. For many in the city’s poor and ***working-class*** neighborhoods, that might start with the attention of someone who has seen up close their daily struggles. But, people insisted, hope would stick only if there were tangible results.

“I haven’t seen anyone help; it’s just getting worse,” said Ms. Robinson, the mother in the library. “For me to vote for someone, I’d have to see difference.”

PHOTOS: Cherelle Parker, left, a former state legislator and City Council member, won the Democratic primary in Philadelphia on Tuesday.; Carl Day, a pastor, said younger Black Philadelphians were skeptical of Ms. Parker and worried about some of her policing plans.; “I haven’t seen anyone help; it’s just getting worse,” said Jennifer Robinson, 41, who is despondent about the state of the city. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RACHEL WISNIEWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16) This article appeared in print on page A1, A16.

**Load-Date:** May 18, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Looking Back, Was the Iraq War Justified?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67W9-S041-DXY4-X1RX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 28, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21; LETTERS

**Length:** 1195 words

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re ''I Don't Regret Supporting the Iraq War,'' by Bret Stephens (column, March 22):

Mr. Stephens doesn't address one of the most significant consequences of the war, the strengthening of radical Islamic terrorist groups.

I supported the first war with Iraq when we drove the Iraqis out of Kuwait after their 1990 invasion, and if the war had included getting Saddam Hussein at the time, it could have made sense. I supported invading Afghanistan in an effort to get Osama bin Laden. We had clear moral reasons for both of those wars.

But the invasion of Iraq for weapons of mass destruction made no sense. It was a different situation, and I opposed it from the start. How could we say we had a good moral reason when we weren't providing any evidence?

It was obvious to me that we had no clear definition of what Saddam Hussein and his government would be replaced with, that we would have great difficulty ever leaving and that when we did leave the country, whatever we put into place would probably collapse because it would not be supported by the people of Iraq. This all happened.

I also thought it was clear that the rest of the Muslim world would see this as an attack against all Muslims, helping radicals recruit more Muslims to their ranks, but was surprised by the degree to which this happened.

I submit that the damage done to our country and the rest of the world far outweighs any good that came out of that war.

Mark FlockNorwalk, Wis.

To the Editor:

Bret Stephens justifies America's invasion of Iraq by saying ''Iraq, the Middle East and the world are better off for having gotten rid of a dangerous tyrant.''

OK, sure, the world is better off without him. But what kind of justification is that? Should we now invade the many other countries that are led by dangerous tyrants because the world would be better off without them? Or should we perhaps hold off on invasions unless there's a clear and present threat to the U.S.?

Jeff BurgerRidgewood, N.J.

To the Editor:

I find Bret Stephens's lack of regret regarding Iraq unsettling.

I am 70 years old, and the most important lesson of my generation was from Vietnam: You cannot nation-build by military force. What you end up with is a dysfunctional quagmire, and that is indeed what we have today in Iraq.

The cost was huge -- about 4,500 young Americans died, about 32,000 wounded in action. The price tag was close to $2 trillion. The human cost to Iraq was much worse, close to half a million deaths by some estimates.

To suggest that the cost in lives and dollars was worth it to rid the world of a tyrant is shocking to me.

George Santayana famously said, ''Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.'' I sincerely hope we don't make this mistake a third time.

Bill PetersonSandy, Utah

To the Editor:

On the 20th anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Bret Stephens still stands by it, yet his argument is weak.

The best case against the invasion was not that it would strengthen Iran (though it did), but that no nation has a right to invade another without legal and moral justification, and it turned out that the U.S. had none. The rationale then was that Iraq was violating U.N. resolutions by secretly maintaining weapons of mass destruction, which we now know was not true. Without that, the invasion was illegal and morally unjustified.

Mr. Stephens argues that he still supports the invasion because ''Iraq, the Middle East and the world are better off for having gotten rid of a dangerous tyrant.'' But that boils down to might makes right: The U.S. can invade and topple Saddam Hussein because it has the military power to do so.

Tim CollierGardiner, Maine

French Fury Against Macron Over Retirement Age

To the Editor:

Re ''In France, the Damage Can't Be Undone,'' by Cole Stangler (Opinion guest essay, March 25):

France's president, Emmanuel Macron, has undoubtedly been maladroit in his handling of the retirement age issue, as Mr. Stangler points out. But the merits of Mr. Macron's proposal are compelling.

France's pension program will run out of money as the population ages and the ratio of workers to retirees diminishes. Further, France's current retirement age of 62 is the lowest among its peers in Europe (which mostly run from 65 to 67).

By toughing out the demonstrators, Mr. Macron is risking ruining his presidency to do the right thing for his country.

Contrast this with the actions of another leader, Bibi Netanyahu, also facing massive demonstrations against his policy of weakening the Israeli judiciary, a key institution providing checks on the power of the executive and legislative branches of government.

Though he is now delaying any action, Mr. Netanyahu has seemed perfectly content to throw his country under the bus in order to avoid being prosecuted for corruption.

Daniel R. MartinHartsdale, N.Y.

To the Editor:

Re ''Macron Draws Anger Not Just for Law, but for His Monarch-Like Disposition'' (news article, March 25):

I am mystified that people aren't talking about the obvious alternative to raising the retirement age in France to keep the system financially afloat: increase social security taxes on the wealthiest French.

President Biden proposed just such a solution this month to keep Medicare solvent for at least 25 years. It would appeal to the French ***working class***, which feels so abused by President Emmanuel Macron and his government, as they seem more concerned with protecting the benefits of the French upper class.

Stephen BinghamSan Rafael, Calif.

The N.C.A.A. and the Student-Athlete

To the Editor:

Re ''The N.C.A.A. Ensures the Biggest Losers Are the Players,'' by Bomani Jones (Opinion guest essay, March 24):

I have long thought that college athletes should be compensated. I imagine a bank account for each athlete that the school would create. The amount of money to be deposited annually and the conditions that apply would be determined by a committee of faculty and administrators and paid to each student upon graduation or at such time as the committee would establish. A sort of nest egg.

As part of this obligation to the student, there would be a lifelong commitment to provide medical care to any student sustaining long-term injuries within the program.

This would be a fair and humane approach to managing student-athletes. The program would be funded through money received from various media -- or maybe a reduction in coaches' salaries, for starters.

Patricia K. SampsonJensen Beach, Fla.

To the Editor:

Bomani Jones does not mention the quality education made available to athletes who may not have the opportunity for such an education but for their athletic skills.

The large majority of student-athletes, even in Division I sports, will never become professional athletes. On the other hand, these student athletes have access to an education and eventual job placement that may have never been possible otherwise. Many get athletic scholarships.

Let's not lose sight of the bigger picture. The large majority of student-athletes have benefited from the N.C.A.A.'s making their education possible.

Bruce FoxRandolph, N.J.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/27/opinion/letters/iraq-war-justifications.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/27/opinion/letters/iraq-war-justifications.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** March 28, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Sizzling Hot Books for Cold Winter Days; Romance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67MH-6Y01-DXY4-X3VR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 24, 2023 Friday 14:45 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1082 words

**Byline:** Olivia Waite

**Highlight:** Cozy up with one of the four new books recommended by our romance columnist.

**Body**

Writers adore putting writers in their fiction, and romance is no exception. This month’s books feature modern fantasy novelists, fairy scholars, historical reading clubs and rakes turned art critics.

We begin with THE NEIGHBOR FAVOR (Berkley, 416 pp., paperback, $17), Kristina Forest’s warm and welcoming new contemporary. Nick’s epic fantasy novel with Black elves could have been a hit, if his publisher hadn’t shut its doors a month later. Now he has a huge new contract to finish the series — if only he weren’t so distracted by his gorgeous new neighbor Lily, a book editor. He doesn’t dare explain that he’s not only the guy she flirts with in the elevator: He’s N.R. Strickland, the author who ghosted her after an intense email romance earlier in the year.

Lily’s still feeling bruised from the breakup, and frustrated to be stuck in nonfiction when she’s dreamed of editing children’s books. But most of all, she’s dreading her sister’s upcoming nuptials, because her family will not stop setting her up with men who are entirely wrong for her. Her hot neighbor Nick would have been the perfect wedding date — if he hadn’t turned her down with a bit more panic than seemed warranted.

This book gestures at several tropes — a dash of fake dating, a soupçon of epistolary — but primarily it’s one of my favorite romance plots: These enjoyable people deserve better, so let’s watch as they discover it. Lily’s battered optimism and Nick’s guarded sadness both mesh and conflict at just the right times, and for all its coincidence-dependent premise, the book breathes easily and pulls you right into its world. Especially recommended for anyone who ships Janine and Gregory from “Abbott Elementary.”

If you also like elves and are looking for thoughtful fantasy with a romantic twist, along the lines of Terry Pratchett’s “Lords and Ladies” or Olivia Atwater’s “Ten Thousand Stitches,” this next book, by Heather Fawcett, is the one for you. EMILY WILDE’S ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF FAERIES (Del Rey, 336 pp., $28) has some impeccable Tam Lin vibes: Emily Wilde, a stoic and single-minded dryadologist, travels to wintry Ljosland to document an unknown species of faerie — only to find that nothing in this snowbound village is entirely what it seems, and the Hidden Ones are not as far away as she supposed. The world-building here is exquisite, a weather-beaten village in an incredible Arctic landscape — and fortunately, the characters are just as textured and richly drawn.

This is the kind of forlorn, folkloric fantasy that remembers the old, blood-ribboned source material about sacrifices and stolen children, but adds a modern gloss. For instance, sometimes the village’s loveliest maiden spurns the faerie prince not because she’s wise, but because she’s queer. Emily herself is delightful, brilliant but flawed, and often darkly funny. Her frustration with her feckless but charming colleague Wendell Bambleby is the perfect spark, and the romance is light but hits surprisingly hard when it chooses to (one of the best hurt/comfort scenes I’ve read in ages!). I adored it, and cannot wait for the next.

Historical romance tends to skew aristocratic, but too many dukes and duchesses blur together for me. ***Working-class*** romances have the luxury of being specific: Farah Mendlesohn’s button manufacturer’s family in “Spring Flowering,” EE Ottoman’s silversmith and quiltmaker in “The Craft of Love,” Rose Lerner’s naval agent in “Sailor’s Delight.” And now Annick Trent’s SIXPENNY OCTAVO (self-published, ebook, $2.99), a sweet Sapphic historical where a dancing master’s assistant and a clock mender find love while dodging sedition charges in a Regency-era reading club.

There is an extremely light mystery element (has someone turned informer on the reading club?), but the rest is all kind community, evocative Gothic novel excerpts, interesting historical jobs (my favorite!) and a world so finely drawn you can feel the closeness of rented rooms and hear the waves lapping the docks by the river. Despite the crushing censorship and prison realities that hover on the edges, the heart of this book is warm and gentle.

Speaking of breaking laws: Many romance readers give a hard pass to anything that looks like cheating in a romance, and they’ll want to avoid our final book. But they will be missing out, because Julia Bennet’s THE WORST WOMAN IN LONDON (self-published, paperback, $7.99) is the kind of historical I’ve been dying to read.

The first thing our heroine Francesca does in this book is marry the wrong man and stay married to him for 10 years. Edward Thorne is proud, embittered and perennially unfaithful. Fran can try to divorce him, but it’s expensive and difficult and socially ruinous — even her own family is urging her to accept a separation, and preserve the pristine shell of her rotten marriage.

Fran decides to divorce him anyway.

So Edward sends his charming best friend, James Standish, to persuade his stubborn wife to back down. James is heir to the fortune of his tyrannical aunt, so he knows a few things about playing to appearances for the sake of material comfort. He’s a teasing, unserious type of person, but the more time he spends with Fran the more he starts to think she’s better and stronger than the rumors suggest. Fran’s friends in publishing give him hope that there’s some practical use for his knowledge about art and culture — maybe there’s something more to expect from life than endless etiquette and the mere facade of goodness.

And the delicious question from almost the first page is: How long until Fran and James end up in bed together? Can they hold back until the divorce is granted, or will their affair give Edward precisely the leverage he needs to destroy Francesca in court? Bennet concocts a very classic romance mood, where the sex is spectacular even when (or because?) people are painfully conflicted about it. On the angst spectrum I’d rate it less chaotic than Scarlett Peckham but more messy than Tessa Dare.

Certainly it’s one of the most complex and satisfying explorations of the idea that everyone is the hero of their own love story — even the villains.

Olivia Waite is the Book Review’s romance fiction columnist. She writes queer historical romance, fantasy and critical essays on the genre’s history and future.

Olivia Waite is the Book Review’s romance fiction columnist. She writes queer historical romance, fantasy and critical essays on the genre’s history and future.

This article appeared in print on page BR7.

**Load-Date:** February 25, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Looking Back, Was the Iraq War Justified?; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67W6-0N81-JBG3-62GJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 27, 2023 Monday 23:17 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION; letters

**Length:** 1183 words

**Highlight:** Readers disagree with a column by Bret Stephens, who doesn’t regret supporting the war. Also: Fury against Macron; student-athletes.

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re “[*I Don’t Regret Supporting the Iraq War*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/opinion/20-years-on-i-dont-regret-supporting-the-iraq-war.html),” by Bret Stephens (column, March 22):

Mr. Stephens doesn’t address one of the most significant consequences of the war, the strengthening of radical Islamic terrorist groups.

I supported the first war with Iraq when we drove the Iraqis out of Kuwait after their 1990 invasion, and if the war had included getting Saddam Hussein at the time, it could have made sense. I supported invading Afghanistan in an effort to get Osama bin Laden. We had clear moral reasons for both of those wars.

But the invasion of Iraq for weapons of mass destruction made no sense. It was a different situation, and I opposed it from the start. How could we say we had a good moral reason when we weren’t providing any evidence?

It was obvious to me that we had no clear definition of what Saddam Hussein and his government would be replaced with, that we would have great difficulty ever leaving and that when we did leave the country, whatever we put into place would probably collapse because it would not be supported by the people of Iraq. This all happened.

I also thought it was clear that the rest of the Muslim world would see this as an attack against all Muslims, helping radicals recruit more Muslims to their ranks, but was surprised by the degree to which this happened.

I submit that the damage done to our country and the rest of the world far outweighs any good that came out of that war.

Mark Flock

Norwalk, Wis.

To the Editor:

Bret Stephens justifies America’s invasion of Iraq by saying “Iraq, the Middle East and the world are better off for having gotten rid of a dangerous tyrant.”

OK, sure, the world is better off without him. But what kind of justification is that? Should we now invade the many other countries that are led by dangerous tyrants because the world would be better off without them? Or should we perhaps hold off on invasions unless there’s a clear and present threat to the U.S.?

Jeff Burger

Ridgewood, N.J.

To the Editor:

I find Bret Stephens’s lack of regret regarding Iraq unsettling.

I am 70 years old, and the most important lesson of my generation was from Vietnam: You cannot nation-build by military force. What you end up with is a dysfunctional quagmire, and that is indeed what we have today in Iraq.

The cost was huge — [*about 4,500 young Americans died*](https://www.defense.gov/casualty.pdf), about 32,000 wounded in action. The price tag was [*close to $2 trillion*](https://www.newsweek.com/iraq-war-cost-taxpayers-2-trillion-1485784). The human cost to Iraq was much worse, close to half a million deaths by some estimates.

To suggest that the cost in lives and dollars was worth it to rid the world of a tyrant is shocking to me.

George Santayana famously said, “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.” I sincerely hope we don’t make this mistake a third time.

Bill Peterson

Sandy, Utah

To the Editor:

On the 20th anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Bret Stephens still stands by it, yet his argument is weak.

The best case against the invasion was not that it would strengthen Iran (though it did), but that no nation has a right to invade another without legal and moral justification, and it turned out that the U.S. had none. The rationale then was that Iraq was violating U.N. resolutions by secretly maintaining weapons of mass destruction, which we now know was not true. Without that, the invasion was illegal and morally unjustified.

Mr. Stephens argues that he still supports the invasion because “Iraq, the Middle East and the world are better off for having gotten rid of a dangerous tyrant.” But that boils down to might makes right: The U.S. can invade and topple Saddam Hussein because it has the military power to do so.

Tim Collier

Gardiner, Maine

French Fury Against Macron Over Retirement Age

To the Editor:

Re “[*In France, the Damage Can’t Be Undone*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/24/opinion/international-world/france-protests-pensions-macron.html),” by Cole Stangler (Opinion guest essay, March 25):

France’s president, Emmanuel Macron, has undoubtedly been maladroit in his handling of the retirement age issue, as Mr. Stangler points out. But the merits of Mr. Macron’s proposal are compelling.

France’s pension program will run out of money as the population ages and the ratio of workers to retirees diminishes. Further, France’s current retirement age of 62 is the lowest among its peers in Europe (which mostly run from 65 to 67).

By toughing out the demonstrators, Mr. Macron is risking ruining his presidency to do the right thing for his country.

Contrast this with the actions of another leader, Bibi Netanyahu, also facing massive demonstrations against his policy of weakening the Israeli judiciary, a key institution providing checks on the power of the executive and legislative branches of government.

Though he is now delaying any action, Mr. Netanyahu has seemed perfectly content to throw his country under the bus in order to avoid being prosecuted for corruption.

Daniel R. Martin

Hartsdale, N.Y.

To the Editor:

Re “[*Macron Draws Anger Not Just for Law, but for His Monarch-Like Disposition*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/24/world/europe/france-macron-crisis.html)” (news article, March 25):

I am mystified that people aren’t talking about the obvious alternative to raising the retirement age in France to keep the system financially afloat: increase social security taxes on the wealthiest French.

President Biden [*proposed just such a solution*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/09/us/politics/biden-budget.html) this month to keep Medicare solvent for at least 25 years. It would appeal to the French ***working class***, which feels so abused by President Emmanuel Macron and his government, as they seem more concerned with protecting the benefits of the French upper class.

Stephen Bingham

San Rafael, Calif.

The N.C.A.A. and the Student-Athlete

To the Editor:

Re “[*The N.C.A.A. Ensures the Biggest Losers Are the Players*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/opinion/ncaa-march-madness-college-athlete-compensation.html?searchResultPosition=2),” by Bomani Jones (Opinion guest essay, March 24):

I have long thought that college athletes should be compensated. I imagine a bank account for each athlete that the school would create. The amount of money to be deposited annually and the conditions that apply would be determined by a committee of faculty and administrators and paid to each student upon graduation or at such time as the committee would establish. A sort of nest egg.

As part of this obligation to the student, there would be a lifelong commitment to provide medical care to any student sustaining long-term injuries within the program.

This would be a fair and humane approach to managing student-athletes. The program would be funded through money received from various media — or maybe a reduction in coaches’ salaries, for starters.

Patricia K. Sampson

Jensen Beach, Fla.

To the Editor:

Bomani Jones does not mention the quality education made available to athletes who may not have the opportunity for such an education but for their athletic skills.

The large majority of student-athletes, even in Division I sports, will never become professional athletes. On the other hand, these student athletes have access to an education and eventual job placement that may have never been possible otherwise. Many get athletic scholarships.

Let’s not lose sight of the bigger picture. The large majority of student-athletes have benefited from the N.C.A.A.’s making their education possible.

Bruce Fox

Randolph, N.J.

This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** March 27, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Rodeo Is Turning America’s Whitest Big City Black; Tressie McMillan Cottom***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68HH-7K31-JBG3-64DY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 21, 2023 Wednesday 11:50 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1664 words

**Byline:** Tressie McMillan Cottom

**Highlight:** Like a rider wrestling a bull beneath bright lights, reconciling national narratives is not a pastime for the faint of heart.

**Body**

A Black rodeo sounds like a good time at any time, but this is a particular moment in the near history of Portland, Ore. The city was a staging area for Black Lives Matter protests. That surprised a lot of people. For many years, Portland held the distinction of being [*the whitest big city*](https://www.oregonlive.com/data/2022/10/is-portland-still-the-whitest-big-city-in-america.html) in the United States. From its inception, Oregon had laws that restricted the number of Black people within its borders.

When a state starts with a constitutional imperative geared to making it whites-only, whiteness is the nucleus of everyday life. It is in the culture, the politics, the economics. Over time, Portland’s demographics are changing. Eventually, the long-overdue bill for its founding principles came due.

In the historical scope, it makes sense why protracted conflict marred this city. It is less obvious what a Juneteenth celebration would mean for Portland. The city does not have Texas’ history with enslaved people. It does not have the cultural history of the American South. And it is not a central part of the Great Migration story of Black history.

The Portland rodeo is a celebration trying to fasten Juneteenth’s specific story of freedom from slavery to universal themes of place, home and equality. Now that Juneteenth is a federal holiday, communities across the country are doing the same complicated dance. This nation still has not fully acknowledged its national debt to slavery. How can it find a unifying national message around Black freedom without acknowledging white accommodation of slavery? A rodeo is as good a way to explore those tensions as any other. Like a rider wrestling a bull beneath bright lights, reconciling national narratives is not a pastime for the faint of heart.

When the photographer Ivan McClellan announced that he was planning Portland’s first Black rodeo — the [*Eight Seconds Juneteenth Rodeo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/19/us/black-rodeo-oregon-juneteenth.html) — in Portland for this past Sunday, I was compelled to see it with my own eyes.

McClellan is a photographer from Kansas City, Kan., who has been documenting Black cowboy, cowgirl and Western culture for a decade. I have been following for half that long. Traditional Western imagery is full of expansive landscapes, exciting action shots of rodeo life and expressive portraits. McClellan’s work has all of that. But because his subjects are Black, his work also has a depth of narrative contrast — a sense of the unexpected — that makes for evocative sociological tapestries.

The men and women in his photos look as at home in urban settings (which he also shoots) as they do on ranches and trails. As a viewer, you have to wonder if there is something preternaturally citified about young Black people or if you have internalized the idea that there are limited ways to be Black.

Then there is the land. Many of McClellan’s portraits juxtapose Black Western figures against beautiful, harsh landscapes. Staring into them, past the beauty, brings up questions about dispossession and migration and labor. “Whose land is this?” I often wonder when staring into one of his shots.

That is a complicated question to ask about anywhere in the United States. Portland is no exception. Its reputation is, in a word, crunchy. This is Seattle’s cooler little sister. It’s a liberal, bike-loving, nature-centric, casual city on a river. You can still see scars from Black Lives Matter and police protests along the downtown district — boarded windows of a small business, still operating, but not yet cleaned up.

Juneteenth is a cultural celebration of enslaved African men, women and children surviving white fascist rule in a foreign land. The official story is more linear but at its core Juneteenth is nonlinear, a ritual for Black people — wherever they find themselves — in need of a ritual to mark the thin veil between life and death, freedom and enslavement, time and space. The Emancipation Proclamation ended some forms of slavery for a limited number of African Americans in 1863 and was directed at the enslaved in Confederate states. Juneteenth commemorates the day in 1865 when enslaved people in Galveston, Texas, were informed of the Civil War’s end and their newfound freedom. It became symbolic of the slow, uneven compromises of the Civil War, and later, Reconstruction.

For many generations, Juneteenth was a regional cultural celebration that expanded as Black people migrated. It took on the cultural practices of different families, different regions, different branches of Black history. Fairly constant was the idea that Juneteenth was about celebrating what had been verboten for enslaved ancestors — family, levity, rest and ritual. Juneteenths I have participated in over the years have felt like family reunions. When President Biden made Juneteenth a federal holiday in 2021, my first question was similar to the one I had when I arrived in Portland: What happens to the family reunion when it stops being for family?

Whose land? Whose family? Why here and why now? The Eight Seconds Juneteenth Rodeo organizers thought a lot about those questions. Vince Jones-Dixon is a city councilor from Gresham, a nearby suburb of Portland. He has been holding a grass-roots Juneteenth celebration in the area for four years. This year he approached McClellan about bringing their interests together. Jones-Dixon wants Black Portlanders to see a version of themselves in a rodeo that is fun but that also makes them proud.

Like every story about enslavement and the American West, you cannot talk about Juneteenth in Portland without talking about land. “Ivan very intentionally had the rodeo here at the Expo Center,” State Senator Lew Frederick said. The Expo Center is near Vanport, a formerly Black ***working-class*** enclave built around the shipping industry in the 1940s. A massive storm, followed by flooding, wiped Vanport off the map in 1948. Frederick says there remains a notion among Black Portlanders that the flooding was a convenient excuse for displacing the city’s thriving Black enclave.

Having the rodeo near Vanport is a way of saying that this is an event for you, for us. And that we remember. For State Senator Frederick, Juneteenth is not only about commemorating news of freedom for Galveston’s enslaved people. It is also about remembering in places where a lot of effort has been made to forget. “That’s what Juneteenth is managing, to tell the history that we have not been told. So it can be told in an Oregonian way.”

DJ O.G. One, the official D.J. for the Portland Trailblazers, was tasked with giving Portland’s first Black rodeo a vibe. As a student of cultural practices in country, R&amp;B and soul music, I wonder just how he intends to do all of that while also keeping the people’s mind on freedom. As Jones-Dixon told me earlier, the cowboys want country and the crowd wants hip-hop and soul music. “In Portland, we don’t have one sound. We are a mix. That’s what makes this a Portland rodeo, not a Southern rodeo.”

A Portland rodeo has to figure out how to talk about freedom within a state that wrote the enslaved out of the narrative entirely. It also has to create a vibe from a cultural mélange that prides itself on being unclassifiable. And it has to be Black — in culture and in tone — even as Juneteenth is being universalized to be legible. Narratives begin with the pageantry. At a rodeo, the pageantry begins at the back end of a horse.

That is where I stand. More specifically, I stand at the chute where the horses and bulls enter the rodeo arena, as the show begins. Two young Black women casually mount their large white horses with flags in tow. London Gladney carries a Pan-African flag in red, black and green. Amorah Lindsey carries an American flag. Jones-Dixon tells the crowd to stand, men to remove their hats and all to place hands over hearts for the singing of “Lift Every Voice and Sing,” known as the Negro national anthem, written in 1900.

Everyone I can see complies. A woman strides to the center of the rodeo and belts out the first two verses. A white horse emerges from the chute, red, black and green flag flying behind a 10-year-old cowgirl. They prance and skid to a halt, a skill that I learn is highly prized in rodeo. As the singer offers the final line, the girl and the horse take off at a gallop, timed perfectly. The crowd erupts.

“That’s a Black rodeo,” the cowboy standing next to me says proudly as we clap.

Throughout the night, the M.C. gently instructs the audience on what the events mean. There is a fair amount of education to get everyone up to speed on when a bull has been well wrestled or a horse skillfully pranced. The real memory work is happening in the crowd. The rodeo is a piece of living art. How the audience interacts with it says as much about how they feel seen in the tableau as anything the organizers could have orchestrated.

Walking around the hall, talking to attendees, I find that people are not talking about freedom as much as they are talking about pride. Even as I press people about the history of Juneteenth, they are more interested in what this all means now, today. “It’s so good for the kids to see this, all the young kings and queens out there,” a woman says as young children clamor for a good view. “This is who we are,” an elderly Black man in full period cowboy regalia tells me when I ask him about his outfit. Even dressed as a historical actor, he is fixed on the here and now. “Look at us,” he says with awe.

Tressie McMillan Cottom (@[*tressiemcphd*](https://twitter.com/tressiemcphd)) is an associate professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill School of Information and Library Science, the author of “Thick: And Other Essays” and a 2020 MacArthur fellow.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mason Trinca for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***In Turkey Vote, Erdogan Fails To Get Majority***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:687J-BMS1-JBG3-64CH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 15, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1382 words

**Byline:** By Ben Hubbard and Gulsin Harman

**Body**

After two decades in power, a struggling Recep Tayyip Erdogan has two more weeks to persuade Turkish voters that he should continue as president.

ANKARA, Turkey -- Turkey's presidential election appeared on Sunday to be headed for a runoff after the incumbent, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, failed to win a majority of the vote, a result that left the longtime leader struggling to stave off the toughest political challenge of his career.

The outcome of the vote set the stage for a two-week battle between Mr. Erdogan and Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the opposition leader, to secure victory in a May 28 runoff that may reshape Turkey's political landscape.

With the unofficial count nearly completed, Mr. Erdogan received 49.4 percent of the vote to Mr. Kilicdaroglu's 44.8 percent, according to the state-run Anadolu news agency.

But both sides claimed to be ahead.

''Although the final results are not in yet, we are leading by far,'' Mr. Erdogan told supporters gathered outside his party's headquarters in Ankara, the capital.

Speaking at his own party's headquarters, Mr. Kilicdaroglu said the vote would express the ''nation's will.'' He said, ''We are here until each and every vote is counted.''

The competing claims came early Monday after a nail-biter evening during which each camp accused the other of announcing misleading information. Mr. Erdogan warned the opposition on Twitter against ''usurping the national will'' and called on his party faithful ''not to leave the polling stations, no matter what, until the results are finalized.''

Opposition politicians disputed the preliminary totals reported by Anadolu, saying that their own figures collected directly from polling stations showed Mr. Kilicdaroglu in the lead.

At stake is the course of a NATO member that has managed to unsettle many of its Western allies by maintaining warm ties with the Kremlin. One of the world's 20 largest economies, Turkey has an array of political and economic ties that span Asia, Africa, Europe and the Middle East, and its domestic and foreign policies could shift profoundly depending on who wins.

The vote was in many ways a referendum on the performance of Mr. Erdogan, Turkey's dominant politician for 20 years.

After he became prime minister in 2003, he presided over a period of tremendous economic growth that transformed Turkish cities and lifted millions of Turks out of poverty. Internationally, he was hailed as a new model of a democratic Islamist, one who was pro-business and wanted strong ties with the West.

But over the past decade, Mr. Erdogan's critics grew both at home and abroad. He faced mass protests against his governing style in 2013, and in 2016, two years after he became president, he survived a coup attempt. Along the way, he seized opportunities to sideline rivals and gather more power into his hands, drawing accusations from the political opposition that he was tipping the country into autocracy.

Since 2018, a sinking currency and inflation that official figures say exceeded 80 percent last year and was 44 percent last month have eroded the value of Turks' savings and salaries.

Mr. Erdogan's inability to clinch a victory in the first round of voting on Sunday confirmed a decline in his standing among voters angry with his stewardship of the economy and his consolidation of power. In his last election, in 2018, he won outright against three other candidates with 53 percent of the vote. His closest challenger received 31 percent.

On Sunday, one voter, Fatma Cay, said she had supported Mr. Erdogan in the past but did not do so this time, in part because she was angry at how expensive foodstuffs like onions had become.

''He has forgotten where he comes from,'' said Ms. Cay, 70. ''This nation can raise someone up, but we also know how to bring someone down.''

Still, she did not flip to Mr. Kilicdaroglu, voting instead for a third candidate, Sinan Ogan, who received about 5 percent of the vote. The elimination of Mr. Ogan could give an edge to Mr. Erdogan in the runoff, as Mr. Ogan's right-wing nationalist followers are more likely to prefer him.

Mr. Erdogan remains popular with rural, ***working class*** and religious voters, who credit him with developing the country, enhancing its international standing and expanding the rights of devout Muslims in Turkey's staunchly secular state.

''We just love Erdogan,'' said Halil Karaaslan, a retiree. ''He has built everything: roads, bridges and drones. People are comfortable and in peace.''

That, Mr. Karaaslan said, was more important than rising prices. ''There is no economic crisis,'' he said. ''Sure, things are expensive, but salaries are almost as high. It balances.''

Seeking to capitalize on voter frustration, a coalition of six opposition parties came together to challenge Mr. Erdogan, backing a joint candidate, Mr. Kilicdaroglu.

Mr. Kilicdaroglu, a former civil servant who ran Turkey's social security administration before leading Turkey's largest opposition party, campaigned as the antithesis of Mr. Erdogan. Offering a contrast to Mr. Erdogan's tough-guy rhetoric, Mr. Kilicdaroglu filmed campaign videos in his modest kitchen, talking about daily issues like the price of onions.

Sunday's vote was also held to determine the makeup of Turkey's 600-member Parliament, although the results for those seats were not expected until Monday. The Parliament lost significant power when the country changed to a presidential system after a referendum backed by Mr. Erdogan in 2017. The opposition has vowed to return the country to a parliamentary system.

Adding to the importance of these elections for many Turks is that 2023 marks the 100th anniversary of the country's founding as a republic after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. A national celebration is scheduled for the anniversary, on Oct. 29, and the president will preside over it.

The election was also driven by issues that have long polarized Turkish society, like the proper place for religion in a state committed to strict secularism. In his 11 years as prime minister and nine as president, Mr. Erdogan has expanded religious education and eased rules that restricted religious dress.

Derya Akca, 29, cited her desire to cover her hair as a primary reason she supported Mr. Erdogan's Justice and Development Party. ''They defend my freedom to wear a head scarf, which is the most important factor for me,'' said Ms. Akca, who works in an Istanbul clothing store.

She recalled being so embarrassed after a college professor humiliated her in front of the class that she quit school, a decision she now regrets. ''I felt like an outsider,'' she said. ''I now wish I had stayed and fought.''

But elsewhere in the city, Deniz Deniz, the co-owner of a bar popular with the city's L.G.B.T.Q. community, bemoaned how the number of such establishments had diminished in the past decade of Mr. Erdogan's tenure.

''I want so much to change,'' Mr. Deniz said. ''I want a country where LGBT+ folk and women aren't rejected. I want an egalitarian and democratic country.''

In Turkey's southern region, which was devastated by powerful earthquakes in February that killed more than 50,000 people, many voters took out their anger at the government's response at the ballot box.

''We had an earthquake and the government didn't even intervene,'' said Rasim Dayanir, a quake survivor who voted for Mr. Kilicdaroglu. ''But our minds were made up before the earthquake.''

Mr. Dayanir, 25, had fled the city of Antakya, which was largely destroyed in the quake, but returned with eight family members to vote on Sunday.

He stood amid hundreds of voters who had lined up to vote inside of a primary school. Others cast votes in shipping containers that had been set up to replace destroyed polling places. Mr. Dayanir said his uncle, aunt and other members of his family had been killed in the quake.

''We are hopeful,'' he said. ''We believe in change.''

Ben Hubbard reported from Ankara, and Gulsin Harman from Istanbul. Reporting was contributed by Elif Ince from Istanbul, Safak Timur from Ankara and Nimet Kirac from Antakya.Ben Hubbard reported from Ankara, and Gulsin Harman from Istanbul. Reporting was contributed by Elif Ince from Istanbul, Safak Timur from Ankara and Nimet Kirac from Antakya.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/14/world/europe/turkey-erdogan-presidential-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/14/world/europe/turkey-erdogan-presidential-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Watching election coverage. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan had 49.4 percent of the vote, and Kemal Kilicdaroglu had 44.8 percent. (A1)

A polling station in Istanbul. Both sides claimed to be ahead on Sunday night as the vote narrowed. The candidates will face off again in a runoff election on May 28. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

A rally for President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Istanbul. In his last election, in 2018, he won outright against three other candidates with 53 percent of the vote. His closest challenger got 31 percent. (A8) This article appeared in print on page A1, A8.

**Load-Date:** May 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Runoff in South Texas Becomes Test of Abortion Politics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65D1-73B1-DXY4-X3RJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 7, 2022 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1676 words

**Byline:** By James Dobbins, Jennifer Medina and Katie Glueck

**Body**

A staunchly anti-abortion Democrat in Congress will face a young abortion-rights supporter in a pivotal primary runoff.

LAREDO, Texas -- When Representative Henry Cuellar stepped onstage at a campaign rally in San Antonio this week, he spoke of education, health care and his experience in Congress. But as Mr. Cuellar, a nine-term Democratic congressman, faces his toughest re-election challenge yet, one word did not escape his lips: abortion.

Mr. Cuellar, the most staunchly anti-abortion Democrat in the House, will face a primary runoff later this month against Jessica Cisneros, a 28-year-old immigration lawyer and a progressive supporter of abortion rights.

Democrats across the country hope the leaked draft Supreme Court opinion overturning Roe v. Wade will help galvanize their voters in the midterm elections, potentially rallying support for the party in a year that is widely expected to benefit Republicans.

But one of the first tests of just how much the issue will motivate Democratic voters will come in a primary runoff at the end of May, in the South Texas district held by Mr. Cuellar where conservative Democrats have regularly succeeded. It is a heavily Latino district that includes the border city of Laredo and parts of San Antonio, where Catholicism dominates, and where, as Mr. Cuellar showed from the stage, the subject of abortion often goes undiscussed.

Dr. Enrique Benavides III, a 51-year-old obstetrician-gynecologist who manages a women's health clinic with his father in Laredo, said that typically when patients request abortions, he gives them information about a clinic in San Antonio, more than a two-hour drive away.

Dr. Benavides described himself as a pro-choice Catholic Democrat who will vote for Mr. Cuellar. ''Democrats here are very different than those on the coasts, very Catholic and conservative,'' he said.

Abortion rights advocates believe the Supreme Court's draft ruling will shake up the race, providing a helpful jolt for Ms. Cisneros. But supporters of Mr. Cuellar and some local Democratic officials say the district's voters, who lean socially conservative, are unlikely to be moved by the issue. And several national Democratic leaders who have publicly made fiery vows to maintain abortion rights are nonetheless standing behind Mr. Cuellar, with some warning that a win for Ms. Cisneros later this month could give Republicans an edge in November.

In interviews with nearly a dozen men and women in Laredo, most said they would support Mr. Cuellar in spite of -- or even because of -- his stance on abortion.

These voters, several of whom expressed support for abortion rights but said they would still vote for an anti-abortion congressman, revealed the uphill battle Ms. Cisneros faces as she tries to convince voters to oust a familiar political figure whose family has long been a fixture in the community. Even among Democrats, support for abortion rights may not uniformly motivate voters, particularly ***working-class*** Latinos -- a demographic that has shown signs of drifting away from the party.

Hector Gomez, 67, has known Mr. Cuellar since they were classmates at J.W. Nixon High School in the 1970s, and has voted for the congressman in every election since he first ran in 2006.

''He's doing his job,'' said Mr. Gomez, an antique store owner, adding that although he is Catholic and opposed to abortion, the issue does not determine his vote. ''Mr. Cuellar is the best choice because he's not someone you can just brush off.''

Texas' 28th Congressional District stretches from the Mexican border to San Antonio, and Laredo is its political center. A ***working-class*** city, it has been a Democratic stronghold for decades but remains culturally conservative, with residents who fill Catholic church pews on Sundays. Many describe themselves as apolitical, and said they are more focused on making ends meet than staking out positions on partisan political issues.

Before this week's leaked Supreme Court opinion, abortion had not been the central issue in the primary campaign, though several national abortion rights groups had invested heavily in the district, focusing on the new state abortion restrictions in Texas. Ms. Cisneros did not run a television advertisement on the issue until late last month, according to AdImpact, an ad tracking firm. Until the focus on abortion was renewed this week, the runoff had been a mostly sleepy affair, with observers predicting an extremely low turnout.

Now, Ms. Cisneros and her supporters have moved to use the threat to abortion rights as a primary motivator for both voters and donors.

''We're really at a moment where people are fired up and they know how much they are at risk of losing,'' said Kristin Ford, the vice president of communications and research at the abortion rights group NARAL Pro-Choice America, which has sent organizers to Laredo to campaign for Ms. Cisneros.

Ms. Cisneros argues that the district is not nearly as conservative as Mr. Cuellar and his backers suggest, and that attitudes are changing.

''This ignited the urgency,'' she said in an interview on Friday. ''When we defeat the anti-choice Democrat, that's going to set the tone for the rest of the midterms that we want a pro-choice Democratic majority in power.''

Several prominent left-wing lawmakers, including Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, have made fund-raising appeals for Ms. Cisneros. Earlier this week, Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, one of Ms. Cisneros's most prominent backers, used an appearance on MSNBC to make a full-throated fund-raising pitch.

''If you're mad when you listen to this, send Jessica Cisneros ten bucks,'' she said.

And during a recent virtual fund-raiser for Ms. Cisneros, Ms. Warren, speaking of Mr. Cuellar, said, ''When it comes to reproductive rights, Henry's got a record that makes my blood boil,'' according to prepared remarks obtained by The New York Times.

Ms. Cisneros first challenged Mr. Cuellar in 2020, when she lost the Democratic primary by 4 percentage points, and quickly made plans to pursue a rematch. Earlier this year, the F.B.I. raided Mr. Cuellar's Laredo home as part of an ongoing investigation that appears to be linked to an inquiry into the political influence of Azerbaijan, the former Soviet republic. In March, Mr. Cisneros fell less than 1,000 votes short of Mr. Cuellar's total, forcing the two into the May 24 runoff.

Mr. Cuellar, who declined to comment for this article, has long defended his anti-abortion stance.

''As a lifelong Catholic, I have always been pro-life,'' he said in a statement this week. ''As a Catholic, I do not support abortion, however, we cannot have an outright ban. There must be exceptions in the case of rape, incest and danger to the life of the mother.''

Mr. Cuellar has repeatedly insisted that his stance mirrors the views of voters in the district. Though there has not been any public district-level polling on the issue, 2018 data from the Public Religion Research Institute found that Hispanics in Texas are less likely than other Americans to say they believe abortion should be legal in all cases, with 53 percent saying it should be illegal in most or all cases. Gallup's Values and Beliefs poll last year found that low-income voters are also more likely to identify themselves as ''pro life,'' a trend that has held steady for several years and could be a factor in Mr. Cuellar's largely ***working-class*** district. But in a poll from the Texas Politics Project at the University of Texas at Austin released last June, 54 percent of Hispanics said they were opposed to a ban on abortion if Roe v. Wade was overturned.

Just two days after the draft opinion was leaked, Mr. Cuellar campaigned alongside Representative James E. Clyburn, the House majority whip and third-ranking Democrat. Mr. Clyburn's visit, which had been announced before the leaked opinion, put him in an awkward spotlight -- supporting the only Democrat to vote against the Women's Health Protection Act, a bill that would have codified Roe v. Wade into law.

Mr. Clyburn defended the incumbent, saying Democrats are a ''big-tent party.''

''I don't believe we ought to have a litmus test in the Democratic Party,'' he told reporters in San Antonio. ''We have to bring as many people into the party as we possibly can.''

Mr. Cuellar also has the support of Nancy Pelosi, the House Speaker, and Steny Hoyer, the majority leader. He frequently touts their endorsements, leaving many progressives privately grumbling that party leaders' promises to fight for abortion rights in Congress ring hollow.

But several Texas Democratic officials cautioned against the idea that an intense focus on abortion would reshape the race. Asked how the leaked draft Supreme Court opinion overturning Roe v. Wade might change the runoff, Gilberto Hinojosa, the chairman of the Texas Democratic Party, sounded skeptical that it would fundamentally alter the dynamics of the contest, as some advocates have predicted. South Texas, he said, is ''a different place.''

Angie Martinez, a 40-year-old bartender, said that while she supports abortion rights, it will not prevent her from voting for Mr. Cuellar.

''People are happy with the guy,'' she said, adding that he had helped bring more funding into the district. ''If abortion ends, it's OK. Women go to Nuevo Laredo for abortions,'' she said, referring to the Mexican city across the border from Laredo.

But Maxine Rebeles, a 39-year-old middle school writing teacher, said she is eager to see Mr. Cuellar out of office.

''He doesn't protect our water, and he doesn't protect our women,'' Ms. Rebeles said. ''When the government forces women to have children too young, bring children into unloving households, born to mothers who don't love themselves, they get into a bad cycle.''

James Dobbins reported from Laredo, Jennifer Medina from Los Angeles and Katie Glueck from New York.James Dobbins reported from Laredo, Jennifer Medina from Los Angeles and Katie Glueck from New York.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/06/us/politics/cuellar-cisneros-abortion-politics.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/06/us/politics/cuellar-cisneros-abortion-politics.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Democrats in Texas' 28th District, with Laredo at its core, face a choice in a runoff between a firmly anti-abortion incumbent and a young abortion-rights supporter.

ENRIQUE BENAVIDES III, a doctor who helps to manage a women's clinic in Laredo. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JASON GARZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Henry Cuellar, who was first elected in 2004, said that as a Catholic, ''I have always been pro-life.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC GAY/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Jessica Cisneros, a lawyer who backs abortion rights, on the campaign trail with Elizabeth Warren. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Some voters in a wealthy Paris suburb consider backing Le Pen.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6599-32V1-DXY4-X3KT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 24, 2022 Sunday 16:09 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 597 words

**Byline:** Constant Méheut

**Highlight:** In Neuilly-sur-Seine, an upscale city west of Paris, Marine Le Pen may gain the votes of those who had supported Éric Zemmour.

**Body**

In Neuilly-sur-Seine, an upscale city west of Paris, Marine Le Pen may gain the votes of those who had supported Éric Zemmour.

NEUILLY-SUR-SEINE, France — [*Marine Le Pen*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/marine-le-pen) has never set her sights on the increasingly affluent Paris region when it comes to rallying voters, preferring instead to focus on poorer areas with a high concentration of ***working-class*** voters. But there is one enclave where she may enjoy an unexpectedly high number of votes this Sunday: Neuilly-sur-Seine, an upscale city west of Paris, and one of the country’s wealthiest.

Two weeks ago, in France’s first-round presidential vote, far-right candidates won an unusual quarter of the vote there. Much of this breakthrough was because of support for [*Éric Zemmour*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/11/world/europe/eric-zemmour-rally-france.html), an [*upstart far-right candidate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/world/europe/zemmour-france-presidency-trump.html), who received only 7 percent of the vote nationally, but garnered nearly 19 percent of the ballots in Neuilly-sur-Seine. Mr. Zemmour’s calls for reborn glory for France — as well as his fame as a [*prolific conservative writer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/06/magazine/eric-zemmour-france-far-right.html) and his championing of pro-business policies — appealed to the city’s bourgeois residents.

But now that Mr. Zemmour is out of the race, some locals may vote for a candidate who once seemed alien to the city’s electoral sociology: Ms. Le Pen.

“We need to do everything we can to save France,” said Caroline Martin, 49, who was leaving a polling station near the Neo-Renaissance City Hall building. An avowed Zemmour supporter, she said she had cast her vote for Ms. Le Pen, though she regretted her lack of charisma and intellectual standing.

“But if you’ve really understood Mr. Zemmour’s message,” she said, pointing to his tough stance on immigration, security and Islam, “you vote against Macron — you vote Le Pen.” She added that all of her friends who backed Mr. Zemmour would vote as she did.

Polls show that about three-quarters of Mr. Zemmour’s supporters will vote for Ms. Le Pen nationwide. Judging by the results of the first round, this would mean that Ms. Le Pen could get as much as 20 percent of the runoff vote in Neuilly-sur-Seine, double her share in the last election. However, Mr. Macron’s support there will likely dwarf that of Ms. Le Pen. The French president garnered nearly half of the vote in the city in the first round.

Mr. Zemmour in the past had pinned his hopes on his ability to [*appeal*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sPX6cnQL21c&amp;ab_channel=%C3%89ricZemmour) to “the patriotic bourgeoisie and the working classes.” But he ended up [*attracting only bourgeois voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/27/world/europe/eric-zemmour-france.html) — who may now turn to Ms. Le Pen.

Sitting on a bench facing City Hall, Jean-Louis Mathieu, who had just voted for Ms. Le Pen, said he was not surprised by the rise of the far right in the wealthy suburb. He attributed it not to the economic hardships that Ms. Le Pen campaigned on — “I don’t have a money problem,” he said — but to a growing sense that “the France we used to know, with values, with respect, doesn’t exist anymore.”

But several Zemmour supporters approaching the City Hall polling station said they were still hesitant to cast a ballot for Ms. Le Pen, a candidate for whom they had never voted in the past and who many considered unfit to govern.

Alain de Font Joyeuse, an 84-year-old retiree, said he preferred Ms. Le Pen’s niece, Marion Maréchal, who recently joined Mr. Zemmour’s party and whom he saw as smarter than her aunt. Still undecided in the polling booth, he said he finally cast a blank ballot.

“Macron, I don’t trust him,” Mr. de Font Joyeuse said. “And Le Pen, I don’t have a good feeling. She has no one to help her govern.”

PHOTO: Voting in Neuilly-sur-Seine on Sunday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andrea Mantovani for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 24, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Iran's Campaign Against Dissent Can't Silence a Jailed Rapper's Message***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68CK-TW51-DXY4-X1VF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 3, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 18; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1527 words

**Byline:** By Holly Dagres

**Body**

It was a balmy 1:30 a.m. nearly a year ago in Shahin Shahr, a city in central Iran, and the rapper Toomaj Salehi was sitting on the roof of his apartment building, jotting down some new lyrics. On the street below, he watched as someone emerged from a small, boxy Saipa Pride and started rummaging through a dumpster.

It was a depressingly familiar sight.

The irony, Mr. Salehi pointed out to me as we briefly DM'd on Twitter that night, is that a Saipa Pride used to be among the most affordable cars in Iran. Now it's 2 billion Iranian rials -- or about $3,900 at the official exchange rate -- while the average minimum salary hovers around $100 a month. ''We're being finished off,'' he wrote, referring to how the clerical establishment is wearing down the people of Iran.

A little over four months later, the dissident Mr. Salehi, 32, was in prison, where he remains. Iranian authorities arrested him in October for supporting the anti-establishment protests that began after Mahsa Amini, a 22-year-old Kurdish Iranian woman, died while in the custody of Iran's morality police after being accused of violating the law requiring that women wear hijab.

Now Mr. Salehi's life is in danger. The Islamic Republic has carried out many executions in recent weeks, and human rights organizations say they believe he is an imminent target. The grisly increase, intended to stamp out dissent, has helped make Iran one of the world's leading executioners.

Its campaign against dissent won't succeed. As the protests that erupted last fall simmer on and repression continues, Iran's Gen Z-ers have made it clear that their demands for change cannot be silenced. Mr. Salehi knows that; his body of music has helped that generation find its voice.

For years, young Iranians have gravitated toward Mr. Salehi's fearlessness and anti-establishment lyrics. He raps in Persian, part of the rap-e-Farsi genre that took off in the 1990s. His idol is Tupac Shakur, and like Mr. Shakur, Mr. Salehi writes about the injustice and inequality that haunt his society -- in Iran's case, poverty, child labor, killings of protesters, executions. He has taken the country's clerics head-on, calling out their corruption, state mismanagement and their increasing repression of society as a whole, all topics that deeply resonate with Iran's fed-up youth.

''The youth and teenagers don't see a future,'' he told me during our chat that night in June 2022. I had contacted him to talk about Iran's Gen Z for my research. ''Aspirations and talents are repressed. People have become disillusioned and nihilistic.''

Born to ***working-class*** parents with ethnic roots in the Bakhtiari tribe, which prides itself on its horse-riding and shooting skills, Mr. Salehi grew up in Iran's central Isfahan Province. He displayed his heritage by sporting a necklace strung with a large single bullet. He once posted a photo of himself wearing traditional Bakhtiari clothing, astride a horse, rifle in hand.

Mr. Salehi's family was also politically active. His father was once a political prisoner for eight years, and his mother was detained briefly. Mr. Salehi did take part in Iran's mandatory conscription. Like his father, he is a mechanical engineer by trade. Before his detention, the two worked together at a metalwork factory in Shahin Shahr.

It was Mr. Salehi's older brother who introduced him to hip-hop, and by the time he was a teenager, he was writing his own lyrics. Iranians need rap as an art form, he said in a video: ''The upper classes have a voice enough. I think rap is the voice of the suffocated throats.''

Despite his motivation, Mr. Salehi struggled to pay to get his work produced; at one point, he sold his household items and even his motorcycle. He was shunned by many underground studios that didn't want to be associated with his openly political lyrics and had to travel to the north to find a producer who was comfortable working with him.

But as public anger has built since December 2017, when one of the largest mass protests since the 1979 revolution began, Mr. Salehi's music found its audience. In his first big hit, ''Rathole,'' he rapped about regime apologists in Iran and abroad, telling them to buy a rathole with the money they received propping up the clerical establishment. The lyrics were so shocking when the song came out in 2021 that many Iranians found it hard to believe the rapper was living in the country when he released it. He had to do an Instagram live to say he was, in fact, based in Iran.

''There has certainly been a history of angry lyrics before Toomaj, given that rap has functioned as a language of protest,'' Nahid Siamdoust, an assistant professor of media and Middle Eastern studies at the University of Texas, Austin, told me. ''What sets Toomaj's music apart and is a new feature is its radical antistate rhetoric.''

After ''Rathole'' went viral in Iran and across the Iranian diaspora, Mr. Salehi was arrested in September 2021. Fans and supporters reacted to the news by starting the social media hashtag FreeToomaj, calling for his release. After being accused of propaganda against the regime, he was released on bail after eight days. The brush with incarceration made him only more defiant. That month, he pinned a tweet that read: ''Shall the pen that doesn't write break. Behold what these people have suffered.''

When the antiregime demonstrations kicked off in September 2022, Mr. Salehi, like many Iranians, found he couldn't sit on the sidelines. Despite the risk of returning to prison, he uploaded videos of his peaceful participation in the protests in the streets of Shahin Shahr and recorded two songs highlighting the bravery and plight of Iran's people. In essence, the artist was now living his art.

''We come to streets like ghosts and become a nightmare for the government,'' he raps in ''Battlefield,'' made during the height of the demonstrations. ''We see the light after this hell. Neither suppression nor execution can stop us. We shout and go forward. Call us roaring fighters.'' In the video for ''Fortune,'' he confronts the clerical establishment directly, sitting across from an anonymous official representing the Islamic Republic and predicting its demise by reading coffee grinds.

Knowing he faced arrest again, Mr. Salehi left his home in Shahin Shahr and, with the help of friends, reportedly moved from one safe house to the next. Not long after his arrest, a purported confession video aired on state television. In it, he was blindfolded, clearly under duress and with bruises on his face. He claimed he had ''made a mistake.'' But his family and fans said he was tortured, as has happened when such videos were recorded by the Iranian intelligence apparatus. They believe he needs urgent medical treatment.

As the protests gripped the world's attention, European lawmakers selected individual Iranian political prisoners and highlighted their cases. A member of Germany's Parliament, Ye-One Rhie, chose Mr. Salehi. According to Ms. Rhie, the rapper has since been charged with ''insulting the leadership,'' ''propaganda against the regime,'' ''cooperation with hostile governments,'' ''inviting people to kill and disturb'' and ''corruption on earth.'' That last charge, which is used against actual or perceived dissidents to quash opposition to the Islamic Republic, could carry a death sentence.

Ms. Rhie said that Mr. Salehi was in solitary confinement and has had limited contact with his lawyer since his arrest. There has been no due process in his case, she said, and a court date hasn't been announced. ''Should one be set, however, we can expect not a trial based on the rule of law but arbitrariness and terror,'' she wrote in an email to me.

The FreeToomaj hashtag is back in circulation. His social media manager, Negin Niknaam, who is based in Germany, told me that the international community plays an integral role in pressuring Iran's leaders by condemning its actions and demanding answers on the health and status of political prisoners like Mr. Salehi.

In a recent Instagram post, Ms. Niknaam wrote that the last thing the rapper said to his father was, ''Dad, is anyone out there talking about me?''

Mr. Salehi knows better than anyone that silence is no longer an option. All the clerical establishment's efforts at breaking the people of Iran for the past four decades have merely been an iron forged in a fire calling for change. His voice is part of the defiant spirit of a new generation of Iranian youth that cannot be broken. The world needs to pay attention. We must keep talking about Toomaj Salehi and what's happening in Iran.

Holly Dagres is an Iranian American who spent her formative years in Iran. She is a nonresident senior fellow in the Atlantic Council's Middle East programs and the author of the Iranians on #SocialMedia report.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/31/opinion/toomaj-salehi-iran.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/31/opinion/toomaj-salehi-iran.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY PATRICK BATARD/HANS LUCAS, VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** June 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Nail-Biter Turkish Election Heads for Round 2 as Majority Eludes Erdogan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:687H-6HD1-DXY4-X4XR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 14, 2023 Sunday 10:26 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1468 words

**Byline:** Ben Hubbard and Gulsin Harman

**Highlight:** After two decades in power, a struggling Recep Tayyip Erdogan has two more weeks to persuade Turkish voters that he should continue as president.

**Body**

After two decades in power, a struggling Recep Tayyip Erdogan has two more weeks to persuade Turkish voters that he should continue as president.

ANKARA, Turkey — Turkey’s presidential election appeared on Sunday to be headed for a runoff after the incumbent, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, failed to win a majority of the vote, a result that left the longtime leader struggling to stave off the toughest political challenge of his career.

The outcome of [*the vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/turkey-election-erdogan.html) set the stage for a two-week battle between Mr. Erdogan and Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the opposition leader, to secure victory in a May 28 runoff that may reshape Turkey’s political landscape.

With the unofficial count nearly completed, Mr. Erdogan received 49.4 percent of the vote to Mr. Kilicdaroglu’s 44.8 percent, according to the state-run Anadolu news agency.

But both sides claimed to be ahead.

“Although the final results are not in yet, we are leading by far,” Mr. Erdogan told supporters gathered outside his party’s headquarters in Ankara, the capital.

Speaking at his own party’s headquarters, Mr. Kilicdaroglu said the vote would express the “nation’s will.” He said, “We are here until each and every vote is counted.’’

The competing claims came early Monday after a nail-biter evening during which each camp accused the other of announcing misleading information. Mr. Erdogan warned the opposition on Twitter against “usurping the national will” and called on his party faithful “not to leave the polling stations, no matter what, until the results are finalized.”

Opposition politicians disputed the preliminary totals reported by Anadolu, saying that their own figures collected directly from polling stations showed Mr. Kilicdaroglu in the lead.

At stake is the course of a NATO member that has managed to unsettle many of its Western allies by maintaining warm ties with the Kremlin. One of the world’s 20 largest economies, Turkey has an array of political and economic ties that span Asia, Africa, Europe and the Middle East, and its domestic and foreign policies could shift profoundly depending on who wins.

The vote was in many ways a [*referendum on the performance*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/05/14/world/turkey-election-erdogan-news/the-election-is-a-referendum-on-erdogans-20-years-as-turkeys-most-powerful-figure?smid=url-share) of Mr. Erdogan, Turkey’s dominant politician for 20 years.

After he became prime minister in 2003, he presided over a period of tremendous economic growth that transformed Turkish cities and lifted millions of Turks out of poverty. Internationally, he was hailed as a new model of a democratic Islamist, one who was pro-business and wanted strong ties with the West.

But over the past decade, Mr. Erdogan’s critics grew both at home and abroad. He faced mass protests against his governing style in 2013, and in 2016, two years after he became president, he survived a coup attempt. Along the way, he seized opportunities to sideline rivals and gather more power into his hands, drawing accusations from the political opposition that he was tipping the country into autocracy.

Since 2018, a sinking currency and inflation that official figures say exceeded 80 percent last year and was 44 percent last month have eroded the value of Turks’ savings and salaries.

Mr. Erdogan’s inability to clinch a victory in the first round of voting on Sunday confirmed a decline in his standing among voters angry with his stewardship of the economy and his consolidation of power. In his last election, in 2018, he won outright against three other candidates with 53 percent of the vote. His closest challenger received 31 percent.

On Sunday, one voter, Fatma Cay, said she had supported Mr. Erdogan in the past but did not do so this time, in part because she was angry at how expensive foodstuffs like onions had become.

“He has forgotten where he comes from,” said Ms. Cay, 70. “This nation can raise someone up, but we also know how to bring someone down.”

Still, she did not flip to Mr. Kilicdaroglu, voting instead for a third candidate, Sinan Ogan, who received about 5 percent of the vote. The elimination of Mr. Ogan could give an edge to Mr. Erdogan in the runoff, as Mr. Ogan’s right-wing nationalist followers are more likely to prefer him.

Mr. Erdogan remains popular with rural, ***working class*** and religious voters, who credit him with developing the country, enhancing its international standing and expanding the rights of devout Muslims in Turkey’s staunchly secular state.

“We just love Erdogan,” said Halil Karaaslan, a retiree. “He has built everything: roads, bridges and drones. People are comfortable and in peace.”

That, Mr. Karaaslan said, was more important than rising prices. “There is no economic crisis,” he said. “Sure, things are expensive, but salaries are almost as high. It balances.”

Seeking to capitalize on voter frustration, a coalition of six opposition parties came together to challenge Mr. Erdogan, backing a joint candidate, Mr. Kilicdaroglu.

Mr. Kilicdaroglu, a former civil servant who ran Turkey’s social security administration before leading Turkey’s largest opposition party, [*campaigned as the antithesis*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/05/14/world/turkey-election-erdogan-news/the-main-presidential-challenger-has-pitched-himself-as-an-everyman) of Mr. Erdogan. Offering a contrast to Mr. Erdogan’s tough-guy rhetoric, Mr. Kilicdaroglu filmed campaign videos in his modest kitchen, talking about daily issues like the price of onions.

Sunday’s vote was also held to determine the makeup of Turkey’s 600-member Parliament, although the results for those seats were not expected until Monday. The Parliament lost significant power when the country changed to a presidential system after a referendum backed by Mr. Erdogan in 2017. The opposition has vowed to return the country to a parliamentary system.

Adding to the importance of these elections for many Turks is that 2023 marks the 100th anniversary of the country’s founding as a republic after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. A national celebration is scheduled for the anniversary, on Oct. 29, and the president will preside over it.

The election was also driven by issues that have long polarized Turkish society, like the proper place for religion in a state committed to strict secularism. In his 11 years as prime minister and nine as president, Mr. Erdogan has expanded religious education and eased rules that restricted religious dress.

Derya Akca, 29, cited her desire to cover her hair as a primary reason she supported Mr. Erdogan’s Justice and Development Party. “They defend my freedom to wear a head scarf, which is the most important factor for me,” said Ms. Akca, who works in an Istanbul clothing store.

She recalled being so embarrassed after a college professor humiliated her in front of the class that she quit school, a decision she now regrets. “I felt like an outsider,” she said. “I now wish I had stayed and fought.”

But elsewhere in the city, Deniz Deniz, the co-owner of a bar popular with the city’s L.G.B.T.Q. community, bemoaned how the number of such establishments had diminished in the past decade of Mr. Erdogan’s tenure.

“I want so much to change,” they said. “I want a country where LGBT+ folk and women aren’t rejected. I want an egalitarian and democratic country.”

In Turkey’s southern region, which was devastated by [*powerful earthquakes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/10/world/middleeast/earthquake-turkey-syria-toll-aid.html) in February that killed more than 50,000 people, many voters took out their anger at the government&#39;s response at the ballot box.

“We had an earthquake and the government didn’t even intervene,” said Rasim Dayanir, a quake survivor who voted for Mr. Kilicdaroglu. “But our minds were made up before the earthquake.”

Mr. Dayanir, 25, had fled the city of Antakya, which was largely destroyed in the quake, but returned with eight family members to vote on Sunday.

He stood amid hundreds of voters who had lined up to vote inside of a primary school. Others cast votes in shipping containers that had been set up to replace destroyed polling places. Mr. Dayanir said his uncle, aunt and other members of his family had been killed in the quake.

“We are hopeful,” he said. “We believe in change.”

Ben Hubbard reported from Ankara, and Gulsin Harman from Istanbul. Reporting was contributed by Elif Ince from Istanbul, Safak Timur from Ankara and Nimet Kirac from Antakya.

Ben Hubbard reported from Ankara, and Gulsin Harman from Istanbul. Reporting was contributed by Elif Ince from Istanbul, Safak Timur from Ankara and Nimet Kirac from Antakya.

PHOTOS: Watching election coverage. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan had 49.4 percent of the vote, and Kemal Kilicdaroglu had 44.8 percent. (A1); A polling station in Istanbul. Both sides claimed to be ahead on Sunday night as the vote narrowed. The candidates will face off again in a runoff election on May 28. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); A rally for President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Istanbul. In his last election, in 2018, he won outright against three other candidates with 53 percent of the vote. His closest challenger got 31 percent. (A8) This article appeared in print on page A1, A8.

**Load-Date:** May 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Can Dems Dodge Doomsday?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64TV-GTB1-DXY4-X0F2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 20, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 9; MAUREEN DOWD

**Length:** 930 words

**Byline:** By Maureen Dowd

**Body**

It may be a TikTok world, but sometimes old hacks know best.

James Carville helped Bill Clinton get elected against stiff odds. David Axelrod helped Barack Obama get elected against stiff odds. And Stan Greenberg was the first to identify the fateful trend of Reagan Democrats.

All three Dems are speaking out with startling candor about the impending Repubocalypse. Many Americans are fed up. The jumbled Covid response has eroded an already shaky trust in government. Inflation is biting. War is looming. Things feel out of control. People are anxious and reassessing their lives. Democrats have to connect with that.

The Democrats are stepping all over themselves. And Republicans are doing all they can to prevent the Democrats from accomplishing anything, and then are trashing them for not doing anything. Voters like to punish the people in power. So if the Democrats don't figure it out, Jim Jordan is going to be running the House and pushing investigations of Biden and Hillary. They can't quit her.

Exhausted, confused, isolated and depressed Americans are not buying the Democratic line that things are better than they look.

Biden's superpower was supposed to be empathy, but nobody's feeling it.

''He is depriving himself of his strongest assets: empathy and an identification with the day-to-day lives of people,'' Axelrod said. ''One of Biden's strengths is that, at his best, he speaks the language of America, not Washington. But he has been speaking more in the voice of government officials than he has of Scranton Joe. He needs to get back there.

''Gary Hart told me the smartest thing I ever heard in politics: 'Washington is always the last to get the news.'''

Axelrod understands, from his days in the White House, that the Biden team is frustrated because they feel the public doesn't appreciate their achievements, and they don't understand why. Biden's advisers are urging him just to sell harder and people will get it. Axelrod disagrees: ''You cannot persuade people if their lived experience is telling them something different. We've been through hell in America and around the world.''

In a Times opinion piece, Axelrod said Biden should avoid ''off-key'' triumphalism in his State of the Union address, and remember the country is traumatized.

Carville, still a Ragin' Cajun, took time out from his Mardi Gras planning to reiterate points he has made in a Vox interview and elsewhere: Democrats should not be defined by their left wing or condone nutty slogans like ''Defund the police.'' They should work not to seem like an ''urban, coastal, arrogant party'' indulging in ''faculty lounge politics'' that appeal to reason rather than emotion and use ''woke'' words like ''Latinx.''

''Seventy percent of the people in San Francisco tried to warn us,'' he said of the battle among Democrats that ended up with voters firing three far-left school board members who mandated a long break from in-person learning during the pandemic and who wanted to rechristen schools named after Abraham Lincoln and George Washington.

''They're not popular,'' Carville said of such far-lefties, adding in a line spoken directly to them: ''People don't like you.''

Right now, he said, Americans are seeing ''confusion and disorder.''

''You've got to give people the sense that they may not be all that happy in 2022 but if they vote for the Republicans, they're going to lose a lot of the things they have now,'' Carville said.

He's mystified about the Trumpified Republicans. ''If there's one thing we were kind of united about, it was that you couldn't trust the Russians,'' he said. ''Now people on Fox are pulling for the Russians. Go figure.'' (Tucker Carlson asked, ''Why is it disloyal to side with Russia but loyal to side with Ukraine?'')

Carville is also flummoxed that Republicans could defend the Jan. 6 madness as ''legitimate political discourse.''

''Ninety-eight percent of people on the Mall on Jan. 6 were white,'' he said. ''We need better white people in the United States.''

In a blunt piece in The American Prospect, Greenberg warned Democrats not to use Obama as a closer in campaigns anymore or to present themselves as the party of Obama.

Once, Democrats believed that Obama's multiracial coolness would animate his party. But his failure to prosecute any bankers after the near-collapse of the economy solidified fears that Wall Street and Washington were in cahoots.

''Obama did not give voice to the hurt and anger that ***working class*** voters were feeling,'' Greenberg wrote, adding that Democratic leaders ''stopped advocating for workers against corporate excess and stopped challenging the exceptional corruption that allowed billionaires and Wall Street to dominate politics. The result is that the Democratic Party has lost touch with all working people, including its own base.''

An Associated Press story's headline echoed his point: '''The Brand Is So Toxic': Dems Fear Extinction in Rural U.S.''

Greenberg said he's tired of trying to warn Democrats that they're driving people away. Fretting about the threat of Trumpism, given that the Democrats are bleeding ***working-class*** voters, including Black and Hispanic ones, he told me, ''If they don't listen this time, we're going to end up with fascism, dammit.''

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/19/opinion/democrats-biden-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/19/opinion/democrats-biden-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Biden. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Al Drago for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 20, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Can Dems Dodge Doomsday?; Maureen Dowd***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64TK-YSS1-DXY4-X4BT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 19, 2022 Saturday 05:00 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 929 words

**Byline:** Maureen Dowd

**Highlight:** Democratic gurus warn party to get real, real fast.

**Body**

It may be a TikTok world, but sometimes old hacks know best.

James Carville helped Bill Clinton get elected against stiff odds. David Axelrod helped Barack Obama get elected against stiff odds. And Stan Greenberg was the first to identify the fateful trend of Reagan Democrats.

All three Dems are speaking out with startling candor about the impending Repubocalypse. Many Americans are fed up. The jumbled Covid response has eroded an already shaky trust in government. Inflation is biting. War is looming. Things feel out of control. People are anxious and reassessing their lives. Democrats have to connect with that.

The Democrats are stepping all over themselves. And Republicans are doing all they can to prevent the Democrats from accomplishing anything, and then are trashing them for not doing anything. Voters like to punish the people in power. So if the Democrats don’t figure it out, Jim Jordan is going to be running the House and pushing investigations of Biden and Hillary. They can’t quit her.

Exhausted, confused, isolated and depressed Americans are not buying the Democratic line that things are better than they look.

Biden’s superpower was supposed to be empathy, but nobody’s feeling it.

“He is depriving himself of his strongest assets: empathy and an identification with the day-to-day lives of people,” Axelrod said. “One of Biden’s strengths is that, at his best, he speaks the language of America, not Washington. But he has been speaking more in the voice of government officials than he has of Scranton Joe. He needs to get back there.

“Gary Hart told me the smartest thing I ever heard in politics: ‘Washington is always the last to get the news.’”

Axelrod understands, from his days in the White House, that the Biden team is frustrated because they feel the public doesn’t appreciate their achievements, and they don’t understand why. Biden’s advisers are urging him just to sell harder and people will get it. Axelrod disagrees: “You cannot persuade people if their lived experience is telling them something different. We’ve been through hell in America and around the world.”

In a Times opinion [*piece*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/14/opinion/biden-state-of-the-union.html), Axelrod said Biden should avoid “off-key” triumphalism in his State of the Union address, and remember the country is traumatized.

Carville, still a Ragin’ Cajun, took time out from his Mardi Gras planning to reiterate points he has made in a Vox interview and elsewhere: Democrats should not be defined by their left wing or condone nutty slogans like “Defund the police.” They should work not to seem like an “urban, coastal, arrogant party” indulging in “faculty lounge politics” that appeal to reason rather than emotion and use “woke” words like “Latinx.”

“Seventy percent of the people in San Francisco tried to warn us,” he said of the battle among Democrats that ended up with voters [*firing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/us/san-francisco-school-board-recall.html) three far-left school board members who mandated a long break from in-person learning during the pandemic and who wanted to rechristen schools named after Abraham Lincoln and George Washington.

“They’re not popular,” Carville said of such far-lefties, adding in a line spoken directly to them: “People don’t like you.”

Right now, he said, Americans are seeing “confusion and disorder.”

“You’ve got to give people the sense that they may not be all that happy in 2022 but if they vote for the Republicans, they’re going to lose a lot of the things they have now,” Carville said.

He’s mystified about the Trumpified Republicans. “If there’s one thing we were kind of united about, it was that you couldn’t trust the Russians,” he said. “Now people on Fox are pulling for the Russians. Go figure.” (Tucker Carlson asked, “Why is it disloyal to side with Russia but loyal to side with Ukraine?”)

Carville is also flummoxed that Republicans could defend the Jan. 6 madness as “legitimate political discourse.”

“Ninety-eight percent of people on the Mall on Jan. 6 were white,” he said. “We need better white people in the United States.”

In a blunt [*piece*](https://prospect.org/politics/democrats-speak-to-working-class-discontent/) in The American Prospect, Greenberg warned Democrats not to use Obama as a closer in campaigns anymore or to present themselves as the party of Obama.

Once, Democrats believed that Obama’s multiracial coolness would animate his party. But his failure to prosecute any bankers after the near-collapse of the economy solidified fears that Wall Street and Washington were in cahoots.

“Obama did not give voice to the hurt and anger that ***working class*** voters were feeling,” Greenberg wrote, adding that Democratic leaders “stopped advocating for workers against corporate excess and stopped challenging the exceptional corruption that allowed billionaires and Wall Street to dominate politics. The result is that the Democratic Party has lost touch with all working people, including its own base.”

An Associated Press [*story*](https://apnews.com/article/joe-biden-elections-pennsylvania-lifestyle-election-2020-fc79679ef54d850c0245f96dac37456c)’s headline echoed his point: “‘The Brand Is So Toxic’: Dems Fear Extinction in Rural U.S.”

Greenberg said he’s tired of trying to warn Democrats that they’re driving people away. Fretting about the threat of Trumpism, given that the Democrats are bleeding ***working-class*** voters, including Black and Hispanic ones, he told me, “If they don’t listen this time, we’re going to end up with fascism, dammit.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: President Biden. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Al Drago for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 20, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Labor’s election strategy is to minimize what opponents can attack.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65H0-JX51-DXY4-X0FS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 21, 2022 Saturday 01:30 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; australia

**Length:** 456 words

**Byline:** Natasha Frost

**Highlight:** The opposition has stressed personality over policy to leave itself less open to criticism from the governing coalition.

**Body**

The opposition has stressed personality over policy to leave itself less open to criticism from the governing coalition.

With the conservative Liberal-National coalition government in power for 19 of the past 25 years and voters appearing primed for change, this election could have been Labor’s to lose.

Prime Minister Scott Morrison, a relative unknown in the last election, has proved to be deeply unpopular, [*especially with female voters*](https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/commentisfree/2022/apr/20/scott-morrisons-low-standing-with-female-voters-could-cost-him-the-election). And Anthony Albanese, the opposition Labor leader, has tried to cast himself as a “reasonable person” to whom many voters can relate.

But the polls have been closer than might have been expected. In response, and perhaps fearing another surprise loss, Labor has kept the focus off policy as much as possible, a strategy known as a “small target” approach intended to minimize the potential for attacks and appeal to a broader base of voters.

The party’s few policy pronouncements have been thoroughly planned but hardly headline grabbing, including [*a promise to rewire the national electricity grid*](https://alp.org.au/policies/rewiring_the_nation) to better integrate renewable energy and a billion-dollar pledge to [*support manufacturing*](https://www.zdnet.com/article/labor-makes-au1-billion-election-promise-to-support-local-industries/).

Only its child care policy, which would significantly increase subsidies, has made a ripple. In response, the governing coalition said it, too, would increase spending on child care, creating [*a spiral of competing policies*](https://www.crikey.com.au/2022/05/19/childcare-policies-labor-surprising/).

“The coalition in many ways is being pulled to the right on a number of issues, and there is an increased effort by Labor to move to the center to try to pick up some of those moderate Liberal voters,” said Natasha Kassam, director of the Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Program at the Lowy Institute, a Sydney think tank.

As a result, she said, Labor has shifted away from some of the more progressive issues that once formed the backbone of its policies.

Chris Wallace, a researcher at the University of Canberra, said that Labor’s strategy of shielding itself from scare tactics by its opponents “was just practicing good politics,” adding that the party had fought a compelling campaign. “It’s been much more disciplined and strategic, and it’s not lumbered with an incredibly unpopular leader,” she said.

Mr. Albanese, who served as deputy prime minister under Julia Gillard, took over as opposition leader after Labor’s upset loss in 2019. He is the child of a single mother who was on a disability pension, and was the first in his family to go to college. He has sought to connect with ***working-class*** voters over his origins.

“He has perfected the projection of the ‘reasonable person’ persona,” Dr. Wallace said.

PHOTO: Of Labor’s policy proposals, only a child care plan is making a significant ripple. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Isabella Moore for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 21, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Inclusive or Alienating? The Language Wars Go On***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67FT-GGY1-DXY4-X11M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 2, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21; NICHOLAS KRISTOF

**Length:** 989 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Kristof

**Body**

Before the millions of views, the subsequent ridicule and finally the earnest apology, The Associated Press Stylebook practically oozed good intentions in its tweet last week:

''We recommend avoiding general and often dehumanizing 'the' labels such as the poor, the mentally ill, the French, the disabled, the college educated.''

''The French''?

Zut alors! The result was a wave of mocking conjecture of how to refer sensitively to, er, people of French persuasion. The French Embassy in the United States proposed changing its name to ''the Embassy of Frenchness.''

The A.P. Stylebook deleted its tweet, citing ''an inappropriate reference to French people.'' But it doubled down in recommending that people avoid general terms with ''the,'' such as ''the poor, the mentally ill, the wealthy, the disabled, the college-educated.''

It's not obvious to me that ''the college-educated'' is a label that dehumanizes people. I'm guessing George Santos wishes he were included in that category.

The flap over the French underscores the ongoing project to revise terminology in ways that are meant to be more inclusive -- but which I fear are counterproductive and end up inviting mockery and empowering the right.

Latino to Latinx. Women to people with uteruses. Homeless to houseless. L.G.B.T. to LGBTQIA2S+. Breastfeeding to chestfeeding. Asian American to A.A.P.I. Ex-felon to returning citizen. Pro-choice to pro-decision. I inhabit the world of words, and even I'm a bit dizzy.

As for my friends who are homeless, what they yearn for isn't to be called houseless; they want housing.

Representative Ritchie Torres, a New York Democrat who identifies as Afro-Latino, noted that a Pew survey found that only 3 percent of Hispanics themselves use the term Latinx.

''I have no personal objection to the term 'Latinx' and will use the term myself before an audience that prefers it,'' Torres told me. ''But it's worth asking if the widespread use of the term 'Latinx' in both government and corporate America reflects the agenda-setting power of white leftists rather than the actual preferences of ***working-class*** Latinos.''

Similarly, terms like BIPOC -- for Black, Indigenous and People of Color -- seem to be employed primarily by white liberals. A national poll for The Times found that white Democrats were more than twice as likely to feel ''very favorable'' toward the term as nonwhite people.

A legitimate concern for transgender men who have uteruses has also led to linguistic gymnastics to avoid the word ''women.'' In an effort to be inclusive, the American Cancer Society recommends cancer screenings for ''individuals with a cervix,'' the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention offers guidance ''for breastfeeding people'' and Cleveland Clinic offers advice for ''people who menstruate.''

The aim is to avoid dehumanizing anyone. But some women feel dehumanized when referred to as ''birthing people,'' or when The Lancet medical journal had a cover about ''bodies with vaginas.''

The American Medical Association put out a 54-page guide on language as a way to address social problems -- oops, it suggests instead using the ''equity-focused'' term ''social injustice.'' The A.M.A. objects to referring to ''vulnerable'' groups and ''underrepresented minority'' and instead advises alternatives such as ''oppressed'' and ''historically minoritized.''

Hmm. If the A.M.A. actually cared about ''equity-focused'' outcomes in the United States, it could simply end its opposition to single-payer health care.

Dr. Irwin Redlener, president emeritus of the Children's Health Fund and a lifelong champion of vulnerable children, told me that the linguistic efforts reflect ''liberals going overboard to create definitions and divisions'' -- and he, like me, is a liberal.

''It actually exacerbates divisions rather than accomplishing something useful,'' Redlener said, and I think he's right.

I'm all for being inclusive in our language, and I try to avoid language that is stigmatizing. But I worry that this linguistic campaign has gone too far, for three reasons.

First, much of this effort seems to me performative rather than substantive. Instead of a spur to action, it seems a substitute for it.

After all, it's the blue cities on the West Coast, where those on the streets are often sensitively described as ''people experiencing homelessness,'' that have some of the highest rates of unsheltered homelessness. How about worrying less about jargon and more about zoning and other evidence-based policies that actually get people into housing?

Second, problems are easier to solve when we use clear, incisive language. The A.M.A. style guide's recommendations for discussing health are instead a wordy model of obfuscation, cant and sloppy analysis.

Third, while this new terminology is meant to be inclusive, it bewilders and alienates millions of Americans. It creates an in-group of educated elites fluent in terms like BIPOC and A.A.P.I. and a larger out-group of baffled and offended voters, expanding the gulf between well-educated liberals and the 62 percent majority of Americans who lack a bachelor's degree -- which is why Republicans like Ron DeSantis have seized upon all things woke.

DeSantis, who boasts that he will oust the ''woke mob,'' strikes me as a prime beneficiary when, say, the Cleveland Clinic explains anatomy like this: ''Who has a vagina? People who are assigned female at birth (AFAB) have vaginas.''

So I fear that our linguistic contortions, however well-meant, aren't actually addressing our country's desperate inequities or achieving progressive dreams, but rather are creating fuel for right-wing leaders aiming to take the country in the opposite direction.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/01/opinion/inclusive-language-vocabulary.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/01/opinion/inclusive-language-vocabulary.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** February 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Mayor Adams Loves a Good Tale. Some of Them May Be Tall.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68C7-DD21-DXY4-X0D6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 1, 2023 Thursday 12:51 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1421 words

**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Highlight:** The New York City mayor has made an art form of telling stories about himself that are nearly impossible to verify, adding fresh details to often-told anecdotes.

**Body**

The New York City mayor has made an art form of telling stories about himself that are nearly impossible to verify, adding fresh details to often-told anecdotes.

If there is one thing that Mayor Eric Adams has shown in his rise to power in New York City, it’s that he knows the value of telling a good story.

There was the one about the family’s pet rat, Mickey, and the one about the gang fight, when he got hit in the head with a bat with a nail in it.

And just last week, Mr. Adams recalled a new detail from the oft-told story of his teenage arrest: Soon after he was taken into custody, he said, the police discovered he was carrying fake gold chains.

“I used to go and sell them on Canal Street to the tourists,” he said at a community event. “Listen, the statute of limitations is over.”

Two days later, Mr. Adams casually mentioned that he had been a skateboarder and “knew how to do a few tricks.” [*Ample evidence*](https://defector.com/to-restore-public-trust-new-york-mayor-eric-adams-must-do-a-kickflip), including his very brief attempt at [*gingerly boarding*](https://twitter.com/stvburns/status/1500897568657756164?s=61&amp;t=e_PKPD5mSSlAeNnsQP5ujA) a skateboard last year, suggests he may be rusty.

You could look it up, as Casey Stengel, the fabled New York Yankees manager, was [*fond of saying*](https://www.nytimes.com/1991/03/03/books/l-you-can-look-it-up-577891.html) many decades ago. But in the mayor’s case, you often cannot.

Since beginning his run for mayor in 2021, Mr. Adams has made an art form of telling stories about himself that are nearly impossible to verify, often adding fresh details to well-worn anecdotes.

Many of his stories seem intended for dramatic effect to help him connect to voters, rather than mislead them, as Representative George Santos did in misrepresenting his education, work history and background. But when Mr. Adams’s tendency to hyperbole strays into policy, there are more serious implications.

In early May, the mayor twice claimed that New York City schoolchildren “start their day going to the corner bodega buying cannabis and fentanyl,” despite there being [*little evidence*](https://hellgatenyc.com/eric-adams-fentanyl-laced-cannabis-children) of the trend.

The mayor recently told reporters that nearly half of New York City’s hotel rooms were occupied by migrants, suggesting that the influx of asylum seekers was hurting the tourism industry and taking rooms away from vacationers.

City Hall officials later walked back Mr. Adams’s claim, explaining that the mayor had meant to say that migrants had taken up 40 percent of the occupancy in the city’s midsize hotels. [*Hotel industry leaders said that migrants had not hurt tourism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/22/nyregion/hotel-nyc-migrants.html) and that more than 20,000 rooms remained unoccupied.

Mr. Adams has also tried to put pressure on federal officials to help pay for what his administration is estimating will be $4.3 billion in migrant-related costs by next summer — even though the Independent Budget Office has said the price tag should actually be between $2.7 billion and $3.7 billion.

“At a time when the city is facing real crises, how can New Yorkers tell if the mayor is telling the truth when he keeps misleading them?” said Monica Klein, a Democratic political strategist and a deputy press secretary for former Mayor Bill de Blasio.

Part of the mayor’s campaign strategy involved highlighting his ***working-class*** upbringing, underscoring the challenges he said he faced growing up in Queens and his understanding of the struggles that many New Yorkers face.

By the time he was 17, he has said, he had been a so-called squeegee man, a gang member and a victim of police brutality.

Mr. Adams’s press secretary, Fabien Levy, questioned the fairness of suggesting that “memories from the mayor’s youth and young adult life never happened without anything to substantiate these suggestions.”

“In his 62 years on this planet, the mayor has experienced more than 32 million moments, the vast majority of which have not been documented by even the most zealous members of the New York City press corps,” Mr. Levy said, apparently suggesting that Mr. Adams has, on average, had a moment for each minute of his life.

Even the mayor’s foundational story — his arrest and subsequent beating by two police officers — has undergone revisions.

He had long said that he and his older brother entered the home of a prostitute to take money she owed them for running errands. By late 2021, in an interview with The Times, Mr. Adams had changed the occupation of the woman to “a go-go dancer who we were helping that broke her leg.”

Kenneth Sherrill, a professor emeritus of political science at Hunter College in Manhattan, said that some of the mayor’s exaggerations or dramatic anecdotes appear to stem from his eagerness to connect with New Yorkers.

“Maybe I’m being too generous, but it’s entirely possible that this is his way of saying, ‘Listen, I understand where you’re coming from — I’ve experienced things like this, too,’” he said. “And then comes the fable which has some basis in truth.”

Indeed, in recent weeks, Mr. Adams has told worshipers that he received a divine message [*telling him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/04/nyregion/adams-religion-prayer.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&amp;referringSource=articleShare) to “talk about God, Eric.” He spoke about the fake gold chains a block or so away from the former Spofford Juvenile Center in the Bronx, where Mr. Adams said he was held after his arrest.

And his window washing story came in the late stages of the 2021 mayoral race, when [*Mr. Adams was asked about the nuisance of squeegee men in Midtown Manhattan*](https://nypost.com/2021/06/01/eric-adams-i-was-once-a-squeegee-man-and-i-know-how-to-deal-with-it/). He said that he understood their plight because when he was 17, he, too, washed car windows at street corners.

“I had a dirty rag with some Windex that I watered down, and used to stand at the corner of Jamaica Avenue washing windows so I could save up enough money to give my mother the money so we could have a meal to eat,” Mr. Adams told reporters.

I. Daneek Miller, a former City Council member from Queens and a political ally of the mayor, said that part of Mr. Adams’s allure was his ability to connect with ordinary New Yorkers, in part by relating shared experiences.

“You can’t govern from an ivory tower, sending out memorandums saying, ‘I want everyone to do this,’ without them knowing why,” Mr. Miller said. “You have to get buy-in.”

On the rare occasion when the mayor is presented with evidence of a lie, he has clung to the “perfectly imperfect” defense.

When Mr. Adams, an evangelist for veganism who wrote a book about his diet, was confronted by reporters last year over witness accounts of him eating fish, he first sought to rebuff the queries, while his top aide denied the accusations. He finally acknowledged, “I am perfectly imperfect and have occasionally eaten fish.”

He used that phrase again last week when he was asked about his story of selling gold chains.

“When I go through my journals that I’ve been keeping for a long time, I look at a whole lot of things that have not been told,” he said. “All I can tell you is that you’re looking at a perfectly imperfect mayor that has gone through a lot, and I’m qualified to help people who are going through a lot.”

There have been other concessions. Mr. Adams said that he graduated from Bayside High School in 1978, but he actually graduated in January 1979, according to a copy of his high school transcript. Asked about the discrepancy, Mr. Adams acknowledged that he graduated late.

At a 2019 commencement address, Mr. Adams told a story about intimidating a neighbor whose dog was befouling his yard. He [*acknowledged to The Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/23/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html) in 2021 that the tale had been co-opted from another source. It was not that it didn’t happen, he said; it just didn’t happen to him.

There were also campaign questions about where Mr. Adams lived — a topic still somewhat unresolved. After concerns were raised about whether Mr. Adams actually lived in Fort Lee, N.J., he invited the news media into a property he owns in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, hoping to prove that he lived there. But questions persisted: The Brooklyn apartment included non-vegan food and sneakers that appeared to belong to his son.

As for being an experienced skateboarder, Mr. Adams is sticking to his story.

On Tuesday, the mayor’s office put out a statement insisting that Mr. Adams had skated as a child nearly a half century ago, asserting that he had made his own skateboard with metal wheels and a piece of plywood.

There were no skate parks then, nor was there a World Skateboarding Federation, Mr. Levy, the mayor’s press secretary, said. So Mr. Adams made simple ramps with cinder blocks and plywood. “It was called skate, fall and get your ass up,” Mr. Levy said.

Jeffery C. Mays contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams mentioned at the Brooklyn Banks reopening that he had been a skateboarder and “knew how to do a few tricks.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY LANNA APISUKH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

**Load-Date:** June 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Inclusive or Alienating? The Language Wars Go On; Nicholas Kristof***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67FS-5YP1-JBG3-60BM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 1, 2023 Wednesday 16:10 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 975 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Kristof

**Highlight:** New vocabulary is supposed to be supportive. But terms like “bodies with vaginas” just antagonize voters and empower the right.

**Body**

Before the millions of views, the subsequent ridicule and finally the earnest apology, [*The Associated Press Stylebook*](https://www.apstylebook.com/) practically oozed good intentions in its tweet last week:

“We recommend avoiding general and often dehumanizing ‘the’ labels such as the poor, the mentally ill, the French, the disabled, the college educated.”

“The French”?

Zut alors! [*The result*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/27/world/europe/ap-stylebook-the-french.html) was a wave of mocking conjecture of how to refer sensitively to, er, people of French persuasion. The French Embassy in the United States proposed changing its name to “the Embassy of Frenchness.”

The A.P. Stylebook deleted its tweet, [*citing*](https://twitter.com/APStylebook/status/1619005157508845568) “an inappropriate reference to French people.” But it doubled down in recommending that people avoid general terms with “the,” such as “the poor, the mentally ill, the wealthy, the disabled, the college-educated.”

It’s not obvious to me that “the college-educated” is a label that dehumanizes people. I’m guessing George Santos wishes he were included in that category.

The flap over the French underscores the ongoing project to revise terminology in ways that are meant to be more inclusive — but which I fear are counterproductive and end up inviting mockery and empowering the right.

Latino to Latinx. Women to [*people with uteruses*](https://www.northwestern.edu/brand/editorial-guidelines/inclusive-language-guide/gender-sexual-identity/). [*Homeless to houseless*](https://blanchethouse.org/homeless-houseless-unhoused-glossary-about-homelessness/). L.G.B.T. to LGBTQIA2S+. Breastfeeding to chestfeeding. Asian American to A.A.P.I. Ex-felon to returning citizen. Pro-choice [*to pro-decision*](https://www.care-net.org/abundant-life-blog/carecast-pro-choice-pro-decision). I inhabit the world of words, and even I’m a bit dizzy.

As for [*my friends*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/opinion/sunday/deaths-despair-poverty.html) who [*are homeless*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/13/opinion/sunday/working-class-dignity.html), what they yearn for isn’t to be called houseless; they want housing.

Representative Ritchie Torres, a New York Democrat who identifies as Afro-Latino, noted that a Pew survey [*found*](https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2020/08/11/about-one-in-four-u-s-hispanics-have-heard-of-latinx-but-just-3-use-it/) that only 3 percent of Hispanics themselves use the term Latinx.

“I have no personal objection to the term ‘Latinx’ and will use the term myself before an audience that prefers it,” Torres told me. “But it’s worth asking if the widespread use of the term ‘Latinx’ in both government and corporate America reflects the agenda-setting power of white leftists rather than the actual preferences of ***working-class*** Latinos.”

Similarly, terms like BIPOC — for Black, Indigenous and People of Color — seem to be employed primarily by white liberals. A national [*poll*](https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2021-11/Topline%20NYT%20Race%20Identity%20060821%20.pdf) for The Times found that white Democrats were more than [*twice as likely*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/us/terminology-language-politics.html) to feel “very favorable” toward the term as nonwhite people.

A legitimate concern for transgender men who have uteruses has also led to linguistic gymnastics to avoid the word “women.” In an effort to be inclusive, the American Cancer Society [*recommends*](https://www.cancer.org/cancer/cervical-cancer/detection-diagnosis-staging/cervical-cancer-screening-guidelines.html) cancer screenings for “individuals with a cervix,” the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention offers guidance “[*for breastfeeding people*](https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/hcp/care-for-breastfeeding-people.html)” and Cleveland Clinic [*offers*](https://my.clevelandclinic.org/health/diseases/24288-pms-premenstrual-syndrome) advice for “people who menstruate.”

The aim is to avoid dehumanizing anyone. But some women feel dehumanized when referred to as “[*birthing people*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/08/us/women-gender-aclu-abortion.html),” or when The Lancet had a cover about “[*bodies with vaginas*](https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10035415/Lancet-editor-apologises-calling-women-bodies-vaginas-medical-journals-cover.html).”

The American Medical Association put out a [*54-page guide*](https://www.ama-assn.org/system/files/ama-aamc-equity-guide.pdf) on language as a way to address social problems — oops, it suggests instead using the “equity-focused” term “social injustice.” The A.M.A. objects to referring to “vulnerable” groups and “underrepresented minority” and instead advises alternatives such as “oppressed” and “historically minoritized.”

Hmm. If the A.M.A. actually cared about “equity-focused” outcomes in the United States, it could simply [*end its opposition*](https://www.newyorker.com/science/annals-of-medicine/the-fight-within-the-american-medical-association) to single-payer health care.

[*Dr. Irwin Redlener*](https://irwinredlener.org/), president emeritus of the Children’s Health Fund and a lifelong champion of vulnerable children, told me that the linguistic efforts reflect “liberals going overboard to create definitions and divisions” — and he, like me, is a liberal.

“It actually exacerbates divisions rather than accomplishing something useful,” Redlener said, and I think he’s right.

I’m all for being inclusive in our language, and I try to avoid language that is stigmatizing. But I worry that this linguistic campaign has [*gone too far*](https://newrepublic.com/article/167792/left-language-problem-style-guide-liberalism), for three reasons.

First, much of this effort seems to me performative rather than substantive. Instead of a spur to action, it seems a substitute for it.

After all, it’s the blue cities on the West Coast, where those on the streets are often sensitively described as “people experiencing homelessness,” that have some of the highest rates of unsheltered homelessness. How about worrying less about jargon and more about zoning and other evidence-based policies that actually get people into housing?

Second, problems are easier to solve when we use clear, incisive language. The A.M.A. style guide’s recommendations for discussing health are instead a wordy model of obfuscation, cant and [*sloppy analysis*](https://www.slowboring.com/p/the-amas-advancing-health-equity?utm).

Third, while this new terminology is meant to be inclusive, it bewilders and alienates millions of Americans. It creates an in-group of educated elites fluent in terms like BIPOC and A.A.P.I. and a larger out-group of baffled and offended voters, expanding the gulf between well-educated liberals and the [*62 percent*](https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2022/educational-attainment.html) of Americans 25 or older who lack a bachelor’s degree — which is why Republicans like Ron DeSantis have seized upon all things woke.

DeSantis, who boasts that he will oust the “woke mob,” strikes me as a prime beneficiary when, say, the Cleveland Clinic explains anatomy like [*this*](https://my.clevelandclinic.org/health/body/22469-vagina): “Who has a vagina? People who are assigned female at birth (AFAB) have vaginas.”

So I fear that our linguistic contortions, however well-meant, aren’t actually addressing our country’s desperate inequities or achieving progressive dreams, but rather are creating fuel for right-wing leaders aiming to take the country in the opposite direction.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** February 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The G.O.P.'s Fiscal Hawks Fly Far Away From Deficit Fights***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6821-3YF1-JBG3-6345-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 19, 2023 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18; POLITICAL MEMO

**Length:** 1268 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

After a decade of rising deficits and soaring debt, the top White House contenders, Donald Trump and Ron DeSantis, show little interest in battling over the nation's finances.

The first skirmish of the Republican presidential primary of 2024 broke through this weekend. It was not over a traditional theme of conservative politics, such as national defense, or more contemporary issues like immigration or ''woke'' social policy.

Instead, the political organizations of former President Donald J. Trump and Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida put their candidates forward as the guardians of the Democratic Party's most precious policy legacies: Social Security and Medicare.

The jousting between Mr. Trump, the front-runner for the Republican nomination, and Mr. DeSantis, his undeclared and closest rival, signaled that after a decade of rising deficits, soaring debt and political silence from both parties, any grappling with the nation's worsening fiscal condition will not be shaped by the Republican White House contenders. The party that once prided itself on cleareyed fiscal truth-telling -- a message marred, without doubt, by successive tax-cutting -- is still having none of it.

And that signal came at a most inopportune moment, as House Republican leaders are girding for a fight over the government's borrowing limit, linking any increase in the debt ceiling with tough spending cuts that the leaders of the party in 2024 show no interest in.

''The facts are still on our side, and history is on our side,'' said Douglas Holtz-Eakin, a former director of the Congressional Budget Office who guided the fiscal policies of John McCain's 2008 presidential campaign. ''It's just a bad era.''

There was nothing particularly Republican in the exchange of advertisements posted by the super PACs of Mr. Trump and Mr. DeSantis. On Friday, Make America Great Again Inc., a Trump-aligned political action committee, started running an advertisement declaring, ''DeSantis has his dirty fingers all over senior entitlements, like cutting Medicare, slashing Social Security, even raising our retirement age.''

The DeSantis-linked Never Back Down PAC responded by accusing Mr. Trump of ''repeating lies about Social Security,'' then showed Mr. DeSantis saying, ''We're not going to mess with Social Security as Republicans.''

With that backdrop, Speaker Kevin McCarthy of California went on Monday to the New York Stock Exchange to try to prod President Biden into negotiations on the deficit, telling leaders in finance, ''I want to talk to you about the debate that is not happening in Washington but should be happening over our national debt,'' then adding, ''America deserves to hear the truth.''

The problem with that truth is the math: With Republicans vowing once again not to raise taxes, exempting Social Security and Medicare from spending cuts would mean everything else funded by the federal government -- the military, veterans' programs, Medicaid, medical research, education, energy development -- would need to be cut by 52 percent to balance the budget by 2033, according to the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, a nonpartisan research and advocacy group that is highly critical of both parties.

If the Social Security and Medicare exemption was extended to the military at a time when Republicans want to confront the threat from China, everything else needs to be cut by 70 percent. If veterans' programs were also protected, Medicaid and a host of other programs -- food stamps, NASA, the National Institutes of Health, agricultural subsidies, food safety inspections, federal student aid, air traffic controllers, weather forecasters, National Parks, health care for the poor and self-employed, and much more -- would need to be cut by 78 percent.

''It used to be that everybody fought for political giveaways, but in the end, everybody knew the truth, so there was room for trade-offs and hard compromises,'' said Maya MacGuineas, the president of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. ''There is no good, hard governance anymore.''

It has been just over a decade since Mitt Romney, the Republican presidential nominee, selected as his running mate the party's embodiment of hair-shirt policymaking, Paul D. Ryan. At the time, then-Representative Ryan did not flinch in his assertions that the retiring baby boom generation made benefit cuts to Social Security and Medicare absolutely vital to the nation's future.

And as a House member a decade ago, Mr. DeSantis readily embraced what was then the mainstream Republican position, voting repeatedly for Ryan-style changes to Social Security and Medicare that went nowhere, and promoting the restructuring of entitlements to make them ''sustainable over the long term.''

But in the loss of the Romney-Ryan ticket in 2012, Mr. Trump saw a lesson for his own presidential aspirations. And four years later, the business executive and reality television star ran on the improbable pledge to balance the budget, pay off the entire federal debt and never ever cut Social Security and Medicare.

''Trump figured out in 2016 that an older, more ***working class***, more populist party would become increasingly against fixing Social Security and Medicare, and he was right,'' said Brian Riedl, who served as a budget adviser to former Senator Rob Portman of Ohio and is now a senior fellow at the conservative Manhattan Institute. ''It's clearly good politics to recast yourself as the defender of Social Security and Medicare. It's just bad for the country.''

Deficits rose every year of the Trump presidency, from the $590 billion he inherited in the 2016 fiscal year, to $670 billion in 2017, $780 billion in 2018, $980 billion the following year, then a staggering $3.13 trillion in the pandemic year of 2020. By Mr. Riedl's calculations, Mr. Trump added $7.8 trillion in deficit spending over 10 years through legislation and executive orders during his four years.

That Mr. Trump fulfilled none of his promises of fiscal rectitude did not seem to matter; fiscal policy hardly came up during the campaign of 2020 and has not exactly reverberated in the Biden years either.

''Neither Donald Trump nor Joe Biden has shown any interest in disciplining spending,'' said Judd Gregg, a Republican and former New Hampshire senator who made a career of pushing for long-term deficit reduction. ''But inevitably this comes to an end at some point -- a herd of elephants coming over the horizon.''

The herd is coming in two forms. The first is the aging baby boom generation, which is already driving up Social Security and Medicare costs. The number of Social Security recipients will rise from 44 million in 2010 to 73 million in 2030, raising Social Security spending from 4.8 percent of the economy to 5.9 percent.

The second is interest on the national debt, which must cover interest rates that are rising after years of rock-bottom prices, driving up the cost of serving the government's $31 trillion debt. After steep declines in the 2021 and 2022 fiscal years that Mr. Biden bragged about on Tuesday, the federal deficit in the first half of 2023 reached $1.1 trillion, according to the Congressional Budget Office, up $430 billion from the first half of the previous fiscal year. Interest payments rose from $219 billion to $308 billion, a 41 percent leap that put debt servicing nearly on par with military spending.

''You can't have interest payments that are higher than defense payments, yet that's the track we're on in the next five years,'' Ms. MacGuineas said. ''We're the frog in the boiling water.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/18/us/politics/trump-desantis-deficit.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/18/us/politics/trump-desantis-deficit.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Donald J. Trump and Ron DeSantis deplore both the deficit and the best ways to reduce it: raising taxes and cutting entitlements. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** April 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A Rapper’s Detention Shows Iran’s Crackdown Is Failing; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68C0-83X1-DXY4-X3W7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 31, 2023 Wednesday 21:44 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1530 words

**Byline:** Holly Dagres

**Highlight:** The imprisoned rapper Toomaj Salehi’s life is in danger as Iran ramps up executions. But the message of his music hasn’t gone away.

**Body**

It was a balmy 1:30 a.m. nearly a year ago in Shahin Shahr, a city in central Iran, and the rapper Toomaj Salehi was sitting on the roof of his apartment building, jotting down some new lyrics. On the street below, he watched as someone emerged from a small, boxy Saipa Pride and started rummaging through a dumpster.

It was a depressingly familiar sight.

The irony, Mr. Salehi pointed out to me as we briefly DM’d on Twitter that night, is that a Saipa Pride used to be among the most affordable cars in Iran. Now it’s 2 billion Iranian rials — or about $3,900 at the official exchange rate — while the average minimum [*salary*](https://www.khabaronline.ir/newshovers around $100 a month. “We’re being finished off,” he wrote, referring to how the clerical establishment is wearing down the people of Iran.

A little over four months later, the dissident Mr. Salehi, 32, was in prison, where he remains. Iranian authorities arrested him in October for supporting the anti-establishment protests that began after Mahsa Amini, a 22-year-old Kurdish Iranian woman, died while in the custody of Iran’s morality police after being accused of violating the law requiring that women wear hijab.

Now Mr. Salehi’s life is in danger. The Islamic Republic has carried out [*many executions in recent weeks*](https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/05/12/iran-alarming-surge-executions), and human rights [*organizations*](https://iranhumanrights.org/2023/04/imprisoned-dissident-rapper-toomaj-salehi-voice-of-irans-protests-faces-possible-execution/) say they believe he is an imminent target. The grisly increase, intended to stamp out dissent, has helped make Iran one of the world’s [*leading executioners*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/16/world/middleeast/executions-2022-amnesty-international.html).

Its campaign against dissent won’t succeed. As the protests that erupted last fall simmer on and repression continues, Iran’s Gen Z-ers have made it clear that their demands for change cannot be silenced. Mr. Salehi knows that; his body of music has helped that generation find its voice.

For years, young Iranians have gravitated toward Mr. Salehi’s fearlessness and anti-establishment lyrics. He raps in Persian, part of the rap-e-Farsi genre that took off in the 1990s. His idol is Tupac Shakur, and like Mr. Shakur, Mr. Salehi writes about the injustice and inequality that haunt his society — in Iran’s case, poverty, child labor, killings of protesters, executions. He has taken the country’s clerics head-on, calling out their corruption, state mismanagement and their increasing repression of society as a whole, all topics that deeply resonate with Iran’s fed-up youth.

“The youth and teenagers don’t see a future,” he told me during our chat that night in June 2022. I had contacted him to talk about Iran’s Gen Z for [*my research*](https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/11/01/iran-protests-gen-z-mahsa-amini-social-media/). “Aspirations and talents are repressed. People have become disillusioned and nihilistic.”

Born to ***working-class*** parents with ethnic roots in the Bakhtiari tribe, which prides itself on its horse-riding and shooting skills, Mr. Salehi grew up in Iran’s central Isfahan Province. He displayed his heritage by sporting a necklace strung with a large single bullet. He once posted a [*photo*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CXqtaCpsvJx/) of himself wearing traditional Bakhtiari clothing, astride a horse, rifle in hand.

Mr. Salehi’s family was also politically active. His father was once a political prisoner for eight years, and his mother was detained briefly. Mr. Salehi did take part in Iran’s mandatory conscription. Like his father, he is a mechanical engineer by [*trade*](https://www.bbc.com/persian/articles/c03nxyydx6no). Before his detention, the two worked together at a metalwork factory in Shahin Shahr.

It was Mr. Salehi’s older brother who [*introduced*](https://www.bbc.com/persian/articles/c03nxyydx6no) him to hip-hop, and by the time he was a teenager, he was writing his own lyrics. Iranians need rap as an art form, he said in a [*video*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CpU8Jvujgwu/?hl=en): “The upper classes have a voice enough. I think rap is the voice of the suffocated throats.”

Despite his motivation, Mr. Salehi struggled to pay to get his work produced; at one point, he sold his household items and even his motorcycle. He was shunned by many underground studios that didn’t want to be associated with his openly political lyrics and had to travel to the north to find a producer who was comfortable working with him.

But as public anger has built since December 2017, when one of the largest mass protests since the 1979 revolution began, Mr. Salehi’s music found its audience. In his first big hit, “[*Rathole*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oc0QAY-hy38),” he rapped about regime apologists in Iran and abroad, telling them to buy a rathole with the money they received propping up the clerical establishment. The lyrics were so shocking when the song came out in 2021 that many Iranians found it hard to believe the rapper was living in the country when he released it. He had to do an Instagram live to say he was, in fact, based in Iran.

“There has certainly been a history of angry lyrics before Toomaj, given that rap has functioned as a language of protest,” Nahid Siamdoust, an assistant professor of media and Middle Eastern studies at the University of Texas, Austin, told me. “What sets Toomaj’s music apart and is a new feature is its radical antistate rhetoric.”

After “Rathole” went viral in Iran and across the Iranian diaspora, Mr. Salehi was [*arrested*](https://www.rferl.org/a/iran-rapper-charged-propaganda/31473007.html) in September 2021. Fans and supporters reacted to the news by starting the social media hashtag [*FreeToomaj*](https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2021/09/16/Iran-arrests-bold-rapper-who-blasted-regime-apologists-Rights-group), calling for his release. After being [*accused*](https://iranwire.com/en/features/70393/) of propaganda against the regime, he was released on bail after eight days. The brush with incarceration made him only more defiant. That month, he pinned a [*tweet*](https://twitter.com/OfficialToomaj/status/1441475427650793472?s=20) that read: “Shall the pen that doesn’t write break. Behold what these people have suffered.”

When the antiregime demonstrations kicked off in September 2022, Mr. Salehi, like many Iranians, found he couldn’t sit on the sidelines. Despite the risk of returning to prison, he uploaded videos of his peaceful participation in the protests in the streets of Shahin Shahr and recorded two songs highlighting the bravery and plight of Iran’s people. In essence, the artist was now living his art.

“We come to streets like ghosts and become a nightmare for the government,” he raps in “Battlefield,” made during the height of the demonstrations. “We see the light after this hell. Neither suppression nor execution can stop us. We shout and go forward. Call us roaring fighters.” In the video for “[*Fortune*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jpi7d_uQ5Ec),” he confronts the clerical establishment directly, sitting across from an anonymous official representing the Islamic Republic and predicting its demise by reading coffee grinds.

Knowing he faced arrest again, Mr. Salehi left his home in Shahin Shahr and, with the help of friends, reportedly moved from one safe house to the next. Not long after his [*arrest*](https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/iran-protests-mahsa-amini-rapper-toomaj-salehi-faces-death-penalty-rcna61636), a purported confession [*video*](https://iranhumanrights.org/2023/04/imprisoned-dissident-rapper-toomaj-salehi-voice-of-irans-protests-faces-possible-execution/) aired on state television. In it, he was blindfolded, clearly under duress and with bruises on his face. He claimed he had “made a mistake.” But his family and fans said he was tortured, as has happened when such videos were recorded by the Iranian intelligence apparatus. They believe he needs urgent medical treatment.

As the protests gripped the world’s attention, European lawmakers selected individual Iranian political prisoners and [*highlighted*](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/dec/16/european-mps-seek-to-publicise-plight-of-jailed-iranian-protesters) their cases. A member of Germany’s Parliament, Ye-One Rhie, chose Mr. Salehi. According to Ms. Rhie, the rapper has since been charged with “insulting the leadership,” “propaganda against the regime,” “cooperation with hostile governments,” “inviting people to kill and disturb” and “corruption on earth.” That last charge, which is used against actual or perceived dissidents to quash opposition to the Islamic Republic, could carry a death sentence.

Ms. Rhie said that Mr. Salehi was in solitary confinement and has had limited contact with his lawyer since his arrest. There has been no due process in his case, she said, and a court date hasn’t been announced. “Should one be set, however, we can expect not a trial based on the rule of law but arbitrariness and terror,” she wrote in an email to me.

The [*FreeToomaj*](https://twitter.com/hashtag/freetoomaj?ref_src=twsrc%25255Egoogle%25257Ctwcamp%25255Eserp%25257Ctwgr%25255Ehashtag) hashtag is back in circulation. His social media manager, Negin Niknaam, who is based in Germany, told me that the international community plays an integral role in pressuring Iran’s leaders by condemning its actions and demanding answers on the health and status of political prisoners like Mr. Salehi.

In a recent Instagram post, Ms. Niknaam wrote that the last thing the rapper [*said*](https://www.instagram.com/p/Croki2hOXX5/?hl=en) to his father was, “Dad, is anyone out there talking about me?”

Mr. Salehi knows better than anyone that silence is no longer an option. All the clerical establishment’s efforts at breaking the people of Iran for the past four decades have merely been an iron forged in a fire calling for change. His voice is part of the defiant spirit of a new generation of Iranian youth that cannot be broken. The world needs to pay attention. We must keep talking about Toomaj Salehi and what’s happening in Iran.

Holly Dagres is an Iranian American who spent her formative years in Iran. She is a nonresident senior fellow in the Atlantic Council’s Middle East programs and the author of the Iranians on #SocialMedia report.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY PATRICK BATARD/HANS LUCAS, VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** June 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Offering No Apologies, Macron Weathers Pension Crisis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67V1-XPK1-JBG3-60KW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 22, 2023 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1190 words

**Byline:** By Roger Cohen

**Body**

Amid protests in the streets and in Parliament, the French leader shows no sign of scrapping a law that raises the retirement age.

PARIS -- President Emmanuel Macron's re-election program last year was short on detail. His mind seemed elsewhere, chiefly on the war in Ukraine. But on one thing he was clear: He would raise the retirement age in France to 65 from 62.

''You will have to work progressively more,'' he said during a debate in April 2022 with the extreme-right candidate, Marine Le Pen. She attacked the idea as ''an absolutely unbearable injustice'' that would condemn French people to retirement ''when they are no longer able to enjoy it.''

France heard both candidates. Soon after, Mr. Macron was re-elected with 58.55 percent of the vote to Ms. Le Pen's 41.45 percent. It was a clear victory, and it was clear what Mr. Macron would do on the question of pensions.

Yet his ramming the overhaul through Parliament last week without a full vote on the bill itself culminated in turmoil, mayhem on the streets and two failed no-confidence votes against his government on Monday, even as polls have consistently shown about 65 percent of French people are opposed to raising the retirement age.

Had they not heard him? Had they changed their minds? Had circumstances changed? Perhaps the answer lies, above all, in the nature of Mr. Macron's victory, as he himself acknowledged on election night last year.

Looking somber, speaking in an uncharacteristically flat monotone, Mr. Macron told a crowd of supporters in Paris: ''I also know that a number of our compatriots voted for me today not to support the ideas that I uphold, but to block the extreme right. I want to thank them and say that I am aware that I have obligations toward them in the years to come.''

''Those 'obligations' could only be a promise to negotiate on major reforms,'' Nicole Bacharan, a social scientist, said on Tuesday. ''He did not negotiate, even with moderate union leaders. What I see now is Macron's complete disconnection from the country.''

Opposition parties on both the left and the right have vowed to file challenges against the pension law before the Constitutional Council, which reviews legislation to ensure it complies with the French Constitution.

''The goal,'' said Thomas Ménagé of Ms. Le Pen's National Rally party, ''is to ensure that this text falls into the dustbin of history.''

But the chances of that appear remote.

After a long silence, Mr. Macron is set to address the turmoil on Wednesday. He will try to conciliate; he will, according to officials close to him, portray the current standoff as a battle between democratic institutions and the chaos of the street, orchestrated by the extreme left and slyly encouraged by the extreme right. He has decided to stick with his current government, led by Élisabeth Borne, the prime minister, and he will not dissolve Parliament or call new elections, they say.

In short, it seems Mr. Macron has decided to tough out the crisis, perhaps offering some blandishments on improving vocational high schools and broader on-the-job training. But certainly no apology appears to be forthcoming for using a legal tool, Article 49.3 of the Constitution, to avoid a full parliamentary vote on a change that has split the country. (Only the Senate, the upper house, voted to pass the bill this month.)

This approach appears consistent with Mr. Macron's chosen tactics on the pension overhaul. Since the debate with Ms. Le Pen 11 months ago, inflation has risen, energy prices have gone up, and the pressures, particularly on the poorer sectors of French society, have grown.

Yet, while he has made some concessions, including setting the new retirement age at 64 rather than 65, Mr. Macron has remained remote from the rolling anger. Most conspicuously, and to many inexplicably, after the government consulted extensively with unions in the run-up to January, Mr. Macron has refused to negotiate with the powerful moderate union leader Laurent Berger, who had supported Mr. Macron's earlier attempt at pension changes in 2019 but opposes him now.

''Macron knows the economy better than he knows political psychology,'' said Alain Duhamel, a political scientist. ''And today, what you have is a generalized fury.''

A large number of Macron voters, it is now clear, never wanted the retirement age raised. They heard Mr. Macron during the debate with Ms. Le Pen. They just did not loathe his idea enough to vote for a nationalist, anti-immigrant ideologue whose party was financed in part by Russian loans.

Mr. Macron is adept at playing on such contradictions and divisions. Because his presidential term is limited, he is freer to do as he pleases. He knows three things: He will not be a candidate for re-election in 2027 because a third consecutive term is not permitted; the opposition in Parliament is strong but irreconcilably divided between the far left and extreme right; and there is a large, silent slice of French society that supports his pension overhaul.

All this gives him room to maneuver even in his current difficult situation.

When Mr. Macron opted last week for the 49.3 and the avoidance of a parliamentary vote, he explained his decision this way: ''I consider that in the current state of affairs the financial and economic risks are too great.''

On the face of it, speaking about risks to financial markets while pushing through an overhaul deeply resented by blue-collar and ***working-class*** French people seemed politically gauche. It appeared especially so at a moment when Mr. Macron was turning away from the full parliamentary vote his government had unanimously said it wanted.

''Saying what he said about finance at that moment, in that context, was just dynamite,'' said Ms. Bacharan.

It was also an unmistakable wink to the powerful French private sector -- with its world-class companies like LVMH Moët Hennessy Louis Vuitton -- and to the many affluent and middle-class French people who do not like the growing piles of uncollected garbage or the protests in the streets, and who view retirement at 62 as an unsustainable anomaly in a Europe where the retirement age has generally risen to 65 or higher.

If Mr. Macron has cards to play, and perhaps broader support than is evident as protesters hurl insults at him day after day, his very disconnection may make it hard for him to judge the country's mood.

Last week, Aurore Bergé, the leader of Mr. Macron's Renaissance party in Parliament, wrote to Gérald Darmanin, the interior minister, to request police protection for lawmakers.

''I refuse to see representatives from my group, or any national lawmaker, afraid to express themselves, or to vote freely, because they are afraid of reprisals,'' she said.

It was a measure of the violent mood in France.

''If we have had 15 Constitutions over the past two centuries, that means there have been 14 revolutions of various kinds,'' Mr. Duhamel said. ''There is an eruptive side to France that one should not ignore.''

Aurelien Breeden and Tom Nouvian contributed reporting.Aurelien Breeden and Tom Nouvian contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/world/europe/france-macron-protests-retirement.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/world/europe/france-macron-protests-retirement.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Protesters on Tuesday in Nantes, France. A bill raising the retirement age to 64 from 62 has prompted nationwide demonstrations for weeks. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LOIC VENANCE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

President Emmanuel Macron has been silent since he advanced the bill, but will address the nation Wednesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** March 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The G.O.P.’s Fiscal Hawks Fly Far Away From Deficit Fights; Political Memo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:681W-78G1-DXY4-X1W4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 18, 2023 Tuesday 11:14 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1301 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman

**Highlight:** After a decade of rising deficits and soaring debt, the top White House contenders, Donald Trump and Ron DeSantis, show little interest in battling over the nation’s finances.

**Body**

After a decade of rising deficits and soaring debt, the top White House contenders, Donald Trump and Ron DeSantis, show little interest in battling over the nation’s finances.

The first skirmish of the Republican presidential primary of 2024 broke through this weekend. It was not over a traditional theme of conservative politics, such as national defense, or more contemporary issues like immigration or “woke” social policy.

Instead, the political organizations of former President Donald J. Trump and Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida put their candidates forward as the guardians of the Democratic Party’s most precious policy legacies: Social Security and Medicare.

The jousting between Mr. Trump, the front-runner for the Republican nomination, and Mr. DeSantis, his undeclared and closest rival, signaled that after a decade of rising deficits, soaring debt and political silence from both parties, any grappling with the nation’s worsening fiscal condition will not be shaped by the Republican White House contenders. The party that once prided itself on cleareyed fiscal truth-telling — a message marred, without doubt, by successive tax-cutting — is still having none of it.

And that signal came at a most inopportune moment, as House Republican leaders are girding for a fight over the government’s borrowing limit, linking any increase in the debt ceiling with tough spending cuts that the leaders of the party in 2024 show no interest in.

“The facts are still on our side, and history is on our side,” said Douglas Holtz-Eakin, a former director of the Congressional Budget Office who guided the fiscal policies of John McCain’s 2008 presidential campaign. “It’s just a bad era.”

There was nothing particularly Republican in the exchange of advertisements posted by the super PACs of Mr. Trump and Mr. DeSantis. On Friday, Make America Great Again Inc., a Trump-aligned political action committee, started running [*an advertisement declaring*](https://twitter.com/MAGAIncWarRoom/status/1646839424460771329), “DeSantis has his dirty fingers all over senior entitlements, like cutting Medicare, slashing Social Security, even raising our retirement age.”

The DeSantis-linked [*Never Back Down PAC responded*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&amp;v=20BacuqYZ94&amp;utm_source=newsletter&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=newsletter_axiosam&amp;stream=top) by accusing Mr. Trump of “repeating lies about Social Security,” then showed Mr. DeSantis saying, “We’re not going to mess with Social Security as Republicans.”

With that backdrop, Speaker Kevin McCarthy of California went on Monday to the New York Stock Exchange to try to prod President Biden into negotiations on the deficit, [*telling leaders in finance*](https://twitter.com/i/broadcasts/1lPKqBklVREGb), “I want to talk to you about the debate that is not happening in Washington but should be happening over our national debt,” then adding, “America deserves to hear the truth.”

The problem with that truth is the math: With Republicans vowing once again not to raise taxes, exempting Social Security and Medicare from spending cuts would mean everything else funded by the federal government — the military, veterans’ programs, Medicaid, medical research, education, energy development — would need to be cut by 52 percent to balance the budget by 2033, according to the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, a nonpartisan research and advocacy group that is highly critical of both parties.

If the Social Security and Medicare exemption was extended to the military at a time when Republicans want to confront the threat from China, everything else needs to be cut by 70 percent. If veterans&#39; programs were also protected, Medicaid and a host of other programs — food stamps, NASA, the National Institutes of Health, agricultural subsidies, food safety inspections, federal student aid, air traffic controllers, weather forecasters, National Parks, health care for the poor and self-employed, and much more — would need to be cut by 78 percent.

“It used to be that everybody fought for political giveaways, but in the end, everybody knew the truth, so there was room for trade-offs and hard compromises,” said Maya MacGuineas, the president of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. “There is no good, hard governance anymore.”

It has been just over a decade since Mitt Romney, the Republican presidential nominee, selected as his running mate the party’s embodiment of hair-shirt policymaking, Paul D. Ryan. At the time, then-Representative Ryan did not flinch in his assertions that the retiring baby boom generation made benefit cuts to Social Security and Medicare absolutely vital to the nation’s future.

And as a House member a decade ago, Mr. DeSantis readily embraced what was then the mainstream Republican position, voting repeatedly for Ryan-style changes to Social Security and Medicare that went nowhere, and promoting the restructuring of entitlements to make them [*“sustainable over the long term.”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8k3lUwAQnUs&amp;t=297s)

But in the loss of the Romney-Ryan ticket in 2012, Mr. Trump saw a lesson for his own presidential aspirations. And four years later, the business executive and reality television star ran on the improbable pledge to balance the budget, pay off the entire federal debt and never ever cut Social Security and Medicare.

“Trump figured out in 2016 that an older, more ***working class***, more populist party would become increasingly against fixing Social Security and Medicare, and he was right,” said Brian Riedl, who served as a budget adviser to former Senator Rob Portman of Ohio and is now a senior fellow at the conservative Manhattan Institute. “It’s clearly good politics to recast yourself as the defender of Social Security and Medicare. It’s just bad for the country.”

Deficits rose [*every year of the Trump presidency*](https://fiscaldata.treasury.gov/americas-finance-guide/national-deficit/#us-deficit-by-year), from the $590 billion he inherited in the 2016 fiscal year, to $670 billion in 2017, $780 billion in 2018, $980 billion the following year, then a staggering $3.13 trillion in the pandemic year of 2020. By Mr. Riedl’s calculations, Mr. Trump added $7.8 trillion in deficit spending over 10 years through legislation and executive orders during his four years.

That Mr. Trump fulfilled none of his promises of fiscal rectitude did not seem to matter; fiscal policy hardly came up during the campaign of 2020 and has not exactly reverberated in the Biden years either.

“Neither Donald Trump nor Joe Biden has shown any interest in disciplining spending,” said Judd Gregg, a Republican and former New Hampshire senator who made a career of pushing for long-term deficit reduction. “But inevitably this comes to an end at some point — a herd of elephants coming over the horizon.”

The herd is coming in two forms. The first is the aging baby boom generation, which is already driving up Social Security and Medicare costs. The number of Social Security recipients will rise from 44 million in 2010 to 73 million in 2030, raising Social Security spending from 4.8 percent of the economy to 5.9 percent.

The second is interest on the national debt, which must cover interest rates that are rising after years of rock-bottom prices, driving up the cost of serving the government’s [*$31 trillion debt*](https://fiscaldata.treasury.gov/americas-finance-guide/national-debt/). After steep declines in the 2021 and 2022 fiscal years that Mr. Biden bragged about on Tuesday, the federal deficit in the first half of 2023 reached $1.1 trillion, according to the [*Congressional Budget Office*](https://www.cbo.gov/publication/58995), up $430 billion from the first half of the previous fiscal year. Interest payments rose from [*$219 billion to $308 billion*](https://www.cbo.gov/system/files/2023-04/58995-MBR.pdf), a 41 percent leap that put debt servicing nearly on par with military spending.

“You can’t have interest payments that are higher than defense payments, yet that’s the track we’re on in the next five years,” Ms. MacGuineas said. “We’re the frog in the boiling water.”

PHOTOS: Donald J. Trump and Ron DeSantis deplore both the deficit and the best ways to reduce it: raising taxes and cutting entitlements. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** April 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A King of Lager Delivery***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66FN-2T91-DXY4-X28V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 23, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 645 words

**Byline:** By Amy Nicholson

**Body**

Zac Efron plays a man trying to deliver brewskis to his Vietnam War buddies in Peter Farrelly's film.

In the early winter of 1968, the 26-year-old civilian Chickie Donohue arrived in Vietnam with a duffel bag of brewskis and an errand that could be reasonably called idiotic, patronizing, suicidal -- and, even, as this shaggily appealing comedy insists, ''The Greatest Beer Run Ever.'' Donohue (Zac Efron) has been double dog dared by his drinking buddies back home in Inwood, then a ***working-class*** Irish neighborhood in Manhattan, to hand-deliver a beer to four of their buddies serving in the war. ''A sudsy thank you card!'' Donohue exclaims, delighted by his own moxie. His farcical mission is mostly true and just the sort of crowd-pleaser about lunkhead enlightenment that intoxicates the director Peter Farrelly in the wake of his Oscar for ''Green Book.''

Farrelly and his co-writers, Brian Currie and Pete Jones, see the national id reflected in Donohue's patriotic, ill-reasoned rationale for his quest, which is clearly a few cans short of a, you know. To this layabout slacker, his blustering pals and their jingoistic barkeep, the Colonel (Bill Murray, near-invisible under a gruff flattop), a pull-tab of domestic ale supports the troops by reminding the fighters abroad that America reigns supreme. For a while, Farrelly feigns to agree; the film starts like a Super Bowl commercial and ends like a hangover.

When Donohue sets sail for Saigon, public opinion supports the conflict, an innocence Efron embodies by hitchhiking toward the front with a schmucky grin affixed like a shield. (Grunts one soldier, ''Every once in a while, you run into a guy who's too dumb to get killed.'') But by the time Donohue returns home, the Tet offensive -- which he witnesses -- will have turned the majority of Americans against the war, including him. After all, if a dingbat like him is able to bluff his way past officers to get to the battlefield, things are not under control.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

The script is grounded in Donohue's memoir of the same name (written with J.T. Molloy) and captures his bravado. (''I was a four-star general when it came to slinging BS,'' he writes.) While the film makes his onscreen portrayal more oblivious, it backs his claim to have seen a United States tank blow a hole in the wall of its own embassy, only to later blame the blast on the Viet Cong.

A local traffic cop (Kevin K. Tran) and hard-living photojournalist (Russell Crowe with a brusque, sleeves-rolled-up cynicism) are invented amalgamations of the many people who stepped in to save Donohue's neck. (If pressed, the movie would rather label its protagonist a dangerous distraction over a hero.) To heighten the tension -- as well as extend empathy toward the Vietnamese villagers -- Farrelly also concocts a scene where Donohue is forced to hide in the jungle from his own countrymen.

A few horrors are embellished from the book, particularly those that inspire the cinematographer Sean Porter to shoot in dramatic slow motion: a herd of napalmed elephants, a prisoner plummeting headfirst from a helicopter, a wounded soldier backlit by flames. Otherwise, the film's style is, like its subject, stubbornly chipper (albeit with a marvelous psychedelic rock soundtrack that pulls from lesser-known acts like The Electric Prunes). Depth comes from Efron's visible difficulty maintaining a smile as he comes to sense that he's crossed the ocean only to discover a permanent gulf between him and his childhood friends. They've endured agonies he'll never understand -- and a barfly like him can't deliver a cheers that will set things right.

The Greatest Beer Run EverRated R for language and violence. Running time: 2 hours 6 minutes. In theaters.The Greatest Beer Run EverRated R for language and violence. Running time: 2 hours 6 minutes. In theaters.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/22/movies/the-greatest-beer-run-ever-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/22/movies/the-greatest-beer-run-ever-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Russell Crowe, left, and Zac Efron in ''The Greatest Beer Run Ever.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY GOLF THANAPORN/APPLE TV+)

**Load-Date:** September 23, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Who Owns the American West?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:661G-VCX1-JBG3-655P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 28, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23; ROSS DOUTHAT

**Length:** 1386 words

**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

In the most popular show on American television, ''Yellowstone,'' the heroes are the rich owners of a vast, gorgeous spread of Montana real estate. The villains are anyone else who wants to live there.

I exaggerate; the show is a little more complicated than this. There are times when the Duttons, the ranch-owning family patriarched by Kevin Costner's John Dutton, play more like HBO-style antiheroes than sympathetic protagonists (when they commit the occasional murder, for instance), and their rivals for Montanan power include a nearby Native American tribe whose aspiration to reclaim their ancestral lands is treated with respect.

But fundamentally ''Yellowstone'' is about the preservation of a particular vision of the West (cowboys, ranches, open spaces, families that understand stewardship and that aren't just there for the views), and its sympathies are with the preservationists, no matter what their sins. Indeed, the Duttons' main Native American rival is himself a sympathetic figure precisely because he, too, wants to protect the West from its coastal new-money invaders -- by using casino money to rewind the Dutton ranch even farther back in time and letting his people live there in some kind of harmony with nature once again.

''Yellowstone'' is a big hit because it makes this vision of pastoral stewardship so seductive. I recommend reading Kathryn VanArendonk's New York magazine essay on the show for a case study in how the most red-state show on television can reel in even a blue-state TV critic. I also recommend watching the show in tandem with the structurally similar but radically different ''Succession.'' Both are about what you might call family capitalism, the portion of American business that remains right wing even as corporate power centers like Wall Street and Silicon Valley tilt to the cultural left. But ''Succession,'' the HBO show, is a savage jeremiad, inspiring sympathy for its characters only insofar as they're prisoners of familial pathology. Whereas the central theme of ''Yellowstone'' is that family capitalism is flawed and sinful but corporate capitalism is worse and it's better to be ruled by a patriarchy than a private-equity raider or a faceless board.

Finally, if you watch the show from outside the Mountain West, as clearly most of its fans do, I recommend experiencing firsthand the territory in which ''Yellowstone'' is set -- as my family just did on a road trip that took us through the region -- and seeing how it changes your responses to the show.

My own shift was complicated. On the one hand, as an Easterner accustomed to big cities and dense suburbs, to experience the West's mixture of majesty and emptiness is to feel more intensely what John Dutton's various foils and rivals feel -- that something extraordinary is being effectively hoarded here, with whatever admirable intentions, and that more Americans should be able to live in the shadow of such beauty, even if they are just there for the views.

At every semiurban stop along the way, from Rapid City, S.D., to Missoula, Mont., to Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, I laughed at what passes for density and congestion west of the Mississippi. Yes, there are conservationist reasons to keep the human footprint light, and yes, the water in the High Plains would probably never support the sprawl outside, say, Atlanta. I'm not suggesting that we should build an American version of Saudi Arabia's planned desert supercity just east of the Bighorn Range. (Let's see how the Saudi version goes first.)

A bigger Rapid City, though, or a more bustling Great Falls, Mont.? A Wyoming with, say, three inhabitants for every hundred-odd acres instead of just one? That all sounds like a reasonable and desirable future. And not just because the landscapes are so ridiculously beautiful or even because people may be healthier and thinner at higher altitudes. More population growth out West might also be good for the American republic, giving regions that often feel neglected more representation in the House and giving liberal coast dwellers less reason to complain about rural-state power in the Senate.

Just when these kind of thoughts had me ready to hand the Dutton Ranch over to its development-minded enemies, though, I would hit a place where significant population growth is already happening -- a boomtown like Bozeman, Mont., or one of the Californian outposts that have sprung up across Idaho -- and suddenly see the world from the Dutton family's perspective once again.

That's because growth in these places doesn't feel like some kind of upwardly mobile Laura Ingalls-type westward migration; it feels as if an alien starship had beamed little chunks of coastal supergentrification down into the West. The median single-family home price in Bozeman costs around $900,000; the main street in a place like Sandpoint, Idaho, is a festival of liberal haute-bourgeois taste with Western flourishes. At least where I encountered it, the growing diaspora in the Mountain West isn't bringing the mountains to the middle-class masses; it's red-state colonization by the blue-state rich.

Not that there's anything wrong with coastal rich people (perish the thought!). But in any city or region, whether it's Whitefish, Mont., or Washington, D.C., the case for development and pro-growth zoning, for a yes-in-my-backyard spirit, depends, to a large extent, on the benefits to potential newcomers and migrants. That always makes YIMBYism a relatively hard sell to incumbents -- and when all the newcomers seem privileged, when they make developers rich but start pricing normal people out, when they make your relatively egalitarian state a case study in zooming inequality, you can see why a politics of preservation would be as popular as a hit like ''Yellowstone.''

But the problem is that preservationism in this context is likely to be self-defeating. If the rich really like your state or region, the rich will always find a way to come. What zoning limits and housing regulations really affect is whether anyone except the rich can afford your state's nicest precincts. If they can't, then the attractiveness of purple-mountain-majesty to coastal elites will just recreate coastal inequalities and fuel ***working-class*** resentments, in a dynamic that's already visible in the Mountain States wherever the posh colonies give way to the alienation of Trump country.

If you look at zoning rules in Montana's most attractive cities, they point to this kind of Western future. For instance: According to the Frontier Institute, a Montana-based libertarian think tank, a city like Missoula, which is still more middle class and affordable than Bozeman, has exclusionary zoning -- restrictions on town homes and multifamily units, minimum lot requirements -- that make it difficult for young families and ***working-class*** newcomers to get a foothold in the city. That suggests that Missoula's relative middle-class-ness won't last: If I were a Silicon Valley or Seattle exile, I would already be looking there rather than Bozeman. If I were a property speculator, I'd be buying there right now. And if I didn't have much money to spend, I'd be drifting into the hinterlands or looking in a different state.

Part of the appeal of the Dutton family drama is the knowledge that the ''Yellowstone'' patriarch can't ultimately win -- that you're watching and appreciating something familiar in Western lore, the doomed last stand. But in reality, when regions are experiencing growth they can't and shouldn't stop, they still have important choices to make: not whether change and new inhabitants will come but in what form, with what consequences for the society that takes shape next.

More Americans should live in the West, and more Americans assuredly will. The question for Mountain State incumbents -- the real ones, not the Costner facsimile -- is whether that more will include everybody or whether their glorious share of the American inheritance will pass on mostly to the rich.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTOpinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/27/opinion/yellowstone-mountain-west.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/27/opinion/yellowstone-mountain-west.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Bozeman, Mont. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Stephen Simpson/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘The Greatest Beer Run Ever’ Review: Vietnam on the Rocks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66FG-KH81-JBG3-62RF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 22, 2022 Thursday 17:09 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 659 words

**Byline:** Amy Nicholson

**Highlight:** Zac Efron plays a man trying to deliver brewskis to his Vietnam War buddies in Peter Farrelly’s film.

**Body**

Zac Efron plays a man trying to deliver brewskis to his Vietnam War buddies in Peter Farrelly’s film.

In the early winter of 1968, the 26-year-old civilian Chickie Donohue arrived in Vietnam with a duffel bag of brewskis and an errand that could be reasonably called idiotic, patronizing, suicidal — and, even, as this shaggily appealing comedy insists, “The Greatest Beer Run Ever.” Donohue (Zac Efron) has been double dog dared by his drinking buddies back home in Inwood, then a ***working-class*** Irish neighborhood in Manhattan, to hand-deliver a beer to four of their buddies serving in the war. “A sudsy thank you card!” Donohue exclaims, delighted by his own moxie. His farcical mission is mostly true and just the sort of crowd-pleaser about lunkhead enlightenment that intoxicates the director Peter Farrelly in the wake of his Oscar for “Green Book.”

Farrelly and his co-writers, Brian Currie and Pete Jones, see the national id reflected in Donohue’s patriotic, ill-reasoned rationale for his quest, which is clearly a few cans short of a, you know. To this layabout slacker, his blustering pals and their jingoistic barkeep, the Colonel (Bill Murray, near-invisible under a gruff flattop), a pull-tab of domestic ale supports the troops by reminding the fighters abroad that America reigns supreme. For a while, Farrelly feigns to agree; the film starts like a Super Bowl commercial and ends like a hangover.

When Donohue sets sail for Saigon, public opinion supports the conflict, an innocence Efron embodies by hitchhiking toward the front with a schmucky grin affixed like a shield. (Grunts one soldier, “Every once in a while, you run into a guy who’s too dumb to get killed.”) But by the time Donohue returns home, the Tet offensive — which he witnesses — will have turned the majority of Americans against the war, including him. After all, if a dingbat like him is able to bluff his way past officers to get to the battlefield, things are not under control.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/NqxziDlZOIo)]

The script is grounded in Donohue’s memoir of the same name (written with J.T. Molloy) and captures his bravado. (“I was a four-star general when it came to slinging BS,” he writes.) While the film makes his onscreen portrayal more oblivious, it backs his claim to have seen a United States tank blow a hole in the wall of its own embassy, only to later blame the blast on the Viet Cong.

A local traffic cop (Kevin K. Tran) and hard-living photojournalist (Russell Crowe with a brusque, sleeves-rolled-up cynicism) are invented amalgamations of the many people who stepped in to save Donohue’s neck. (If pressed, the movie would rather label its protagonist a dangerous distraction over a hero.) To heighten the tension — as well as extend empathy toward the Vietnamese villagers — Farrelly also concocts a scene where Donohue is forced to hide in the jungle from his own countrymen.

A few horrors are embellished from the book, particularly those that inspire the cinematographer Sean Porter to shoot in dramatic slow motion: a herd of napalmed elephants, a prisoner plummeting headfirst from a helicopter, a wounded soldier backlit by flames. Otherwise, the film’s style is, like its subject, stubbornly chipper (albeit with a marvelous psychedelic rock soundtrack that pulls from lesser-known acts like The Electric Prunes). Depth comes from Efron’s visible difficulty maintaining a smile as he comes to sense that he’s crossed the ocean only to discover a permanent gulf between him and his childhood friends. They’ve endured agonies he’ll never understand — and a barfly like him can’t deliver a cheers that will set things right.

The Greatest Beer Run Ever

Rated R for language and violence. Running time: 2 hours 6 minutes. In theaters.

The Greatest Beer Run Ever Rated R for language and violence. Running time: 2 hours 6 minutes. In theaters.

PHOTO: Russell Crowe, left, and Zac Efron in “The Greatest Beer Run Ever.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY GOLF THANAPORN/APPLE TV+)

**Load-Date:** September 22, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Brexit: What Were We Thinking?!; Turning Points***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61G0-S5S1-JBG3-603S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 7, 2020 Monday 15:18 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1290 words

**Byline:** Russell Brand

**Highlight:** Don’t blame ***working-class*** people for voting to leave the European Union. Blame the party that betrayed them.

**Body**

Don’t blame ***working-class*** people for voting to leave the European Union. Blame the party that betrayed them.

This is an article from [*Turning Points*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points), a special section that explores what critical moments from this year might mean for the year ahead.

Turning Point: On Jan. 31, Britain formally left the European Union after nearly 50 years as a member.

Four years after the Brexit referendum, do we yet understand the meaning of this pleasing portmanteau? The exit of Britain from the European Union, which finally occurred on Jan. 31 of this year, has been characterized as a backward lurch into nationalism, a Luddite assault on the progressive dream of globalism. How, then, are we to regard the ideals of centralization and federalism when the world has been altered forever by the coronavirus — a truly global force, somehow both arcane and futuristic, universal and microbial?

The cultural fissures that the 2016 referendum exposed were briefly healed when the Covid fog rolled in earlier this year. In the face of this threat, the N.H.S. — Britain’s (get this) free National Health Service — became a de facto matriarchal idol, signifying a newfound national unity with all the regal femininity of Queen Victoria or either of the Elizabeths. In what may have seemed like some sort of twee Orwellian ritual, people started gathering on their doorsteps and balconies every Thursday at 8 p.m. to applaud the nation’s health workers in an untethered, bizarre but well-intentioned show of solidarity.

These displays of mawkish pomp subsided when it was discovered in May that [*Dominic Cummings*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points) — Prime Minister Boris Johnson’s [*“red right-hand”*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points) man and a chief architect of the “Vote Leave” campaign — had recently visited his family’s farm hundreds of miles away in Northern England when both he and his wife were sick with Covid-19. At the time of the couple’s drive north from London in late March, most of the British public was observing the nation’s strict quarantine rules with religious dedication.

In response to these revelations, the old virus of Brexit polemicism resurfaced with newly mutated vigor: Among Remain voters, condemnation of Mr. Cummings was an issue of [*national importance*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points); Leave voters were less concerned. One thing we all agreed on was that we wouldn’t be taking the lockdown rules seriously anymore.

“Geography is destiny,” as Napoleon, Britain’s old archnemesis, supposedly said. And indeed, one thing that’s difficult to ignore about Britain is that it’s an island. Since the nation isn’t physically connected to mainland Europe, any connection to the Continent can only be conceptual. And those connections have often been a bit strained. It took a long time to move forward with the idea for an underwater tunnel between England and France; and once construction on the Channel Tunnel finally started in the late 1980s, the project was [*beset by difficulties*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points) that it’s easy now to see as manifestations of an unconscious wish to preserve the natural moat that divides the two nations, nurtured in mutual enmity.

Opposition to external European power is a recurrent theme in British mythology, with all its sieges, invasions, noble defeats and begrudging collaborations. Internal national conflict, on the other hand, has been historically sublimated by our effective and restrictive class system. The British, as a people, have not for a long time turned on one another with such contempt and ferocity as they have during the Brexit drama. Sure, King Charles I was beheaded back in 1649, but that was only a bit of fun; we restored his son to the throne 11 years later, and, being British, probably apologized unreservedly for the inconvenience.

We don’t generally “do” revolutions, and if we do, they certainly don’t radically redistribute power — they cement it. The Peasants’ Revolt of 1381 ended in the beheading of its leader; the Glorious Revolution of 1688 did little more than grant power to foreign aristocrats who believed in Jesus in a slightly different way than the domestic ones; and the Industrial Revolution merely mechanized the exploitation of the ***working class***. Our stratified culture keeps us in our boxes. While, on its face, the Brexit referendum offered voters a simple binary choice of either leaving or remaining within the European Union, in reality it came to be seen as something much more: an opportunity to either vote for the establishment or [*give it two fingers*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points).

This rather unsophisticated reading of the troubling referendum was made easier by the prior dismantling of real political representation for ordinary British people, notably through the repositioning of the Labour Party in the 1990s as a kind of neoliberal, establishment-lite party under Tony Blair. During this time the purpose of the British left migrated from the pursuit of economic equality for the ***working class*** to a kind of performative, hollow optimism that masked an ideological capitulation to economic conservatism.

My belief is that, in the wake of this betrayal, a nostalgic yearning for fairness among working people led to a resurgent nationalism — and ultimately support for Brexit. The parties founded to represent working people were inviting them to discard the flags and icons of Britishness that had been historically mobilized (however cynically) to inspire their sacrifice, which is in part why the Remain campaign failed. Labour’s focus on cultural rather than economic equality meant there was nowhere for the ***working class*** to go but into the arms of the Brexiteers.

As a product of blue-collar Britain myself, I don’t believe these people are bigoted or backward, as they’re commonly rendered by the institutions that demonize them. I feel they just know that they’ve been stabbed in the back. Given that politics is now largely about opinions — things you say rather than things you do — the emergence of global online communication platforms has provided a glorious digital brewery in which discontent and division can hideously ferment. Judgment, vehemence and loathing can be calmly dispatched in cold and solitary certainty.

This pandemic, along with the emergent social fragmentation of which post-Brexit Britain is a stark example, reveals that we can no longer live in centralized systems that seek only to protect hierarchies and serve those at their summits, whether they happen to be grotesquely populist or liberal-technocratic in nature. Both are harbingers of the necessity for real political alternatives and real change, not the phatic superficial gestures afforded by bipartisan democracy.

Perhaps even before the virus, before Brexit, we had all been quarantined in our own naked individualism — an isolation far more toxic. There we were, incarcerated and alone inside the penitentiary of our temporal identities with no faith or care for anything other than the fleeting fulfillment of our wayward wants. This is the divide that British people have to reach across for there ever to be any real sense of unity among us. Ultimately, it is the island of self that we must either leave or remain trapped within.

Russell Brand, a comedian and actor, is the author of “Recovery: Freedom From Our Addictions” and the host of a weekly podcast, “Under the Skin.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points) and [*Twitter*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points), and sign up for the [*Opinion Today newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/2021-turning-points).

PHOTO: Prime Minister Boris Johnson of Britain applauding health workers outside 10 Downing Street in May. He was hospitalized for Covid-19 in April. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Toby Melville/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 8, 2020

**End of Document**



[***In Tokyo, Skipping the Hot and New for Enduring Haunts***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68BJ-BR81-JBG3-60HW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 29, 2023 Monday 17:34 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** TRAVEL

**Length:** 1501 words

**Byline:** Tom Downey

**Highlight:** Using a guidebook published more than 20 years ago, a writer searches out the bars and restaurants that express the city’s traditional eating and drinking culture.

**Body**

Using a guidebook published more than 20 years ago, a writer searches out the bars and restaurants that express the city’s traditional eating and drinking culture.

Upon landing in Tokyo in December, three years since my last visit, I thought about where I should first eat and drink in this vast, wondrous city. The answer was obvious: [*Iseto*](https://tabelog.com/en/tokyo/A1309/A130905/13000397/), an ancient sake-drinking den operating in the same wooden house since 1948.

I strolled down a narrow alleyway in the Kagurazaka neighborhood, slid open a door and was greeted by the owner, who asked me to wait while he cleared a spot at the bar. Four lone drinkers sat at the counter, pensive and serene. Two couples chatted quietly on the floor in the neighboring tatami-mat room. The homey yet horrifying scent of grilling kusaya, a salt-cured fermented fish, wafted through the place. It was just as if I was setting foot in here five, 15, maybe even 50 years ago — exactly as Iseto wanted it.

I found Iseto in a travel guidebook called the [*“Tokyo Q Guide,”*](https://www.thriftbooks.com/w/tokyo-q-2000-2001_tokyo-q/1343953/#edition=3491593&amp;idiq=4796179) last published in 2001. I started using the guide — and first visited Iseto — in 2005, when the “Q Guide” should already have been out of date. But over the years I have found this lovingly curated paperback guide, now 22 years old, to be remarkable because it predicted the future, identifying not the newest, coolest places but selecting what would last.

Food- and drink-focused travelers seem always to be after what’s best and what’s new. But establishments like Iseto offer a persuasive counterargument that we should instead seek out what has endured — locales that express a distinctive eating and drinking culture and offer insights into a region: Spanish customers like to congregate around a bar where everyone can converse; Japanese adore a place where they can be comfortably alone. Locations that reveal the most about a culture have often lasted not just a few years, but a few decades.

The long-term survival of old-school places like Iseto is an accurate barometer of how much a city has been able to stay true to itself and resist the onslaught of the hot and new, often bywords for globalized sameness. As Tokyo frantically knocks down and rebuilds itself, a process that greatly accelerated in the run-up to the Olympic Games held in 2021 and continues apace today, the many thousands of oddly shaped, often ancient spaces located underground, upstairs or down narrow alleyways, containing classic places like Iseto, are threatened by this wave of redevelopment.

Behind Iseto’s low counter, the master knelt, clad in an indigo cloak. He tended sticks of red-hot charcoal used to heat sake, lowering metal vessels into a small sand pit that surrounds the coals in order to warm the brew. Modern bars have for decades been using thermometers to get the temperature right. At Iseto they use their bare hands, trained by years of practice warming these same flasks, feeling the metal on their skin and test-sipping this sake, the only one served here for 70 years.

But you don’t come to Iseto just for the food and drink. You come for the evocative, transporting atmosphere, and because, unlike many other bars this old or this nostalgic, it remains a living, local place with rules that you disobey at your peril: If customers’ voices become too loud, the master shushes everyone — and they shut up. No photography is permitted. This is a drinking den, but of a peculiar kind. Last order is at 8:40 p.m., so it can only be the prelude to a longer evening or a pit stop before going home, not the site of a nightlong debauch.

Continuing my quest, I visited [*Fukube*](https://tabelog.com/en/tokyo/A1302/A130202/13011473), another “Q Guide” favorite, located in a bustling neighborhood a couple blocks east of Tokyo Station. The main room, with just a handful of seats in front of a narrow bar counter, was full of suited salarymen. I squeezed into the last stool and ordered sake tapped from a barrel before me and a serving of grilled mackerel with grated daikon. There were a few changes since my last visit: The lighting was brighter. The master’s son was now manning the bar. But the same bottles decorated the same shelves.

Then, as I turned and scanned the walls, it hit me: They’d removed the tobacco stains, fingerprints, charcoal residue and marks of humanity that decorated this 83-year-old establishment and rebuilt the interior. That old patina had been the kind you couldn’t fake: grooves, scratches and streaks signifying decades of loving use. Before, I had savored the feeling each time I entered that Fukube was just as it had been since 1938. Now it felt unmoored from history.

The usual images of Tokyo oscillate between two extremes: gilded metropolis of the future and repository of the aristocratic past. The “Q Guide” evokes a different, real, thoroughly proletarian and much more intriguing city, most faithfully depicted in works of art and literature that I love.

I thought of Donald Richie’s “Tokyo: A View of the City,” a short book published in 1999 that illuminates Tokyo’s downtown culture, when I waited in line outside [*Dote no Iseya,*](https://tabelog.com/en/tokyo/A1324/A132401/13003745/) a basic but brilliant tempura restaurant in what was once a lively red-light district. Yoshihiro Tatsumi’s magnificent graphic novel, “Abandon the Old in Tokyo,” a collection of stories from 1970, focused on the city’s postwar, ***working-class*** culture, came to life when I ducked into [*Uosan*](https://tabelog.com/en/tokyo/A1313/A131303/13003007/) Sakaba, an izakaya located on the far eastern side of Tokyo. I trailed two salarymen, obviously a little tipsy, into the steamy space. The counterman said to them, with no greeting or preamble, “Have you been drinking?”

“We had a few,” the men replied.

“Get out,” the counterman said, authoritatively, and that was it. Uosan may be cheap and loud, but they too have their rules. You can get drunk there, but you don’t enter if you’re already inebriated.

Unlike the precise, manual sake temperature control of Iseto, at Uosan the staff circulates with giant flasks of cheap, hot sake, filling glasses as fast as customers can drink. Handwritten menu items hang on every inch of wall space. Waiters scream to the kitchen, and food emerges lightning fast to soak up the drinks. Uosan serves comforting dishes like daikon stewed with monkfish until tender, dressed with a yellow streak of spicy mustard.

One of the authors of the “Tokyo Q Guide,” [*Robbie Swinnerton,*](https://www.instagram.com/tokyofoodfile) Japan’s most important English-language restaurant critic, told me that a foreign chef friend who often visits Tokyo insists on staying around the corner from Uosan so that he can soak up the atmosphere here every night. After a few glasses of sake and a bowl of fish stew, I emerged with the comforting conclusion that nothing at all had changed at Uosan and that, like many other such establishments — and people — in Japan, it had managed to live long beyond its normal life expectancy.

The real test of my “Q Guide” aptitude came when I tried to find my own places worthy of inclusion. How did a location qualify? I went to lunch at a longtime favorite, [*Sushi Yajima*](https://tabelog.com/en/tokyo/A1303/A130301/13014691/), in bustling Shibuya. The owners, the septuagenarian chef Susumu Yajima and his wife, Yoshiko, served exactly the same kind of sushi they’d been preparing for decades: a rapid-fire sequence of generously sized slabs of fish over strongly flavored rice that Susumu exhorted patrons to down before the rice got cold. This was a service that laid bare sushi’s origins not as gourmet cuisine but as Edo-era, Tokyo street fare.

Yoshiko has learned English in recent years, which means that as their customer base has shifted to more and more foreigners they haven’t become linguistic exiles. She can translate, interact, laugh and even make fun of her husband with these customers.

Sushi Yajima had stayed true to its Tokyo roots, retaining its regulars, yet it had also managed to evolve to attract a newfound clientele. Maybe there’s another “Tokyo Q Guide” to be written, a book that someone like me will page through 20 years from now, charting places like Yajima, which have changed as needed, but still remain grounded in the enduring lifeblood of this city.

If You Go

Iseto and Sushi Yajima require reservations. For Iseto it’s best to have a Japanese speaker reserve over the phone. For all of these old-school locations, patrons should observe Japanese protocol: Enter and linger near the door until someone approaches you to help rather than seating yourself as you might at a tavern in the United States.

Follow New York Times Travel on [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytimestravel/) and [*sign up for our weekly Travel Dispatch newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/traveldispatch) to get expert tips on traveling smarter and inspiration for your next vacation. Dreaming up a future getaway or just armchair traveling? Check out our [*52 Places to Go in 2023*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/travel/52-places-travel-2023.html).

PHOTOS: Top, Iseto restaurant, in the Kagurazaka neighborhood, has been in the same house since 1948. Above, patrons leave Fukube, in a neighborhood near Tokyo Station. Far right, at Uosan Sakaba, on the city’s far eastern side, you can enjoy a drink or, near right, simmered sea bream head. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES WHITLOW DELANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C8.

**Load-Date:** June 9, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Thing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:681D-3C81-JBG3-642X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 16, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 7; SCREENLAND

**Length:** 1317 words

**Byline:** By Zachary Siegel

**Body**

A new spate of films stars not people but consumer products.

Your standard-issue Hollywood biopics foreground people caught in the wheels of history. We meet titans of industry, genius mathematicians, brave astronauts and dogged journalists. We hear stories of fearless, unyielding figures whose visions changed the world. Some, like presidents and generals, already know their own importance; others still think they're ordinary. But the stories generally revolve around people and events, showing us how laws were changed, wars won, villains defeated.

Lately Hollywood has landed on an effective variant: Hey, remember this old thing?

This type of film is not new, precisely, but this spring is staggeringly replete with examples. ''AIR,'' directed by Ben Affleck, tells the story of Nike's game-changing sponsorship deal with a rookie Michael Jordan and the world-conquering shoes that emerged from it. ''Tetris'' does the same for the titular video game, which farsighted 1980s capitalists managed to license from the Soviet state. ''BlackBerry'' offers a raucous, satirical history of the Canadian tech company whose cellphone went extinct. And then there's ''Flamin' Hot,'' a drama about the former Frito-Lay employee who claims -- highly dubiously, according to Los Angeles Times reporting -- to be the creator of the addictively spicy red-dusted Cheetos.

These movies are not about people or events that changed our scientific or political reality; they are interested in men (and yes, I do mean just men) who changed our consumer reality. The protagonists here are white-collar functionaries who carry leather briefcases to work. They are corporate middle managers and marketers and brand gurus. They scream into phones, scrutinize contracts and sift through webs of licenses and sublicenses. Their world isn't always depicted as glamorous; ''AIR'' has Matt Damon don a fat suit to play a schlubby, basketball-obsessed divorcé. But these are stories in which businessmen are the heroes. They are the people who got the job done, if the job was selling millions upon millions of units to grow a major corporation's market share.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Yet it's not even right to say these brand-o-pics focus on the men. They are, above all, centered on the objects. Movies have told the stories of market-movers before, but Hollywood's most recent biopics of Steve Jobs were not called ''iPhone 1'' and ''iPhone 2.'' Ray Kroc's franchising of McDonald's is dramatized in a movie called ''The Founder,'' not ''Big Mac.'' It's in these new movies that the consumer product itself truly becomes the star around which human stories revolve.

Their cumulative mood is resolutely frothy: poppy 1980s bops, eight-bit graphics, white-collar sharks gnawing on the geeks. For any child of the era, this is yet another casual stroll down memory lane -- one in which, yet again, memory lane is flanked by endless billboards of retro brands. The objects in these films, after all, are not just products; they signify a specific slice of a time, perhaps a specific type of childhood. Like all brands these days, they are signposts we use to navigate the world, orienting ourselves socially, signaling our identities.

This experience of consumption is precisely what the films promise audiences. In both ''BlackBerry'' and ''AIR,'' the executives are consciously trying to tap into questions of consumer desire and identity. ''AIR'' could even be seen as an origin story for the very concept of brand-as-identity, an innovation it seems to admire. ''BlackBerry,'' shot in vérité style, is more sour on the idea. Glenn Howerton plays Jim Balsillie, depicted here as the raging id of the company, barking orders at his sales force: ''You're not salesmen anymore,'' he says. ''You're male models. I want you at every country club, yacht club, tennis club. Wherever the elite go, you go!'' The phone's function is no longer the point. ''When they ask you, don't say, 'It's a phone that does email,''' he says. ''It's not a cellphone -- it's a status symbol.''

Writing in Playboy in early 2014, the Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Zizek mused on our experience of brands and ''the mysterious je ne sais quoi that makes Nike sneakers (or Starbucks coffee).'' I don't know whether Ben Affleck ever read that article, but there's a strange level on which his film repeats, again and again, something Zizek imagined about Nike. If such a company were to outsource production to overseas contractors, design to design firms, advertising to ad agencies and distribution to retailers, what would be left? ''Nike would be nothing 'in itself,''' Zizek wrote. ''Nothing other than the pure brand mark 'Nike,' an empty sign.'' In ''AIR,'' it is Damon's character -- Sonny Vaccaro, a marketing executive -- who finds a new answer. His radical idea is to commit the entire basketball budget to Jordan. Nike, he says, must tap into something deeper, to turn a shoe into a man and a man into a shoe. The vice president of marketing is puzzled: ''You want to anthropomorphize a shoe?'' The film leaves it to Jordan's mother, played by Viola Davis, to underline how that's done: ''A shoe is just a shoe,'' she says, ''until my son steps into it.''

''BlackBerry'' is caustic, while ''AIR'' is, ultimately, a feel-good celebration of the brand-identity revolution that changed sports forever. ''Tetris'' feels more confused. (We watch Henk Rogers become a millionaire by getting the Soviets to license some handheld-gaming rights, but whether Nintendo or someone else gets them feels more meaningful to Rogers than to consumers.) While watching each of the three films, though, I found myself thinking about the words etched on the backs of so many devices: ''Designed by Apple in California/Assembled in China.'' Each of these stories is interested in the inventors and innovators who create the first thing, and less interested in the fact that, somewhere in the world, a labor force is making millions more. In ''AIR,'' the only real acknowledgment of this comes from that vice president of marketing, who expresses mild ambivalence about Nike's factories in Taiwan and South Korea -- a confusing gesture in a movie about a company that, in 1998, had its real-life chief executive lament that it had become ''synonymous with slave wages, forced overtime and arbitrary abuse.'' This year, in Michigan, Times reporting found underage factory workers who said inhaling the dust from producing Flamin' Hot Cheetos left their lungs stinging.

Feelings about this spring's eruption of brand flicks have been mixed. In The Wall Street Journal, Joe Queenan called this spate of product bios ''great news,'' expressing hope that ''AIR'' might open the door for more footwear-origin stories. (Why not Uggs or Birkenstocks?) In the opposite ideological corner, you'll find Boots Riley, the leftist musician and filmmaker (''Sorry to Bother You''), arguing on Twitter that commodity flicks are Hollywood's effort to ''push back on radicalization of the ***working class***.'' It's certainly possible that these movies expose something vapid about our consumer society -- say, our readiness to attach our humanity to empty slogans or to praise ''visionaries'' whose vision isn't about fighting injustice or reaching the stars but merely selling us tons of plastic.

Still: All these brand films, and all the reviews of them, seem to acknowledge the same point. The day-to-day texture of our lives, they suggest, may be dictated less by brave explorers or crusading lawyers and more by people with office jobs who make products and then make us want to buy them -- people whose decisions shape our habits, our choices, our sense of ourselves. The part these films do not yet fully agree on is whether this fact is worth celebrating or deeply depressing.

Source photographs: Apple TV+; Amazon Studios; William West/AFP, via Getty Images.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/11/magazine/air-movie-blackberry-cheetos.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/11/magazine/air-movie-blackberry-cheetos.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMAZON STUDIOS) (MM7)

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CELINA PEREIRA

APPLE TV+

AMAZON STUDIOS

IFC FILMS

WILLIAM WEST/AFP, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (MM8-MM9) This article appeared in print on page MM7, MM8, MM9, MM10.

**Load-Date:** April 16, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Argentine Politics Jolted By Assassination Attempt***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:669C-V6P1-JBG3-63FS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 3, 2022 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1409 words

**Byline:** By Jack Nicas, Leonardo Coelho and David Feliba

**Body**

The man who the authorities believe tried to shoot Cristina Fernández de Kirchner showed an interest in a mix of fringe ideologies, including the far right, his social media showed.

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner has been the most prominent politician in Argentina for almost two decades. After an eight-year run as president, she is now the country's leftist vice president, and political analysts are expecting her to make a bid to return to the top job next year.

So it was a bombshell when Argentine prosecutors announced last week that they would seek a 12-year prison term for Mrs. Kirchner over accusations, which she denies, that she directed taxpayer money to a friend. Since then, hundreds of her supporters have rallied outside her Buenos Aires home every night, calling her a victim of political persecution.

It was that scene Mrs. Kirchner walked into just after 9 p.m. on Thursday, returning home from a long day at work. Flanked by her security detail, she greeted the mass of supporters lining the street. The mood was happy.

Then, just as she placed a hand on the cheek of one supporter, a man rushed up, aimed a pistol inches from her face and pulled the trigger. Mrs. Kirchner ducked and raised her hand. But the gun did not go off.

It was a stunning moment in the tumultuous history of Argentine politics -- a man attempting to assassinate the vice president with multiple cameras trained on the scene -- that will forever be remembered for how close it was to being much worse.

''Cristina is still alive because, for reasons that have not been confirmed technically, the weapon, which was loaded with five bullets, did not fire,'' President Alberto Fernández said in an address to the nation on Thursday night. ''This is the most serious event since we recovered our democracy.''

Mr. Fernández declared Friday a national holiday and called on the country to show its support for Mrs. Kirchner and condemn violence. Tens of thousands of people flooded into Plaza de Mayo in downtown Buenos Aires in a peaceful rally on Friday afternoon.

The federal police arrested Fernando Andres Sabag Montiel, 35, an Argentine citizen who was born in Brazil. They recovered a gun at the scene, and on Friday, local media said they found 100 bullets in his studio apartment in a ***working-class*** suburb of Buenos Aires. By Friday afternoon, the authorities still had not charged him.

The authorities have not said what might have motivated the gunman.

Mr. Montiel, who is registered with tax authorities as an Uber driver, appeared to be steeped in an eclectic mix of fringe ideologies and interests, including the far right, according to his apparent tattoos and social-media profiles. He liked dozens of Facebook pages connected to far-right groups, conspiracy theories, mysticism, free masonry, alchemy and kabbalah, among other things.

Photos he posted to social media showed that he had what appeared to be a version of the Black Sun, a neo-Nazi symbol, tattooed on his left elbow. And for some time, he used the symbol of the Tyrodal Order of Knights, a fringe, far-right Argentine group from the 1980s, as his Facebook profile photo.

Many of the Facebook pages he liked, including of groups devoted to paganism, Vikings, death metal and certain philosophers, do not on their own indicate a connection to the far right. But when taken together, they are a common collection of interests of someone on the far right, said Boris Matias Grinchpun, a historian and lecturer at the University of Buenos Aires who studies the history of the far right in Argentina.

''It's like a supermarket basket,'' he said. ''When you see what this person is buying in the free market of ideology -- he takes a little bit of Gnosticism, a little bit of Nimrod de Rosario, a little bit of Viking -- so when I see this basket, I know that he's a far-right customer.''

Federico Finchelstein, a historian at the New School who is from Argentina and studies populism and fascism in Latin America, said that Mr. Montiel appeared to fit the profile of other recent mass gunmen or terrorists. He said those men had identified with the far right but were not deeply connected to any political movement, listing as examples the perpetrators of attacks in Norway; Christchurch, New Zealand; Buffalo; and El Paso.

''They're not explicitly connected to an organization but yet they relate to a fascist ideology,'' he said.

Mr. Montiel's lawyer, a public defender, did not respond to requests for comment.

Mr. Montiel was described by friends in news reports in Argentina as eccentric, insecure and dishonest, but not necessarily violent or deeply involved in politics. His social media profiles, which were quickly taken down, showed a man who posted dozens of selfies, showing off long haircuts, flashy shirts and a collection of tattoos. On the back of his hands, he also had tattoos that appeared to be a Celtic cross and, from Norse mythology, a Thor's hammer symbol.

By coincidence, he was interviewed twice on Argentine television in recent months, as an average citizen on the street giving his opinion on politics. In one clip, he and his girlfriend, who is seen selling cotton candy on the street, criticize Argentina's social-welfare programs, saying they make people lazy.

In another, he was asked if he supported Argentina's new finance minister. He responded, ''Hell, no.'' And then he offered an unsolicited opinion: ''Not Cristina either,'' referring to Mrs. Kirchner, nor a right-wing libertarian politician, Javier Milei.

Mrs. Kirchner, 69, was Argentina's president from 2007 to 2015 and the first lady during the previous four years. She and her husband, Néstor Kirchner, gave rise to Kirchnerism, a left-wing movement that remains one of the most powerful political forces in Argentina.

In 2019, she became vice president after masterminding a political ticket in which she would run for the No. 2 seat and Mr. Fernández would seek the presidency. Argentine political analysts say that she is the odds-on favorite to run for president next year, when Mr. Fernández's term ends, because of his dismal approval ratings amid the country's rising inflation.

While Mrs. Kirchner is the country's most prominent politician, and seen by many as more powerful than even the president, she is also Argentina's most polarizing figure. Her face plasters posters in ***working-class*** neighborhoods, while Argentina's right has long made her its top target.

The political rhetoric against Mrs. Kirchner had intensified in recent weeks amid the final stages of her corruption trial. Prosecutors accuse her of directing public roadwork funds to a company owned by a friend. She has denied the charges.

A verdict could arrive as soon as December, but even if convicted, she would most likely avoid any punishment for years as appeals play out. Last week, one opposition lawmaker commenting on her case said that Argentina should bring back the death penalty.

It was a quiet scene on Friday outside Mr. Montiel's apartment in a pink, one-story, concrete building with a black metal door, a few doors down from an auto shop. The owner of the building rented Mr. Montiel and several other tenants small rooms inside, according to neighbors.

Ariel Fontana, who lives across the street, said Mr. Montiel was seen occasionally around the neighborhood but was not well known. ''He seemed very respectful,'' he said.

The authorities said the gun they recovered at the scene had five bullets. The gun was a Bersa Lusber 84 with the serial number partly removed, according to information and a photo in Argentine news reports.

Andrei Serbin Pont, an analyst and weapons researcher in Buenos Aires, said that gun model had not been manufactured in 40 years and that such old, small-caliber pistols are common on the illegal firearm market.

The gun, he said, could have failed to fire because it was broken or because it was improperly loaded, which could have resulted in a lack of ammunition in the firearm's chamber when the gunman pulled the trigger.

Fernando Espinoza, the top official of a county near Buenos Aires called La Matanza, which means ''the slaughter'' in Spanish, said that the gun failed for another reason. ''I believe God put his hands on Cristina,'' he said.

Reporting was contributed by Natalie Alcoba, André Spigariol, Lis Moriconi and Ana Lankes.Reporting was contributed by Natalie Alcoba, André Spigariol, Lis Moriconi and Ana Lankes.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/02/world/americas/argentina-assassination-attempt-kirchner.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/02/world/americas/argentina-assassination-attempt-kirchner.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Prosecutors are seeking a 12-year prison term for Argentina's vice president, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, for alleged corruption. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LUIS ROBAYO/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

Police officers in Buenos Aires took a man into custody after the attempted attack outside Mrs. Kircher's home on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TOMAS CUESTA/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** September 3, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Aiming for an Ivy and Trying to Seem 'Less Asian'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:670T-9831-DXY4-X565-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 3, 2022 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1833 words

**Byline:** By Amy Qin

**Body**

The affirmative action lawsuit against Harvard seemed to confirm advice given for years to Asian Americans: Don't play chess, don't check the box declaring race.

When it came time to fill out his college application form, Max Li chose not to declare his race. Even though he knew his last name sounded Chinese, he selected ''prefer not to say.''

Clara Chen was advised to avoid the Advanced Placement exam for Chinese because college admissions officers might assume, based on her last name, that she already spoke the language, which could undermine the value of her score. She took the test for Advanced Placement French instead.

When Marissa Li was growing up, she loved playing competitive chess, and spent hours studying the matches of some of her favorite players, like Bobby Fischer. But on her college application, she barely mentioned her interest in the game because she was afraid that it might come across as too stereotypically Asian.

''It is a little sad now that I think about it,'' Ms. Li, 20, said in a recent interview. ''I wasn't really able to talk about the activities that meant the most to me.''

In October, the Supreme Court heard arguments in a lawsuit brought by Students for Fair Admissions that accused Harvard of systematically discriminating against Asian American applicants.

Students for Fair Admissions said that, compared with other racial groups, applicants of Asian descent consistently received a lower ''personal rating'' -- a subjective score for traits like self-confidence, likability and kindness.

In 2019, a federal appeals court judge found that the university met the strict constitutional standard for considering race in its admissions process. Even so, that lawsuit seems to have confirmed what many Asian American teenagers have quietly thought for years, as they downplayed aspects of their identity or changed their hobbies or interests as part of an effort to appear, as students, parents and college admissions counselors said, ''less Asian.''

Asian Americans are a hugely diverse, complicated group, and students don't fit into cookie-cutter stereotypes. But in the high-stakes competition for spots at elite colleges, in which so much of an applicant's life must be boiled down to 500 or so words, many Asian American students are acutely aware of what not to be.

While it's difficult to measure how widespread this phenomenon is, the rumor that students can appear ''too Asian'' has hardened into a kind of received wisdom within many Asian American communities, along with the idea that Asian American students must meet a higher bar academically than other racial groups to get into the same schools.

Students for Fair Admissions noted in its brief that ''an entire industry exists to help them appear 'less Asian' on their college applications.'' The group pointed to a popular test-prep guide published in 2004 by the Princeton Review, which advised students of Asian descent to try to conceal their racial identity.

Many families still seek out professional advice. In interviews, college admissions consultants spoke about trying to steer their Asian American clients away from so-called typically Asian activities such as Chinese language school, piano and Indian classical instruments like the venu flute.

They had other tips, too: Writing about your family's immigrant hardship story is too basic. And don't bother checking the race box on the common application unless you're Latino or Black -- doing so may not hurt your chances of getting in, but it won't help you either.

Harvard and supporters of affirmative action have argued that there is no such thing as a penalty for Asians and that race is, in fact, one factor among many used to evaluate applicants. The university says that, in shaping a class, it strives for diversity in not just race but also academic interests, geography, politics and socioeconomic background. Supporters have noted that the number of admitted Asian American applicants had steadily increased for decades. They made up about 28 percent of those admitted this year, up from nearly 20 percent in 2013. By comparison, Asians make up about 7 percent of the country's population. (About 15 percent of admitted students this year were Black; 13 percent were Latino; and 3 percent were Native American.)

But Harvard's arguments have done little to dispel the suspicions of many Asian Americans. Consultants say that, if anything, concerns among students about appearing too Asian are only growing.

Sasha Chada, the founder of Ivy Scholars, a college admissions counseling company based in Texas, said that while his company's Latino clients often emphasized their ethnicity and their engagement with Hispanic cultural organizations on their college applications, his company frequently gave Asian American students the opposite advice, urging them to shift away from ''classically Asian activities'' to improve their chances of getting into the country's elite universities.

''It doesn't make me happy to tell ninth graders that there are musical instruments they shouldn't play or academic pursuits they shouldn't engage in because it's going to make them look bad because of their ethnicity,'' Mr. Chada said.

Many consultants said that, when it came to elite college admissions, it was not enough to just be a well-rounded student. Differentiation is the name of the game, regardless of race.

Part of the problem, some college consultants say, is that there are kernels of truth in the stereotypes of Asian applicants. Within the communities, violin and piano are, in fact, oversubscribed activities, the consultants say, making it difficult for most students to stand out.

''I often tell families that instead of playing violin or piano, which is something almost every Chinese American can check off on their profile, try a different instrument,'' said Shin Wei, the founder and chief executive of IvyMax, an admissions counseling company based in California.

For many immigrant parents like Jing Zeng, getting their children into a top college is seen as crucial for upward social mobility. But navigating a new and opaque admissions system that takes into account factors besides test scores can feel daunting, leading many first-generation parents to look at what families around them are doing and push their children into the same types of activities.

''When we came to this country, we had nothing -- we have no background, we have no legacy,'' said Ms. Zeng, 52, who emigrated from China in the mid-1990s and recently sent her son off to Pomona College in California.

In its brief, Students for Fair Admissions drew a parallel between Harvard's approach to Asian American applicants and the efforts by Ivy League schools, including Harvard, to limit the number of Jewish students in the 1920s.

Others see parallels as well. ''The same stereotypes used to grade down Jewish applicants in the 1920s -- that they were nerds or grinds, that they would spend too much time studying to be 'well rounded' -- are being used against Asian American applicants today,'' said Mark Oppenheimer, the host of ''Gatecrashers,'' a podcast about the history of Jews in the Ivy League.

Supporters of Harvard say that the historical comparison is flawed and that there is no evidence that Harvard's current admissions policies are driven by animus toward Asian Americans or that they are designed to suppress the number of Asian Americans admitted to the school.

Students for Fair Admissions has also argued that, among Asian American students, the perception of bias has contributed to ''unusually high'' levels of anxiety and suicide. Even some of the most outspoken supporters of race-conscious admissions have acknowledged the negative impact of that perception on students' mental health.

Sally Chen is the education equity program manager at Chinese for Affirmative Action, a San Francisco-based advocacy organization. As a child of ***working-class*** Chinese immigrants, she said that she had benefited from affirmative action when she had applied to Harvard and that there was no evidence of discrimination against Asians in the school's admissions process.

At the same time, she added, ''I know through talking to other Asian American students and families how harmful it can be for students to think that their experiences or their background are not compelling or not valuable.''

In interviews with about a dozen or so former and current Asian American students at Harvard, most said that they were disturbed by some of the lawsuit's revelations but also that they supported the university's efforts to foster a diverse student body, even more so after having experienced the diversity of the campus firsthand.

Some of the students said they had written about their Asian identity in their admissions applications, but they described carefully calibrated essays -- intended to relay an applicant's life while also avoiding stereotypes. Ms. Li, the chess player, said she had felt that she had more space to discuss her identity from a generational perspective. She wrote about how translating between Chinese and English at an international competition had reflected her struggles communicating with her immigrant parents.

Lap Nguyen, 20, a junior at Harvard, had also leaned into generational themes, writing about his love for the language of his birth country, Vietnam, and his experience teaching that language to his little brother.

This nuanced consideration of how Asian American students should present themselves could become even more freighted if affirmative action in college admissions is ruled unconstitutional. During the Supreme Court hearing, the justices considered what kind of personal essays could be allowed. Would students, for instance, be allowed to write about their personal experiences of racism?

Patrick Strawbridge, a lawyer for Students for Fair Admissions, said, ''What we object to is a consideration of race and race by itself,'' adding that an Asian American student might write about traveling to a grandparent's home country.

For now, Asian American students are still figuring out what to write. Grace Ou, 17, a senior at Galileo Academy of Science and Technology in San Francisco, said that in her college application essays she planned to write about her identity.

It was a turnaround from her younger years, when classmates sometimes made her feel that she was ''too Asian'' because she played the violin and had a Chinese middle name.

That changed when several Chinese family friends and acquaintances in Ms. Ou's ***working-class*** community in San Francisco were attacked during the pandemic, part of a recent wave of anti-Asian hate incidents across the country. Seeing the strength of her community in that vulnerable moment made her determined to embrace her identity as an Asian American woman, she said.

''In terms of college applications, I don't think I'm going to try to stay away from that,'' she said. ''It is who I am.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/02/us/asian-american-college-applications.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/02/us/asian-american-college-applications.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Even though Max Li knew his last name sounded Chinese, he selected ''prefer not to say'' on his college application form. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TONY LUONG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

**Load-Date:** December 3, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Argentina Reels From Assassination Attempt on Its Powerful Vice President***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6698-C971-DXY4-X1KB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 2, 2022 Friday 23:00 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1457 words

**Byline:** Jack Nicas, Leonardo Coelho and David Feliba

**Highlight:** The man who the authorities believe tried to shoot Cristina Fernández de Kirchner showed an interest in a mix of fringe ideologies, including the far right, his social media showed.

**Body**

The man who the authorities believe tried to shoot Cristina Fernández de Kirchner showed an interest in a mix of fringe ideologies, including the far right, his social media showed.

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner has been the most prominent politician in Argentina for almost two decades. After an eight-year run as president, she is now the country’s leftist vice president, and political analysts are expecting her to make a bid to return to the top job next year.

So it was a bombshell when Argentine prosecutors announced last week that they would seek a 12-year prison term for Mrs. Kirchner over accusations, which she denies, that she directed taxpayer money to a friend. Since then, hundreds of her supporters have rallied outside her Buenos Aires home every night, calling her a victim of political persecution.

It was that scene Mrs. Kirchner walked into just after 9 p.m. on Thursday, returning home from a long day at work. Flanked by her security detail, she greeted the mass of supporters lining the street. The mood was happy.

Then, just as she placed a hand on the cheek of one supporter, a man rushed up, [*aimed a pistol inches from her face and pulled the trigger.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/01/world/americas/cristina-kirchner-attack.html/) Mrs. Kirchner ducked and raised her hand. But the gun did not go off.

It was a stunning moment in the tumultuous history of Argentine politics — a man attempting to assassinate the vice president with multiple cameras trained on the scene — that will forever be remembered for how close it was to being much worse.

“Cristina is still alive because, for reasons that have not been confirmed technically, the weapon, which was loaded with five bullets, did not fire,” President Alberto Fernández said in an address to the nation on Thursday night. “This is the most serious event since we recovered our democracy.”

Mr. Fernández declared Friday a national holiday and called on the country to show its support for Mrs. Kirchner and condemn violence. Tens of thousands of people flooded into Plaza de Mayo in downtown Buenos Aires in a peaceful rally on Friday afternoon.

The federal police arrested Fernando Andres Sabag Montiel, 35, an Argentine citizen who was born in Brazil. They recovered a gun at the scene, and on Friday, local media said they found 100 bullets in his studio apartment in a ***working-class*** suburb of Buenos Aires. By Friday afternoon, the authorities still had not charged him.

The authorities have not said what might have motivated the gunman.

Mr. Montiel, who is registered with tax authorities as an Uber driver, appeared to be steeped in an eclectic mix of fringe ideologies and interests, including the far right, according to his apparent tattoos and social-media profiles. He liked dozens of Facebook pages connected to far-right groups, conspiracy theories, mysticism, free masonry, alchemy and kabbalah, among other things.

Photos he posted to social media showed that he had what appeared to be a version of the [*Black Sun*](https://www.adl.org/resources/hate-symbol/sonnenrad), a neo-Nazi symbol, tattooed on his left elbow. And for some time, he used the symbol of the Tyrodal Order of Knights, a fringe, far-right Argentine group from the 1980s, as his Facebook profile photo.

Many of the Facebook pages he liked, including of groups devoted to paganism, Vikings, death metal and certain philosophers, do not on their own indicate a connection to the far right. But when taken together, they are a common collection of interests of someone on the far right, said Boris Matias Grinchpun, a historian and lecturer at the University of Buenos Aires who studies the history of the far right in Argentina.

“It’s like a supermarket basket,” he said. “When you see what this person is buying in the free market of ideology — he takes a little bit of Gnosticism, a little bit of Nimrod de Rosario, a little bit of Viking — so when I see this basket, I know that he’s a far-right customer.”

Federico Finchelstein, a historian at the New School who is from Argentina and studies populism and fascism in Latin America, said that Mr. Montiel appeared to fit the profile of other recent mass gunmen or terrorists. He said those men had identified with the far right but were not deeply connected to any political movement, listing as examples the perpetrators of attacks in Norway; Christchurch, New Zealand; Buffalo; and El Paso.

“They’re not explicitly connected to an organization but yet they relate to a fascist ideology,” he said.

Mr. Montiel’s lawyer, a public defender, did not respond to requests for comment.

Mr. Montiel was described by friends in news reports in Argentina as eccentric, insecure and dishonest, but not necessarily violent or deeply involved in politics. His social media profiles, which were quickly taken down, showed a man who posted dozens of selfies, showing off long haircuts, flashy shirts and a collection of tattoos. On the back of his hands, he also had tattoos that appeared to be a Celtic cross and, from Norse mythology, a Thor’s hammer symbol.

By coincidence, he was interviewed twice on Argentine television in recent months, as an average citizen on the street giving his opinion on politics. In one clip, he and his girlfriend, who is seen selling cotton candy on the street, criticize Argentina’s social-welfare programs, saying they make people lazy.

In another, he was asked if he supported Argentina’s new finance minister. He responded, “Hell, no.” And then he offered an unsolicited opinion: “Not Cristina either,” referring to Mrs. Kirchner, nor a right-wing libertarian politician, [*Javier Milei*](https://www.economist.com/the-americas/2021/10/07/javier-milei-a-libertarian-may-be-elected-to-argentinas-congress).

Mrs. Kirchner, 69, [*was Argentina’s president*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/30/world/americas/30argentina.html) from 2007 to 2015 and the first lady during the previous four years. She and her husband, Néstor Kirchner, gave rise to Kirchnerism, a left-wing movement that remains one of the most powerful political forces in Argentina.

In 2019, she became vice president after [*masterminding a political ticket*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/18/world/americas/argentina-kirchner-vice-president.html) in which she would run for the No. 2 seat and Mr. Fernández would seek the presidency. Argentine political analysts say that she is the odds-on favorite to run for president next year, when Mr. Fernández’s term ends, because of his dismal approval ratings amid the country’s [*rising inflation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/06/business/inflation-argentina.html).

While Mrs. Kirchner is the country’s most prominent politician, and seen by many as more powerful than even the president, she is also Argentina’s most polarizing figure. Her face plasters posters in ***working-class*** neighborhoods, while Argentina’s right has long made her its top target.

The political rhetoric against Mrs. Kirchner had intensified in recent weeks amid the final stages of her corruption trial. Prosecutors accuse her of directing public roadwork funds to a company owned by a friend. She has denied the charges.

A verdict could arrive as soon as December, but even if convicted, she would most likely avoid any punishment for years as appeals play out. Last week, one opposition lawmaker commenting on her case said that Argentina should bring back the death penalty.

It was a quiet scene on Friday outside Mr. Montiel’s apartment in a pink, one-story, concrete building with a black metal door, a few doors down from an auto shop. The owner of the building rented Mr. Montiel and several other tenants small rooms inside, according to neighbors.

Ariel Fontana, who lives across the street, said Mr. Montiel was seen occasionally around the neighborhood but was not well known. “He seemed very respectful,” he said.

The authorities said the gun they recovered at the scene had five bullets. The gun was a Bersa Lusber 84 with the serial number partly removed, [*according to information and a photo in Argentine news reports*](https://www.lanacion.com.ar/lifestyle/como-es-y-como-funciona-el-arma-que-uso-el-atacante-de-cristina-kirchner-se-dejo-de-fabricar-hace-nid02092022/#/).

Andrei Serbin Pont, an analyst and weapons researcher in Buenos Aires, said that gun model had not been manufactured in 40 years and that such old, small-caliber pistols are common on the illegal firearm market.

The gun, he said, could have failed to fire because it was broken or because it was improperly loaded, which could have resulted in a lack of ammunition in the firearm’s chamber when the gunman pulled the trigger.

Fernando Espinoza, the top official of a county near Buenos Aires called La Matanza, which means “the slaughter” in Spanish, said that the gun failed for another reason. “I believe God put his hands on Cristina,” he said.

Reporting was contributed by Natalie Alcoba, André Spigariol, Lis Moriconi and Ana Lankes.

Reporting was contributed by Natalie Alcoba, André Spigariol, Lis Moriconi and Ana Lankes.

PHOTOS: Prosecutors are seeking a 12-year prison term for Argentina’s vice president, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, for alleged corruption. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LUIS ROBAYO/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES); Police officers in Buenos Aires took a man into custody after the attempted attack outside Mrs. Kircher’s home on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TOMAS CUESTA/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Applying to College, and Trying to Appear ‘Less Asian’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:670K-NGS1-JBG3-62JV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 2, 2022 Friday 16:04 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1863 words

**Byline:** Amy Qin

**Highlight:** The affirmative action lawsuit against Harvard seemed to confirm advice given for years to Asian Americans: Don’t play chess, don’t check the box declaring race.

**Body**

The affirmative action lawsuit against Harvard seemed to confirm advice given for years to Asian Americans: Don’t play chess, don’t check the box declaring race.

When it came time to fill out his college application form, Max Li chose not to declare his race. Even though he knew his last name sounded Chinese, he selected “prefer not to say.”

Clara Chen was advised to avoid the Advanced Placement exam for Chinese because college admissions officers might assume, based on her last name, that she already spoke the language, which could undermine the value of her score. She took the test for Advanced Placement French instead.

When Marissa Li was growing up, she loved playing competitive chess, and spent hours studying the matches of some of her favorite players, like Bobby Fischer. But on her college application, she barely mentioned her interest in the game because she was afraid that it might come across as too stereotypically Asian.

“It is a little sad now that I think about it,” Ms. Li, 20, said in a recent interview. “I wasn’t really able to talk about the activities that meant the most to me.”

In October, the Supreme Court [*heard arguments*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/31/us/supreme-court-harvard-unc-affirmative-action.html) in a lawsuit brought by Students for Fair Admissions that accused Harvard of systematically discriminating against Asian American applicants.

Students for Fair Admissions said that, compared with other racial groups, applicants of Asian descent consistently received a lower “personal rating” — a subjective score for traits like self-confidence, likability and kindness.

In 2019, a federal appeals court judge found that the university met the strict constitutional standard for considering race in its admissions process. Even so, that lawsuit seems to have confirmed what many Asian American teenagers have quietly thought for years, as they downplayed aspects of their identity or changed their hobbies or interests as part of an effort to appear, as students, parents and college admissions counselors said, “less Asian.”

Asian Americans are a hugely diverse, complicated group, and students don’t fit into cookie-cutter stereotypes. But in the high-stakes competition for spots at elite colleges, in which so much of an applicant’s life must be boiled down to 500 or so words, many Asian American students are acutely aware of what not to be.

While it’s difficult to measure how widespread this phenomenon is, the rumor that students can appear “too Asian” has hardened into a kind of received wisdom within many Asian American communities, along with the idea that Asian American students must meet a higher bar academically than other racial groups to get into the same schools.

Students for Fair Admissions noted in its [*brief*](https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/20/20-1199/222325/20220502145522418_20-1199%2021-707%20SFFA%20Brief%20to%20file%20final.pdf) that “an entire industry exists to help them appear ‘less Asian’ on their college applications.” The group pointed to a popular test-prep guide published in 2004 by the Princeton Review, which advised students of Asian descent to try to conceal their racial identity.

Many families still seek out professional advice. In interviews, college admissions consultants spoke about trying to steer their Asian American clients away from so-called typically Asian activities such as Chinese language school, piano and Indian classical instruments like the venu flute.

They had other tips, too: Writing about your family’s immigrant hardship story is too basic. And don’t bother checking the race box on the common application unless you’re Latino or Black — doing so may not hurt your chances of getting in, but it won’t help you either.

Harvard and supporters of affirmative action [*have argued*](https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/20/20-1199/179362/20210517111311678_20-1199%20Brief%20in%20Opposition.pdf) that there is no such thing as a penalty for Asians and that race is, in fact, one factor among many used to evaluate applicants. The university says that, in shaping a class, it strives for diversity in not just race but also academic interests, geography, politics and socioeconomic background. Supporters have noted that the number of admitted Asian American applicants had steadily increased for decades. They made up about 28 percent of those admitted this year, up from nearly 20 percent in 2013. By comparison, Asians make up about 7 percent of the country’s population. (About 15 percent of admitted students this year were Black; 13 percent were Latino; and 3 percent were Native American.)

But Harvard’s arguments have done little to dispel the suspicions of many Asian Americans. Consultants say that, if anything, concerns among students about appearing too Asian are only growing.

Sasha Chada, the founder of Ivy Scholars, a college admissions counseling company based in Texas, said that while his company’s Latino clients often emphasized their ethnicity and their engagement with Hispanic cultural organizations on their college applications, his company frequently gave Asian American students the opposite advice, urging them to shift away from “classically Asian activities” to improve their chances of getting into the country’s elite universities.

“It doesn’t make me happy to tell ninth graders that there are musical instruments they shouldn’t play or academic pursuits they shouldn’t engage in because it’s going to make them look bad because of their ethnicity,” Mr. Chada said.

Many consultants said that, when it came to elite college admissions, it was not enough to just be a well-rounded student. Differentiation is the name of the game, regardless of race.

Part of the problem, some college consultants say, is that there are kernels of truth in the stereotypes of Asian applicants. Within the communities, violin and piano are, in fact, oversubscribed activities, the consultants say, making it difficult for most students to stand out.

“I often tell families that instead of playing violin or piano, which is something almost every Chinese American can check off on their profile, try a different instrument,” said Shin Wei, the founder and chief executive of IvyMax, an admissions counseling company based in California.

For many immigrant parents like Jing Zeng, getting their children into a top college is seen as crucial for upward social mobility. But navigating a new and opaque admissions system that takes into account factors besides test scores can feel daunting, leading many first-generation parents to look at what families around them are doing and push their children into the same types of activities.

“When we came to this country, we had nothing — we have no background, we have no legacy,” said Ms. Zeng, 52, who emigrated from China in the mid-1990s and recently sent her son off to Pomona College in California.

In its brief, Students for Fair Admissions drew a parallel between Harvard’s approach to Asian American applicants and the efforts by Ivy League schools, including Harvard, to limit the number of Jewish students in the 1920s.

Others see parallels as well. “The same stereotypes used to grade down Jewish applicants in the 1920s — that they were nerds or grinds, that they would spend too much time studying to be ‘well rounded’ — are being used against Asian American applicants today,” said Mark Oppenheimer, the host of [*“*](https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/community/articles/gatecrashers-podcast-jews-ivy-league) [*Gatecrashers,”*](https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/community/articles/gatecrashers-podcast-jews-ivy-league) a podcast about the history of Jews in the Ivy League.

Supporters of Harvard [*say*](https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/20/20-1199/232297/20220801111912499_220702a%20Amicus%20Brief%20for%20efiling.pdf) that the historical comparison is flawed and that there is no evidence that Harvard’s current admissions policies are driven by animus toward Asian Americans or that they are designed to suppress the number of Asian Americans admitted to the school.

Students for Fair Admissions has also argued that, among Asian American students, the perception of bias has contributed to “unusually high” levels of anxiety and suicide. Even some of the most outspoken supporters of race-conscious admissions have acknowledged the negative impact of that perception on students’ mental health.

Sally Chen is the education equity program manager at Chinese for Affirmative Action, a San Francisco-based advocacy organization. As a child of ***working-class*** Chinese immigrants, she said that she had [*benefited*](https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2022-10-25/affirmative-action-supreme-court-asian-american) from affirmative action when she had applied to Harvard and that there was no evidence of discrimination against Asians in the school’s admissions process.

At the same time, she added, “I know through talking to other Asian American students and families how harmful it can be for students to think that their experiences or their background are not compelling or not valuable.”

In interviews with about a dozen or so former and current Asian American students at Harvard, most said that they were disturbed by some of the lawsuit’s revelations but also that they supported the university’s efforts to foster a diverse student body, even more so after having experienced the diversity of the campus firsthand.

Some of the students said they had written about their Asian identity in their admissions applications, but they described carefully calibrated essays — intended to relay an applicant’s life while also avoiding stereotypes. [*Ms. Li*](https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2022/11/4/li-end-legacy-admissions-affirmative-action/), the chess player, said she had felt that she had more space to discuss her identity from a generational perspective. She wrote about how translating between Chinese and English at an international competition had reflected her struggles communicating with her immigrant parents.

Lap Nguyen, 20, a junior at Harvard, had also leaned into generational themes, writing about his love for the language of his birth country, Vietnam, and his experience teaching that language to his little brother.

This nuanced consideration of how Asian American students should present themselves could become even more freighted if affirmative action in college admissions is ruled unconstitutional. During the Supreme Court hearing, the justices considered what kind of personal essays could be allowed. Would students, for instance, be allowed to write about their personal experiences of racism?

Patrick Strawbridge, a lawyer for Students for Fair Admissions, said, “What we object to is a consideration of race and race by itself,” adding that an Asian American student might write about traveling to a grandparent’s home country.

For now, Asian American students are still figuring out what to write. Grace Ou, 17, a senior at Galileo Academy of Science and Technology in San Francisco, said that in her college application essays she planned to write about her identity.

It was a turnaround from her younger years, when classmates sometimes made her feel that she was “too Asian” because she played the violin and had a Chinese middle name.

That changed when several Chinese family friends and acquaintances in Ms. Ou’s ***working-class*** community in San Francisco were attacked during the pandemic, part of a recent wave of anti-Asian hate incidents across the country. Seeing the strength of her community in that vulnerable moment made her determined to embrace her identity as an Asian American woman, she said.

“In terms of college applications, I don’t think I’m going to try to stay away from that,” she said. “It is who I am.”

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

PHOTOS: Even though Max Li knew his last name sounded Chinese, he selected “prefer not to say” on his college application form. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TONY LUONG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

**Load-Date:** June 20, 2023

**End of Document**



[***In India, Desperation As Best Jobs Draw Horde***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68K5-3PG1-JBG3-63TW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 29, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1749 words

**Byline:** By Alex Travelli, Hari Kumar and Atul Loke

**Body**

The grubby lanes of Musallahpur, in the north Indian city of Patna, heave with the foot traffic, banners and vending carts familiar to commercial hubs across India. Here, though, the cacophony is directed toward a single goal: helping young people land a government job.

Musallahpur is filled with brick-barn classrooms where 20-somethings crowd themselves and their heavy backpacks to train for standardized employment exams. With nearly 1,800 applicants for every one of the state's top-tier jobs, they know it is the ultimate long shot. But in a country where semi-employed drudgery defines life for hundreds of millions, it is their only hope.

A thousand miles to the south, in the city of Coimbatore, a busy automotive parts entrepreneur, M. Ramesh, faces the flip side of India's profound employment challenge. If the government has far more potential workers than it needs, Mr. Ramesh has far too few.

To make complicated aluminum castings that perform precisely at 200 miles per hour, he needs workers who are willing to stay put, learn and earn. But he says he cannot find enough who are capable and reliable, from the country's more impoverished north or anywhere else. So he was a week away from partially automating his plant -- turning to machines in the hope of employing fewer humans.

As India overtakes China to become the world's most populous nation, solving its economic mismatch is perhaps its most crucial task. Success could mean a more middle-income future that fulfills the country's world-shaking promise. Failure could leave swaths of India mired in pervasive poverty for decades to come.

The fate of the planet's biggest generation of workers hangs in the balance.

India's young and expanding population, with more students leaving school every year to start careers, is the envy of countries that face an aging citizenry and a shrinking work force. Its economic growth of about 6 percent a year is also a global bright spot.

But that growth is not producing enough jobs. And the jobs that businesses do have to offer are often out of alignment with the skills and aspirations of India's potential employees.

This has implications for the entire world. India must get more out of its work force if its economy, now the fifth-largest and knitted more deeply into the global exchange of goods and services each year, is to stoke growth elsewhere, as China does.

Inside India, the long-term consequences of failing to match its young with adequate employment could be grave. The unmet desires of these workers, more educated and more indebted than ever, have become a volatile force. Across the state of Bihar, of which Patna is the capital, young men set fire to trains last summer, furious at a plan that could eliminate jobs in the armed forces.

A quieter risk is an immense waste of human potential. India's anticipated ''demographic dividend,'' as its population continues its steady but manageable growth, could instead bring a huge cohort forced to settle for unfulfilling and unproductive work, when they do not drop out of employment completely.

At the same time, managers struggle with enormous personnel problems. Finding people willing to uproot themselves for the factory jobs most crucial to long-term economic growth can be difficult. Training them can be expensive, and keeping them can be nearly impossible.

If India were to follow a traditional path to development, it would need a more robust manufacturing sector, economists say. But as bosses try to bypass their labor issues by opting for automation, India is tipping toward ''premature deindustrialization,'' with manufacturing jobs vanishing before they have worked their usual poverty-alleviating magic.

''We either have to go in for full automation, where we have to reduce our manpower drastically, or look at doing business with fewer people,'' said Jayakumar Ramdass, the joint managing director of Mahendra Pumps, another booming industrial concern in Coimbatore.

Striving Masses

In Bihar, India's youngest, poorest and fastest-growing state, with more than 120 million people, a feudal social structure and low rate of urbanization pose old chicken-or-egg riddles that ask what keeps a poor place poor.

Here entrepreneurship looks like another name for self-employment, and self-employment a euphemism for unemployment. More than half of India's work force is technically self-employed. That work is often piecemeal: Picture a railway station where 10 rickshaw drivers wait for passengers but there are only enough fares for two or three.

So, in India, many young people aim not for the stars, but for stability. In Bihar, that means a government job, no matter how lowly. Even an under-registrar position in the Prohibition office, for instance, is a coveted prize.

But the competition is fierce. Roughly half a million young people took the annual preliminary test for the Bihar Public Services Commission in February, for a total of 281 jobs. For every batch of 2,000 hopefuls, 1,999 will walk away with nothing.

The odds are nearly as bad on the national level. From 2014 to 2022, Indians filed more than 220 million job applications with the central government. Of those, just 720,000 -- less than one-third of 1 percent -- were successful, a government minister told Parliament.

Still, every year, Patna, the capital of Bihar, draws in thousands of students from the densely populated countryside, each spending years scribbling notes on calculus, geology and everything else they might face on state examinations.

Praveen Kumar, 27, is both a student and an employee at a Patna coaching center. Though his parents never left their family farm, he earned a bachelor's in math and moved between richer parts of the country, looking for work.

What he saw depressed him. Friends with engineering degrees found jobs on assembly lines, screwing together mobile-phone chargers for $146 a month. That is considerably more than they would have made in their home village, but not enough to be worth leaving behind family for very long.

After Mr. Kumar gave up and returned to Bihar, he said, ''I was getting frustrated sitting at home.'' He sometimes contemplated suicide. In one such low moment, he was ignited by the dream of admission to the civil service.

Since then, he has moved to Patna and tried to pass the exams four times. While studying, he earns $110 a month doing video production work on lessons for students like himself. With that he manages to feed himself, his wife and their 4-month-old baby.

In India, where outright unemployment hardly exists, many similarly scrape by. ''People cannot afford to be unemployed,'' said Amit Basole, a professor of economics at Azim Premji University in Bengaluru. ''So, they are, of course, working all the time, but they are working in very low-wage and low-productivity occupations.''

The one exception are educated young people -- those at a stage in life when they can, briefly, hold out for something better. For people under 30 with at least 12 years of schooling, the unemployment level reaches 15 to 20 percent, Dr. Basole said. Among young women, it can go as high as 50 percent.

When nothing pans out, even the most educated young people must settle for whatever work they can find, be it wage labor in the city or helping around the farm back home.

In Mr. Kumar's home village, Nai Naiyawan, the signs of unemployment appear in subtle ways. On quiet rural lanes, a striking number of the handsome carved wooden doorways are padlocked. Whole families have left behind their homes in search of temporary work.

It is not so tough a place as it was when Mr. Kumar's father was younger; now there is adequate electricity, cheap phone and internet service, and subsidized grains. ''Here there is no employment,'' the younger Mr. Kumar says. ''Otherwise, all things are good.''

Those still in the village are tending livestock and openly idling away their weekdays. Except for the men in their early 20s. They are finishing university degrees and dreaming about government standardized tests.

Help Wanted

The valley around Coimbatore, in the southern state of Tamil Nadu, is a model of what India wants for itself in the decades ahead. The state's fertility rate is much lower than Bihar's. Coimbatore's business community is diverse, with about 100,000 small- to medium-sized companies, specializing in casting, machining and irrigation equipment.

What these businesses don't have is a steady supply of reliable labor. Mr. Ramesh, the managing director at Alphacraft, the auto parts manufacturer, is optimistic about almost every aspect of his business. Orders are going up and shipping costs are being streamlined, and he sees growth prospects on three continents. His only problem: a work force he cannot count on ''because they are all coming from distant parts of the country.''

Of the 200 workers who come from outside Tamil Nadu, a majority are from Bihar and speak only Hindi (most people in Tamil Nadu speak Tamil).

Mr. Ramesh needs them because the youth of Tamil Nadu are looking elsewhere. So many have earned higher degrees, often a bachelor's in technology, that they don't want to settle for the factory floor. They would rather earn less driving a scooter for a delivery app (''a job in tech'') and daydream about finding a professional job someday.

But it takes a lot to train the ***working-class*** men from Bihar. They arrive with low levels of literacy and an unfamiliarity with the kind of schedules and standards that rule a modern, semi-automated factory floor, factory owners say.

Mr. Ramesh is the only manufacturer of Aston Martin parts in Asia. The training he invests in the migrant workers becomes an expensive proposition, when 80 percent of them ''float,'' he says -- they often leave for major festivals, at unpredictable intervals, never to return. That keeps his H.R. department scrambling.

Mr. Ramesh is proud to provide a good living to the men who stay loyal to his company, far more than what a government job in Bihar would pay. Still, he and other owners and managers in Coimbatore are investing heavily in automation. For now, they need their migrant workers, but once they can afford more investment, they hope to need fewer of them.

Without more industry in places like Bihar, and a greater supply of capable, willing factory workers in places like Coimbatore, the great opportunity represented by India's demographic moment in the sun remains under a shadow.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/28/world/asia/india-workforce-economy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/28/world/asia/india-workforce-economy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From top: Thousands of students take preparatory classes in Patna, in the state of Bihar, for standardized tests for government jobs, but very few will succeed

M. Ramesh, managing director of Alphacraft, at his office in Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu, says he cannot find enough capable, reliable labor

workers at an aluminum die-casting factory in Coimbatore whose owner, facing labor problems, is turning to automation

Praveen Kumar is both a student and a worker at a Patna coaching center who has tried to pass the government exams four times. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ATUL LOKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** June 29, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A Farewell to Readers; Jay Caspian Kang***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6691-TXV1-JBG3-61J6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 1, 2022 Thursday 11:23 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1436 words

**Byline:** Jay Caspian Kang

**Highlight:** Binary thinking in politics, race and inequality has distracted us from processing everything else that takes place in the country.

**Body**

I am sad to announce that this will be the last edition of this newsletter. This decision was mine, and it was a difficult one to make because I’ve enjoyed the interactions I’ve had with you, my readers. Your emails and messages have made this, without question, the most enjoyable and satisfying writing gig of my career.

This project was always supposed to be free flowing and open to my own interpretation. Such freedoms are rare in journalism, and while I was both excited and flattered by the opportunity to spill the contents of my brain on Mondays and Thursdays, I will admit that it took me a while to figure out what I wanted to say in this space. I am, by nature, a deeply ambivalent person about most things and did not carry an agenda with me into the job.

But over the past year, as I’ve written about homelessness, education policy and nursing homes and even dabbled a bit in the culture wars, a central argument began to emerge.

It goes something like this:

Almost all of today’s politics, whether the policies enacted by local, state and federal government or the intensely polarized culture wars, come out of four events. The first three — the 2008 financial crash, the 2016 election of Donald Trump and the near-decade-long Black Lives Matter movement, which culminated in the mass George Floyd protests in 2020 — shouldn’t be particularly controversial or novel. But the fourth — [*the 1965 Immigration Act*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html) — being a bit older and obscure, does not get discussed all that much, outside of xenophobic right-wing media figures like Tucker Carlson, who called it “[*the worst attack on our democracy in 160 years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html).” Carlson’s fixation on this moment is not unwarranted: The multiethnic country we live in today would not be possible without the 1965 Immigration Act, which opened up the country to millions of people from all over the world, including my parents, who moved to the United States in the late 1970s.

The base narrative of American politics — especially as told by progressive lawmakers and the media machine that supports them — has not really acknowledged the profound demographic change in the country. The American public still doesn’t know all that much about the millions of immigrants who have come into the country since 1965, nor do they fully appreciate how the inroads made by these populations have come in a short period not just in [*terms of economic mobility*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html) but also in terms of geography.

Over the past year, I wrote a [*series*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html) [*of*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html) [*pieces*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html) about the suburbs and how the image of white, segregated schools was no longer the norm. My interest in these places, [*whether it’s a suburb*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html) where an influx of upper-middle-class Asian Americans was disrupting the norms of academic excellence or Sweet Home, a school district in the [*suburbs of Buffalo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html) where ***working-class*** immigrant and refugee families have presented both opportunities and challenges for educators who were used to teaching mostly white students, came from my sense that much of America, including the media, was missing a rather profound shift in the country.

People across the nation now live in increasingly multiethnic communities, and their conceptions of race no longer conform to basic racial binary politics in which one side (the Republicans) upholds white supremacy and the other side (Democrats) fights for all us little guys. The continuing relevance of the 1965 Immigration Act, then, comes not just from the changes it created in the country but also from the fact that it is still, in effect, new and unexplored. We need to figure out how to talk more realistically about a multiethnic country in which communities of color have very different politics from one another.

This gap between how race and inequality get discussed on the big political and media stages and the reality in places like Sweet Home only widened during the Trump era. For the most part, this was understandable. Given the immensity of the alarm over Trump’s plans, it’s difficult to really fault anyone for not fine-tuning all their understanding of the country. But the persistence of a binary type of thinking when it comes to politics, race and inequality has made it increasingly difficult to process everything else that takes place in the country.

I’ve tried to focus this newsletter on those liminal spaces where the greater American narrative does not quite make sense. Much of this focus has been on the Asian American immigrant population, but I believe much of the analysis holds for Latino and Black immigrants as well. One area of inquiry into this mismatch between a binary way of thinking and the actual American population was [*education*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html), where an increasing focus on equity has not only fallen out of line with [*families of all backgrounds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html) but also triggered a [*nascent backlash movement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html) not just among the anti-critical-race-theory crusaders but also among Asian American populations in cities like New York and San Francisco.

It’s certainly worth arguing that these shifts are small and largely inconsequential, given that immigrants tend to live in big cities in solidly blue states, but what I see is that as immigrant populations spread out to the suburbs and [*beyond*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html), they will become less reliably Democratic for the very simple fact that their neighbors and communities will not be in blue strongholds. Given the razor-thin margins between Democratic and Republican rule in America, it is imperative that Democrats start to understand immigrant communities and begin to tailor a message of communal prosperity to them.

The current zero-sum logic of equity, which goes as far as to label ***working-class*** Asian students as [*white-adjacent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html) and comes up with fantastical reasons to link their academic success with white supremacy, must be changed not only for electoral reasons but also because it simply does not make sense for a vast majority of families. The question isn’t so much whether progressives have overreached — radical measures are not bad by definition — but rather whether the current slate of progressive reforms in education and, to a smaller extent, policing are good, progressive solutions and worth the fight, backlash be damned.

So what is a good radical idea?

Over the past year, I’ve also written on a few occasions about my belief in [*community colleges*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html) and the integral part they could play in creating a truly equitable education system. Much — not all — of the equity talk in American education suffers from a lack of imagination. The goal, for the most part, seems to be to keep all the hierarchies within the system and simply make the result perfectly match the racial demographics of the country. This, I believe, is a catastrophic and ultimately impoverished way to think about education.

Instead of worrying about the number of minority kids in elite colleges, someone truly committed to class equality should argue that these schools, which cater overwhelmingly to the wealthiest families in the world, should be stripped of the power they have over the education system through sizable hikes in endowment taxes that would hurt their coffers and provide funds that could be redistributed to public institutions. Pressuring state schools to take on more community college transfers would do more for racial and economic equity than any affirmative action program and would cut down considerably on the cost of higher education.

That such initiatives receive a small fraction of the attention as tiny fluctuations in student demographics at elite schools shows just how addicted we all are to exclusivity and how resistant we are to change.

How effectively do the totems of the left address a rapidly changing and increasingly economically precarious population? And how does the binary way we think about race limit the opportunities for true coalitional politics? I hope my answers to these questions have been useful and clear. It’s been the honor of my career to work through them with you, my readers. I will still be writing, but if you’d like to stay in touch, please contact me at [*newsletterkang@gmail.com*](mailto:newsletterkang@gmail.com)

Jay Caspian Kang ([*@jaycaspiankang*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html)), a writer for Opinion and The New York Times Magazine, is the author of “The Loneliest Americans.”

Thank you for reading the Jay Caspian Kang newsletter.

While this newsletter has come to an end, The New York Times continues to provide cultural criticism, examine big ideas and tackle thorny questions in politics, culture and the economy.

To get more political coverage in particular, you can [*sign up for On Politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/07/opinion/asian-americans-1965-immigration-act.html), a daily newsletter that unpacks and illuminates American politics from every angle.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alberto Miranda FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 29, 2025

**End of Document**



[***The Forces Tearing Us Apart Are Not Quite What They Seem; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67M3-8HD1-JBG3-6271-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 22, 2023 Wednesday 12:54 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2627 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** Educational polarization matters, but racial resentment matters more.

**Body**

A toxic combination of racial resentment and the sharp regional disparity in economic growth between urban and rural America is driving the class upheaval in American partisanship, with the Republican Party dominant in ***working-class*** House districts and the Democratic Party winning a decisive majority of upscale House seats.

Studies from across the left-right spectrum reveal these and other patterns: a nation politically divided by levels of diversity; the emergence of an ideologically consistent liberal Democratic Party matching the consistent conservatism of the Republican Party, for the first time in recent history; and a striking discrepancy in the median household income of white-majority House districts held by Democrats and Republicans.

Four scholars and political analysts have produced these studies: [*Michael Podhorzer*](https://aflcio.org/author/michael-podhorzer), a former political director of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., in “[*The Congressional Class Reversa*](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1S0RH8sqV33BzLLA6V1tXmwLMbmGhoEcVEhA8Fg7aiL0/edit?_hsmi=240137472&amp;_hsenc=p2ANqtz-9LFTPUffAFrlHo1qXrmnLoldowdsdjOyw680aOJ3vFZDbHyzbyCWIfqyYlkjXWYvH5eOFuQOYGc5Kkm2zJYOElNP0Fpx5_ekJsiM2LRIYsrOL1Fxk#heading=h.gjdgxs)l,” “[*Socioeconomic Polarization*](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1LD8qDSyhXbYGnrXnfwtS_PZd1diaWojxxEF7LNY4ty4/edit?_hsmi=240137472&amp;_hsenc=p2ANqtz-_Hr4pX49LVRmG7N1HS0lfn-Robrh_zgPak2-wzvoPF843EWvqcN7xYJuD9ksSyhQCzBKx6DR9-drNH0T4NXC19H7cqPSpmvgF4PJxAhVqytvrPd5)” and “[*Education Polarization*](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1gCSiTEp8BE8-BpcG9ew2uVZuBQ8LZNIu/view)”; [*Oscar Pocasangre*](https://www.newamerica.org/our-people/oscar-pocasangre/) and [*Lee Drutman*](https://www.newamerica.org/our-people/lee-drutman/), of New America, in “[*Understanding the Partisan Divide: How Demographics and Policy Views Shape Party Coalitions*](https://www.newamerica.org/political-reform/reports/understanding-the-partisan-divide/)”; and [*Alan Abramowitz*](http://polisci.emory.edu/home/people/biography/abramowitz-alan.html), a political scientist at Emory, in “[*Both White and Nonwhite Democrats Are Moving Left*](https://centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/both-white-and-nonwhite-democrats-are-moving-left/).”

Podhorzer’s analyses produce provocative conclusions.

“Throughout the first half of the 20th century,” he writes in his class reversal essay, “Democrats were solidly the party of the bottom of the income distribution, and Republicans were solidly the party of the top half of the income distribution.” In 1958, Podhorzer points out, “more than half of the members of the Democratic caucus represented the two least affluent quintiles of districts. Today, that is nearly the case for members of the Republican caucus.”

The result? “In terms of income,” Podhorzer writes. “the respective caucuses have become mirror images of each other and of who they were from Reconstruction into the 1960s.”

The shift is especially glaring when looking at majority-white congressional districts:

From 1994 through 2008, Democrats did about equally well with each income group. But, beginning with the 2010 election, Democrats began doing much better with the top two quintiles and much worse with the bottom two quintiles. In 2020, the gap between the top two and the bottom two quintiles was 50 points. Since 2016, Democrats have been doing worse than average with the middle quintile as well.

The income shift coincided with a deepening of the urban-rural partisan schism.

“As recently as 2008,” Podhorzer writes, “40 percent of the Democratic caucus represented either rural or sparse suburban districts, and about a fifth of the Republican caucus represented majority-minority, urban or dense suburban districts. Now, the caucuses are sorted nearly perfectly.”

As if that were not enough, divergent economic trends are compounding the urban-rural split.

In his socioeconomic polarization essay, Podhorzer shows how median household income in white-majority districts has changed.

From 1996 to 2008, in majority-white districts, there was virtually no difference in household income between districts represented by Republicans and Democrats. Since then, the two have diverged sharply, with median household income rising to $80,725 in 2020 in majority-white districts represented by Democrats, well above the $62,163 in districts represented by Republicans.

Podhorzer ranks congressional districts on five measures:

1) Districts in the lowest or second-lowest quintile (the bottom 40 percent) of both income and education, 2) districts in the lowest or second-lowest quintile of income but in the middle quintile or better for education, 3) districts that are not in the other four measures, 4) districts that are either in the fourth quintile on both dimensions or in the fourth for one and the fifth for the other and 5) districts that are in the fifth quintile for both dimensions.

Using this classification system, how have majority-white districts changed over the past three decades?

“For the entire period from 1996 through 2008,” Podhorzer writes,

none of the white socioeconomic groups was more than 10 points more or less than average, although we can see the highest socioeconomic group trending more Democratic through that period. But everything changed dramatically after 2008, as the two highest socioeconomic groups rapidly became more Democratic while the lowest socioeconomic group became much less Democratic.

In 1996, Democrats represented 30 percent of the majority-white districts in the most educated and most affluent category; by 2020, they represented 86 percent. At the other end, in 1996, Democrats represented 38 and 42 percent of the districts in the bottom two categories; by 2020, those percentages fell to 12 and 18 percent.

In examining these trends, political analysts have cited a [*growing educational divide*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/opinion/rural-voters-republican-realignment.html?searchResultPosition=2), with better-educated — and thus more affluent — white voters moving in a liberal Democratic direction while white voters without college have moved toward the right.

Podhorzer does not dispute the existence of this trend but argues strenuously that limiting the analysis to education levels masks the true driving force: racial tolerance or racial resentment. “This factor, racial resentment,” he writes in the education polarization essay, “does a much, much better job of explaining our current political divisions than education polarization.”

In support of his argument, Podhorzer provides data showing that from 2000 to 2020, the Democratic margin among white people with and without college degrees who score high on [*racial resentment scales*](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/711558) has fallen from minus 26 percent to minus 62 percent for racially resentful non-college white people and from minus 14 percent to minus 53 percent among racially resentful college-educated white people.

At the same time, the Democratic margin rose from plus 12 to 70 percent over those 20 years among non-college white people low in racial resentment and from 50 to 82 percent among college-educated white people low in racial resentment.

In other words, in contradiction to the education divide thesis, non-college white people who are not racially resentful have become more Democratic, while college-educated white people who are racially resentful have become more Republican.

Podhorzer makes the case that “the unequal distribution of recovery after the economy crashed in 2008 has been profoundly overlooked,” interacting with and compounding divisions based on racial attitudes:

Educational attainment was among the important characteristics associated with those increasingly prosperous places. Add to that mix, first, the election of a Black president, which sparked a backlash movement of grievance in those places left behind in the recovery, and, second, the election of a racist president, Donald Trump — who stoked those grievances. We are suffering from a polarization which provides an even more comprehensive explanation than the urban-rural divide.

Changing racial attitudes are also a crucial element in Abramowitz’s analysis, “Both White and Nonwhite Democrats Are Moving Left,” in which he argues that “Democrats are now as ideologically cohesive as Republicans, which is a big change from a decade ago, when Republicans were significantly more cohesive than Democrats.”

In 1972, on a 1 to 7 scale used by [*American National Election Studies*](https://electionstudies.org/), Abramowitz writes,

supporters of the two parties were separated by an average of one unit. The mean score for Democratic voters was 3.7, just slightly to the left of center, while the mean score for Republican voters was 4.7, to the right. By 2020, the distance between supporters of the two parties had increased to an average of 2.6 units. The mean score for Democratic voters was 2.8 while the mean score for Republican voters was 5.5.

In 2020, Abramowitz observes, the ideological gulf between Democrats and Republicans was the largest “since the ANES started asking the ideological identification question.”

While the movement to the right among Republican voters has been relatively constant over this period, the Democratic shift in an increasingly liberal direction has been more recent and more rapid.

“The divide between supporters of the two parties has increased considerably since 2012, and most of this increase was due to a sharp leftward shift among Democratic voters,” Abramowitz writes. “Between 2012 and 2020, the mean score for Democratic voters went from 3.3 to 2.9 while the mean score for Republican voters went from 5.4 to 5.5.”

By far, the most important shift to the left among Democrats, according to Abramowitz, was on the question “Should federal spending on aid to Blacks be increased, decreased or kept about the same?” From 2012 to 2020, the percentage of Democrats saying “increased” more than doubled, from 31.3 to 72.2 percent. The surge was higher among white Democrats, at 47.5 points (from 24.6 to 72.1 percent), than among nonwhite Democrats, at 31.2 points (from 41.1 to 72.3 percent).

The growing ideological congruence among Democrats has significant consequences for the strength of the party on Election Day. Abramowitz notes that “for many years, white Democrats have lagged behind nonwhite Democrats in loyalty to Democratic presidential candidates. In 2020, however, this gap almost disappeared, with white Democratic identifiers almost as loyal as nonwhite Democratic identifiers.”

The increase in loyalty among white Democratic identifiers, he continues, “is due largely to their increased liberalism because defections” to the right “among white Democrats”

have been heavily concentrated among those with relatively conservative ideological orientations. This increased loyalty has also been apparent in other types of elections, including those for U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. In 2022, according to data from the American National Election Studies Pilot Survey, 96 percent of Democratic identifiers, including leaning independents, voted for Democratic candidates for U.S. House and U.S. Senate.

In their paper “Understanding the Partisan Divide,” Pocasangre and Drutman of New America focus on race and ethnicity from the vantage point of an analysis of voting patterns based on the level of diversity in a district or community.

“Republican districts,” they write,

are some of the least ethnically diverse districts. But voters within these districts have diverse policy views, particularly on economic issues. Democratic districts are some of the most ethnically diverse districts. But voters within these districts are mostly in agreement over their views of both social and economic issues.

Pocasangre and Drutman’s study reinforces the widespread finding “that Republican districts are predominantly white and, for the most part, less affluent than the national average. In contrast, Democratic districts are less white than the average but tend to be more affluent than average.”

Pocasangre and Drutman find that the household income difference between Democratic- and Republican-held seats continues to widen. From 2020 to 2022, the income in Democratic districts rose from $95,000 to $100,000 while in Republican districts it grew from $77,000 to $80,000.

Republican districts, the two authors continue, are “conservative on both social and economic issues, with very few districts below the national average on either dimension.” Democratic districts, in contrast, are

progressive on both policy domains, but have quite a few districts that fall above the average on either the social or economic dimension. In particular, of the 229 Democratic districts in 2020, 14 percent were more conservative than the national average on social issues and 19 percent were more conservative than the national average on economic issues.

On average, competitive districts tilt Republican, according to the authors:

very few competitive districts in 2020 were found on the progressive quadrants of social and economic issues. Instead, of the 27 competitive districts in 2020, 70 percent were more conservative than the national average on economic issues, and 59 percent were more conservative than the national average on social issues.

These battleground districts

lean toward the progressive side when it comes to gun control, but they lean toward the conservative side on all the other social issues. Their views on structural discrimination — an index that captures responses to questions of whether Black people just need to try harder to get ahead and whether discrimination keeps them back — are the most conservative, followed by views toward abortion.

In addition, a majority of competitive districts, 57 percent, are in Republican-leaning rural-suburban communities, along with an additional 13 percent in purely rural areas. Democratic districts, in contrast, are 17 percent in purely urban areas and 52 percent in urban-suburban communities, with 31 percent in rural-suburban or purely rural areas.

I asked Pocasangre about this tilt, and he emailed back:

For now, most swing districts go for Republicans. The challenge for Democrats right now is that most of these swing districts are in suburbs which demographically and ideologically look more like rural areas where Republicans have their strongholds. So, Democrats do face an uphill battle when trying to make inroads in these districts.

But, Pocasangre continued, “majorities in Congress are so slim that control of the House could switch based on idiosyncratic factors, like exceptionally bad candidates on the other side, scandals, changes in turnout, etc. Democrats need to get lucky in the suburbs, but for Republicans, they are theirs to lose.”

Pocasangre and Drutman classified districts as Democratic, Republican or competitive based on the ratings of [*The Cook Political Report*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/) in the 2020 and 2022 elections: “Competitive districts are those classified as tossups for each cycle, while the partisan districts are those rated as solid, likely or lean Democratic or Republican.”

The Cook Report analysis of 2024 House races lists 20 tossup seats, 11 held by Democrats, and nine by Republicans, one of which is held by the serial fabulist George Santos, whose threatened New York seat is classified as “lean Democratic.” Eight of the 11 Democratic tossups are in three states: four in North Carolina and two each in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Four of the nine Republican tossups are in New York, along with two in Arizona.

The changing composition of both Democratic and Republican electorates and the demographics of the districts they represent is one of the reasons that governing has become so difficult. One result of the changing composition of the parties has been a shift in focus to social and cultural issues. These are issues that government is often not well equipped to address but that propel political competition and escalate partisan hostility.

Perhaps most important, however, is that there now is no economic cohesion holding either party together. Instead, both have conflicting wings. For the Republicans, it’s a pro-business elite combined with a ***working-class***, largely white, often racially resentful base; for the Democrats, it’s a party dependent on the support of disproportionately low-income minorities, combined with a largely white, college-educated elite.

One might question why all these cultural and social issues have come so much to the fore and what it might take for the dam to give.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Want One of India’s Best Jobs? You and 1,800 Other Applicants.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68JY-F3N1-JBG3-62M2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 28, 2023 Wednesday 23:20 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; asia

**Length:** 1839 words

**Byline:** Alex Travelli, Hari Kumar and Atul Loke

**Highlight:** In some places, educated young people are desperate for steady employment in the world’s most populous nation. In others, factory owners struggle to retain workers.

**Body**

The grubby lanes of Musallahpur, in the north Indian city of Patna, heave with the foot traffic, banners and vending carts familiar to commercial hubs across India. Here, though, the cacophony is directed toward a single goal: helping young people land a government job.

Musallahpur is filled with brick-barn classrooms where 20-somethings crowd themselves and their heavy backpacks to train for standardized employment exams. With nearly 1,800 applicants for every one of the state’s top-tier jobs, they know it is the ultimate long shot. But in a country where semi-employed drudgery defines life for hundreds of millions, it is their only hope.

A thousand miles to the south, in the city of Coimbatore, a busy automotive parts entrepreneur, M. Ramesh, faces the flip side of India’s profound employment challenge. If the government has far more potential workers than it needs, Mr. Ramesh has far too few.

To make complicated aluminum castings that perform precisely at 200 miles per hour, he needs workers who are willing to stay put, learn and earn. But he says he cannot find enough who are capable and reliable, from the country’s more impoverished north or anywhere else. So he was a week away from partially automating his plant — turning to machines in the hope of employing fewer humans.

As India overtakes China to become the world’s most populous nation, solving its economic mismatch is perhaps its most crucial task. Success could mean a more middle-income future that fulfills the country’s world-shaking promise. Failure could leave swaths of India mired in pervasive poverty for decades to come.

The fate of the planet’s biggest generation of workers hangs in the balance.

India’s young and expanding population, with more students leaving school every year to start careers, is the envy of countries that face an aging citizenry and a shrinking work force. Its economic growth of about 6 percent a year is also a global bright spot.

But that growth is not producing enough jobs. And the jobs that businesses do have to offer are often out of alignment with the skills and aspirations of India’s potential employees.

This has implications for the entire world. India must get more out of its work force if its economy, now the fifth-largest and knitted more deeply into the global exchange of goods and services each year, is to stoke growth elsewhere, as China does.

Inside India, the long-term consequences of failing to match its young with adequate employment could be grave. The unmet desires of these workers, more educated and more indebted than ever, have become a volatile force. Across the state of Bihar, of which Patna is the capital, young men set fire to trains last summer, [*furious at a plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/17/world/asia/india-military-recruiting-protest.html) that could eliminate jobs in the armed forces.

A quieter risk is an immense waste of human potential. India’s anticipated “demographic dividend,” as its population continues its steady but manageable growth, could instead bring a huge cohort forced to settle for unfulfilling and unproductive work, when they do not drop out of employment completely.

At the same time, managers struggle with enormous personnel problems. Finding people willing to uproot themselves for the factory jobs most crucial to long-term economic growth can be difficult. Training them can be expensive, and keeping them can be nearly impossible.

If India were to follow a traditional path to development, it would need a more robust manufacturing sector, economists say. But as bosses try to bypass their labor issues by opting for automation, India is tipping toward “premature deindustrialization,” with manufacturing jobs vanishing before they have worked their usual poverty-alleviating magic.

“We either have to go in for full automation, where we have to reduce our manpower drastically, or look at doing business with fewer people,” said Jayakumar Ramdass, the joint managing director of Mahendra Pumps, another booming industrial concern in Coimbatore.

Striving Masses

In Bihar, India’s youngest, poorest and fastest-growing state, with more than 120 million people, a feudal social structure and low rate of urbanization pose old chicken-or-egg riddles that ask what keeps a poor place poor.

Here entrepreneurship looks like another name for self-employment, and self-employment a euphemism for unemployment. [*More than half of India’s work force*](https://pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1693213) is technically self-employed. That work is often piecemeal: Picture a railway station where 10 rickshaw drivers wait for passengers but there are only enough fares for two or three.

So, in India, many young people aim not for the stars, but for stability. In Bihar, that means a government job, no matter how lowly. Even an under-registrar position in the Prohibition office, for instance, is a coveted prize.

But the competition is fierce. Roughly half a million young people took the annual preliminary test for the [*Bihar Public Services Commission*](https://www.careerpower.in/bpsc.html) in February, for a total of 281 jobs. For every batch of 2,000 hopefuls, 1,999 will walk away with nothing.

The odds are nearly as bad on the national level. From 2014 to 2022, Indians filed more than 220 million job applications with the central government. Of those, just 720,000 — less than one-third of 1 percent — were successful, a government minister told Parliament.

Still, every year, Patna, the capital of Bihar, draws in thousands of students from the densely populated countryside, each spending years scribbling notes on calculus, geology and everything else they might face on state examinations.

Praveen Kumar, 27, is both a student and an employee at a Patna coaching center. Though his parents never left their family farm, he earned a bachelor’s in math and moved between richer parts of the country, looking for work.

What he saw depressed him. Friends with engineering degrees found jobs on assembly lines, screwing together mobile-phone chargers for $146 a month. That is considerably more than they would have made in their home village, but not enough to be worth leaving behind family for very long.

After Mr. Kumar gave up and returned to Bihar, he said, “I was getting frustrated sitting at home.” He sometimes contemplated suicide. In one such low moment, he was ignited by the dream of admission to the civil service.

Since then, he has moved to Patna and tried to pass the exams four times. While studying, he earns $110 a month doing video production work on lessons for students like himself. With that he manages to feed himself, his wife and their 4-month-old baby.

In India, where outright unemployment hardly exists, many similarly scrape by. “People cannot afford to be unemployed,” said Amit Basole, a professor of economics at Azim Premji University in Bengaluru. “So, they are, of course, working all the time, but they are working in very low-wage and low-productivity occupations.”

The one exception are educated young people — those at a stage in life when they can, briefly, hold out for something better. For people under 30 with at least 12 years of schooling, the unemployment level reaches 15 to 20 percent, Dr. Basole said. Among young women, it can go as high as 50 percent.

When nothing pans out, even the most educated young people must settle for whatever work they can find, be it wage labor in the city or helping around the farm back home.

In Mr. Kumar’s home village, Nai Naiyawan, the signs of unemployment appear in subtle ways. On quiet rural lanes, a striking number of the handsome carved wooden doorways are padlocked. Whole families have left behind their homes in search of temporary work.

It is not so tough a place as it was when Mr. Kumar’s father was younger; now there is adequate electricity, cheap phone and internet service, and subsidized grains. “Here there is no employment,” the younger Mr. Kumar says. “Otherwise, all things are good.”

Those still in the village are tending livestock and openly idling away their weekdays. Except for the men in their early 20s. They are finishing university degrees and dreaming about government standardized tests.

Help Wanted

The valley around Coimbatore, in the southern state of Tamil Nadu, is a model of what India wants for itself in the decades ahead. The state’s fertility rate is much lower than Bihar’s. Coimbatore’s business community is diverse, with about 100,000 small- to medium-sized companies, specializing in casting, machining and irrigation equipment.

What these businesses don’t have is a steady supply of reliable labor. Mr. Ramesh, the managing director at Alphacraft, the auto parts manufacturer, is optimistic about almost every aspect of his business. Orders are going up and shipping costs are being streamlined, and he sees growth prospects on three continents. His only problem: a work force he cannot count on “because they are all coming from distant parts of the country.”

Of the 200 workers who come from outside Tamil Nadu, a majority are from Bihar and speak only Hindi (most people in Tamil Nadu speak Tamil).

Mr. Ramesh needs them because the youth of Tamil Nadu are looking elsewhere. So many have earned higher degrees, often a bachelor’s in technology, that they don’t want to settle for the factory floor. They would rather earn less driving a scooter for a delivery app (“a job in tech”) and daydream about finding a professional job someday.

But it takes a lot to train the ***working-class*** men from Bihar. They arrive with low levels of literacy and an unfamiliarity with the kind of schedules and standards that rule a modern, semi-automated factory floor, factory owners say.

Mr. Ramesh is the only manufacturer of Aston Martin parts in Asia. The training he invests in the migrant workers becomes an expensive proposition, when 80 percent of them “float,” he says — they often leave for major festivals, at unpredictable intervals, never to return. That keeps his H.R. department scrambling.

Mr. Ramesh is proud to provide a good living to the men who stay loyal to his company, far more than what a government job in Bihar would pay. Still, he and other owners and managers in Coimbatore are investing heavily in automation. For now, they need their migrant workers, but once they can afford more investment, they hope to need fewer of them.

Without more industry in places like Bihar, and a greater supply of capable, willing factory workers in places like Coimbatore, the great opportunity represented by India’s demographic moment in the sun remains under a shadow.

PHOTOS: From top: Thousands of students take preparatory classes in Patna, in the state of Bihar, for standardized tests for government jobs, but very few will succeed; M. Ramesh, managing director of Alphacraft, at his office in Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu, says he cannot find enough capable, reliable labor; workers at an aluminum die-casting factory in Coimbatore whose owner, facing labor problems, is turning to automation; Praveen Kumar is both a student and a worker at a Patna coaching center who has tried to pass the government exams four times. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ATUL LOKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** June 28, 2023

**End of Document**



[***In West Belfast, Two Sides United in Hardship***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:680R-8T51-DXY4-X17J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 13, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1255 words

**Byline:** By Megan Specia

**Body**

While the Good Friday Agreement brought undeniable progress, some of the most deprived communities remain disillusioned about the opportunities that failed to materialize.

The two neighborhoods -- one mostly Roman Catholic, the other mostly Protestant -- have been divided for generations, split by the religious and political lines in Northern Ireland that fueled the decades-long conflict known as the Troubles and, even with 25 years of a peace deal, have not fully gone away.

But last week, on Good Friday, the residents took part in a gesture of unity that would have been unthinkable a generation ago: They joined hands to create a human chain stretching across their two neighborhoods.

As Northern Ireland celebrates the 25th anniversary of the peace deal, known as the Good Friday Agreement, the display in West Belfast was a signal not just of the progress that has been made, but also of how the two communities have a surprising amount in common, especially nowadays.

On Tuesday, President Biden touched down in Northern Ireland for a visit to honor the anniversary of the agreement and to meet the leaders of Northern Ireland's five political parties. Next week, Prime Minister Rishi Sunak of Britain, King Charles III and former President Bill Clinton, who helped broker the agreement when he was in office, will also visit Belfast to celebrate.

Yet, for all the headway that has been made since the Good Friday Agreement, prosperity has not always followed the peace, as the two neighborhoods in West Belfast can attest. They are among the most deprived in Northern Ireland, plagued by educational underachievement and child poverty, problems that have only worsened with the recent rise in the cost of living.

''Where do we get our next dime from to put in for electric?'' said Demi Griffith, who lives in the mostly Protestant Shankill Road area of West Belfast, repeating a common refrain. ''It's scary.''

To top it off, Northern Ireland has not had a functioning government -- the body known as Stormont -- in months because of a bitter political dispute over post-Brexit trade rules. That has left poorer neighborhoods on both sides of the sectarian divide with little sense of when their economic frustrations will even be addressed.

''There are no boundaries to poverty in terms of what we are seeing here,'' said Paul Doherty, the founder and community response manager of Foodstock, a charity that provides aid to families across Belfast. Twenty-five years on from ''the Good Friday Agreement,'' he added, ''the lack of opportunities here is a real issue that we still haven't tackled.''

Part of the peace deal included a power-sharing arrangement intended to ensure representation for the two major sides in the conflict. But the political stagnation means that any overhauls to health care or education have ground to a halt, and approvals for additional public funding for some social services have had to wait.

''It creates a vacuum,'' said Robert Savage, a professor at Boston College and expert in Irish history. ''Without a local government, there's instability,'' he added. ''And that instability can lead to violence.''

For generations, Northern Ireland has been torn by a deep-seated divide between mostly Catholic nationalists, who want unity with the Republic of Ireland, and mostly Protestant unionists, who want the territory to remain part of the United Kingdom.

On one side of the peace wall in West Belfast, murals display Ireland's orange, green and white tricolor flag, while on the other, the red, white and blue of the Union Jack appears, offering a stark visual reminder of the entrenched divisions.

Professor Savage said that many in deprived communities had a real sense that the transformative opportunities presented by the end of the Troubles had failed to materialize.

''There are so many people that are really grateful for the Good Friday Agreement,'' he said. ''But my sense is that in ***working-class*** areas that are both Catholic and Protestant, there is a real sense of disillusionment.''

There are efforts to build on the work that has been done in the wake of the peace agreement. Schools, while still largely divided along religious lines, have engaged in extracurricular programs across communities. Sports teams have sprung up recruiting players from across the lines. And an influx of international workers has brought more diversity to Belfast.

Although tensions have occasionally flared in Northern Ireland recently, largely because of the squabbling over the Brexit arrangements, there has been relative calm around the anniversary of the agreement, despite warnings from the authorities about the potential for sectarian violence.

In one outbreak, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at a police vehicle in the city of Derry, about 75 miles northwest of Belfast, during a parade on Monday held by so-called dissident republicans, who espouse an extreme version of Irish nationalism.

Sectarian violence in the wake of Brexit -- which set off a fierce debate about how Northern Ireland would be treated after the United Kingdom's separation from the European Union -- has erupted sporadically in Belfast neighborhoods in recent years, including a riot in West Belfast in April 2021.

At that time, youth workers were out in the streets attempting to calm tensions, said Mr. Doherty, the Foodstock founder. But now, he noted, funding for many programs for young people has been cut.

''People in our communities are struggling to put food on their tables, to heat their homes,'' he added. ''But these vital services in terms of how we move forward here and how we are able to talk to our young people, allow them to make the right choices, those have been removed, also.''

Like Ms. Griffith, Lynsey McKinney lives in the mostly Protestant Shankill Road area. They both say they have seen a major evolution in their neighborhood in recent years.

But Ms. McKinney acknowledges that the communities live largely separately. She recalled how two years ago, her eldest daughter had turned to her and asked, ''How do I know if I am in a Protestant or a Catholic area?''

''And the only way I could describe it is to look for the flags,'' she said. She told her: ''If you see a Union Jack, you are safe. If you see a tricolor, do not go into that area. And she was 15, and I had to start telling her the history.''

Ms. Griffith also says that she worries about her children's safety and that she doesn't have an especially positive outlook on the future. But the more immediate concern for both is the high cost of living.

Lisa Lynn, 42, a community worker, also grew up in West Belfast -- but in the mainly Catholic Falls Road area. She remembers gunmen opening fire on a nearby police station.

''I've seen a massive change in terms of safety now,'' she said, noting the absence of paramilitaries on the streets, for one thing. ''It's very much a progressive society, in my opinion.''

But she also said that the systems -- youth programs, access to education, social services and the like -- that had lifted up the community could be under threat without a functioning government.

''At the end of the day, we all have the same problems if you are orange or green,'' she said, referring to the colors associated with unionists and nationalists. ''Everybody is suffering financially; everyone is suffering at the hands of the politicians and the system.''

In that, she said, on either side of the sectarian divide, ''their problems are no different to ours.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/world/europe/northern-ireland-good-friday-anniversary.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/world/europe/northern-ireland-good-friday-anniversary.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Left, a nationalist mural in the Falls Road area of West Belfast, Northern Ireland, a mostly Catholic neighborhood. Right, a tribute to Queen Elizabeth II in the mainly Protestant Shankill Road area. Below, heading to the city center for a St. Patrick's Day parade.

Part of a peace wall in the Shankill Road area, a stark reminder of the divisions that have long been entrenched in West Belfast. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

A police vehicle being firebombed on Monday in Derry, northwest of Belfast, during a parade held by dissident republicans. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL FAITH/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A8.

**Load-Date:** April 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***After 25 Years of Peace in Northern Ireland, Some Still Wait for Prosperity***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:680G-W3J1-JBG3-632F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 12, 2023 Wednesday 10:29 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1352 words

**Byline:** Megan Specia

**Highlight:** While the Good Friday Agreement brought undeniable progress, some of the most deprived communities remain disillusioned about the opportunities that failed to materialize.

**Body**

While the Good Friday Agreement brought undeniable progress, some of the most deprived communities remain disillusioned about the opportunities that failed to materialize.

The two neighborhoods — one mostly Roman Catholic, the other mostly Protestant — have been divided for generations, split by the religious and political lines in Northern Ireland that fueled the decades-long conflict known as the Troubles and, even with 25 years of a peace deal, [*have not fully gone away*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/12/world/europe/Northern-Ireland-Brexit-Covid-Troubles.html).

But last week, on Good Friday, the residents took part in a gesture of unity that would have been unthinkable a generation ago: They joined hands to create a human chain stretching across their two neighborhoods.

As Northern Ireland celebrates [*the 25th anniversary of the peace deal, known as the Good Friday Agreement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/10/world/europe/northern-ireland-good-friday-photos.html), the display in West Belfast was a signal not just of the progress that has been made, but also of how the two communities have a surprising amount in common, especially nowadays.

On Tuesday, [*President Biden touched down in Northern Ireland*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/10/world/europe/biden-belfast-northern-ireland.html) for a visit to honor the anniversary of the agreement and to meet the leaders of Northern Ireland’s five political parties. Next week, Prime Minister Rishi Sunak of Britain, King Charles III and former President Bill Clinton, who helped broker the agreement when he was in office, will also visit Belfast to celebrate.

Yet, for all the headway that has been made since the Good Friday Agreement, prosperity has not always followed the peace, as the two neighborhoods in West Belfast can attest. They are [*among the most deprived in Northern Ireland*](https://www.belfastlive.co.uk/news/belfast-news/belfasts-most-deprived-areas-whats-14682216), plagued by educational underachievement and child poverty, problems that have only worsened with the recent rise in the cost of living.

“Where do we get our next dime from to put in for electric?” said Demi Griffith, who lives in the mostly Protestant Shankill Road area of West Belfast, repeating a common refrain. “It’s scary.”

To top it off, Northern Ireland has not had a functioning government — the body known as Stormont — in months because of a bitter political dispute over post-Brexit trade rules. That has left poorer neighborhoods on both sides of the sectarian divide with little sense of when their economic frustrations will even be addressed.

“There are no boundaries to poverty in terms of what we are seeing here,” said Paul Doherty, the founder and community response manager of Foodstock, a charity that provides aid to families across Belfast. Twenty-five years on from “the Good Friday Agreement,” he added, “the lack of opportunities here is a real issue that we still haven’t tackled.”

Part of the peace deal included a power-sharing arrangement intended to ensure representation for the two major sides in the conflict. But the political stagnation means that any overhauls to health care or education have ground to a halt, and approvals for additional public funding for some social services have had to wait.

“It creates a vacuum,” said Robert Savage, a professor at Boston College and expert in Irish history. “Without a local government, there’s instability,” he added. “And that instability can lead to violence.”

For generations, Northern Ireland has been torn by a deep-seated divide between mostly Catholic nationalists, who want unity with the Republic of Ireland, and mostly Protestant unionists, who want the territory to remain part of the United Kingdom.

On one side of the peace wall in West Belfast, murals display Ireland’s orange, green and white tricolor flag, while on the other, the red, white and blue of the Union Jack appears, offering a stark visual reminder of the entrenched divisions.

Professor Savage said that many in deprived communities had a real sense that the transformative opportunities presented by the end of the Troubles had failed to materialize.

“There are so many people that are really grateful for the Good Friday Agreement,” he said. “But my sense is that in ***working-class*** areas that are both Catholic and Protestant, there is a real sense of disillusionment.”

There are efforts to build on the work that has been done in the wake of the peace agreement. Schools, while still largely divided along religious lines, have engaged in extracurricular programs across communities. Sports teams have sprung up recruiting players from across the lines. And an influx of international workers has brought more diversity to Belfast.

Although tensions have occasionally flared in Northern Ireland recently, largely because of the squabbling over the Brexit arrangements, there has been relative calm around the anniversary of the agreement, despite warnings from the authorities about [*the potential for sectarian violence*](https://www.gov.uk/terrorism-national-emergency).

In one outbreak, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at a police vehicle in the city of Derry, about 75 miles northwest of Belfast, during a parade on Monday held by so-called dissident republicans, who espouse an extreme version of Irish nationalism.

Sectarian violence in the wake of Brexit — which set off a fierce debate about how Northern Ireland would be treated after the United Kingdom’s separation from the European Union — has erupted sporadically in Belfast neighborhoods in recent years, including a riot in West Belfast in April 2021.

At that time, youth workers were out in the streets attempting to calm tensions, said Mr. Doherty, the Foodstock founder. But now, he noted, funding for many programs for young people has been cut.

“People in our communities are struggling to put food on their tables, to heat their homes,” he added. “But these vital services in terms of how we move forward here and how we are able to talk to our young people, allow them to make the right choices, those have been removed, also.”

Like Ms. Griffith, Lynsey McKinney lives in the mostly Protestant Shankill Road area. They both say they have seen a major evolution in their neighborhood in recent years.

But Ms. McKinney acknowledges that the communities live largely separately. She recalled how two years ago, her eldest daughter had turned to her and asked, “How do I know if I am in a Protestant or a Catholic area?”

“And the only way I could describe it is to look for the flags,” she said. She told her: “If you see a Union Jack, you are safe. If you see a tricolor, do not go into that area. And she was 15, and I had to start telling her the history.”

Ms. Griffith also says that she worries about her children’s safety and that she doesn’t have an especially positive outlook on the future. But the more immediate concern for both is the high cost of living.

Lisa Lynn, 42, a community worker, also grew up in West Belfast — but in the mainly Catholic Falls Road area. She remembers gunmen opening fire on a nearby police station.

“I’ve seen a massive change in terms of safety now,” she said, noting the absence of paramilitaries on the streets, for one thing. “It’s very much a progressive society, in my opinion.”

But she also said that the systems — youth programs, access to education, social services and the like — that had lifted up the community could be under threat without a functioning government.

“At the end of the day, we all have the same problems if you are orange or green,” she said, referring to the colors associated with unionists and nationalists. “Everybody is suffering financially; everyone is suffering at the hands of the politicians and the system.”

In that, she said, on either side of the sectarian divide, “their problems are no different to ours.”

PHOTOS: Left, a nationalist mural in the Falls Road area of West Belfast, Northern Ireland, a mostly Catholic neighborhood. Right, a tribute to Queen Elizabeth II in the mainly Protestant Shankill Road area. Below, heading to the city center for a St. Patrick’s Day parade.; Part of a peace wall in the Shankill Road area, a stark reminder of the divisions that have long been entrenched in West Belfast. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); A police vehicle being firebombed on Monday in Derry, northwest of Belfast, during a parade held by dissident republicans. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL FAITH/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A8.

**Load-Date:** April 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***After 25 Years of Peace in Northern Ireland, Some Still Wait for Prosperity***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:680H-9M41-JBG3-63TJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 12, 2023 Wednesday

The New York Times on the Web

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section ; Column 0; Foreign Desk

**Length:** 1257 words

**Byline:** By Megan Specia

**Body**

While the Good Friday Agreement brought undeniable progress, some of the most deprived communities remain disillusioned about the opportunities that failed to materialize.

The two neighborhoods -- one mostly Roman Catholic, the other mostly Protestant -- have been divided for generations, split by the religious and political lines in Northern Ireland that fueled the decades-long conflict known as the Troubles and, even with 25 years of a peace deal, have not fully gone away.

But last week, on Good Friday, the residents took part in a gesture of unity that would have been unthinkable a generation ago: They joined hands to create a human chain stretching across their two neighborhoods.

As Northern Ireland celebrates the 25th anniversary of the peace deal, known as the Good Friday Agreement, the display in West Belfast was a signal not just of the progress that has been made, but also of how the two communities have a surprising amount in common, especially nowadays.

On Tuesday, President Biden touched down in Northern Ireland for a visit to honor the anniversary of the agreement and to meet the leaders of Northern Ireland's five political parties. Next week, Prime Minister Rishi Sunak of Britain, King Charles III and former President Bill Clinton, who helped broker the agreement when he was in office, will also visit Belfast to celebrate.

Yet, for all the headway that has been made since the Good Friday Agreement, prosperity has not always followed the peace, as the two neighborhoods in West Belfast can attest. They are among the most deprived in Northern Ireland, plagued by educational underachievement and child poverty, problems that have only worsened with the recent rise in the cost of living.

''Where do we get our next dime from to put in for electric?'' said Demi Griffith, who lives in the mostly Protestant Shankill Road area of West Belfast, repeating a common refrain. ''It's scary.''

To top it off, Northern Ireland has not had a functioning government -- the body known as Stormont -- in months because of a bitter political dispute over post-Brexit trade rules. That has left poorer neighborhoods on both sides of the sectarian divide with little sense of when their economic frustrations will even be addressed.

''There are no boundaries to poverty in terms of what we are seeing here,'' said Paul Doherty, the founder and community response manager of Foodstock, a charity that provides aid to families across Belfast. Twenty-five years on from ''the Good Friday Agreement,'' he added, ''the lack of opportunities here is a real issue that we still haven't tackled.''

Part of the peace deal included a power-sharing arrangement intended to ensure representation for the two major sides in the conflict. But the political stagnation means that any overhauls to health care or education have ground to a halt, and approvals for additional public funding for some social services have had to wait.

''It creates a vacuum,'' said Robert Savage, a professor and director of Irish studies at Boston College. ''Without a local government, there's instability,'' he added. ''And that instability can lead to violence.''

For generations, Northern Ireland has been torn by a deep-seated divide between mostly Catholic nationalists, who want unity with the Republic of Ireland, and mostly Protestant unionists, who want the territory to remain part of the United Kingdom.

On one side of the peace wall in West Belfast, murals display Ireland's orange, green and white tricolor flag, while on the other, the red, white and blue of the Union Jack appears, offering a stark visual reminder of the entrenched divisions.

Professor Savage said that many in deprived communities had a real sense that the transformative opportunities presented by the end of the Troubles had failed to materialize.

''There are so many people that are really grateful for the Good Friday Agreement,'' he said. ''But my sense is that in ***working-class*** areas that are both Catholic and Protestant, there is a real sense of disillusionment.''

There are efforts to build on the work that has been done in the wake of the peace agreement. Schools, while still largely divided along religious lines, have engaged in extracurricular programs across communities. Sports teams have sprung up recruiting players from across the lines. And an influx of international workers has brought more diversity to Belfast.

Although tensions have occasionally flared in Northern Ireland recently, largely because of the squabbling over the Brexit arrangements, there has been relative calm around the anniversary of the agreement, despite warnings from the authorities about the potential for sectarian violence.

In one outbreak, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at a police vehicle in the city of Derry, about 75 miles northwest of Belfast, during a parade on Monday held by so-called dissident republicans, who espouse an extreme version of Irish nationalism.

Sectarian violence in the wake of Brexit -- which set off a fierce debate about how North Ireland would be treated after the United Kingdom's separation from the European Union -- has erupted sporadically in Belfast neighborhoods in recent years, including a riot in West Belfast in April 2021.

At that time, youth workers were out in the streets attempting to calm tensions, said Mr. Doherty, the Foodstock founder. But now, he noted, funding for many programs for young people has been cut.

''People in our communities are struggling to put food on their tables, to heat their homes,'' he added. ''But these vital services in terms of how we move forward here and how we are able to talk to our young people, allow them to make the right choices, those have been removed, also.''

Like Ms. Griffith, Lynsey McKinney lives in the mostly Protestant Shankill Road area of West Belfast. They both say they have seen a major evolution in their neighborhood in recent years.

But Ms. McKinney acknowledges that the communities live largely separately. She recalled how two years ago, her eldest daughter had turned to her and asked, ''How do I know if I am in a Protestant or a Catholic area?''

''And the only way I could describe it is to look for the flags,'' she said. She told her: ''If you see a Union Jack, you are safe. If you see a tricolor, do not go into that area. And she was 15, and I had to start telling her the history.''

Ms. Griffith also says that she worries about her children's safety and that she doesn't have an especially positive outlook on the future. But the more immediate concern for both is the high cost of living.

Lisa Lynn, 42, a community worker, also grew up in West Belfast -- but in the mainly Catholic Falls Road area. She remembers gunmen opening fire on a nearby police station.

''I've seen a massive change in terms of safety now,'' she said, noting the absence of paramilitaries on the streets, for one thing. ''It's very much a progressive society, in my opinion.''

But she also said that the systems -- youth programs, access to education, social services and the like -- that had lifted up the community could be under threat without a functioning government.

''At the end of the day, we all have the same problems if you are orange or green,'' she said, referring to the colors associated with unionists and nationalists. ''Everybody is suffering financially; everyone is suffering at the hands of the politicians and the system.''

In that, she said, on either side of the sectarian divide, ''their problems are no different to ours.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/world/europe/northern-ireland-good-friday-anniversary.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/world/europe/northern-ireland-good-friday-anniversary.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A section of the ''peace wall'' near Shankill Road in Belfast that separates mostly Protestant and mostly Catholic neighborhoods in the city. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andrew Testa for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 12, 2023

**End of Document**



[***We're Going to Miss Greed and Cynicism***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:677D-BYH1-DXY4-X2PG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 3, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 17; PAUL KRUGMAN

**Length:** 913 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

It's 2023. What will the new year bring? The answer, of course, is that we don't know. There are a fair number of what Donald Rumsfeld (remember him?) called ''known unknowns'' -- for example, nobody really knows how hard it will be to reduce inflation or whether the U.S. economy will experience a recession. There are also unknown unknowns: Will we see another shock like Russia's invasion of Ukraine?

But I think I can make one safe prediction about the U.S. political scene: We're going to spend much of 2023 feeling nostalgic for the good old days of greed and cynicism.

As late as 2015, or so I and many others thought, we had a fairly good idea about how American politics worked. It wasn't pretty, but it seemed comprehensible.

On one side we had the Democrats, who were and still are basically what people in other advanced nations call social democrats (which isn't at all the same as what most people call socialism). That is, they favor a fairly strong social safety net, supported by relatively high taxes on the affluent. They've moved somewhat to the left over the years, mainly because the gradual exit of the few remaining conservative Democrats has made the party's social-democratic orientation more consistent. But by international standards, Democrats are, at most, vaguely center left.

On the other side we had the Republicans, whose overriding goal was to keep taxes low and social programs small. Many advocates of that agenda did so in the sincere belief that it would be best for everyone -- that high taxes reduce incentives to create jobs and raise productivity, as do excessively generous benefits. But the core of the G.O.P.'s financial support (not to mention that of the penumbra of think tanks, foundations and lobbying groups that promoted its ideology) came from billionaires who wanted to preserve and increase their wealth.

To be clear, I'm not suggesting that Democrats were pure idealists. Special-interest money flowed to both parties. But of the two, Republicans were much more obviously the party of making the rich richer.

The problem for Republicans was that their economic agenda was inherently unpopular. Voters consistently tell pollsters that corporations and the rich pay too little in taxes; policies that help the poor and the middle class have broad public support. How, then, could the G.O.P. win elections?

The answer, most famously described in Thomas Frank's 2004 book ''What's the Matter With Kansas?,'' was to win over white ***working-class*** voters by appealing to them on cultural issues. His book came in for considerable criticism from political scientists, in part because he underplayed the importance of white racial antagonism, but the general picture still seems right.

As Frank described it, however, the culture war was basically phony -- a cynical ploy to win elections, ignored once the votes were counted. ''The leaders of the backlash may talk Christ,'' he wrote, ''but they walk corporate. ... Abortion is never halted. Affirmative action is never abolished. The culture industry is never forced to clean up its act.''

These days, that sounds quaint -- even a bit like a golden era -- as many American women lose their reproductive rights, as schools are pressured to stop teaching students about slavery and racism, as even powerful corporations come under fire for being excessively woke. The culture war is no longer just posturing by politicians mainly interested in cutting taxes on the rich; many elected Republicans are now genuine fanatics.

As I said, one can almost feel nostalgic for the good old days of greed and cynicism.

Oddly, the culture war turned real at a time when Americans are more socially liberal than ever. George W. Bush won the 2004 election partly thanks to a backlash against gay marriage. (True to form, he followed up his victory by proclaiming that he had a mandate to ... privatize Social Security.) But these days, Americans accept the idea of same-sex marriages almost three to one.

And the disconnect between a socially illiberal G.O.P. and an increasingly tolerant public is surely one reason the widely predicted red wave in the midterms fell so far short of expectations.

Yet despite underperforming in what should, given precedents, have been a very good year for the out-party, Republicans will narrowly control the House. And this means that the inmates will be running half the asylum.

True, not all members of the incoming House Republican caucus are fanatical conspiracy theorists. But those who aren't are clearly terrified by and submissive to those who are. Kevin McCarthy may scrape together the votes to become speaker, but even if he does, actual power will obviously rest in the hands of people like Marjorie Taylor Greene.

And what I don't understand is how the U.S. government is going to function. President Barack Obama faced an extremist, radicalized G.O.P. House, but even the Tea Partiers had concrete policy demands that could, to some extent, be appeased. How do you deal with people who believe, more or less, that the 2020 election was stolen by a vast conspiracy of pedophiles?

I don't know the answer, but prospects don't look good.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/02/opinion/culture-war-greed-cynicism.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/02/opinion/culture-war-greed-cynicism.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** January 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘Out-of-Reach Dreams’ in a Sickly Economy Provoke the Rage in Iran***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66HK-SGM1-DXY4-X342-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 2, 2022 Sunday 09:26 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; middleeast

**Length:** 1548 words

**Byline:** Vivian Yee and Farnaz Fassihi

**Highlight:** The country’s long economic decline has been one of the main forces sending Iranians into the streets over the past two weeks to demand change.

**Body**

The country’s long economic decline has been one of the main forces sending Iranians into the streets over the past two weeks to demand change.

When Nader, a 41-year-old construction company employee in Tehran, shops for groceries, he constantly adjusts his list as he wanders the aisles, double-checking prices and factoring them into his budget. His basket keeps shrinking as inflation surges: A year ago, he gave up red meat, then chicken.

Now, with Nader’s savings gone and his rent having doubled, even cheese and eggs are becoming luxuries.

“I can’t keep up with the rising prices, no matter how hard I run,” said Nader, who moonlights as a taxi driver to afford clothes and schoolbooks for his son, in a telephone interview. “Our demand is for the government to fix the economy, to understand that we are breaking under financial pressure.”

Nader, like the tens of thousands of Iranians taking part in nationwide [*protests against the government*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/24/world/middleeast/iran-protests-raisi-khamenei-hijab.html) in the past two weeks, has plenty of grievances to choose from: soaring prices, high unemployment, corruption, [*political repression*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/29/world/middleeast/iran-internet-censorship.html) and the law requiring women to [*dress modestly*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/26/world/middleeast/women-iran-protests-hijab.html?name=styln-iran-protests&amp;region=TOP_BANNER&amp;block=storyline_menu_recirc&amp;action=click&amp;pgtype=Article&amp;variant=show&amp;is_new=false) and cover their hair. That last issue set off the unrest when a young woman, [*Mahsa Amini*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/world/middleeast/iran-death-woman-protests.html), died two weeks ago in the custody of the morality police.

But the sorry state of Iran’s economy is one of the main forces spurring Iranians into the streets to demand change.

Armed with a sense of disillusionment over the failure of consecutive administrations to improve the economy, the protesters have chanted, “Death to the dictator,” calling for an end to Iran’s hard-line and inflexible clerical leadership and the Islamic Republic it built.

Economic despair is one factor unifying the government’s opponents and supporters. Abdolreza Davari, a conservative analyst, denounced the recent protests in a [*tweet*](https://twitter.com/DavariAbdolreza/status/1574244777650163712) this past week, but acknowledged that 95 percent of Iranians, regardless of their political views, were “worried about their livelihoods today and for their and their children’s future.”

Decades of mismanagement and corruption, compounded by two rounds of suffocating U.S.-led sanctions aimed at curbing Iran’s nuclear and missile programs, along with a pandemic, have frozen Iran’s economy at pre-2012 levels or worse.

Iranians who have spent the past several years cutting meat out of their budgets, scrounging for work and delaying marriage and children are angry — angry, by and large, with their leaders, whom they see as being responsible for the mismanagement of the economy.

Middle-class Iranians have had to reconfigure their lives. Many ***working-class*** people are falling below the poverty line. Businesses and livelihoods are going belly-up; rents have risen many times over. Foreign products and brands are vanishing from shops or growing eye-wateringly expensive. The Iranian rial [*lost*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/11/world/middleeast/currency-iran-economy.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedCoverage&amp;pgtype=Article&amp;region=Footer) so much value that Iran introduced a [*new unit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/04/world/middleeast/iran-currency-inflation-rial-toman.html) of currency, the toman, essentially to slash four zeros off the bills Iranians carry in stacks to do their everyday shopping.

Educated young Iranians are unable to find jobs that match their degrees. Amir, 24, is an architecture graduate who sells clothes in a Tehran mall. Most of his classmates from engineering school are working as shop clerks or taxi drivers, he said. (Like other Iranians interviewed for this article, he asked that his last name not be used for fear of retribution.)

Living with his parents because he could not afford rent, he said he could not imagine ever renting an apartment, buying a car, getting married or having children.

“For most of us, normal milestones in life seem like out-of-reach dreams,” said Amir. “Maybe the only way out is to leave Iran.”

In 2015, there was a flash of optimism after Iran [*struck a deal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/15/world/middleeast/iran-nuclear-deal-is-reached-after-long-negotiations.html) with the United States and other world powers to limit its nuclear program in exchange for sanctions relief.

Some foreign investments and partnerships were on the way. But in 2018, before the economy had a chance to recover, President Donald J. Trump exited the nuclear deal and imposed a “maximum pressure policy” of aggressive sanctions, targeting oil sales and international financial transactions. Most foreign companies pulled out of Iran, fearing secondary sanctions by the United States.

“Iranians aren’t really looking at just whether they’re better off compared to last year,” said Esfandyar Batmanghelidj, the founder of Bourse &amp; Bazaar, a research group specializing in Iranian politics and economics. “The thing that’s been weighing on everyone is, essentially, the country’s been stagnant for almost a decade.” He said people were asking, “‘Why has our economic welfare not improved in a meaningful way in a decade?’”

Grievances sparked by soaring prices and the economy’s sluggishness led to widespread [*protests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/30/world/middleeast/iran-protests-rouhani.html) against the government in 2017 and [*2019,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/01/world/middleeast/iran-protests-deaths.html)mostly in ***working-class*** and lower-income areas. Some demonstrators called for the overthrow of Iran’s supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and were violently suppressed.

Inflation raged at 30, 40, then 50 percent. Iranians now pay about 75 percent more for food than they did a year ago. Iran’s Ministry of Labor and Social Services said in an August 2021 report that one out of three Iranians, or nearly 30 million people, live in poverty.

Houri, 60, a retired government employee in Tehran, said that with her fixed income, she had to think twice before engaging in once-routine activities like visiting her sister across town. Two round-trip taxi rides a week, she said, and a third of her pension is gone. At increasingly rare family gatherings, the once-lavish spreads have dwindled to tea and simple cookies.

“We are getting by with a lot of difficulty,” she said. “Every supermarket trip is a struggle.”

The accelerating misery — and the ever-bleaker prospects — have led to an exodus of people from Iran. Though well-educated Iranians had been [*leaving the country*](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/iran-brain-drain-emigration) ever since the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the trend accelerated amid the recession and the [*Covid-19 pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/13/world/middleeast/iran-virus-delta-variant.html). Medical workers and young Iranians who left to study abroad and stayed there were especially likely to abandon Iran.

As the new sanctions bit, Iran’s leaders remained defiant, declaring the advent of a “resistance economy” that would make the country more self-sufficient and less reliant on imports and oil sales. The government invested in domestic industries, urging Iranians to buy local. It also continued to evade sanctions by selling its oil to China at a discounted rate.

Such measures helped the economy stagger to its knees, growing more than 4 percent in 2021. Inflation has [*slowed slightly*](https://www.bourseandbazaar.com/tyranny-of-numbers/2022/8/25/new-data-show-irans-economy-is-improving-as-nuclear-negotiations-reach-a-critical-stage) in recent months.

But for many Iranians, that has done little to offset years of [*turmoil and suffering*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/13/business/economy/iran-economy.html). Many have lost faith in the system as successive rounds of elections have failed to deliver the political, economic and social reforms they have demanded, leaving protest their only option.

President Ebrahim Raisi, an ultraconservative who took office last year after [*an election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/19/world/middleeast/iran-election-president-raisi.html) in which most other viable candidates were disqualified, promised to lower inflation to the single digits within a few years, jump-start growth and create nearly two million jobs by March 2023. His “economic surgery” plan, many economic analysts say, has led to more inflation and a reduction in purchasing power.

To analysts, and many Iranians, one way to improve the economy seemed clear: Revive the nuclear agreement with the West.

But with Iran and the United States [*still haggling over*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/09/us/politics/iran-nuclear-deal-eu.html) terms, it remains unclear whether a deal will ever be reached. Every announcement of progress or deadlock in the talks causes fluctuations in the currency, a barometer of Iranian optimism.

Analysts say a new agreement would quickly benefit the country: billions of dollars of oil revenue abroad would be unfrozen, and its oil and gas could be sold on global markets again. But for ordinary Iranians, economic prosperity would still require overcoming systematic mismanagement and corruption.

Some in Tehran argue that the advantages of a deal are worth seizing, especially at a time when Iran has shown it can withstand harsh sanctions. But the government appears to be in no rush to strike a deal without securing significant concessions.

“What the nuclear deal would do is deliver some really clear benefits economically, and give the government a significant amount of breathing space,” said Henry Rome, the deputy head of research at the risk consulting firm Eurasia Group, who specializes in Iran. But, he said, Iran “is trying to make do without it, and, predictably, that’s having pretty significant costs, even if they’re able to muddle through for the time being.”

In the meantime, ordinary Iranians are enduring the pain.

In the past year or so, protests have erupted [*over water shortages*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/26/world/middleeast/iran-protests-water-shortages.html) in Isfahan and [*Khuzestan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/21/world/middleeast/iran-protests-drought-violence.html) and over the [*price*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/13/world/iran-protests-food-prices.html) of staples like pasta, bread and cooking oil. (Those ended only when the government hastily began handing out cash.) Teachers, public sector workers, bus drivers and bazaar merchants have all protested over pensions, payments or prices in the last year.

When news broke of Ms. Amini’s death, many Iranians were ready, once again, to protest.

PHOTO: Shopping in Tehran. Despair stemming from brutal inflation and high unemployment was a factor in recent protests in Iran. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ARASH KHAMOOSHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 3, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Lament in a Restive Iran: 'We Are Breaking Under Financial Pressure'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66HK-TC51-JBG3-63Y1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 2, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1533 words

**Byline:** By Vivian Yee and Farnaz Fassihi

**Body**

The country's long economic decline has been one of the main forces sending Iranians into the streets over the past two weeks to demand change.

When Nader, a 41-year-old construction company employee in Tehran, shops for groceries, he constantly adjusts his list as he wanders the aisles, double-checking prices and factoring them into his budget. His basket keeps shrinking as inflation surges: A year ago, he gave up red meat, then chicken.

Now, with Nader's savings gone and his rent having doubled, even cheese and eggs are becoming luxuries.

''I can't keep up with the rising prices, no matter how hard I run,'' said Nader, who moonlights as a taxi driver to afford clothes and schoolbooks for his son, in a telephone interview. ''Our demand is for the government to fix the economy, to understand that we are breaking under financial pressure.''

Nader, like the tens of thousands of Iranians taking part in nationwide protests against the government in the past two weeks, has plenty of grievances to choose from: soaring prices, high unemployment, corruption, political repression and the law requiring women to dress modestly and cover their hair. That last issue set off the unrest when a young woman, Mahsa Amini, died two weeks ago in the custody of the morality police.

But the sorry state of Iran's economy is one of the main forces spurring Iranians into the streets to demand change.

Armed with a sense of disillusionment over the failure of consecutive administrations to improve the economy, the protesters have chanted, ''Death to the dictator,'' calling for an end to Iran's hard-line and inflexible clerical leadership and the Islamic Republic it built.

Economic despair is one factor unifying the government's opponents and supporters. Abdolreza Davari, a conservative analyst, denounced the recent protests in a tweet this past week, but acknowledged that 95 percent of Iranians, regardless of their political views, were ''worried about their livelihoods today and for their and their children's future.''

Decades of mismanagement and corruption, compounded by two rounds of suffocating U.S.-led sanctions aimed at curbing Iran's nuclear and missile programs, along with a pandemic, have frozen Iran's economy at pre-2012 levels or worse.

Iranians who have spent the past several years cutting meat out of their budgets, scrounging for work and delaying marriage and children are angry -- angry, by and large, with their leaders, whom they see as being responsible for the mismanagement of the economy.

Middle-class Iranians have had to reconfigure their lives. Many ***working-class*** people are falling below the poverty line. Businesses and livelihoods are going belly-up; rents have risen many times over. Foreign products and brands are vanishing from shops or growing eye-wateringly expensive. The Iranian rial lost so much value that Iran introduced a new unit of currency, the toman, essentially to slash four zeros off the bills Iranians carry in stacks to do their everyday shopping.

Educated young Iranians are unable to find jobs that match their degrees. Amir, 24, is an architecture graduate who sells clothes in a Tehran mall. Most of his classmates from engineering school are working as shop clerks or taxi drivers, he said. (Like other Iranians interviewed for this article, he asked that his last name not be used for fear of retribution.)

Living with his parents because he could not afford rent, he said he could not imagine ever renting an apartment, buying a car, getting married or having children.

''For most of us, normal milestones in life seem like out-of-reach dreams,'' said Amir. ''Maybe the only way out is to leave Iran.''

In 2015, there was a flash of optimism after Iran struck a deal with the United States and other world powers to limit its nuclear program in exchange for sanctions relief.

Some foreign investments and partnerships were on the way. But in 2018, before the economy had a chance to recover, President Donald J. Trump exited the nuclear deal and imposed a ''maximum pressure policy'' of aggressive sanctions, targeting oil sales and international financial transactions. Most foreign companies pulled out of Iran, fearing secondary sanctions by the United States.

''Iranians aren't really looking at just whether they're better off compared to last year,'' said Esfandyar Batmanghelidj, the founder of Bourse & Bazaar, a research group specializing in Iranian politics and economics. ''The thing that's been weighing on everyone is, essentially, the country's been stagnant for almost a decade.'' He said people were asking, '''Why has our economic welfare not improved in a meaningful way in a decade?'''

Grievances sparked by soaring prices and the economy's sluggishness led to widespread protests against the government in 2017 and 2019, mostly in ***working-class*** and lower-income areas. Some demonstrators called for the overthrow of Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and were violently suppressed.

Inflation raged at 30, 40, then 50 percent. Iranians now pay about 75 percent more for food than they did a year ago. Iran's Ministry of Labor and Social Services said in an August 2021 report that one out of three Iranians, or nearly 30 million people, live in poverty.

Houri, 60, a retired government employee in Tehran, said that with her fixed income, she had to think twice before engaging in once-routine activities like visiting her sister across town. Two round-trip taxi rides a week, she said, and a third of her pension is gone. At increasingly rare family gatherings, the once-lavish spreads have dwindled to tea and simple cookies.

''We are getting by with a lot of difficulty,'' she said. ''Every supermarket trip is a struggle.''

The accelerating misery -- and the ever-bleaker prospects -- have led to an exodus of people from Iran. Though well-educated Iranians had been leaving the country ever since the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the trend accelerated amid the recession and the Covid-19 pandemic. Medical workers and young Iranians who left to study abroad and stayed there were especially likely to abandon Iran.

As the new sanctions bit, Iran's leaders remained defiant, declaring the advent of a ''resistance economy'' that would make the country more self-sufficient and less reliant on imports and oil sales. The government invested in domestic industries, urging Iranians to buy local. It also continued to evade sanctions by selling its oil to China at a discounted rate.

Such measures helped the economy stagger to its knees, growing more than 4 percent in 2021. Inflation has slowed slightly in recent months.

But for many Iranians, that has done little to offset years of turmoil and suffering. Many have lost faith in the system as successive rounds of elections have failed to deliver the political, economic and social reforms they have demanded, leaving protest their only option.

President Ebrahim Raisi, an ultraconservative who took office last year after an election in which most other viable candidates were disqualified, promised to lower inflation to the single digits within a few years, jump-start growth and create nearly two million jobs by March 2023. His ''economic surgery'' plan, many economic analysts say, has led to more inflation and a reduction in purchasing power.

To analysts, and many Iranians, one way to improve the economy seemed clear: Revive the nuclear agreement with the West.

But with Iran and the United States still haggling over terms, it remains unclear whether a deal will ever be reached. Every announcement of progress or deadlock in the talks causes fluctuations in the currency, a barometer of Iranian optimism.

Analysts say a new agreement would quickly benefit the country: billions of dollars of oil revenue abroad would be unfrozen, and its oil and gas could be sold on global markets again. But for ordinary Iranians, economic prosperity would still require overcoming systematic mismanagement and corruption.

Some in Tehran argue that the advantages of a deal are worth seizing, especially at a time when Iran has shown it can withstand harsh sanctions. But the government appears to be in no rush to strike a deal without securing significant concessions.

''What the nuclear deal would do is deliver some really clear benefits economically, and give the government a significant amount of breathing space,'' said Henry Rome, the deputy head of research at the risk consulting firm Eurasia Group, who specializes in Iran. But, he said, Iran ''is trying to make do without it, and, predictably, that's having pretty significant costs, even if they're able to muddle through for the time being.''

In the meantime, ordinary Iranians are enduring the pain.

In the past year or so, protests have erupted over water shortages in Isfahan and Khuzestan and over the price of staples like pasta, bread and cooking oil. (Those ended only when the government hastily began handing out cash.) Teachers, public sector workers, bus drivers and bazaar merchants have all protested over pensions, payments or prices in the last year.

When news broke of Ms. Amini's death, many Iranians were ready, once again, to protest.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/01/world/middleeast/iran-protests-economy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/01/world/middleeast/iran-protests-economy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Shopping in Tehran. Despair stemming from brutal inflation and high unemployment was a factor in recent protests in Iran. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ARASH KHAMOOSHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 2, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Dolly Parton and Those Who Love Her***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61JJ-2RW1-JBG3-62T6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 19, 2020 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 4; 5 THINGS ABOUT YOUR BOOK

**Length:** 950 words

**Byline:** By John Williams

**Body**

Dolly Parton's no stranger to attention, and she's been in the news a lot lately.

She recently released a holiday special on Netflix. She has a new book out. She ... [checks notes] ... might have helped us move closer to the end of the coronavirus pandemic.

Parton's everywhere, and I don't hear many people complaining about it.

As Sarah Smarsh writes in her own new book, ''She Come by It Natural,'' Parton is a ''universally beloved icon recognized as a creative genius with a goddess-sized heart.'' Smarsh's book follows Parton's rise to iconic status through the context of the singer's roots, and of the ***working-class***, rural roots of many of her fans. Below, Smarsh discusses the book's genesis in 2016, what surprised her at a concert of Parton's that same year, an actor who has inspired her and more.

When did you first get the idea to write this book?

During the election year of 2016, I was writing a lot of commentary challenging the narrative that the white ***working class*** is somehow monolithically right-wing. At that same moment, there was a lot of misogyny in the air, in part because we had a female presidential candidate. I was thinking a lot about the intersection of gender, class and place. Dolly Parton was doing a big arena tour for the first time in many years, and I could see that she was a unifying and universally beloved figure in the midst of this divisive climate.

My first book, ''Heartland,'' is very much about that same intersection, and I guess I was shifting gears to a more journalistic approach to those same themes. I wasn't a Dolly superfan and didn't grow up that way, but country music was definitely a cultural pillar of my formative years -- and still, in my life today. So Dolly felt like a very familiar figure to serve as a springboard for a larger discussion of society.

What's the most surprising thing you learned while writing it?

A pleasant research task was attending a couple of shows on the 2016 tour. I saw her in Austin and Kansas City. In the latter instance, I took along my grandmother, who figures in the book as a similarly quick-witted woman who was born just a few months apart from Parton in similar circumstances. She lived many of the stories Parton told in her early songwriting, about poor women who are vulnerable to abuse, sexism, unsupported pregnancies.

This was the first time either of us had seen Parton live. I was surprised by the crowd at those shows; not the size, obviously, but the diversity in just about every way you can imagine. I already knew that Parton is an icon in the L.G.B.T.Q. community, and within the crowd a group of Dolly drag queens were leading the audience in swaying together to some slow song. I was amazed to see, among the people swaying, old men in cowboy hats, goth-looking teenagers, some dude wearing muddy boots with a T-shirt that said ''Proud Redneck.'' Witnessing this in 2016 made me even more suspicious of the political tropes that are still out there today. There was something simultaneously surprising and heartening: If we're divided at the ballot box but not at a Dolly Parton concert, then maybe there's hope if we find the right language for communicating.

In what way is the book you wrote different from the book you set out to write?

The most obvious way is that I didn't intend for it to be a book at all. The music magazine No Depression was offering a new fellowship for a writer to basically go deep on the sociocultural significance of the roots music genre, and that opportunity lit me up because country music is rarely given consideration as a sophisticated art form. The country music written and sung by women like Dolly was the formative feminist text of my life. So I applied and pitched Dolly as an exemplar of an overlooked, under-articulated version of ***working-class*** feminism.

I wrote a four-part series over the course of 2017 -- No Depression is a quarterly. It's a great magazine, but it's niche in its readership. And then last winter, my publisher suggested making it into a book. I wrote a foreword and lightly updated the content, but ultimately the book is a snapshot of when it was written, when the Women's March was new and we had an opportunity -- and I would say an imperative -- to redefine feminism as a more inclusive movement.

What creative person (not a writer) has influenced you and your work?

It would make sense to talk about a musician, I think, and there are many that would fit the bill, but I'm actually going to say Jodie Foster. When I was a kid and a teenager, she played so many characters who I deeply identified with. They were often self-possessed and tough by necessity; they were usually happily obsessed with their work, maybe struggling for a sense of belonging in some world where they didn't quite fit because of their gender or their class or their ambitions. There's a scene in ''The Silence of the Lambs'' when Hannibal Lecter tries and fails to crack Clarice Starling, the F.B.I. agent played by Foster, by basically calling her white trash. And there were so few moments outside country music where I saw a woman who shared many of the admirable attributes of the women who raised me portrayed with such dignity as Starling is in that scene. I just think so many of her performances in the '80s and '90s were a real gift to females and aspiring creators coming of age at that time.

Persuade someone to read ''She Come by It Natural'' in 50 words or less.

Dolly Parton, daughter of the rural white ***working class***, is the opposite of Donald Trump.Follow John Williams on Twitter: @johnwilliamsnyt.She Come by It NaturalDolly Parton and the Women Who Lived Her SongsBy Sarah Smarsh187 pages. Scribner. $22.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/07/books/she-come-by-it-natural-dolly-parton-sarah-smarsh-interview.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/07/books/she-come-by-it-natural-dolly-parton-sarah-smarsh-interview.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL ANDREWS)

**Load-Date:** December 19, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Hollywood’s Newest Stars? Nike, BlackBerry and Cheetos.; Screenland***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6809-PRV1-DXY4-X3NG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 11, 2023 Tuesday 11:42 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 1338 words

**Byline:** Zachary Siegel

**Highlight:** A new spate of films stars not people but consumer products.

**Body**

A new spate of films stars not people but consumer products.

Your standard-issue Hollywood biopics foreground people caught in the wheels of history. We meet titans of industry, genius mathematicians, brave astronauts and dogged journalists. We hear stories of fearless, unyielding figures whose visions changed the world. Some, like presidents and generals, already know their own importance; others still think they’re ordinary. But the stories generally revolve around people and events, showing us how laws were changed, wars won, villains defeated.

Lately Hollywood has landed on an effective variant: Hey, remember this old thing?

This type of film is not new, precisely, but this spring is staggeringly replete with examples. [*“AIR,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/04/movies/air-movie-review.html) directed by Ben Affleck, tells the story of Nike’s game-changing sponsorship deal with a rookie Michael Jordan and the world-conquering shoes that emerged from it. [*“Tetris”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/30/movies/tetris-review.html) does the same for the titular video game, which farsighted 1980s capitalists managed to license from the Soviet state. [*“BlackBerry”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cXL_HDzBQsM&amp;ab_channel=IFCFilms) offers a raucous, satirical history of the Canadian tech company whose cellphone went extinct. And then there’s [*“Flamin’ Hot,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zhjx8_zuVG8&amp;ab_channel=SearchlightPictures) a drama about the former Frito-Lay employee who claims — highly dubiously, [*according to Los Angeles Times reporting*](https://www.latimes.com/business/story/2021-05-16/flamin-hot-cheetos-richard-montanez) — to be the creator of the addictively spicy red-dusted Cheetos.

These movies are not about people or events that changed our scientific or political reality; they are interested in men (and yes, I do mean just men) who changed our consumer reality. The protagonists here are white-collar functionaries who carry leather briefcases to work. They are corporate middle managers and marketers and brand gurus. They scream into phones, scrutinize contracts and sift through webs of licenses and sublicenses. Their world isn’t always depicted as glamorous; “AIR” has Matt Damon don a fat suit to play a schlubby, basketball-obsessed divorcé. But these are stories in which businessmen are the heroes. They are the people who got the job done, if the job was selling millions upon millions of units to grow a major corporation’s market share.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/Euy4Yu6B3nU)]

Yet it’s not even right to say these brand-o-pics focus on the men. They are, above all, centered on the objects. Movies have told the stories of market-movers before, but Hollywood’s most recent biopics of Steve Jobs were not called “iPhone 1” and “iPhone 2.” Ray Kroc’s franchising of McDonald’s is dramatized in a movie called [*“The Founder,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/19/movies/the-founder-review-michael-keaton-mcdonalds.html) not “Big Mac.” It’s in these new movies that the consumer product itself truly becomes the star around which human stories revolve.

Their cumulative mood is resolutely frothy: poppy 1980s bops, eight-bit graphics, white-collar sharks gnawing on the geeks. For any child of the era, this is yet another casual stroll down memory lane — one in which, yet again, memory lane is flanked by endless billboards of retro brands. The objects in these films, after all, are not just products; they signify a specific slice of a time, perhaps a specific type of childhood. Like all brands these days, they are signposts we use to navigate the world, orienting ourselves socially, signaling our identities.

This experience of consumption is precisely what the films promise audiences. In both “BlackBerry” and “AIR,” the executives are consciously trying to tap into questions of consumer desire and identity. “AIR” could even be seen as an origin story for the very concept of brand-as-identity, an innovation it seems to admire. “BlackBerry,” shot in vérité style, is more sour on the idea. Glenn Howerton plays Jim Balsillie, depicted here as the raging id of the company, barking orders at his sales force: “You’re not salesmen anymore,” he says. “You’re male models. I want you at every country club, yacht club, tennis club. Wherever the elite go, you go!” The phone’s function is no longer the point. “When they ask you, don’t say, ‘It’s a phone that does email,’” he says. “It’s not a cellphone — it’s a status symbol.”

Writing in Playboy in early 2014, the Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Zizek mused on our experience of brands and “the mysterious je ne sais quoi that makes Nike sneakers (or Starbucks coffee).” I don’t know whether Ben Affleck ever read that article, but there’s a strange level on which his film repeats, again and again, something Zizek imagined about Nike. If such a company were to outsource production to overseas contractors, design to design firms, advertising to ad agencies and distribution to retailers, what would be left? “Nike would be nothing ‘in itself,’” Zizek wrote. “Nothing other than the pure brand mark ‘Nike,’ an empty sign.” In “AIR,” it is Damon’s character — Sonny Vaccaro, a marketing executive — who finds a new answer. His radical idea is to commit the entire basketball budget to Jordan. Nike, he says, must tap into something deeper, to turn a shoe into a man and a man into a shoe. The vice president of marketing is puzzled: “You want to anthropomorphize a shoe?” The film leaves it to Jordan’s mother, played by Viola Davis, to underline how that’s done: “A shoe is just a shoe,” she says, “until my son steps into it.”

“BlackBerry” is caustic, while “AIR” is, ultimately, a feel-good celebration of the brand-identity revolution that changed sports forever. “Tetris” feels more confused. (We watch Henk Rogers become a millionaire by getting the Soviets to license some handheld-gaming rights, but whether Nintendo or someone else gets them feels more meaningful to Rogers than to consumers.) While watching each of the three films, though, I found myself thinking about the words etched on the backs of so many devices: “Designed by Apple in California/Assembled in China.” Each of these stories is interested in the inventors and innovators who create the first thing, and less interested in the fact that, somewhere in the world, a labor force is making millions more. In “AIR,” the only real acknowledgment of this comes from that vice president of marketing, who expresses mild ambivalence about Nike’s factories in Taiwan and South Korea — a confusing gesture in a movie about a company that, in 1998, had its real-life chief executive lament that it had become “synonymous with slave wages, forced overtime and arbitrary abuse.” This year, in Michigan, Times reporting found underage factory workers who said inhaling the dust from producing Flamin’ Hot Cheetos left their lungs stinging.

Feelings about this spring’s eruption of brand flicks have been mixed. In The Wall Street Journal, Joe Queenan called this spate of product bios “great news,” expressing hope that “AIR” might open the door for more footwear-origin stories. (Why not Uggs or Birkenstocks?) In the opposite ideological corner, you’ll find Boots Riley, the leftist musician and filmmaker (“Sorry to Bother You”), arguing on Twitter that commodity flicks are Hollywood’s effort to “push back on radicalization of the ***working class***.” It’s certainly possible that these movies expose something vapid about our consumer society — say, our readiness to attach our humanity to empty slogans or to praise “visionaries” whose vision isn’t about fighting injustice or reaching the stars but merely selling us tons of plastic.

Still: All these brand films, and all the reviews of them, seem to acknowledge the same point. The day-to-day texture of our lives, they suggest, may be dictated less by brave explorers or crusading lawyers and more by people with office jobs who make products and then make us want to buy them — people whose decisions shape our habits, our choices, our sense of ourselves. The part these films do not yet fully agree on is whether this fact is worth celebrating or deeply depressing.

Source photographs: Apple TV+; Amazon Studios; William West/AFP, via Getty Images.

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMAZON STUDIOS) (MM7); PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CELINA PEREIRA; APPLE TV+; AMAZON STUDIOS; IFC FILMS; WILLIAM WEST/AFP, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (MM8-MM9) This article appeared in print on page MM7, MM8, MM9, MM10.

**Load-Date:** April 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A State Budget's Effect on New Yorkers' Lives***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6856-NMR1-DXY4-X3RX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 4, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

**Length:** 1413 words

**Byline:** By Luis Ferré-Sadurní and Grace Ashford

**Body**

The budget contains a handful of contentious policy changes on issues like bail, minimum wage and a ban on gas stoves and furnaces in new construction.

ALBANY, N.Y. -- Minimum wage workers in New York City will get a pay bump for the first time in five years. Out-of-state students at city and state universities will face a tuition hike. And cigarette smokers will need to pay an extra dollar in taxes per pack.

New York State lawmakers approved a $229 billion state budget on Tuesday night that will touch on New Yorkers' everyday life, after completing protracted negotiations with Gov. Kathy Hochul that delayed its passage by over a month.

This being Albany, of course, the closed-door negotiations centered much less on the state's finances than they did on contentious policy changes that were stuffed into the final budget legislation.

Democrats, who control the triumvirate of power in the State Capitol, changed the state's bail laws, passed new fines for unlicensed marijuana shops and enacted a ban on gas stoves and furnaces in new buildings, making New York the first state to pass such a measure.

Here's what to know.

Judges will have more discretion

For the third time since 2019, New York amended its bail laws to make it easier for judges to hold people accused of crimes while they await trial.

This year's change removed language that required judges to set the ''least restrictive'' conditions necessary to ensure defendants did not flee prosecution, instead urging them to choose what they believe is ''necessary to reasonably assure'' defendants' return to court, as they did before the 2019 changes to the bail law.

And while the law maintains the 2019 prohibition against setting bail for most misdemeanor and nonviolent felonies, it will nonetheless invite judges to set harsher release conditions for all crimes -- higher bail for those crimes where bail may be set, and more restrictive conditions, like monitoring, where it cannot.

It is not yet clear just how much impact these revisions will have in practice: Judges are still limited by the language that defines bail as a tool to ensure that a defendant returns to court. Judges must also still consider a defendant's ability to pay.

But some opponents believe that judges who were looking for reasons to keep people in jail could view these changes, and the governor's signaling around them, as justification to do so.

The minimum wage will go up

The state's minimum wage is going up by a few dollars, gradually, over a few years. It will then be pegged to inflation, mimicking an approach in a growing number of states.

The minimum wage in New York City, Long Island and Westchester County, currently $15 an hour, will increase to $16 by 2024, and by 50 cents in each subsequent year until it reaches $17 by 2026. In the rest of the state, the minimum wage will hit $16 by 2026, up from the current minimum of $14.20.

Starting in 2027, the pay rate would increase according to the federal government's Consumer Price Index. There are some exceptions: Wages wouldn't go up if the state is losing jobs or facing poor unemployment numbers.

The amount of the increase upset labor unions and progressive Democrats who were seeking to boost the minimum wage above $20, arguing inflation had made it increasingly hard for poor and ***working-class*** New Yorkers to stay afloat.

Republicans in the minority opposed raising the minimum wage, as well as most policy items included in the budget.

Illegal weed shops will face crackdown

The state will have new tools to tackle the proliferation of shops selling marijuana without a license, a conundrum officials have been contending with as the legal marketplace for cannabis slowly takes shape.

State tax authorities will now have the authority to inspect any business location, including vehicles, that is selling cannabis, granting them a power that regulators said they needed to effectively crack down on illicit shops.

The fines for retailers possessing untaxed weed start at $7,500, with additional fines of up to $100,000 depending on the amount of weed for sale. Retailers may also be fined two to three times the amount of tax that would have been collected. Landlords who permit unlicensed shops in their premises could be on the hook for $10,000 a day in fines.

Unlicensed smoke shops, including those that practice gifting or set up as membership clubs, may also face civil tax fraud charges.

State passes gas ban and leans into renewable energy

Democrats agreed on two far-ranging proposals aimed at ending the state's dependence on fossil fuels and aggressively tackling climate change.

The first will bar the use of fossil fuels for heating and cooking in new construction. The law, the first statewide ban in the nation, will go into effect for buildings under seven stories beginning in 2026; larger buildings will need to comply by 2029. It will not affect gas stoves in existing homes and includes exceptions for manufacturing, emergency generators and hospitals, among others.

The other measure allows the New York Power Authority to build, own and operate renewable energy facilities to help New York meet the goal of reducing emissions by 85 percent by 2050. Progressives, particularly democratic socialists, had championed the measure, which they said would control consumer costs and help to ensure beneficial working conditions.

The measure will allow the Power Authority to partner with private developers, so long as the state owns the majority of any project. It will also require New York City to shut down any so-called peaker plants still in operation by 2030, if possible.

The industry fiercely opposed both proposals, saying they would raise costs for consumers and stress the electrical grid.

M.T.A. will get more money and five free bus routes

Leaders in Albany agreed to funding to help stave off a catastrophic money crunch for New York City's subways and buses.

In light of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority's impending $3 billion budget deficit, lawmakers called for a one-time payment from Albany of $300 million and $165 million annually from New York City. It also included money from an increase in payroll taxes on large businesses based in New York City, which is expected to yield $1.1 billion, and from tax revenue from casinos that will open in the near future.

The agreement will help to stave off one proposed fare hike, though others are on the horizon.

Riders are likely to hail the inclusion of a new pilot program that would offer five free bus routes, one for each borough. The lines will be chosen based on a set of factors including ridership and if the area serves a commercial hub.

And in an effort to make service more efficient, buses will be equipped with cameras with the ability to issue tickets for traffic violations.

New charter schools will open

Fourteen charter schools will be allowed to open in New York City, and eight elsewhere in the state, partially fulfilling one of Ms. Hochul's core priorities.

The decision to revive so-called zombie licenses, which were awarded to schools that then closed, reignited a perennial debate in Albany around charter schools, which are publicly funded but privately operated.

The final deal fell far short of Ms. Hochul's desire to lift restrictions to allow over 100 new charter schools to open, a proposal that had angered many Democrats and teachers' unions that had endorsed the governor.

What didn't make the cut

This year's budget was equally notable for policy aspirations that fell off the negotiating table.

The governor held the line against Democrats who were seeking to increase income taxes on millionaires. And lawmakers did not get on board with Ms. Hochul's proposal to ban the sale of menthol cigarettes.

But the biggest victim was the governor's ambitious housing plan, which sought to build 800,000 homes over the next decade through new construction mandates. Her plan unraveled following opposition from many lawmakers and local officials in the suburbs.

On Tuesday, Ms. Hochul said she would continue to pursue the plan, though she suggested those efforts might need to wait until next year's budget.

The only major housing policy development was a $391 million injection in rental assistance that could help residents in public and other types of subsidized housing.

Ashley Southall and Mihir Zaveri contributed reporting.Ashley Southall and Mihir Zaveri contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/02/nyregion/budget-hochul-bail-housing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/02/nyregion/budget-hochul-bail-housing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The budget contains contentious policy changes on issues like bail, a ban on gas stoves and furnaces in new construction, making New York the first state to pass such a measure, and minimum wage. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CINDY SCHULTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SEAN GALLUP/GETTY IMAGES

JANICE CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** May 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***How the Pandemic Is Imperiling a Working-Class College***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61MF-TTF1-JBG3-61NP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 28, 2020 Monday 15:47 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 2568 words

**Byline:** Matt Richtel and Sarah Blesener

**Highlight:** The coronavirus has hurt Indiana University of Pennsylvania, but its financial problems were planted years ago.

**Body**

Rachel Foor’s grandparents are in their 70s, so when the pandemic hit, its stresses gave her such stomach pains that she could not eat or sleep. She worried she would infect them if she brought the [*coronavirus*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html) home from Indiana University of Pennsylvania, where she is a senior, or from Walmart, where she stocks milk and eggs to help pay tuition.

“I went to see Dr. Papakie,” Ms. Foor, 24, said.

Michele Papakie, chair of the journalism and public relations department at I.U.P., regularly counsels students who get pregnant unexpectedly, feel suicidal or are just overwhelmed. She keeps a box of tissues at a table that faces her office desk.

This personal interaction is the essence of a school like I.U.P., a medium-size regional state campus in western Pennsylvania. Universities like this one educate huge swaths of the American public — an experience widely shown to move people into the middle class.

Dr. Papakie, 52, knew firsthand the challenges of struggling [*college*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html) students from her own hilly-life’s climb. She was a first-generation graduate herself, her schooling interrupted for several years by a pregnancy before she finished her bachelor’s degree, getting a master’s and Ph.D. to boot.

Yes, things will turn out OK, Dr. Papakie assured Ms. Foor.

But for Dr. Papakie and many colleagues, things would not be OK.

What happened next revealed the severe challenges facing I.U.P. and less-affluent public colleges like it nationwide. In April, after the economic effects of Covid-19 became apparent, officials at the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education said all 14 of its campuses, including I.U.P., would have to immediately and sharply curtail expenses. (The system does not include flagship universities like Penn State and Temple University, which are known as state-related schools.)

At I.U.P., the prospect of major cuts in programs and faculty loomed, threatening the precious bonds between teachers and students as well as the economic ties between the community and its largest employer.

It is a wrenching saga, but not an isolated one, as dozens of schools across the country are considering deep budget cuts. Nor does it come as a surprise. The pandemic is only the latest assault after more than a decade of financial hits on these schools.

Resources got gobbled a decade ago when millions were spent on fancy amenities, like new dorms and conference halls; then enrollment abruptly fell nationwide as demographics shifted, cutting income. But the chief blow came as states slashed support for higher education.

After years of Republican-led pressure to reduce state spending, Pennsylvania gives nearly 34 percent less support per pupil now than it did in 2008, forcing students to pay a growing amount of tuition. This has further discouraged enrollment, causing a downward financial spiral, experts say. Now the pandemic has jolted the system.

“This is a story that’s going to be playing out in much of the country over much of the next decade,” said Robert Kelchen, an associate professor of education at Seton Hall University. “The pandemic cost them their runway. Their ability to make some of the more thoughtful changes — that’s gone.”

All this comes as states rely on regional public schools as economic drivers. In Pennsylvania, about 60 percent of jobs require some postsecondary education, but only 47 percent of adults have such a degree.

Ms. Foor is struggling to join their ranks.

Climbing one rung at a time

Ms. Foor’s mother left the family when she was 4. Her father, Michael Foor, dropped out of college at the Altoona campus of Penn State to raise her and her older brother.

He moved to Breezewood, Pa., a turnpike town near Maryland and West Virginia, where he worked as a waiter and cashier, or took odd jobs. Sometimes he turned to welfare and unemployment, food stamps and food banks. Ms. Foor pitched in, starting at the age of 14, working at Dunkin’ Donuts and McDonald’s.

“I saw the middle-aged people working there and I thought, ‘If I don’t go to college, that’s going to be me,’” she said.

“I don’t think how I grew up is necessarily a bad thing,” she continued. “It taught me the value of a dollar and what it means to work hard and I never look down on another person. But college is the light at the end of the tunnel that will make everything OK.”

Though all colleges can elevate the economic status of their graduates, regional state schools like I.U.P. can have a profound impact on the lives of their students, who typically lack the kind of family financial support or access to professional networks enjoyed by many students at elite universities.

For poorer students “the mentoring is extremely important — writing letters of recommendation, and reaching out to various communities,” said Terry Madonna, director for the Center for Politics and Public Affairs at Franklin &amp; Marshall College in Lancaster, Pa. One of the architects of the Pennsylvania State System, he said that much of the success for the students depends on a deep relationship with teachers.

A person who gets a degree from I.U.P. is likely to see his or her annual salary rise from $33,000 at the time of graduation to $89,000 over 14 years, [*according to Edmit,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html) which publishes cost-benefit analyses for universities.

Dr. Papakie was a product of that same system.

After she got pregnant her junior year at I.U.P., she dropped out to raise her son, and then went on to graduate in 1993, get a master&#39;s degree from the California University of Pennsylvania in 1996, and obtain her Ph.D. in communications from Robert Morris University in Pittsburgh. She served the Pittsburgh Bureau of Police as an information officer, then the California campus of the Pennsylvania state system as a spokeswoman.

She came to I.U.P. in 2007, with her tenure briefly interrupted so she could serve as a lieutenant colonel in Afghanistan in 2010, overseeing sexual-assault-prevention programs for the 101st Airborne Division. (Since 1987, she had been in the Pennsylvania Air National Guard.)

Dr. Papakie “is probably the main reason I joined journalism,” said Emily Loose, a 22-year-old senior who in January is set to become her family’s first college graduate. Ms. Loose said she loved her budding career, including internships with the college radio station that have made her a hit back in Williamsburg, the small town where her family struggled with money and she graduated in a high school class of 12.

“I didn’t think I had what it took,” she said. “When I thought of college students, I thought of, y’know, rich people.”

Dr. Papakie’s relationship is not just with the students, but also with the town of Indiana. Among other activities, she has served as president of the Indiana County Association of Township Supervisors and volunteered at the Alice Paul House domestic violence shelter.

“Often, these public universities are not just education anchors but the largest employer in the region with the highest salaries for staff and faculty and they go to the local inn or the restaurants,” said Vivekanand Jayakumar, associate professor of economics at the Sykes College of Business at the University of Tampa.

“You can really decimate Midwestern and Northeastern towns if a school disappears or gets cut back dramatically.”

It was a wonderful life

Before there was an outbreak of Covid-19 at I.U.P., there had been an outbreak of Steinway pianos.

Ninety uprights, grands and other Steinwaysstarted showing up in [*rehearsal rooms*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html) and recital halls after a 2006 agreement between the school and the piano maker. Cost: $2.6 million.

Around the same time, nearly $250 million was invested in new dorms. “Suite-style housing — that’s what college students of today are looking for,” said Tony Atwater, the university’s president at the time. I.U.P. also broke ground on the 148,500-square-foot Kovalchick Convention and Athletic Complex, which cost more than $50 million.

It was a heady time for I.U.P., just before the 2008 recession, when enrollment soared here and nationwide. Schools invested.

“They got into this competition to offer better amenities — and to try to compete with state flagship universities,” Dr. Jayakumar said. “They spent on Steinway pianos and rock-climbing walls.”

It felt like gravy for a town with a population of 13,000, known for the college and its most famous son, [*Jimmy Stewart*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html). A bronze statue of the actor stands in the middle of the quaint downtown.

To some at the college, the investments were ill-advised because enrollment trends seemed poised to fall, partly because of falling birthrates years before. That meant resources would become more precious.

“The faculty was yelling up and down, ‘This is not a good idea,’” said Jamie Martin, a professor of criminology at I.U.P. and the head of the union representing the faculty for all 14 schools in the state system. “You could see the demographics coming.”

Nationwide, [*higher-education enrollment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html), which had climbed steadily since 2000, peaked in 2010 at 18.1 million and then fell steadily, to 16.6 million in 2018. [*I.U.P.’s enrollment dropped*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html) from a high of around 15,600 in 2012 to 10,600 at the start of the 2019-20 school year.

But it was not just changing demographics. Students were also dissuaded by rising tuition costs, according to a presentation the system made to state legislators.

When the 2008 recession hit, many states decimated the budgets for regional campuses of state schools. From that point through 2018, Pennsylvania’s funding per student for higher education [*fell 33.8 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html), among the steepest declines in the country. In inflation-adjusted terms, the state gives these schools about $220 million less annually than it did in 2000-1.

To make up the difference, base tuition rose steadily beyond the cost of inflation: to [*$7,716 in 2018-19*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html) from [*$5,358 in 2008-9.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html)

In a nutshell, the burden for supporting the system shifted sharply — from the state to the student. In the 1980s, the state paid 75 percent of a student’s load. Now the student pays nearly 75 percent.

In Pennsylvania, the average student debt taken on by graduates of state schools rose 35 percent between 2011 and 2018. Ms. Foor owes $65,000 in loans, and she has not yet graduated.

Tuition is only about half the cost of attending one of the system’s 14 schools. At I.U.P., [*the new dorms led to a stiff hike for residents*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html); the old dorms in 2007-8 cost a student $1,670 per semester, while the new suites ranged in cost from $3,000 to nearly $4,000 per semester.

By last year, the cost for the least-expensive living situation, least-expensive meal plan and tuition exceeded $21,000 a year.

Then came the pandemic.

A battle over budgets

Just before the outbreak, in October 2019, the Pennsylvania state system embarked on a path to cut $250 million in annual spending over five years. The plan was that a “system redesign” allowing campuses to share administration, build online programs and put technology to work would save money.

When Covid-19 arrived, the state system initially projected that it would take at least a $52 million hit, chiefly from lost tuition and refunds to students, though $39 million from the federal CARES Act would soften the blow. (Later projections would show an even greater financial hit.)

“We were challenged financially before the pandemic, seriously challenged before the pandemic,” the system’s chancellor, Dan Greenstein, said on a Zoom call with the system’s Board of Governors. He added: “We have an obligation to address those challenges more urgently now — and at a more accelerated rate.”

The eventual cuts included one particularly contentious item: the number of teachers.

The faculty union, which is run by Dr. Martin, was scrambling to understand the situation, to little avail. “I’d go to meetings and I felt like they’d put a blindfold on me, spin me around and say ‘Pin the tail on the donkey,’ and then move the donkey,” Dr. Martin said. “We keep asking: What is the endgame?”

The budget numbers tell a complex story. By some measures, the system is not particularly unhealthy.

For 2019, the last fiscal year available, the entire system lost just $1 million, out of $1.6 billion in expenses. Depending on the accounting method used, I.U.P. itself might have made money, according to a union official.

The union official called the dire budget “a made-up financial crisis.” But the system administration said there was a bigger issue: troubling trend lines for the school. It projected a loss of $48 million for the current fiscal year.

“The data show for some time declining enrollment, lagging state investment, tuition raises and reliance on cash reserves to balance budgets,” David Pidgeon, a spokesman for the system, wrote in an email. “And we’re looking at more than just one year.”

He said a big part of the problem was that students were bearing a growing cost.

“We have a lot of work to do to recapture our competitive pricing edge while maintaining and even improving the quality of the education,” he wrote. “There’s no more road to kick the can down. The urgency is now.”

Over the summer, the schools scrambled to come up with plans for cuts.

Autumn came quickly, and with cruelty.

In mid-October, Dr. Papakie drove to the Dunkin’ Donuts in Indiana to listen to a Zoom call organized by I.U.P.’s dean of the college of humanities and social sciences.

A few minutes into the call, the dean abruptly announced the plans: Six colleges would be eliminated as stand-alone divisions, including the one he leads. Among other changes, journalism would either merge with communications or be discontinued.

“Which is it?” Dr. Papakie said she asked him.

“Discontinued,” the dean replied.

The [*grim details*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/02/technology/college-coronavirus-tests.html) dribbled out in the days to come. I.U.P. would lose 128 faculty positions, or 15 percent of its full-time instructors — 81 through layoffs and the rest through attrition.

On Oct. 29, Dr. Papakie got official notice that she would be laid off: “Effective close of business, June 4, 2021, you will be retrenched from your faculty position.”

“My heart is broken,” Dr. Papakie said. “I’m not crying because I’ll be unemployed in May. What I care about is these kids who entrusted us.”

Through the system spokesman, Dr. Greenstein did not respond to request for additional comment.

The news infuriated Ms. Foor. With all classes remote, she had moved back home, where intermittent internet service can take days to return. The bedroom where she worked had a broken window that for months was covered with a plastic bag and tape that did little to keep out the cold.

How could these cuts help Pennsylvania, she mused, if the state eliminates well-paying jobs of faculty charged with educating the next generation?

Mostly, she felt for Dr. Papakie. In online chats, their roles reversed, as she started asking her professor how she was doing.

“I feel very protective of the people I care about,” Ms. Foor said. “It feels like they’re coming for someone in my family.”

PHOTOS: An I.U.P. senior, Rachel Foor, below left and with her grandmother, turned to Ms. Papakie for help when she began feeling pandemic-related stress. (A6); Michele Papakie, above left, chair of the journal- ism department at Indi- ana University of Penn- sylvania, has been told she will be laid off. (A6-A7); I.U.P. faces steep budget cuts after spending heavily be- fore the 2008 recession, breaking ground on an athletic com- plex, top, and buying 90 Steinway pianos, above. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARAH BLESENER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A7)

**Load-Date:** March 2, 2021

**End of Document**



[***We’re Going to Miss Greed and Cynicism; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:677C-28J1-JBG3-63R8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 2, 2023 Monday 09:00 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 912 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** We’ll be nostalgic for the days when the culture war was phony.

**Body**

It’s 2023. What will the new year bring? The answer, of course, is that we don’t know. There are a fair number of what Donald Rumsfeld (remember him?) called “known unknowns” — for example, nobody really knows how hard it will be to reduce inflation or whether the U.S. economy will experience a recession. There are also unknown unknowns: Will we see another shock like Russia’s invasion of Ukraine?

But I think I can make one safe prediction about the U.S. political scene: We’re going to spend much of 2023 feeling nostalgic for the good old days of greed and cynicism.

As late as 2015, or so I and many others thought, we had a fairly good idea about how American politics worked. It wasn’t pretty, but it seemed comprehensible.

On one side we had the Democrats, who were and still are basically what people in other advanced nations call social democrats (which isn’t at all the same as what most people call socialism). That is, they favor a fairly strong social safety net, supported by relatively high taxes on the affluent. They’ve moved somewhat to the left over the years, mainly because the gradual exit of the few remaining conservative Democrats has made the party’s social-democratic orientation more consistent. But by international standards, Democrats are, at most, vaguely center left.

On the other side we had the Republicans, whose overriding goal was to keep taxes low and social programs small. Many advocates of that agenda did so in the sincere belief that it would be best for everyone — that high taxes reduce incentives to create jobs and raise productivity, as do excessively generous benefits. But the core of the G.O.P.’s financial support (not to mention that of the penumbra of think tanks, foundations and lobbying groups that promoted its ideology) came from billionaires who wanted to preserve and increase their wealth.

To be clear, I’m not suggesting that Democrats were pure idealists. Special-interest money flowed to both parties. But of the two, Republicans were much more obviously the party of making the rich richer.

The problem for Republicans was that their economic agenda was inherently unpopular. Voters consistently tell pollsters that corporations and the rich pay [*too little*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1714/taxes.aspx) in taxes; policies that help the poor and the middle class have [*broad public support*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2018/01/30/majorities-say-government-does-too-little-for-older-people-the-poor-and-the-middle-class/). How, then, could the G.O.P. win elections?

The answer, most famously described in Thomas Frank’s 2004 book “[*What’s the Matter With Kansas?*](https://books.google.co.vi/books?id=AJKrMcOyQ3wC&amp;printsec=frontcover&amp;dq=what%27s+the+matter+with+kansas&amp;hl=en&amp;sa=X&amp;redir_esc=y#v=onepage&amp;q=what's%20the%20matter%20with%20kansas&amp;f=false),” was to win over white ***working-class*** voters by appealing to them on cultural issues. His book came in for considerable criticism from [*political scientists*](https://my.vanderbilt.edu/larrybartels/files/2011/12/kansas_Bartles.pdf), in part because he underplayed the importance of white racial antagonism, but the general picture still seems right.

As Frank described it, however, the culture war was basically phony — a cynical ploy to win elections, ignored once the votes were counted. “The leaders of the backlash may talk Christ,” he wrote, “but they walk corporate. … Abortion is never halted. Affirmative action is never abolished. The culture industry is never forced to clean up its act.”

These days, that sounds quaint — even a bit like a golden era — as many American women lose their reproductive rights, as schools are [*pressured*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/20/us/texas-history-1836-project.html) to stop teaching students about slavery and racism, as even powerful corporations come under fire for being excessively woke. The culture war is no longer just posturing by politicians mainly interested in cutting taxes on the rich; many elected Republicans are now genuine fanatics.

As I said, one can almost feel nostalgic for the good old days of greed and cynicism.

Oddly, the culture war turned real at a time when Americans are more socially liberal than ever. George W. Bush won the 2004 election partly thanks to a backlash against gay marriage. (True to form, he followed up his victory by proclaiming that he had a mandate to … privatize Social Security.) But these days, Americans [*accept*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1651/gay-lesbian-rights.aspx) the idea of same-sex marriages almost three to one.

And the disconnect between a socially illiberal G.O.P. and an increasingly tolerant public is surely one reason the widely predicted red wave in the midterms fell so far short of expectations.

Yet despite underperforming in what should, given precedents, have been a very good year for the out-party, Republicans will narrowly control the House. And this means that the inmates will be running half the asylum.

True, not all members of the incoming House Republican caucus are fanatical conspiracy theorists. But those who aren’t are clearly terrified by and submissive to those who are. Kevin McCarthy may scrape together the votes to become speaker, but even if he does, actual power will obviously rest in the hands of people like Marjorie Taylor Greene.

And what I don’t understand is how the U.S. government is going to function. President Barack Obama faced an extremist, radicalized G.O.P. House, but even the Tea Partiers had concrete policy demands that could, to some extent, be appeased. How do you deal with people who believe, more or less, that the 2020 election was stolen by a vast [*conspiracy of pedophiles*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-qanon.html)

I don’t know the answer, but prospects don’t look good.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** January 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Rotterdam May Dismantle Part of Bridge for Jeff Bezos’ Superyacht***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64P7-FJY1-DXY4-X4M8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 3, 2022 Thursday 08:26 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 853 words

**Byline:** Jenny Gross

**Highlight:** The Dutch city of Rotterdam walked back earlier comments that the historic Koningshaven Bridge would be briefly dismantled. On Thursday, officials said a decision had not yet been made.

**Body**

The Dutch city of Rotterdam walked back earlier comments that the historic Koningshaven Bridge would be briefly dismantled. On Thursday, officials said a decision had not yet been made.

The Dutch city of Rotterdam on Thursday walked back plans to dismantle part of the historic Koningshaven Bridge so that a superyacht built for Amazon’s founder, Jeff Bezos, could pass through the city’s river, saying that a decision had not yet been made.

This week, city [*officials*](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-60241145) [*had told*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/02/02/rotterdam-dismantle-part-historic-bridge-so-jeff-bezos-massive-yacht-can-pass-through/) [*the news media*](https://www.rijnmond.nl/nieuws/1461348/de-hef-wordt-ontmanteld-voor-megajacht-van-rijkste-man-ter-wereld) that Rotterdam had agreed to briefly dismantle the middle section of the 95-year-old bridge for the yacht’s passage this summer.

But on Thursday evening, officials said in another statement that the city had not yet approved the plan, though it had received a request from the shipbuilder to temporarily lift the middle part of bridge.

The city’s statement said the full cost of the dismantling, if approved, would be covered by the shipbuilder. The bridge, known locally as “De Hef,” would be restored immediately afterward.

A city spokeswoman had said that she did not have an estimate of how much the deconstruction would cost. The city statement said that officials would assess the environmental and economic effects of the plans.

A representative for Amazon did not respond to requests for comment about the cost or the yacht’s destination. A spokeswoman for Oceanco, the Dutch custom yacht company that is building the boat, said in an email that she could not comment on projects under construction or clients because of confidentiality reasons.

The city of Rotterdam’s decision to remove part of the bridge [*was reported on Wednesday by a regional Dutch public broadcaster, Rijnmond*](https://www.rijnmond.nl/nieuws/1461348/de-hef-wordt-ontmanteld-voor-megajacht-van-rijkste-man-ter-wereld). Boat International, which publishes articles about the superyacht industry, reported that the [*417-foot sailboat is set to become the largest sailing yacht in the world*](https://www.boatinternational.com/yachts/news/jeff-bezos-oceanco-sailing-yacht) when it is finished later this year, surpassing the [*Sea Cloud*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1935/11/09/93499855.html?pageNumber=3), a 360-foot sailboat built in 1931 and owned by the Yacht Portfolio, an investment company based in Malta.

The superyacht Mr. Bezos commissioned is likely to cost more than $500 million to build, [*Bloomberg reported*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2021-05-07/jeff-bezos-s-new-superyacht-heralds-roaring-market-for-big-boats). Mr. Bezos is [*the world’s second-richest person*](https://www.bloomberg.com/billionaires/?sref=Qk91czAc), after Tesla’s chief executive, Elon Musk.

The bridge, which has a boat clearance of 130 feet, is not currently in use. A Rotterdam tour guide, Eddy le Couvreur, said that the bridge, designed by the Dutch architect Pieter Joosting and a fixture in the Rotterdam skyline, was once used for railway traffic. A vertical lift bridge, it was the first of its kind in the Netherlands, and was copied from similar bridges in the United States. The modern industrial aesthetics of the bridge [*inspired a short film*](https://www.rem.routledge.com/articles/brug-de-the-bridge-1928) in 1928, he said.

Until now, tall ships passed under the bridge before assembling their masts and taller structures, he said.

Dennis Tak, a Labor Party city councilor for Rotterdam, said he was fine with the bridge being dismantled — since the city would not be paying for it — because of the jobs the process would create. “As a city, this is a great way to take some of his money,” Mr. Tak said.

The structure is more than a bridge to the people of Rotterdam, said Siebe Thissen, the author of the book “The Boy Who Jumped From the Bridge,” about a ***working-class*** man who jumped from the bridge in 1933. “It’s a monument,” he said. “It’s the identity of Rotterdam.”

When city officials tried to take the bridge down in the 1990s since it was no longer in use, there were major protests, he said, calling the bridge a reminder of “the old days” in Rotterdam.

“I think that’s why there is so much turmoil about Jeff Bezos and his boat,” he said, before referring to [*accusations against Amazon*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/15/us/amazon-workers.html). “People say, ‘Why this guy?’ It’s a ***working-class*** town, and they all know that Jeff Bezos, of course, he exploits his workers, so people say, ‘Why should this guy be able to demolish the bridge for his boat?’”

As of Thursday, more than 600 Facebook users said they would attend an event, titled “Throwing eggs at superyacht Jeff Bezos,” where they plan to gather by the bridge to throw eggs at the boat. “Rotterdammers are proud of their city and don’t tear down iconic buildings just because you are super rich,” said Pablo Strörmann, the event organizer, who said he started the Facebook group “mostly” as a joke.

Mr. le Couvreur, who works for the company Tours by Locals, which connects tourists with local guides, said that Rotterdammers would likely enjoy the international attention that the spectacle had brought, he said. “On the other hand, it shows the unimaginable wealth that people like Bezos have created for themselves, that nothing can stand in the way for them living out their dreams and hobbies,” he said, adding that the outlook was “worlds apart from those who will be watching the ship pass through the city.”

Claire Moses contributed reporting.

Claire Moses contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Officials in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, received a request to dismantle part of the Koningshaven “De Hef” lift bridge to let Jeff Bezos’ new luxury yacht pass. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Sebastien Bozon/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 4, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Could Haley Be Our Next President?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67KF-WNB1-JBG3-628T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 19, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 12; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 2389 words

**Byline:** By New York Times Opinion

**Body**

With candidates entering the 2024 presidential race, Times columnists and Opinion writers are starting a scorecard assessing their strengths and weaknesses. We rate the candidates on a scale of 1 to 10: 1 means the candidate will probably drop out before any actual caucus or primary voting; 10 means the candidate has a very strong chance of accepting the party's nomination next summer. We begin with Nikki Haley, the former governor of South Carolina and United Nations ambassador in the Trump administration, who announced her bid for the Republican nomination on Tuesday.

How seriously should we take Nikki Haley's candidacy?

David Brooks In a normal party, she would have to be taken seriously. She's politically skilled, has never lost an election, has domestic and foreign policy experience, has been a popular governor, is about as conservative as the median G.O.P. voter and is running on an implicit platform: Let's end the chaos and be populist but sensible. The question is, is the G.O.P. becoming once again a normal party?

Jane Coaston To borrow a phrase, we should take it extremely literally but not seriously. She is indeed running for president. But Nikki Haley will not be the next president of the United States of America.

Ross Douthat Much less seriously than the likely front-running candidacies of Donald Trump and Ron DeSantis, and somewhat less seriously than the likely also-ran candidacy of Mike Pence. Which means that barring a scenario where at least two of those three men don't catch fire, not particularly seriously at all.

David French The Republican race is best summed up as two individuals (Trump and DeSantis) and a field. Maybe a third candidate can emerge from the field, and maybe that person can be Haley -- a decent reason to take her seriously -- but we need to see evidence of independent traction.

Michelle Goldberg Not very. I can't imagine who she thinks her constituency is. A video teasing her candidacy starts with a spiel by the neocon Reagan official Jeane Kirkpatrick. Talk about nailing the zeitgeist!

Rosie Gray Haley handled the Trump years more deftly than most. She never allowed herself to be dragged into anything too embarrassing or scandalous and didn't fall victim to vicious Trump world backstabbing. But she probably isn't the kind of candidate who can get through a Republican presidential primary. Shrewd as she has been, she can't plausibly reinvent herself as a 2023 outrage merchant.

Liz Mair She could be the next vice president. That's the reason to take her seriously.

Mike Madrid I don't see Haley as a serious candidate for the presidency or the vice presidency. She brings nothing demographically or ideologically to the G.O.P. that it doesn't already have. But it is a serious attempt to maintain her relevance in the Republican hierarchy as a nonwhite woman willing to take a cabinet position or appointment to reassure primary voters that they aren't actually a bunch of monolithic white people.

Daniel McCarthy The interventionist foreign policy that Ambassador Haley has made her signature theme in recent years is unlikely to resonate in an America First party.

Bret Stephens Seriously. Last month, Haley gave a speech to an association of auto dealers -- the kind of audience any G.O.P. candidate needs to win over. Someone who was in attendance told me she got three thunderous standing ovations. It's said of Ron DeSantis that the closer you get to him, the less you like him. Haley is the opposite. She still has work to do to win over other core Republican constituencies (above all, evangelicals and Trump sympathizers), but nobody should underestimate her appeal. She looks like a winner to a party that's desperate to win.

What matters most about her as a presidential candidate?

Brooks If Trump and DeSantis compete in the Trumpy lane, there will be room for a normie candidate to oppose them. She's more charismatic than Pence or Mike Pompeo, more conservative than Larry Hogan or Chris Sununu. Her problem is South Carolina. She'll get no credit for winning that early primary, and it will be devastating to her campaign if she loses.

Coaston Haley ought to be an interesting candidate -- daughter of immigrants, former governor of a state experiencing big population shifts, a U.N. ambassador -- but she seems to have no real basis to run for office. She's not a populist, and she's not a culture warrior.

Douthat Her possible ability to split off a (small) piece of the non-Trump vote in early primaries, helping him to the nomination if those primaries are extremely close.

French She's a conventional Republican. If no one like her can gain traction, it will be a decisive signal that the Republican base has fundamentally transformed and traditional ideological conservatives are at best an imperfect fit for the G.O.P.

Goldberg It will be interesting to see if Trump tries to destroy her right away as a warning to others, or holds off since he's likely to fare best in a fractured field, with Haley pulling enough votes away from DeSantis to give the nomination to Trump. The more candidates there are, the more likely Trump is to win with a plurality.

Gray Not so long ago, the Republican National Committee was predicting continued electoral doom unless the party expanded beyond its mostly white base. So Marco Rubio threw himself into the failed Gang of Eight immigration bill; Paul Ryan went on a listening tour of poor urban communities, and Haley had the Confederate flag removed from the State Capitol grounds. For a time, Trump seemed to upend any hope that these savvy rising stars had of one day reaching the White House. Haley's candidacy will test that assumption, and that's why she matters. Did Trump stamp out the ambitions of her generation for good, putting an end to the dream of a friendlier, more moderate Republican Party? Or did he merely put those ambitions on hold?

Madrid Over 70 percent of Republican primary voters are white, so her candidacy will test the viability of a nonwhite candidate.

Mair She has foreign policy and national security experience, which DeSantis does not. Trump can claim to have that kind of experience, but for many people, all it amounts to is keeping classified documents he shouldn't have had, coddling up to dictators and autocrats, being softer on China than a lot of Republicans would like and other national security failures. Less substantively, she's a woman of color, and Republican primary voters would love a chance to show that there are indeed nonwhite people and women who think just like they do (this is something a lot of primary voters are a bit neurotic about, and Haley knows it).

McCarthy She's the running mate they wish John McCain had in 2008, the kind of Republican the party thought it needed to appeal to a less white, more educated and firmly feminist America. But Trump changed the dream of the G.O.P.'s destiny: appealing to the ***working class***, rather than to a wider ethnic profile within the class of educated professionals, is what Republicans voters now expect. Haley is too representative of the party elite's desires to be seen as a plausible tribune of the ***working class***.

Stephens If the subtext of a DeSantis candidacy is that he is Trump shorn of the former president's personal flaws, the subtext of Haley's is that she is the Republican Party shorn of the former president. A woman, a minority, an immigrant background, a self-made person: Without having to say a word, she embodies everything Trump's vision of America isn't. She also would be less vulnerable to Democratic attack lines about Republican bigotry.

What do you find most inspiring -- or unsettling -- about her vision for America?

Brooks Her immigrant story is a good one, and her decision to get rid of the Confederate flag showed common decency. On the other hand, there was an awful lot of complicity and silence when she served under Trump.

Coaston I would ask ... what vision for America? What exactly is Haley offering that is distinctly different from the Generic Republican that Donald Trump (whom she reportedly asked first before deciding to announce her candidacy) became? She is selling the idea that she is somehow both distinct enough to separate herself from the former president she continues to support and similar enough to win the nomination with this Republican Party. I don't buy it.

Douthat She has generally offered herself as the candidate of Reaganite bromides and as a potential vehicle for members of the Republican gentry who wish the Trump era had never happened but don't particularly want to have any unpleasant fights about it. That's a vision that's neither inspiring nor unsettling; it's just dull and useless and unlikely to take her anywhere.

French Haley is right about the most important issues facing the free world. The United States should aggressively support Ukraine, and it should aggressively compete with China and deter Chinese aggression. What's unsettling about her is that, like many Republicans, she never seemed to figure out quite how to handle Trump and constantly flipped and flopped between confrontation and accommodation. Yet her vacillation may be the key to her potential viability. Her back-and-forth on Trump mirrors the back-and-forth of many rank-and-file Republicans. They could perhaps see themselves in her.

Goldberg She's such a hollow figure that it's impossible to say what her vision is. ''What I've heard again and again is that Haley's raw skills obscure an absence of core beliefs and a lack of tactical thinking,'' Tim Alberta wrote in a great profile of her in 2021. She'd most likely pursue a hawkish foreign policy, though, so she could be the candidate of those nostalgic for the George W. Bush administration.

Gray Haley might be the last person in American politics still quoting Sheryl Sandberg. ''We are leaning in,'' Haley told Sean Hannity last month. ''It is time for a new generation. It is time for more leadership.'' But at 51, she's part of a political generation that can hardly be considered ''new.'' Her candidacy feels trapped in the post-Tea Party, mid-Obama administration era, when she rose to prominence.

Madrid Haley will be the first of many candidates trying to connect with Trump's populist base while also resurrecting the establishment infrastructure that capitulated to him. If she can explain that she was against him before she was for him and now is against him again in a way that wins over voters and reassures party leaders, it may be inspiring for the sliver of Republicans who still maintain that the party can return to the Reagan-Bush days, and unsettling for everyone else.

Mair It's not clear to me what her vision is for America. She has alternated between praising and defending Trump and Trumpism and critiquing him and it.

McCarthy What's unsettling is that her vision is a prepackaged failure. She was a moderately conservative governor and something of a soft libertarian at a time when an aggressive neoconservatism was dominant in the G.O.P. But when she took to the national stage she proved unable to distinguish between the tough realism of Jeane Kirkpatrick and the tough-sounding but inept idealism of the George W. Bush administration. She imbibed Robert Kagan when she should have studied George Kennan.

Stephens There are two dueling G.O.P. visions for America: the ''Fortress America'' vision, of a nation besieged by undesirable immigrants and undermined by undesirable globalists, and a ''City on a Hill'' vision, of a nation whose powers of attraction are its greatest strength. Haley strikes me as leaning much closer to the second vision, at least within the broader parameters of conservative thinking.

Imagine you're a G.O.P. operative or campaign manager. What's your elevator pitch for a Haley candidacy?

Brooks Every wing of the party would accept her, at least as its second choice, if the top choice falters. It's not an inspiring strategy, but it has worked for others -- not the least of which a certain A. Lincoln.

Coaston Remember when Republicans seemed hinged? Nikki Haley remembers.

Douthat A charismatic female candidate with a vague platform and banal record is all we need to take a time machine back to the politics of 1988.

Goldberg She's canny, poised and doesn't come off as crazy, so could be formidable in the general election.

French She can beat Joe Biden!

Gray Haley has already been out there making her own elevator pitch for her candidacy: ''We have lost the last seven out of eight popular votes for president,'' she told Sean Hannity last month. ''It is time that we get a Republican in there that can lead and that can win a general election.''

Madrid Nikki Haley has the establishment experience to beat the establishment.

Mair No one should underestimate the appeal of a nonwhite, female conservative candidate to old, conservative, white, die-hard G.O.P. primary voters, and she's not another white conservative dude.

McCarthy Did you ever wish Hillary Clinton was a Republican? Now she is!

Stephens If she can win the nomination, she will win the general election.

On a scale of 1 to 10, how would you rank Nikki Haley's potential as a presidential candidate? Share your ranking -- and your reasoning for it -- in the comments. (1 means she will drop out early; 10 means she has a strong chance of accepting the nomination.)

David Brooks, Ross Douthat, David French, Michelle Goldberg and Bret Stephens are Times columnists.

Jane Coaston is a Times Opinion writer.

Rosie Gray (@RosieGray) has covered the conservative movement for more than a decade as a political reporter for BuzzFeed News and The Atlantic.

Mike Madrid is a Republican political consultant and a co-founder of the Lincoln Project.

Liz Mair (@LizMair) has served as a campaign strategist for Scott Walker, Roy Blunt, Rand Paul, Carly Fiorina and Rick Perry. She is the founder and president of Mair Strategies.

Daniel McCarthy is the editor of ''Modern Age: A Conservative Review.''

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/15/opinion/nikki-haley-president.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/15/opinion/nikki-haley-president.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BELTERZ AND CHRIS KEANE, VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page SR12.

**Load-Date:** February 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Taking On Fast Fashion by Taking It Down***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65K4-H7J1-JBG3-62X5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 31, 2022 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 3; VISIONARIES | FASHION INDUSTRY

**Length:** 1170 words

**Byline:** By Chris Colin

**Body**

Visionaries is a limited series that looks at figures who are trying to transform the way we live.

The bitter complexities of fashion found Hoda Katebi long before she found them.

''Growing up in Oklahoma, wearing the hijab, I had to come to terms with being visibly Muslim,'' the Iranian American organizer and activist said. ''People would call me a terrorist, or pretend to run me over.'' And when policymakers held up the hijab and women's rights as part of the rationale for military action in Afghanistan, or economic sanctions on Iran, she said, ''that's when I started really thinking about clothes.''

A decade and a half later, Ms. Katebi, 27, has become a leading critic of the global garment industry, particularly its fast-fashion sector. Where many of us might avoid peering too closely at our wardrobe's iffy provenance, Ms. Katebi has devoted herself to that hidden world -- and to ultimately tearing it down.

''Rather than just, say, campaigning to get garment workers paid a dollar more,'' she said, ''we're calling for an end to the system that puts workers in these positions to begin with.''

The ''we'' there is Blue Tin Production, a small apparel manufacturing workers' cooperative in Chicago run by ***working-class*** women of color, which Ms. Katebi founded in 2019. Blue Tin executes clothing contracts in ways that are antithetical to the contemporary sweatshop: full equity and transparency, no exploitation, abuse or greenwashing (a term applied when a company exaggerates its eco-consciousness). The goal is to produce high-quality luxury apparel while shining a light on systemic issues stitched into fashion.

In addition to running Blue Tin, Ms. Katebi works as a community organizer, speaker and writer, all while attending law school at the University of California, Berkeley. ''I run on saffron ice cream and colonizer tears,'' she said. (The following interview has been condensed and edited.)

What does abolitionism mean in the context of your work?

Fast fashion is a very specific type of manufacturing, basically focused on speed and output. While the rest of the fashion industry usually works on a four-season year, fast fashion works on 52: There's a new season every week. There's no way that amount of product can be created in a way that's ethical or sustainable. The system requires violence in order to function. Assaults on workers by managers are common, on top of the general subjugation and enforced poverty that give people little choice but to do this work.

That violence can't be reformed away. An easy analogy is slavery -- you can ask slave owners to be nicer, but the institution is inherently violent. So Blue Tin is an abolitionist response to the fast-fashion industry.

How did fashion become your focus?

I discovered fashion blogs just before college. It was a fun outlet. But some of my favorite people were working with brands on the BDS list, [a list of companies and individuals that support Israel]. They weren't thinking about the politics behind the aesthetics. When I created my first website, it was to push people to think about their clothes in a more complex and nuanced way.

Everything relates to fashion. Fashion is one of the biggest contributors to climate change, for example -- it contributes more greenhouse gases than all of maritime shipping and air travel combined, [according to figures from the United Nations Environment Program and the Ellen MacArthur Foundation].

Then there's the connection between sustainability and policing, which upholds the ability for cheap labor to exist. That, in turn, allows certain neighborhoods to be disproportionately impacted by, say, a coal power plant that pollutes the air, which in turn keeps the community there from thriving. Any issue that you care about, you can find in fashion.

On top of that, one in six people in the world works in the fashion industry. No one knows this because the majority of them are ***working-class*** women of color, and farmers.

Can you provide an example of how this system resists change?

In Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, factories will intentionally hire undocumented workers and then not pay them for months. When the workers get upset, management calls ICE and has a self-reported raid of their own factory. Some of our former Blue Tin members have gone through that process.

What are your biggest challenges at Blue Tin?

Abolition means putting an end to this industry, and it also means thinking about the world we want to create in its place. How can we create clothes in a way that's not violent? That feels like a low bar, but it's extremely complicated and stressful. I cry about once a week.

How does that play out on a day-to-day basis?

At Blue Tin we try to prioritize people who are ''unhirable'' by the labor industry's standards. That means people who may not speak English, or who have child care needs, or maybe they need to sit and process the trauma that they've been through because they're domestic violence survivors. People who our systems have harmed in different ways.

The year we started, one of our members got a call that her uncle and his eight-year-old son were killed in bombings in Damascus, Syria. We asked her, ''what do you need in this moment?'' We stopped production to go on a walk with her, and to build care around her. So we were very behind on our production and we lost that client. At the end of the day, we live in a capitalist world. We can't create a utopia -- so the question is, how can we create the best of what this can be, even if it's flawed?

I've noticed that you tend not to use the word ''refugees'' when describing the Blue Tin team, though others do.

For me, the class part is more important than the identity part because I hate identity politics. And ''immigrant'' and ''refugee'' have become catchphrases in the fashion industry. People are like, ''Aw, a cute sewing circle of immigrant women.''

The team didn't want to be framed by their trauma. We're trying to completely reimagine the fashion industry and build garment worker power, so brands should work with us because of these incredible skill sets and backgrounds, not because they feel bad. Oh, sure, go for the P.R., I don't care. But really it's the beautiful clothes, and them bringing art and craftsmanship back to fashion where it belongs.

What's everyone working on now?

Right now they're in ''panty purgatory,'' as they call it. They've been making underwear nonstop, for a big client. I think that's finally done, but we're basically panty entrepreneurs now.

How did your consciousness around these issues take shape?

A lot of my values come from Islamic values of divine compassion and divine mercy. Those don't sound radical, but it actually is a radical demand that we instead live in a world of compassion and mercy.

So I'm all for an assault on empire and capitalism. But some nurturing is required, too. You have to hold both at the same time. I guess you throw your Molotov, but you also give someone a hug.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/09/business/fast-fashion-hoda-katebi-blue-tin.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/09/business/fast-fashion-hoda-katebi-blue-tin.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Hoda Katebi, 27, has become a leading critic of the global garment industry, particularly its fast fashion sector. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AUBREY TRINNAMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 31, 2022

**End of Document**



[***How New Yorkers’ Lives Will Be Altered by the $229 Billion State Budget***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6850-24C1-DXY4-X2J5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 2, 2023 Tuesday 23:49 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1458 words

**Byline:** Luis Ferré-Sadurní and Grace Ashford

**Highlight:** The budget contains a handful of contentious policy changes on issues like bail, minimum wage and a ban on gas stoves and furnaces in new construction.

**Body**

The budget contains a handful of contentious policy changes on issues like bail, minimum wage and a ban on gas stoves and furnaces in new construction.

ALBANY, N.Y. — Minimum wage workers in New York City will [*get a pay bump*](https://gothamist.com/news/new-yorks-minimum-wage-will-increase-to-17-in-state-budget-deal) for the first time in five years. Out-of-state students at city and state universities will face [*a tuition hike*](https://spectrumlocalnews.com/nys/central-ny/ny-state-of-politics/2023/04/25/tuition-hike-off--suny-and-cuny-could-see-funding-boost). And cigarette smokers will need to pay [*an extra dollar in taxes*](https://spectrumlocalnews.com/nys/central-ny/ny-state-of-politics/2023/05/01/buying-cigarettes-in-new-york-will-get-more-expensive) per pack.

New York State lawmakers [*approved a $229 billion state budget*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/27/nyregion/budget-minimum-wage-bail.html) on Tuesday night that will touch on New Yorkers’ everyday life, after completing [*protracted negotiations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/31/nyregion/hochul-budget-bail-law.html) with Gov. Kathy Hochul that delayed its passage by over a month.

This being Albany, of course, the closed-door negotiations centered much less on the state’s finances than they did on contentious policy changes that were stuffed into the final budget legislation.

Democrats, who control the triumvirate of power in the State Capitol, changed [*the state’s bail laws*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/nyregion/bail-reform-ny.html), passed new fines for unlicensed marijuana shops and enacted a ban on gas stoves and furnaces in new buildings, making New York [*the first state to pass such a measure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/nyregion/gas-stove-ban-ny.html).

Here’s what to know.

Judges will have more discretion

For the third time since 2019, New York amended its bail laws to make it easier for judges to hold people accused of crimes while they await trial.

This year’s change removed language that required judges to set the “least restrictive” conditions necessary to ensure defendants did not flee prosecution, instead urging them to choose what they believe is “necessary to reasonably assure” defendants’ return to court, as they did before the 2019 changes to the bail law.

And while the law maintains the 2019 prohibition against setting bail for most misdemeanor and nonviolent felonies, it will nonetheless invite judges to set harsher release conditions for all crimes — higher bail for those crimes where bail may be set, and more restrictive conditions, like monitoring, where it cannot.

It is not yet clear just how much impact these revisions will have in practice: Judges are still limited by the language that defines bail as a tool to ensure that a defendant returns to court. Judges must also still consider a defendant’s ability to pay.

But some opponents believe that judges who were looking for reasons to keep people in jail could view these changes, and the governor’s signaling around them, as justification to do so.

The minimum wage will go up

The state’s minimum wage is going up by a few dollars, gradually, over a few years. It will then be pegged to inflation, mimicking an approach in a growing number of states.

The minimum wage in New York City, Long Island and Westchester County, currently $15 an hour, will increase to $16 by 2024, and by 50 cents in each subsequent year until it reaches $17 by 2026. In the rest of the state, the minimum wage will hit $16 by 2026, up from the current minimum of $14.20.

Starting in 2027, the pay rate would increase according to the federal government’s Consumer Price Index. There are some exceptions: Wages wouldn’t go up if the state is losing jobs or facing poor unemployment numbers.

The amount of the increase upset labor unions and progressive Democrats who were seeking to boost the minimum wage above $20, arguing inflation had made it increasingly hard for poor and ***working-class*** New Yorkers to stay afloat.

Republicans in the minority opposed raising the minimum wage, as well as most policy items included in the budget.

Illegal weed shops will face crackdown

The state will have new tools to tackle the proliferation of shops selling marijuana without a license, a conundrum officials have been contending with as the legal marketplace for cannabis slowly takes shape.

State tax authorities will now have the authority to inspect any business location, including vehicles, that is selling cannabis, granting them a power that regulators said they needed to effectively crack down on illicit shops.

The fines for retailers possessing untaxed weed start at $7,500, with additional fines of up to $100,000 depending on the amount of weed for sale. Retailers may also be fined two to three times the amount of tax that would have been collected. Landlords who permit unlicensed shops in their premises could be on the hook for $10,000 a day in fines.

Unlicensed smoke shops, including those that [*practice gifting*](https://cannabis.ny.gov/system/files/documents/2023/02/ocm_knowyourrights_printable.pdf) or set up as membership clubs, may also face civil tax fraud charges.

State passes gas ban and leans into renewable energy

Democrats agreed on two far-ranging proposals aimed at ending the state’s dependence on fossil fuels and aggressively tackling climate change.

The first will bar the use of fossil fuels for heating and cooking in new construction. The law, the first statewide ban in the nation, will go into effect for buildings under seven stories beginning in 2026; larger buildings will need to comply by 2029. It will not affect gas stoves in existing homes and includes exceptions for manufacturing, emergency generators and hospitals, among others.

The other measure allows the New York Power Authority to build, own and operate renewable energy facilities to help New York meet the goal of reducing emissions by 85 percent by 2050. Progressives, [*particularly democratic socialists*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/23/nyregion/assembly-primary-ny.html), had [*championed the measure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/nyregion/hochul-renewable-energy-aoc.html), which they said would control consumer costs and help to ensure beneficial working conditions.

The measure will allow the Power Authority to partner with private developers, so long as the state owns the majority of any project. It will also require New York City to shut down any so-called peaker plants still in operation by 2030, if possible.

The industry fiercely opposed both proposals, saying they would raise costs for consumers and stress the electrical grid.

M.T.A. will get more money and five free bus routes

Leaders in Albany [*agreed to funding*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/nyregion/mta-fare-hike-budget.html) to help stave off a [*catastrophic money crunch*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/15/nyregion/mta-nyc-budget.html) for New York City’s subways and buses.

In light of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority’s impending $3 billion budget deficit, lawmakers called for a one-time payment from Albany of $300 million and $165 million annually from New York City. It also included money from an increase in payroll taxes on large businesses based in New York City, which is expected to yield $1.1 billion, and from tax revenue from casinos that will open in the near future.

The agreement will help to stave off one proposed fare hike, though others are [*on the horizon.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/nyregion/mta-fare-hike-budget.html)

Riders are likely to hail the inclusion of a new pilot program that would offer five free bus routes, one for each borough. The lines will be chosen based on a set of factors including ridership and if the area serves a commercial hub.

And in an effort to make service more efficient, [*buses will be equipped with cameras*](https://hellgatenyc.com/dont-block-the-fcking-bus-lane) with the ability to issue tickets for traffic violations.

New charter schools will open

Fourteen charter schools will be allowed to open in New York City, and eight elsewhere in the state, partially fulfilling one of Ms. Hochul’s core priorities.

The decision to revive [*so-called zombie licenses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/27/nyregion/nyc-charter-schools.html), which were awarded to schools that then closed, reignited a perennial debate in Albany around charter schools, which are publicly funded but privately operated.

The final deal fell far short of Ms. Hochul’s desire to lift restrictions to allow over 100 new charter schools to open, a proposal that had [*angered many Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/02/nyregion/charter-schools-nyc-hochul.html) and teachers’ unions that had endorsed the governor.

What didn’t make the cut

This year’s budget was equally notable for policy aspirations that fell off the negotiating table.

The governor held the line against Democrats who were seeking to increase income taxes on millionaires. And lawmakers did not get on board with Ms. Hochul’s proposal to [*ban the sale of menthol cigarettes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/23/nyregion/menthol-ban-black-smokers.html#:~:text=New%20York%20health%20officials%20have,smokers%2C%20according%20to%20the%20F.D.A.).

But the biggest victim was [*the governor’s ambitious housing plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/27/nyregion/nyc-housing-crisis.html), which sought to build 800,000 homes over the next decade through new construction mandates. Her plan unraveled following [*opposition from many lawmakers and local officials in the suburbs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/nyregion/nyc-suburbs-homes-hochul.html).

On Tuesday, Ms. Hochul said she would continue to pursue the plan, though she suggested those efforts might need to wait until next year’s budget.

The only major housing policy development was a $391 million injection in rental assistance that could help residents in public and other types of subsidized housing.

Ashley Southall and Mihir Zaveri contributed reporting.

Ashley Southall and Mihir Zaveri contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: The budget contains contentious policy changes on issues like bail, a ban on gas stoves and furnaces in new construction, making New York the first state to pass such a measure, and minimum wage. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CINDY SCHULTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; SEAN GALLUP/GETTY IMAGES; JANICE CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** May 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***This Holiday Season, the Poor Buckle Under Inflation as the Rich Spend***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66Y3-GVD1-DXY4-X4C7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 25, 2022 Friday 12:15 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 1785 words

**Byline:** Jeanna Smialek and Tony Luong

**Highlight:** Even if policymakers achieve a gentle economic slowdown, it won’t be smooth for everyone.

**Body**

Even if policymakers achieve a gentle economic slowdown, it won’t be smooth for everyone.

November has been busier than expected at the Langham Hotel in Boston as luxury travelers book rooms in plush suites and hold meetings in gilded conference rooms. The $135-per-adult [*Thanksgiving brunch*](https://www.langhamhotels.com/en/the-langham/boston/offers/dining-offers/thanksgiving-feast/) at its in-house restaurant sold out weeks ago.

Across town, in Dorchester, demand has been booming for a different kind of food service. Catholic Charities is seeing so many families at its free pantry that Beth Chambers, vice president of basic needs at Catholic Charities Boston, has had to close early some days and tell patrons to come back first thing in the morning. On the frigid Saturday morning before Thanksgiving, patrons waiting for free turkeys began to line the street at 4:30 a.m. — more than four hours before the pantry opened.

The contrast illustrates a divide that is rippling through America’s topsy-turvy economy nearly three years into the pandemic. Many well-off consumers are still flush with savings and faring well financially, bolstering [*luxury brands*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-11-15/moet-hennessy-is-running-out-of-champagne-in-roaring-20s-demand-surge) and keeping some high-end retailers and travel companies optimistic about the holiday season. At the same time, America’s poor are running low on cash buffers, struggling to keep up with rising prices and facing climbing borrowing costs if they use credit cards or loans to make ends meet.

The situation underlines a grim reality of the pandemic era. The Federal Reserve is raising interest rates to make borrowing more expensive and temper demand, hoping to cool the economy and bring the fastest inflation in decades back under control. Central bankers are trying to manage that without a recession that leaves families out of work. But the adjustment period is already a painful one for many Americans — evidence that even if the central bank can pull off a so-called “soft landing,” it won’t feel benign to everyone.

“A lot of these households are moving toward the greater fragility that was the norm before the pandemic,” said Matthew Luzzetti, chief U.S. economist at Deutsche Bank.

Many ***working-class*** households fared well in 2020 and 2021. Though they lost jobs rapidly at the outset of the pandemic, hiring rebounded swiftly, wage growth has been strong, and repeated government relief checks helped families amass savings.

But after 18 months of rapid price inflation — some of which was driven by stimulus-fueled demand — the poor are depleting those cushions. American families were still sitting on about [*$1.7 trillion in excess savings*](https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/notes/feds-notes/excess-savings-during-the-covid-19-pandemic-20221021.html) — extra savings accumulated during the pandemic — by the middle of this year, based on Fed estimates, but about $1.35 trillion of it was held by the top half of earners and just $350 billion in the bottom half.

At the same time, [*prices climbed 7.7 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/business/economy/october-inflation-data.html) in the year through October, far faster than the roughly 2 percent pace that was normal before the pandemic. As savings have run down and necessities like car repair, food and housing become sharply more expensive, many people in [*lower-income neighborhoods*](https://libertystreeteconomics.newyorkfed.org/2022/11/balances-are-on-the-rise-so-who-is-taking-on-more-credit-card-debt/) have begun turning to credit cards to sustain their spending. Balances for that group are now above 2019 levels, New York Fed research shows. Some are struggling to keep up at all.

“With the cost of food, the explosive cost of eggs, people are having to come to us more,” said Ms. Chambers of Catholic Charities, explaining that other rising prices, including rent, are intensifying the struggle. The location planned to give out 1,000 turkeys and 600 gift cards for turkeys, at its holiday distribution, along with bags of canned creamed corn, cranberry sauce and other Thanksgiving fare.

Tina Obadiaru, 42, was among those who lined up to get a turkey on Saturday. A mother of seven, she works full time caring for residents at a group home, but it isn’t enough to make ends meet for her and her family, especially after her Dorchester rent jumped last month to $2,500 from $2,000.

“It is going to be really difficult,” she said.

The disproportionate burden inflation places on the poor is one reason Fed officials are scrambling to quickly bring price increases back under control. Central bankers have lifted interest rates from near zero earlier this year to nearly 4 percent, and have signaled that there are [*more to come*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/02/business/federal-reserve-interest-rates-inflation.html).

But the process of lowering inflation is also likely to hurt for lower-income people. Fed policies work partly by making it expensive to borrow to sustain consumption, which causes demand to decline and eventually forces sellers to charge less. Rate increases also slow down the labor market, cooling wage growth and possibly even costing jobs.

That means that the solid labor market that has buoyed the ***working class*** through this challenging time — one that has particularly pushed up [*wages in lower-paying jobs*](https://www.atlantafed.org/chcs/wage-growth-tracker), including leisure and hospitality, and transportation — could soon crack. In fact, Fed officials are watching for a slowdown in spending and pay gains as a sign that their policies are working.

“While higher interest rates, slower growth and softer labor market conditions will bring down inflation, they will also bring some pain to households and businesses,” Jerome H. Powell, the Fed chair, said at [*a key Fed conference*](https://www.federalreserve.gov/newsevents/speech/powell20220826a.htm) in August. “These are the unfortunate costs of reducing inflation.”

Central bankers believe that a measure of pain today is better than what would happen if inflation were allowed to continue unchecked. If people and businesses begin to expect rapid price increases and act accordingly — asking for big raises, instituting frequent and large price increases — inflation could become entrenched in the economy. It would then take a more punishing policy response to bring it to heel, one that could push unemployment even higher.

But evidence accumulating across the economy underscores that the slowdown the Fed has been engineering, however necessary, is likely to feel different across different income groups.

Consumer spending overall has so far been resilient to the Fed’s rate moves. [*Retail sales data*](https://tradingeconomics.com/united-states/retail-sales) moderated notably early in the year, but have recently picked back up. [*Personal consumption expenditures*](https://www.bea.gov/data/consumer-spending/main) aren’t expanding at a breakneck pace, but they continue to grow.

Yet underneath those aggregate numbers, a nascent shift appears to be underway — one that highlights the growing divide in economic comfort between the rich and the poor. Credit card data from Bank of America suggest that high- and middle-income households have replaced lower-income households in driving consumption growth in recent months. Poorer shoppers contributed one-fifth of the growth in discretionary spending in October, compared with around two-fifths a year earlier.

“This is likely due to lower-income groups being the most negatively impacted by surging prices — they have also seen the biggest drawdown of bank savings,” economists at the Bank of America Institute wrote in a Nov. 10 note.

Even if the poor feel the squeeze of elevated prices and [*higher interest rates*](https://www.bankrate.com/finance/credit-cards/average-credit-card-rate-hits-record-high/) and pull back, the economists noted that continued economic health among richer consumers could keep demand strong in areas where wealthier people tend to spend their money, including services like travel and hotels.

At the Langham, a newly renovated hotel in a century-old building that originally served as the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, there is little to suggest an impending slowdown in spending.

In “The Fed,” the hotel bar named in a nod to the building’s heritage, bartenders are busy every weeknight slinging cocktails with names like “Trust Fund Baby” and “Apple Butter Me Up” (both $16). When guests come back from shopping on nearby Newbury Street, the hotel’s managing director, Michele Grosso, said, their arms are full of bags. He sees the fact that the Thanksgiving brunch sold out so fast as emblematic of continued demand.

“If people were pulling back, we’d still be promoting,” he said of the three-course, family-style meal. “Instead, we’ve got a waiting list.”

The consumption divide playing out in Boston is also clear at a national level, echoing through corporate earnings calls. American Express added customers for platinum and gold cards at a record clip in the United States last quarter, for instance, as it reported “great demand” for premium, fee-based products.

“As we sit here today, we see no changes in the spending behaviors of our customers,” Stephen J. Squeri, the company’s chief executive, told investors during an earnings call last month.

Companies that serve more low-income consumers, however, are reporting a marked pullback.

“Many consumers this year have relied on borrowing or dipping into their savings to manage their weekly budgets,” Brian Cornell, the chief executive of Target, said in an earnings call on Nov. 16. “But for many consumers, those options are starting to run out. As a result, our guests are exhibiting increasing price sensitivity, becoming more focused on and responsive to promotions and more hesitant to purchase at full price.”

The split makes it hard to guess what will happen next with spending and inflation. Some economists think the return of price sensitivity among lower-income consumers will be enough to help overall costs moderate, paving the way for a notable slowdown in 2023.

“You get more promotional activity, and companies starting to compete for market share,” said Julia Coronado, founder of MacroPolicy Perspectives.

But others warn that, even if the very poor are struggling, it may not be sufficient to bring spending and prices down meaningfully.

Many families paid off their credit card balances during the pandemic, and that is [*now reversing*](https://www.newyorkfed.org/microeconomics/hhdc), despite high credit card rates. The borrowing could help some households sustain their consumption for a while, especially paired with strong employment gains and recently fallen gas prices, said Neil Dutta, head of U.S. economics at Renaissance Macro.

As the world waits to see whether the Fed can slow down the economy enough to control inflation without forcing the country into an outright recession, those coming to Catholic Charities in Boston illustrate why the stakes are so high. Though many have jobs, they have been buffeted by months of rapid price increases and now face an uncertain future.

“Before the pandemic, we thought in cases,” Ms. Chambers said, referencing how much food is needed to meet local need. “Now we think only in pallets.”

PHOTOS: A $135-per-adult Thanksgiving brunch at the Langham Hotel in Boston, top left and bottom right, sold out weeks ago. Across town, people lined up for turkeys at a Catholic Charities, bottom left. The charity has been distributing food ahead of the holiday, top right. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TONY LUONG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

**Load-Date:** November 25, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Why So Many Americans Are Feeling More Pain***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:685W-MDX1-JBG3-632B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 7, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 6; NICHOLAS KRISTOF

**Length:** 3011 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Kristof

**Body**

Ever since Bobbie Wert was 8 years old, her stomach has ached. ''My tummy hurts,'' was her refrain as a girl, and the discomfort was accompanied by vomiting and diarrhea that kept her out of school -- sometimes for half the days in the school year.

Doctors poked and scanned but couldn't figure out anything wrong. Over the years, they cut her open and removed bits and pieces yet couldn't drive away the pain. So doctors prescribed opioids in increasing doses -- even fentanyl patches -- that left her addicted. At age 43, she now is off opioids but still suffers every single day, enduring chronic pain like an estimated 50 million other Americans.

Wert is part of a vast and mysterious panorama of pain that is increasing, sometimes with no obvious physical cause. And while chronic pain is a global problem, it is particularly puzzling in America. In other wealthy countries, it's the elderly who report the most chronic pain, which makes some sense. But in the United States it's the middle-aged -- especially the jobless and people like Wert, who did not graduate from high school -- who suffer the most. It is a plague on the less educated.

All this raises the question: Is this physical suffering a canary in the coal mine warning us of larger dysfunction in our society?

Here's what we do know: Tens of millions of Americans are suffering pain. But chronic pain is not just a result of car accidents and workplace injuries but is also linked to troubled childhoods, loneliness, job insecurity and a hundred other pressures on working families.

This essay is the first in an occasional series I'll be writing about the interrelated crises unfolding in ***working-class*** America. I'll explore the cluster of tightly woven problems that hold back our people and our country: childhood trauma, educational failure, addiction, mental health issues, homelessness, loneliness, family breakdown, unemployment -- and, we increasingly recognize, physical pain.

''People's lives are coming apart, and this leads to huge increases in physical pain,'' said Angus Deaton, a Nobel Prize winner in economics who with Anne Case popularized the term ''deaths of despair.'' He, Case and Arthur Stone warn in a recent article that ''the mystery of American pain reveals a warning for the future.''

Americans die from deaths of despair -- drugs, alcohol and suicide -- at a rate of more than a quarter-million a year, and the number of walking wounded is far greater. We do have some evidence for how we can address our country's pathologies, so this series will also focus on recovery.

I wrote a few years ago about how more than one-quarter of the kids who rode my No. 6 school bus in rural Oregon with me are gone from deaths of despair. Some friends are homeless and on the run from the law, and when I asked them what went wrong, they often spoke about their physical pains. Sometimes I wondered if this might be malingering. Now I understand that the pain was very real, but often more complicated than a broken arm from a brawl.

''I believe pain is the most complex experience a human body can have,'' Dr. Haider Warraich told me. Dr. Warraich is a cardiologist who teaches at Harvard Medical School, but his familiarity with pain is personal: While still in medical school, he began to suffer disabling back pain that for many years took over his life.

Dr. Warraich said that we tend to misperceive chronic pain simply as pain that lasts longer. Acute pain typically has a specific anatomical source -- such as the shock you feel when you touch a hot stove -- while chronic pain sometimes, not always, originates in the brain rather than the body. An extreme example is phantom limb pain, in which an amputee feels intense pain in a limb that no longer exists.

Accustomed to treating acute pain, physicians diagnose through imaging and knowledge of anatomy: If someone suffers from chronic back pain, get an X-ray! And imaging often finds something odd that may suggest a surgical solution. In Dr. Warraich's case, there were prolapsed discs. But it's also true that X-rays of people with no pain show similar anatomical faults.

It's the brain-body gap: Researchers find that some people with substantial knee pain have normal X-rays, while many whose X-rays suggest significant arthritis feel no pain at all.

Think of the brain as the control panel for a pain alarm system that mostly protects the body from injury -- but sometimes goes haywire. It can blare like a home alarm system that maddeningly thinks a window has been opened when it hasn't been.

Unfortunately, brain alarms are harder to turn off.

Medicines that work very well for acute pain, like opioids, were prescribed for many years for chronic pain like Wert's, resulting in a tsunami of addiction that now claims more than 100,000 lives a year in overdoses of various drugs -- and leaving large numbers of pain sufferers dependent on pills that they now struggle to obtain. While opioids can provide relief, some experts also believe that opioids were never a sound choice for long-term pain.

Fortunately, some new treatments are emerging for chronic pain, but they are imperfect and often not covered by insurance. For starters, we're learning that pain sometimes responds better to approaches that target the brain and psyche, not the body. For example, phantom limb pain is helped with mirror therapy, in which the sufferer repeatedly looks in the mirror at a remaining limb, to trick the brain into thinking that the body is doing just fine.

There is no single pain center in the brain, but chronic pain often reverberates in parts of the brain that can also be involved in emotions and traumatic memories, and that resonates with Bobbie Wert. She looks back at her odyssey through unexplained pain and addiction and has a simple explanation: ''It was trauma.'' As the title of a best-selling book by Bessel van der Kolk on how psychological trauma can manifest as physical pain puts it, ''The Body Keeps the Score.''

After Wert's parents divorced when she was 5 years old, life became particularly chaotic. The family was periodically homeless, Wert said, and physical and sexual abuse swirled around her in Washington State. She remembers that when she was 8, a boy punched her and held her down while another raped her 9-year-old sister.

She recalls only fragments of the rest of those difficult years. ''It was just men in and out of our house constantly,'' she said. ''I remember old men coming in, but I don't remember what happened.''

For all the school she missed, Wert was a brilliant student who managed to stay near the top of her class. But she fell in love at age 15 with a man six years older, then, seeking stability in a chaotic life, married him and dropped out of school. She had two children by the time she was 18.

Instead of subsiding, the pain ramped up. For a while, doctors thought it was irritable bowel syndrome. Then they said it was endometriosis, leading to surgery at the age of 20 and a full hysterectomy a year later.

None of that helped, and doctors later diagnosed interstitial cystitis, part of a spectrum called painful bladder syndrome. All of these diagnoses -- irritable bowel syndrome, endometriosis and painful bladder syndrome -- are commonly applied to people with chronic pain that is difficult to explain. The end of the diagnostic line is often fibromyalgia, a catchall to describe chronic pain in several locations.

Wert's sister suffered from similar inexplicable pain and was likewise treated with large doses of opioids that left her addicted, too. She has been diagnosed with fibromyalgia.

Chronic pain is unusual among diseases of despair in that it disproportionately strikes women, who according to one study are 75 percent more likely than men to report severe pain. That apparently is because testosterone eases pain (boys and girls suffer pain equally until puberty).

Another big factor in pain differences is class. One study found that poor Americans are more than three times as likely to report pain as wealthy Americans. Another found that just 2 percent of those with graduate degrees report severe pain, while almost 10 percent of high school dropouts do.

''Basically, if you've got a B.A., you're vaccinated against all of this crap,'' said Deaton, the economist. Deaton, Case and Stone found that each successive generation among less-educated Americans has reported more pain at any given age.

''If these patterns continue, pain prevalence will continue to increase for all adults,'' they wrote in The Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences. ''Tomorrow's elderly will be sicker than today's elderly, with potentially serious implications for health care.''

The brain appears very sensitive to expectations of pain, which is why placebos ease pain -- and this may be a factor in faith healing as well. In one study, injections of saline solution turned out to be almost as effective as injections of pain medication in reducing arm pain. Conversely, when research subjects received the saline but were warned it might increase pain -- that's a nocebo, the opposite of a placebo -- they suffered significantly more.

The idea that chronic pain can arise from emotional discomfort isn't new. An iconoclastic physician named John Sarno wrote a 1991 best-selling book, ''Healing Back Pain: The Mind-Body Connection,'' that emphasized the physical consequences of repressed emotions. Some patients swore by him, while many doctors rolled their eyes. He may have been something of a prophet, but today science has advanced far beyond his ideas and methods.

America's increasing chronic pain doesn't come primarily from obesity or workplace injuries but may have something to do with the financial and social stresses in ***working-class*** America. When jobs are lost, pain increases. One international study found that a 3 percent increase in the unemployment rate is associated with a 1 percent increase in the number of people reporting pain.

Other studies have found that economic insecurity is associated with more pain. So are discrimination and unhappiness. Pain can lead to depression, causing further pain. ''Loneliness strongly predicts the development of pain,'' another study found. In effect, chronic pain is tightly woven into the bundle of diseases of despair, and causation probably runs in several directions.

There's some evidence that trauma and stress teach the brain to be hypervigilant and put the pain alarm system on a hair trigger. This builds on itself: Researchers have also found that chronic pain can result in greater sensitivity, so that pain breeds more pain.

Pain even changes the physical brain. Several studies have found that long-term pain leads to a loss of gray matter in the prefrontal cortex, although experts are still working out the implications of that.

The upshot is that whether pain is from psychological trauma or from physical injury, it can tip someone into a downward spiral. That's what happened to Aaron Lopez.

Like Wert, he grew up in a troubled home. At about 12, Lopez began using drugs and drinking whiskey, and that was the backdrop for an incident at age 18 in which a sheet of plywood fell on his head and damaged his cervical spine.

''I just went home and got drunk,'' he recalled. ''I drank it away.''

Lopez later managed his pain with OxyContin, and for a while he got by. He landed a good job as a medic at a university in Oregon and had a house, two cars, a girlfriend and a son. But once he couldn't get OxyContin prescriptions, he began buying painkillers on the street, and that proved unaffordable. So he bought heroin.

The first heroin high proved difficult to replicate -- and Lopez's habit grew expensive. He started dealing so that he could be paid in powder. His son bounced between him and his now ex-girlfriend (who also became addicted), depending on who was in better shape.

On top of his excruciating pain, Lopez was regularly on the run from the law, and he lost his home and his health care provider's license. He overdosed nine times.

Lopez admits that he made bad choices. But pain made poor choices more likely.

''When I would have my bouts of neck pain, it magnified everything,'' he told me. ''Depression, anxiety, despair, everything was worse when I was in pain.'' He was eventually homeless.

Finally, in 2019, Lopez gave up.

''I just decided I was going to end it,'' he recalled. ''So I did a massive dose of heroin.''

He overdosed and turned blue, but rescuers managed to revive him with five doses of naloxone. Awakening, he was exhausted and felt he had hit bottom. After that, drugs were less satisfying, and he found out that his girlfriend was pregnant. Soon after, he resolved to live: He went through detox and hasn't used drugs since 2019. Now he is more prudent about avoiding anything that might aggravate his pain, but it still returns in waves, such as when his daughter unexpectedly jumped on his back. When it comes, he bulls through it with over-the-counter remedies and manages to go on with his life.

So how can we heal from chronic pain? What can experts advise those suffering from it?

Dr. Daniel Clauw, director of the Chronic Pain and Fatigue Research Center at the University of Michigan, believes that we already have a toolbox of remedies that can help 80 percent or 90 percent of chronic pain sufferers but that our treatment system and insurance protocols betray those in need.

''We've really over-medicalized pain,'' he told me. His first recommendation to patients with chronic pain is simple: Get more sleep and exercise. There's no simple solution, he emphasized, and it takes work by patients to recover.

''I'm a huge advocate of physical therapy,'' he added, and he also sees positive results from yoga, acupuncture, acupressure, cognitive behavioral therapy and meditation.

He mimics addressing a patient: ''Mrs. Jones, I don't know if acupuncture is going to work for you, or if it's going to be physical therapy or chiropractic manipulation. But I do know that if you try three of these non-pharmacologic therapies, on average one of the three will work pretty well. And then the next year we'll try two or three more, and you'll get better yet.''

The demographic most vulnerable to chronic pain -- unemployed middle-aged Americans with limited education -- is less likely to have health insurance or the means to pay for treatment (much of which isn't covered by insurance in any case). So these people suffer, or they may pay $5 for a fentanyl-laced pill to delay the suffering.

New approaches are emerging, but they are not necessarily more accessible. Virtual reality seems promising for alleviating chronic pain. Mindfulness training is sometimes helpful. Cannabis helps many people, with the most promising cannabinoids easing pain without producing a high, and researchers are investigating some encouraging indications that psilocybin (the hallucinogenic substance in ''magic mushrooms'') may help as well.

Kevin Boehnke, a pain researcher at the University of Michigan, said that if cannabis were discovered today, the scientific world would be dazzled and would rush to test various cannabinoids for their medical potential.

''There's this vast untapped potential there,'' he said, but it's often not available because insurers are wary -- even as they cover expensive surgeries that have a poor record in resolving pain.

Today Wert still suffers pain every day but is able to hold a job counseling children through a group in McMinnville, Ore., called Provoking Hope. She is always on the lookout for kids with unexplained tummy aches.

She has some luck keeping her pain in check. ''I use a heating pad, and I take a lot of hot baths,'' she said. ''If I feel pain coming, I work on crafts or keep myself busy. It's mind over matter. I keep repeating, 'It's not so bad.'''

Another longtime pain sufferer, Anne Muilenburg, who used opioids for a time and then became homeless, told me something that stuck with me. She now struggles regularly with pain but gets by with physical therapy, ice and ibuprofen.

''The pain is not as bad as the addiction,'' she said. ''My worst day clean is so much better than my best day using.''

Another approach is to move from Band-Aids to prevention. Since pain and deaths of despair fall heavily on the poorly educated and unemployed, we might address educational gaps: getting everyone through high school and equipping graduates with a marketable skill. Before the pandemic caused setbacks, there was some progress in raising America's pathetic high school graduation rate and in bolstering vocational training with initiatives like career academies.

Prevention also entails addressing broader social dysfunction. We've done a good job reducing workplace injuries, for example, but we haven't shown the same determination to prevent the kinds of abuse that seared Wert and her sister. The foster care system is often a disaster that sets children up for diseases of despair. Home-visiting programs like Nurse-Family Partnership coach parents on everything from avoiding substance abuse and chipped lead paint to talking frequently with one's child, and they have a remarkable record of improving outcomes for disadvantaged children. High-quality pre-K can similarly help get kids on track to success.

People recovering from addictions often talk about the importance of facing reality and accepting difficult truths. Here's one for all of us to confront: Tens of millions of Americans are suffering in ways that lead to addiction, pain and a tangle of other pathologies and then transmit this misery to the next generation.

Maybe the brain's pain alarm system is trying to tell us about how America heals: To ease our chronic pain, we must do better at addressing deeper wounds in our economy and society.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/03/opinion/chronic-pain-america-****working-class****.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/03/opinion/chronic-pain-america-working-class.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Bobbie Wert and Aaron Lopez have suffered chronic pain for years, and became addicted to opioids. Today, Wert uses techniques including swinging, applying a heating pad, and attending a mindfulness group to manage pain, while Lopez, below right middle, relies on overthe-counter drugs and sheer fortitude. (SR6-SR7)

Lopez at home in McMinnville, Ore., with his daughter. Wert, below, attributes her chronic pain to childhood trauma. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RICARDO NAGAOKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (SR8) This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7, SR8.

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Elite Needs to Give Up Its G.D.P. Fetish***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60P9-FN71-DXY4-X20G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 27, 2020 Thursday 16:23 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1168 words

**Byline:** Oren Cass

**Highlight:** “Material living standards” are not the same thing as “quality of life.”

**Body**

“Material living standards” are not the same thing as “quality of life.”

For Americans living through the recent months of crisis, some of the latest economic data may come as a surprise. [*Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.)*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GDPC1#_blank) over the past six months remained far above what we could have achieved even a decade ago. Investors have driven key stock indexes [*back above*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GDPC1#_blank) their February peaks. But rarely have such economic indicators been so entirely beside the point. Seriously: Who cares?

What good does G.D.P. do, if people we love are falling seriously ill and dying in unprecedented numbers; if the rhythms of daily life vital to our happiness have gone haywire and our social connections have atrophied?

Typically shielded from such problems, the country’s professional class now finds itself experiencing a taste of the insecurity and anxiety that the ***working class*** has felt for decades: The dissolution of community; the suddenly prohibitive distances separating friends and family; the anger at experts selling ineffective, poorly planned schooling as adequate to their children’s needs.

The calamity we&#39;re now all living through offers the professional class an opportunity to reconsider assessments of the national condition issued so confidently pre-pandemic: Economists focus on material living standards partly for ease of quantification, but also because that is what free markets most reliably produce. And for many on the right-of-center especially, a rise in living standards equals success, which conveniently supports the conclusion that the economy has been delivering well.

But “material living standards,” measured in dollars of consumption (or inches of flat-screen TV), are not the same thing as “quality of life.” They say little about relationships, dignity, agency, or life satisfaction.

Ask yourself what matters to you right now. Consider whether new apps on your smartphone compensate for the loss of control, sense of powerlessness, and strain of unpredictability. We could measure such things if we wanted: We survey “consumer confidence” each month, why not community confidence? We could track how well families are building long-term savings and report the children-with-married-parents rate alongside the unemployment rate.

Speaking in March at the Heritage Foundation, Senator Pat Toomey, a Republican said, “many nuclear families are struggling, that families don’t have the community support that they once had, extended families live apart,” and “civil society” is in “decline.” Still, [*he argued*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GDPC1#_blank), “the standard of living of middle-class and ***working class*** Americans has improved,” citing larger houses, better computers, and cars that are not only safer but also equipped with satellite radio and seat warmers.

Weighing these competing factors, he concluded, “For all the problems that we undoubtedly have, the fact is life is better today than it has ever been for the vast majority of the American people.”

Michael Strain of the American Enterprise Institute has gone a step further, assessing “the American dream” itself by material living standards. In his book, “The American Dream Is Not Dead,” published just weeks before the nation went into lockdown because of the coronavirus, Dr. Strain acknowledged that economic measures are not the only ones that matter, but focused on them because they are “so central.”

His seventh chapter, “Quality of Life Has Clearly Improved,”leads with the availability of color television, air-conditioning, and affordable long-distance calling, before turning to enjoyment of a daily commute: “My car is so comfortable and I have access to so much entertainment while driving,” he writes.

By Senator Toomey’s and Dr. Strain’s standards, the past few months were the greatest in human history to be alive. The pandemic has allowed more time than ever to enjoy air-conditioning and color televisions, computers and phones. One can joy ride for hours streaming podcasts.

How much of that technology would you trade to erase the coronavirus? Put another way, how far back in history would you have to travel to find a time when Americans’ true quality of life was lower than today’s? Would it be 1980? 1950? That this is even a question serves as damning refutation of Senator Toomey’s confidence that an improved standard of living more than compensates for weakened family bonds and waning community support.

While the right-of-center often dismisses ***working-class*** frustration with claims of economic prosperity, the left-of-center tends to dismiss their frustration as backward or racist. Candidate Barack Obama lamented people who “get bitter, they cling to guns or religion or antipathy toward people who aren’t like them.” Hillary Clinton placed such people in her “basket of deplorables.”

Many Democratic analysts continue to mock the specter of “economic anxiety” as a genuine motivating factor for white voters and assemble analyses explaining away their recent losses. “Actually, these people were motivated by racism. It’s just an important fact of the world,” David Shor, a left-leaning data analyst, said recently in an interview with New York Magazine.

According to thinking like this, people can’t rationally reject the buffet of entitlements often suggested as cure-all solutions by progressives. Yet, in this time of coronavirus, Americans from all walks of life can understand that the solution must be to fix problems, not merely compensate for them.

Perhaps there is no cure for what ails the ***working class***. Then again, perhaps we will never find an effective Covid-19 vaccine. But that’s no argument against trying.

America could slow, or partially reverse, elements of globalization that have most disrupted ***working-class*** lives, if that were our priority. We could reorient our education system toward serving the majority of young people who still don’t earn even a community-college degree. We could reform our system of organized labor to provide workers a genuine seat at the table and an institution in the community. We could emphasize geography when we talk about diversity, aiming to distribute talent and investment more widely.

These are forms of social redistribution. The task is not to write a larger check but to relinquish power and realign institutions on behalf of those who have been left behind for decades. That has not been a priority for the “haves” anywhere on the political spectrum. But it is necessary if the “have-nots” are to gain autonomy, build community, and find stability. Especially when times are tough, it is those things that we all value most.

Oren Cass is the executive director of American Compass and author of “The Once and Future Worker.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GDPC1#_blank) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GDPC1#_blank). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GDPC1#_blank).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GDPC1#_blank), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GDPC1#_blank) and [*Instagram*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GDPC1#_blank).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY RACHEL BUJALSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 29, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Bid to Redraw Council's Map Got Ugly Fast***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6949-05S1-JBG3-61R1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 8, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 2982 words

**Byline:** By Jill Cowan, Serge F. Kovaleski and Leanne Abraham

**Body**

Blatant political gerrymandering occurs in cities across the country, many of them run by Democrats. In Los Angeles, a scandal over a racist recording was only the tip of the iceberg.

Nithya Raman turned into a political celebrity almost overnight when she emerged as the face of a rising progressive vanguard to campaign for the Los Angeles City Council in 2020.

With a master's degree in urban planning from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and experience working with slum dwellers in India, Ms. Raman zeroed in on the city's soaring housing prices and promised to give renters and homeless people a seat at the political table -- her seat.

Ms. Raman, 42, wound up receiving more votes than any council member in the city's history and began to draw comparisons to the progressive New York congresswoman, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez -- ''LAOC,'' one local critic derisively called her.

Barely a year later, though, Ms. Raman ran into an adversary her grass-roots army was powerless to confront: the bruising power politics involved in running a city of 3.8 million people. The City Council had embarked on its once-a-decade redistricting process, and Ms. Raman, who had few allies among the city's old-guard politicians, was threatened at one point with losing virtually all of the constituents who had elected her.

''I've been in politics for 50 years and I've never seen anything like this before in my entire life,'' said Jackie Goldberg, Ms. Raman's representative on the redistricting commission. ''I've never seen a group of people come together and try to disband the City Council district of a woman who got more votes than any of them ever did.''

The redistricting battle in Los Angeles underscores how some big city leaders -- often Democrats -- have used gerrymandering for their political advantage, much the way Republican lawmakers have redrawn legislative lines to secure or expand their control over some statehouses. Similar fights have been waged in Boston, Miami and Chicago.

The conflict in Los Angeles became a national controversy last fall after audio was leaked that revealed the shockingly frank, racist language that politicians used behind closed doors to discuss where to draw district boundaries. Nury Martinez, the former council president, used slurs to describe the young, Black child of a white colleague, as well as Indigenous immigrants from Oaxaca, and was forced to resign.

But the uproar over the recordings obscured the more fundamental impact of Los Angeles's 2021 redistricting process: the degree to which political interference by council members directly undermined some of the very goals the politicians said they were trying to achieve.

As the city prepares this fall to look closely at what lessons were learned from the scandal-ridden process, The New York Times conducted dozens of interviews with redistricting commissioners, council members, neighborhood leaders and experts on voting rights to understand the ultimate outcomes of the closed-door maneuvering. Maps of the various district configurations were analyzed to examine their impacts on race and other demographics.

In instance after instance, the review showed, the recommendations of the commission appointed to review district boundaries -- advice based on months of neighborhood meetings, expert studies and comments from the community -- were largely ignored as the council pushed through a map that would help re-elect the incumbents.

The council members on the audio all largely maintained their existing districts -- Ms. Martinez's constituency remained nearly 100 percent intact -- as did at least six other council members.

The city made no progress at all on one of its chief original aims -- to build fairer representation for Latinos, who currently make up about half the city's population but hold about a third of the council seats.

A longstanding goal of unifying Koreatown, which had historically been split across four council districts, was accomplished. But many residents there who had helped elect Ms. Raman -- an important base of the renters she wanted to mobilize -- no longer had her as their councilwoman.

''This all felt counter to the political explosion that got me here in the first place,'' Ms. Raman said. ''Eleven months after a very democratic process, a very undemocratic process takes hold.''

Frank Cardenas, who was the redistricting commission's executive director, said he was ''disgusted'' at how an effort that involved the participation of some 15,000 Angelenos was so abruptly set aside.

''Thousands of people got vested in the process of designing their city only to have their work and efforts pissed on by the council,'' he said. ''Here we have elected officials literally playing games with them while inviting them to be part of a democratic process -- only to become authoritarian on them at the end. It was a breathtaking bait and switch.''

Several of the eight council members who spoke with The Times about the redistricting process said their interventions to prevent large changes to their districts were intended to protect the will of the people who had voted for them.

''The common interest we had was in preventing our constituents from being completely taken away from the council member they voted for,'' said Paul Krekorian, who is now City Council president.

But in a City Council election campaign this spring, held to fill the seat vacated by Ms. Martinez, much of the blame was pointed at the Council itself.

''Neighborhoods like the one I live in, Sun Valley, were carved up for political purposes, not for empowering constituents,'' said Imelda Padilla, a community organizer who was elected to the council in June. ''These public officials were in that room discussing the consolidation of their own individual power, not equitable political representation.''

A process designed to be inclusive

Los Angeles is home to one of the country's biggest immigrant populations and a network of stunningly disparate neighborhoods -- the mansions of Brentwood, the high-rises of Century City, the suburbs of the San Fernando Valley and the dense urban communities of Watts, Boyle Heights and Echo Park.

Nowhere in the country do City Council members preside over fiefs so large: 15 council members represent about 264,900 people each. To put it in perspective, this is one-and-a-half times the size of City Council districts in New York and five times more than those in Chicago. A single council district in Los Angeles is more populous than the vast majority of California cities.

Racial and ethnic groups have spent decades jostling for power and building coalitions, and the redrawing of the city's political map has often exposed fault lines and simmering conflicts. The redistricting process is overseen by a commission that is supposed to be independent, yet the members are appointed by council members who can also ignore whatever recommendations the commission makes.

As things got underway in November 2020, the commission staff began urging neighborhoods to participate and submit their own possible maps. ''We need to hear about what you believe makes up your community,'' a commission flier said. ''Tell us about the schools, churches, parks and shopping areas. Tell us about the people.''

Faced with the challenges of the coronavirus pandemic, organizers set up webcams around the city -- some outdoors and some in large community centers -- and more than 1,450 speakers ultimately provided testimony.

''We had assembly lines of people giving public testimony,'' said Rafael GonzÃ¡lez, who was the commission's director of community outreach and engagement.

Maria-Isabel Rutledge, a 70-year-old resident of the 8th Council District in South Los Angeles, said residents there were trying to reverse a neighborhood decline she said had been exacerbated by a bout of political horse trading during the redistricting of 2012, when the University of Southern California and Exposition Park -- magnets for jobs and spending in the community -- were both moved from the 8th district into the 9th.

In the decade afterward, Ms. Rutledge said, businesses shut down, and streetlights and roads were not repaired as quickly. An alley near her house was left perpetually muddy.

So in 2021, she and her fellow activists pushed for the return of U.S.C.

Even bigger conflicts emerged in Koreatown, the place where Ms. Raman's troubles started.

The neighborhood's more than 100,000 people -- including ***working-class*** immigrants from around the world -- live in a mix of aging apartment buildings and luxurious new high-rises alongside bustling strip malls, bars and restaurants, all packed into an area less than three square miles that is one of the most densely populated neighborhoods in the country.

The area, west of downtown, had been split among four council districts -- one of them Ms. Raman's -- meaning that for decades, it had never had a single council member to represent its collective interests. Though a majority of Koreatown's residents are now Latino, Asian residents there had long pushed for more direct representation.

But consolidating 100,000 people into one district would require hefty adjustments, and Ms. Raman was poised to lose about 17,000 Koreatown residents, some of whom had been among her strongest supporters.

Drawing boundary lines is typically a rough-and-tumble process, and several council members nominated local heavyweights, including former lawmakers and lobbyists, as their representatives on the redistricting commission. Ms. Raman stayed true to her roots by naming a relative political outsider, Alexandra Suh, who leads the nonprofit Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance.

But when the commission broke into groups to focus on different areas of the city, Ms. Suh was grouped with commissioners from the city's Westside, and she felt she was left out of many discussions on how Koreatown might be carved up.

''It was clear that people had come in with agendas,'' Ms. Suh said.

As the map developed, Ms. Raman and Mr. Krekorian, who was already due to leave the Council in 2024 because of term limits, were offered two alternative districts. One of them would lose the entire population of voters who had elected them only a year earlier. The other alternative showed Ms. Raman losing about 70 percent of her constituents.

Fred Ali, who was the chairman of the redistricting commission, said that Ms. Raman's district was located in the center of the city and none of the goals the commission was trying to achieve -- accommodating population shifts westward, uniting Koreatown, building better Latino representation in the San Fernando Valley -- could be accomplished without significant changes in that center.

But David Ely, a redistricting consultant for the Council, said it was his impression that Ms. Raman was vulnerable because she was a political newcomer.

''She was perceived as the one least able to defend herself,'' Mr. Ely said. ''She wasn't strongly connected and not part of any power blocks on the Council.''

Jonathan Mehta Stein, the executive director of California Common Cause, which closely monitored the redistricting process, said he believed there was also a larger political goal: ''They pulled her base out from under her to have her turn down the volume on behalf of renters,'' he said.

Ms. Suh tried to introduce alternatives that would preserve more of Ms. Raman's district, but to no avail.

That's when Ms. Raman decided that she would need a new strategy. ''Raman was wrestling a pig,'' Mr. Stein said of the process, ''and she had to get in the mud herself.''

Joining the fray

Ms. Suh was thanked for her help, and told she was being replaced.

Enter Ms. Goldberg, a veteran Los Angeles politician -- the city's first openly gay City Council member, a three-term member of the State Assembly and a two-time member of the Los Angeles Board of Education.

''Alexandra did not have the political know-how compared to an old political hand like Jackie,'' Ms. Raman recalled. ''Unfortunately, I felt like I needed a warrior like her.''

Ms. Goldberg was a veteran of many past political realignments. ''I have voted in six council districts,'' she said. ''And I've been in the same house for 30 years.''

By the time she was brought in to help salvage Ms. Raman's district, she said, ''it was clear the fix was in.''

''I got there too late,'' she said.

As she saw it, Ms. Raman's election represented a threat to the ''liberal Democrat'' status quo that was roiling Democratic politics across the country. ''Nithya is a leftist,'' she said, part of a wave of ''new, young people who think we can do more.''

Ms. Goldberg's entry on Ms. Raman's behalf turned what had been a difficult process into a highly contentious one, several commissioners said, as she accused fellow commissioners of drawing boundaries that were racist and insisted on preserving more of Ms. Raman's district.

''The power of her anger was visible,'' Mr. Cardenas, the executive director, said of Ms. Goldberg.

Several other council members also brought in new appointees -- for political and other reasons -- and soon, the Council was getting even more involved. Mr. Ali said he started to receive calls from Ackley Padilla, the chief of staff for Ms. Martinez, who had appointed Mr. Ali to the commission.

Initially, the calls were ''questions about process and plans for upcoming meetings,'' Mr. Ali said. ''And then there were calls with specific questions about particular map configurations, such as why certain changes were being made.'' Ultimately, he said, ''I was being asked to consider other configurations.''

Mr. Padilla said his phone calls were part of the normal process of guiding the deliberations. ''Providing input was both ordinary and appropriate,'' he said.

In October 2021, the commission finally released its plan for the city, dubbed the ''K2.5'' map. The commission said it achieved a number of goals: It would keep more neighborhoods and ethnic enclaves whole; the San Fernando Valley's growth would be recognized by the creation of five council districts entirely in the Valley; Koreatown would be unified; and Black and Latino voter power would be ''maintained, and in some cases, strengthened.''

The final lines of Ms. Raman's district were left for the City Council to decide, an acknowledgment that the decision, ultimately, would be a political one.

Richard Polanco, a former State Senate majority leader who was council member Gilbert Cedillo's appointee, said he thought the map ''addressed the needs of Los Angeles'' and that he had expected the Council to adopt it.

''We did our jobs and shame on them,'' he said.

The gloves come off

The City Council, charged at that point with adopting or tweaking the commission's map, proceeded in a series of 38 motions to redraw it entirely. The effect of these changes, The Times analysis shows, was to return to a map that closely resembled what had been drawn during the last redistricting in 2012 -- the point where they had all started.

While Ms. Raman did not lose her entire district, she lost about 40 percent of her constituency, more than any other council member.

â€ŒThe hope of creating a new Latino-majority district went nowhere in the end -- the city ended up with exactly the same number of Latino-majority districts as it had in 2012.

U.S.C. stayed exactly where it was, despite the efforts of Ms. Rutledge and her neighbors.

And attempts to more fairly realign one of the fastest-growing areas of the city, the San Fernando Valley, were undermined when Ms. Martinez, the former council president who had been heard scheming on the audio recording, fought back the commission's plan to move Van Nuys Airport and the Sepulveda Basin -- a possible venue location for the 2028 Olympics -- out of her district.

In the chaotic days after the audio was leaked, council members scrambled to demonstrate their support for redistricting reform -- though they quickly opposed a proposal in the State Legislature to take the whole process out of their hands.

In June, a group of academics that studied the recent problems, advised adding 10 more seats to the City Council, in addition to establishing truly independent redistricting commissions for both the council and the school board.

Now, after months of listening sessions held around town, City Council leaders say they plan to put the two questions to voters next year, with the precise details to be discussed this fall.

Creating more seats, many experts say, could also potentially reduce corruption. Los Angeles has seen a parade of corruption scandals at City Hall, often tied to the immense power that council members wield over commerce and land development in such large districts.

Mark Ridley-Thomas, who was set to represent the newly unified Koreatown, in March became the third council member in less than four years to be convicted on corruption charges and was sentenced last week to 42 months in prison. Curren Price, the council member who had managed to hold on to U.S.C. and Exposition Park, was charged in June with embezzlement, perjury and conflict of interest. He has vigorously denied any wrongdoing.

Sara Sadhwani, an assistant politics professor at Pomona College who was part of the academic panel that suggested reforms, said that a narrow window for change could close soon as last year's audio scandal fades from memory and public pressure diminishes.

''It's a rare thing to see a council member or any legislator that has such a power have a willingness to relinquish it,'' she said.

Michael Wines contributed reporting. Kirsten Noyes, Susan C. Beachy, Sheelagh McNeill and Kitty Bennett contributed research.Michael Wines contributed reporting. Kirsten Noyes, Susan C. Beachy, Sheelagh McNeill and Kitty Bennett contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/03/us/los-angeles-city-council-redistricting.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/03/us/los-angeles-city-council-redistricting.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: FRANK CARDENAS: The redistricting commission's executive director felt the City Council overstepped in its interventions.

NITHYA RAMAN: A newcomer to the Council, she lost 40 percent of her constituency, more than any other member.

PAUL KREKORIAN: The City Council president said the goal was to keep constituents from losing the members they had voted for. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY STELLA KALININA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A12)

A pop-up amusement park in Koreatown, top, which with its 100,000 residents in less than three square miles, is one of the country's most densely populated neighborhoods. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK ABRAMSON) (A12-A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A12, A13.

**Load-Date:** September 8, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Dolly Parton and the Women Who Love Her; 5 Things About Your Book***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61G2-7G11-JBG3-61T8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 7, 2020 Monday 17:45 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 948 words

**Byline:** John Williams

**Highlight:** Sarah Smarsh talks about “She Come by It Natural,” her book about Parton and the lives of her fans.

**Body**

Dolly Parton’s no stranger to attention, and she’s been in the news a lot lately.

She recently released a [*holiday special*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/23/movies/dolly-partons-christmas-on-the-square-review.html) on Netflix. She [*has a new book*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/23/movies/dolly-partons-christmas-on-the-square-review.html) out. She … [checks notes] … might have helped us [*move closer to the end of the coronavirus pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/23/movies/dolly-partons-christmas-on-the-square-review.html).

Parton’s everywhere, and I don’t hear many people complaining about it.

As Sarah Smarsh writes in her own new book, “She Come by It Natural,” Parton is a “universally beloved icon recognized as a creative genius with a goddess-sized heart.” Smarsh’s book follows Parton’s rise to iconic status through the context of the singer’s roots, and of the ***working-class***, rural roots of many of her fans. Below, Smarsh discusses the book’s genesis in 2016, what surprised her at a concert of Parton’s that same year, an actor who has inspired her and more.

When did you first get the idea to write this book?

During the election year of 2016, I was writing a lot of commentary challenging the narrative that the white ***working class*** is somehow monolithically right-wing. At that same moment, there was a lot of misogyny in the air, in part because we had a female presidential candidate. I was thinking a lot about the intersection of gender, class and place. Dolly Parton was doing a big arena tour for the first time in many years, and I could see that she was a unifying and universally beloved figure in the midst of this divisive climate.

My first book, [*“Heartland,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/23/movies/dolly-partons-christmas-on-the-square-review.html) is very much about that same intersection, and I guess I was shifting gears to a more journalistic approach to those same themes. I wasn’t a Dolly superfan and didn’t grow up that way, but country music was definitely a cultural pillar of my formative years — and still, in my life today. So Dolly felt like a very familiar figure to serve as a springboard for a larger discussion of society.

What’s the most surprising thing you learned while writing it?

A pleasant research task was attending a couple of shows on the 2016 tour. I saw her in Austin and Kansas City. In the latter instance, I took along my grandmother, who figures in the book as a similarly quick-witted woman who was born just a few months apart from Parton in similar circumstances. She lived many of the stories Parton told in her early songwriting, about poor women who are vulnerable to abuse, sexism, unsupported pregnancies.

This was the first time either of us had seen Parton live. I was surprised by the crowd at those shows; not the size, obviously, but the diversity in just about every way you can imagine. I already knew that Parton is an icon in the L.G.B.T.Q. community, and within the crowd a group of Dolly drag queens were leading the audience in swaying together to some slow song. I was amazed to see, among the people swaying, old men in cowboy hats, goth-looking teenagers, some dude wearing muddy boots with a T-shirt that said “Proud Redneck.” Witnessing this in 2016 made me even more suspicious of the political tropes that are still out there today. There was something simultaneously surprising and heartening: If we’re divided at the ballot box but not at a Dolly Parton concert, then maybe there’s hope if we find the right language for communicating.

In what way is the book you wrote different from the book you set out to write?

The most obvious way is that I didn’t intend for it to be a book at all. The music magazine No Depression was offering a new fellowship for a writer to basically go deep on the sociocultural significance of the roots music genre, and that opportunity lit me up because country music is rarely given consideration as a sophisticated art form. The country music written and sung by women like Dolly was the formative feminist text of my life. So I applied and pitched Dolly as an exemplar of an overlooked, under-articulated version of ***working-class*** feminism.

I wrote a four-part series over the course of 2017 — No Depression is a quarterly. It’s a great magazine, but it’s niche in its readership. And then last winter, my publisher suggested making it into a book. I wrote a foreword and lightly updated the content, but ultimately the book is a snapshot of when it was written, when the Women’s March was new and we had an opportunity — and I would say an imperative — to redefine feminism as a more inclusive movement.

What creative person (not a writer) has influenced you and your work?

It would make sense to talk about a musician, I think, and there are many that would fit the bill, but I’m actually going to say [*Jodie Foster*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/23/movies/dolly-partons-christmas-on-the-square-review.html). When I was a kid and a teenager, she played so many characters who I deeply identified with. They were often self-possessed and tough by necessity; they were usually happily obsessed with their work, maybe struggling for a sense of belonging in some world where they didn’t quite fit because of their gender or their class or their ambitions. There’s a scene in “The Silence of the Lambs” when Hannibal Lecter tries and fails to crack Clarice Starling, the F.B.I. agent played by Foster, by basically calling her white trash. And there were so few moments outside country music where I saw a woman who shared many of the admirable attributes of the women who raised me portrayed with such dignity as Starling is in that scene. I just think so many of her performances in the ’80s and ’90s were a real gift to females and aspiring creators coming of age at that time.

Persuade someone to read “She Come by It Natural” in 50 words or less.

Dolly Parton, daughter of the rural white ***working class***, is the opposite of Donald Trump.

Follow John Williams on Twitter: @johnwilliamsnyt. She Come by It Natural Dolly Parton and the Women Who Lived Her Songs By Sarah Smarsh 187 pages. Scribner. $22.

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL ANDREWS)

**Load-Date:** December 18, 2020

**End of Document**



[***A Measure of Character; Turning Points: Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6718-D441-DXY4-X433-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 5, 2022 Monday 10:00 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** SPECIAL-SERIES

**Length:** 830 words

**Byline:** Omar Sy

**Highlight:** The characters we see onscreen can reflect stark realities, illuminating the invisible and the voiceless.

**Body**

The characters we see onscreen can reflect stark realities, illuminating the invisible and the voiceless.

This personal reflection is part of a series called [*Turning Points*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2023), in which writers explore what critical moments from this year might mean for the year ahead. You can read more by visiting the Turning Points [*series page*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/turning-points-2023).

Turning Point: In March, “CODA” became the first film featuring a predominantly deaf cast to win the Academy Award for best picture, a significant moment for representation onscreen.

To react, to respond. To commit, to choose a side. To be for, to work against. The injunction is almost permanent, as if it were always necessary to have a point of view, a political opinion.

But what if dreaming were another way of thinking about the world? What if telling stories meant remaking that world? And what if making films could stealthily change it?

I am often asked what “political approach” drives me — what message did I wish to convey by choosing to make this film or another. The question always bothers me, because I never ask myself that. I just make movies.

For these films, I turn to the lives and worlds that animate me, that I want to show, that make sense for the person I am: a Frenchman of Senegalese-Mauritanian origin; a Muslim who grew up in a [***working-class*** *neighborhood*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/07/magazine/can-a-new-generation-in-the-banlieues-change-french-politics.html); a man who now spends half of his time in the United States and whose children have homes on three continents.

I trace that cinematic journey back to my role as the unlikely caregiver Driss in the 2011 film “The Intouchables,” a character whose popularity carried me to other roles. I’ve portrayed the thief Assane Diop in the series “Lupin,” the eponymous clown in the film “Chocolat,” the Senegalese immigrant Samba Cissé in the comedy-drama “Samba,” and the father and infantryman Bakary in the historical drama “Father and Soldier.”

I inhabited these characters because they share a quality that resonates deeply within me: They represent invisible people whom we discover have a name, a filiation and a story. People who exist and whose lives matter and deserve to be told.

Through Bakary, I recounted destinies thrown into oblivion: African infantrymen who, during World War I, fought for France with bravery and died in a war that was not theirs to fight.

Through Assane, I told the story of a Senegalese immigrant who was raised in France, yet remained in society’s fringes.

Whether they’re the product of history or make-believe, these characters manifest a crucial reality: Individuals like Assane and Bakary are all around us, but oftentimes we do not see them.

Moviemaking is just that: inventing people and opening up possibilities. It connects the imaginary to the real, building a bridge between the two and saying, “Come on, let’s walk on it.”

To share with an audience these stories, whether plucked from fiction or plumbed from humanity’s horrors, is to pave the way between a limitless dream and a well-framed reality.

When I was a child, I used to sit in the hallway of the apartment where I lived with my parents and siblings in the Parisian suburb of Trappes. There, playing with abandon as I jumped on and off objects, I told myself stories. I felt like I had turned a key to unlock a door to dreams.

For these stories, I drew from my environment. Inside our home, there were the stirrings of a large family and a cacophony of languages from Fula to French. Outside, there was the incessant bustle of a city teeming with joys and anxieties, echoing between the walls of our daily lives.

All these ingredients formed a cozy bubble of solitude to which I escaped. Here, I met characters. Settings were drawn. Plots were written. Worlds were built.

I had experienced the power and magic of the imagination. And although in my young mind I thought I was reimagining reality, I was actually escaping its shackles. I had entered the world of cinema without knowing it.

Those stories I conjured as a child molded me into the adult I am today. I may have left the hallway of that apartment, but not my creative bubble.

The stories that I help tell are painted on a broader canvas now, and they exist well beyond me. Is it because people find themselves there? Or recognize a part of their forgotten world? Or come to terms with their shortcomings? The answers are not mine to say.

The people in these stories may be creations, but we fashion them into the image of who we are: [*reflections and refractions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/22/world/europe/france-goncourt-mohamed-mbougar-sarr.html) of all that we’ve been dealt and all that we aspire to; [*the summation of both our heritage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/27/opinion/representation-black-panther.html) and the legacy we wish to pass on.

When shared, these tales — these dreams — take the form of a new reality. They can circulate and draw emotion. They can create hope, a mood or a collective movement that can shift lines. They can shed light on those who sleep in the shadows and quietly, profoundly change lives.

Omar Sy is a film and television actor and producer. He is set to star in the film “The Book of Clarence.”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Golden Cosmos FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘Nikki Haley Will Not Be the Next President’: Our Columnists Weigh In; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67JK-F3M1-JBG3-621M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 15, 2023 Wednesday 13:22 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2385 words

**Byline:** New York Times Opinion

**Highlight:** A new scorecard looks at the strengths and weaknesses of Republican presidential candidates.

**Body**

With candidates entering the 2024 presidential race, Times columnists and Opinion writers are starting a scorecard assessing their strengths and weaknesses. We rate the candidates on a scale of 1 to 10: 1 means the candidate will probably drop out before any actual caucus or primary voting; 10 means the candidate has a very strong chance of accepting the party’s nomination next summer. We begin with Nikki Haley, the former governor of South Carolina and United Nations ambassador in the Trump administration, who announced her bid for the Republican nomination on Tuesday.

How seriously should we take Nikki Haley’s candidacy?

David Brooks In a normal party, she would have to be taken seriously. She’s politically skilled, has never lost an election, has domestic and foreign policy experience, has been a popular governor, is about as conservative as the median G.O.P. voter and is running on an implicit platform: Let’s end the chaos and be populist but sensible. The question is, is the G.O.P. becoming once again a normal party?

Jane Coaston To borrow a phrase, we should take it extremely literally but not seriously. She is indeed running for president. But Nikki Haley will not be the next president of the United States of America.

Ross Douthat Much less seriously than the likely front-running candidacies of Donald Trump and Ron DeSantis, and somewhat less seriously than the likely also-ran candidacy of Mike Pence. Which means that barring a scenario where at least two of those three men don’t catch fire, not particularly seriously at all.

David French The Republican race is best summed up as two individuals (Trump and DeSantis) and a field. Maybe a third candidate can emerge from the field, and maybe that person can be Haley — a decent reason to take her seriously — but we need to see evidence of independent traction.

Michelle Goldberg Not very. I can’t imagine who she thinks her constituency is. A video teasing her candidacy starts with a [*spiel*](https://twitter.com/NikkiHaley/status/1623305658119639046?s=20&amp;t=ktMNbM9hIDhYYDhKDoxN_A) by the neocon Reagan official Jeane Kirkpatrick. Talk about nailing the zeitgeist!

Rosie Gray Haley handled the Trump years more deftly than most. She never allowed herself to be dragged into anything too embarrassing or scandalous and didn’t fall victim to vicious Trump world backstabbing. But she probably isn’t the kind of candidate who can get through a Republican presidential primary. Shrewd as she has been, she can’t plausibly reinvent herself as a 2023 outrage merchant.

Liz Mair She could be the next vice president. That’s the reason to take her seriously.

Mike Madrid I don’t see Haley as a serious candidate for the presidency or the vice presidency. She brings nothing demographically or ideologically to the G.O.P. that it doesn’t already have. But it is a serious attempt to maintain her relevance in the Republican hierarchy as a nonwhite woman willing to take a cabinet position or appointment to reassure primary voters that they aren’t actually a bunch of monolithic white people.

Daniel McCarthy The interventionist foreign policy that Ambassador Haley has made her signature theme in recent years is unlikely to resonate in an America First party.

Bret Stephens Seriously. Last month, Haley gave a speech to an association of auto dealers — the kind of audience any G.O.P. candidate needs to win over. Someone who was in attendance told me she got three thunderous standing ovations. It’s said of Ron DeSantis that the closer you get to him, the less you like him. Haley is the opposite. She still has work to do to win over other core Republican constituencies (above all, evangelicals and Trump sympathizers), but nobody should underestimate her appeal. She looks like a winner to a party that’s desperate to win.

What matters most about her as a presidential candidate?

Brooks If Trump and DeSantis compete in the Trumpy lane, there will be room for a normie candidate to oppose them. She’s more charismatic than Pence or Mike Pompeo, more conservative than Larry Hogan or Chris Sununu. Her problem is South Carolina. She’ll get no credit for winning that early primary, and it will be devastating to her campaign if she loses.

Coaston Haley ought to be an interesting candidate — daughter of immigrants, former governor of a state experiencing big population shifts, a U.N. ambassador — but she seems to have no real basis to run for office. She’s not a populist, and she’s not a culture warrior.

Douthat Her possible ability to split off a (small) piece of the non-Trump vote in early primaries, helping him to the nomination if those primaries are extremely close.

French She’s a conventional Republican. If no one like her can gain traction, it will be a decisive signal that the Republican base has fundamentally transformed and traditional ideological conservatives are at best an imperfect fit for the G.O.P.

Goldberg It will be interesting to see if Trump tries to destroy her right away as a warning to others, or holds off since he’s likely to fare best in a fractured field, with Haley pulling enough votes away from DeSantis to give the nomination to Trump. The more candidates there are, the more likely Trump is to win with a plurality.

Gray Not so long ago, the Republican National Committee was predicting continued electoral doom unless the party expanded beyond its mostly white base. So Marco Rubio threw himself into the failed Gang of Eight immigration bill; Paul Ryan went on a listening tour of poor urban communities, and Haley had the Confederate flag removed from the State Capitol grounds. For a time, Trump seemed to upend any hope that these savvy rising stars had of one day reaching the White House. Haley’s candidacy will test that assumption, and that’s why she matters. Did Trump stamp out the ambitions of her generation for good, putting an end to the dream of a friendlier, more moderate Republican Party? Or did he merely put those ambitions on hold?

Madrid Over 70 percent of Republican primary voters are white, so her candidacy will test the viability of a nonwhite candidate.

Mair She has foreign policy and national security experience, which DeSantis does not. Trump can claim to have that kind of experience, but for many people, all it amounts to is keeping classified documents he shouldn’t have had, coddling up to dictators and autocrats, being softer on China than a lot of Republicans would like and other national security failures. Less substantively, she’s a woman of color, and Republican primary voters would love a chance to show that there are indeed nonwhite people and women who think just like they do (this is something a lot of primary voters are a bit neurotic about, and Haley knows it).

McCarthy She’s the running mate they wish John McCain had in 2008, the kind of Republican the party thought it needed to appeal to a less white, more educated and firmly feminist America. But Trump changed the dream of the G.O.P.’s destiny: appealing to the ***working class***, rather than to a wider ethnic profile within the class of educated professionals, is what Republicans voters now expect. Haley is too representative of the party elite’s desires to be seen as a plausible tribune of the ***working class***.

Stephens If the subtext of a DeSantis candidacy is that he is Trump shorn of the former president’s personal flaws, the subtext of Haley’s is that she is the Republican Party shorn of the former president. A woman, a minority, an immigrant background, a self-made person: Without having to say a word, she embodies everything Trump’s vision of America isn’t. She also would be less vulnerable to Democratic attack lines about Republican bigotry.

What do you find most inspiring — or unsettling — about her vision for America?

Brooks Her immigrant story is a good one, and her decision to get rid of the Confederate flag showed common decency. On the other hand, there was an awful lot of complicity and silence when she served under Trump.

Coaston I would ask … what vision for America? What exactly is Haley offering that is distinctly different from the Generic Republican that Donald Trump (whom she reportedly asked first before deciding to announce her candidacy) became? She is selling the idea that she is somehow both distinct enough to separate herself from the former president she continues to support and similar enough to win the nomination with this Republican Party. I don’t buy it.

Douthat She has generally offered herself as the candidate of Reaganite bromides and as a potential vehicle for members of the Republican gentry who wish the Trump era had never happened but don’t particularly want to have any unpleasant fights about it. That’s a vision that’s neither inspiring nor unsettling; it’s just dull and useless and unlikely to take her anywhere.

French Haley is right about the most important issues facing the free world. The United States should [*aggressively support Ukraine*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/letter-from-bidens-washington/the-ukraine-crackup-in-the-gop), and it should aggressively compete with China and deter Chinese aggression. What’s unsettling about her is that, like many Republicans, she never seemed to figure out quite how to handle Trump and [*constantly flipped and flopped*](https://time.com/6252040/nikki-haley-donald-trump-relationship-history/) between confrontation and accommodation. Yet her vacillation may be the key to her potential viability. Her back-and-forth on Trump mirrors the back-and-forth of many rank-and-file Republicans. They could perhaps see themselves in her.

Goldberg She’s such a hollow figure that it’s impossible to say what her vision is. “What I’ve heard again and again is that Haley’s raw skills obscure an absence of core beliefs and a lack of tactical thinking,” Tim Alberta wrote in a [*great profile*](https://www.politico.com/interactives/2021/magazine-nikki-haleys-choice/) of her in 2021. She’d most likely pursue a hawkish foreign policy, though, so she could be the candidate of those nostalgic for the George W. Bush administration.

Gray Haley might be the last person in American politics still quoting Sheryl Sandberg. “We are leaning in,” Haley told Sean Hannity last month. “It is time for a new generation. It is time for more leadership.” But at 51, she’s part of a political generation that can hardly be considered “new.” Her candidacy feels trapped in the post-Tea Party, mid-Obama administration era, when she rose to prominence.

Madrid Haley will be the first of many candidates trying to connect with Trump’s populist base while also resurrecting the establishment infrastructure that capitulated to him. If she can explain that she was against him before she was for him and now is against him again in a way that wins over voters and reassures party leaders, it may be inspiring for the sliver of Republicans who still maintain that the party can return to the Reagan-Bush days, and unsettling for everyone else.

Mair It’s not clear to me what her vision is for America. She has alternated between praising and defending Trump and Trumpism and critiquing him and it.

McCarthy What’s unsettling is that her vision is a prepackaged failure. She was a moderately conservative governor and something of a soft libertarian at a time when an aggressive neoconservatism was dominant in the G.O.P. But when she took to the national stage she proved unable to distinguish between the tough realism of Jeane Kirkpatrick and the tough-sounding but inept idealism of the George W. Bush administration. She imbibed Robert Kagan when she should have studied George Kennan.

Stephens There are two dueling G.O.P. visions for America: the “Fortress America” vision, of a nation besieged by undesirable immigrants and undermined by undesirable globalists, and a “City on a Hill” vision, of a nation whose powers of attraction are its greatest strength. Haley strikes me as leaning much closer to the second vision, at least within the broader parameters of conservative thinking.

Imagine you’re a G.O.P. operative or campaign manager. What’s your elevator pitch for a Haley candidacy?

Brooks Every wing of the party would accept her, at least as its second choice, if the top choice falters. It’s not an inspiring strategy, but it has worked for others — not the least of which a certain A. Lincoln.

Coaston Remember when Republicans seemed hinged? Nikki Haley remembers.

Douthat A charismatic female candidate with a vague platform and banal record is all we need to take a time machine back to the politics of 1988.

Goldberg She’s canny, poised and doesn’t come off as crazy, so could be formidable in the general election.

French She can beat Joe Biden!

Gray Haley has already been out there making her own elevator pitch for her candidacy: “We have lost the last seven out of eight popular votes for president,” she told Sean Hannity last month. “It is time that we get a Republican in there that can lead and that can win a general election.”

Madrid Nikki Haley has the establishment experience to beat the establishment.

Mair No one should underestimate the appeal of a nonwhite, female conservative candidate to old, conservative, white, die-hard G.O.P. primary voters, and she’s not another white conservative dude.

McCarthy Did you ever wish Hillary Clinton was a Republican? Now she is!

Stephens If she can win the nomination, she will win the general election.

On a scale of 1 to 10, how would you rank Nikki Haley’s potential as a presidential candidate? Share your ranking — and your reasoning for it — in the comments. (1 means she will drop out early; 10 means she has a strong chance of accepting the nomination.)

David Brooks, Ross Douthat, David French, Michelle Goldberg and Bret Stephens are Times columnists.

Jane Coaston is a Times Opinion writer.

Rosie Gray ([*@RosieGray*](https://twitter.com/RosieGray)) has covered the conservative movement for more than a decade as a political reporter for BuzzFeed News and The Atlantic.

Mike Madrid is a Republican political consultant and a co-founder of the Lincoln Project.

Liz Mair ([*@LizMair*](https://twitter.com/LizMair)) has served as a campaign strategist for Scott Walker, Roy Blunt, Rand Paul, Carly Fiorina and Rick Perry. She is the founder and president of Mair Strategies.

Daniel McCarthy is the editor of “Modern Age: A Conservative Review.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BELTERZ AND CHRIS KEANE, VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page SR12.

**Load-Date:** June 5, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Did Ron DeSantis Just Become the 2024 Republican Front-Runner?; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66TP-B7H1-DXY4-X0DD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 9, 2022 Wednesday 22:35 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 748 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** The script has been written, the stage prepared. Will the Florida governor play the part that’s waiting for him?

**Body**

A red wave swept Florida, but elsewhere, it barely lapped the shore. Endangered House Democrats are surviving all over, the battle for the Senate may be tilting toward the Democrats, and at best Republicans have won themselves a return to stalemate, not the victory that the circumstances seemed to promise.

If you’re a Republican, this is all reason for severe disappointment — unless, that is, you’re a Republican with your eyes and hopes on Ron DeSantis as a potential presidential candidate for 2024. A world where Florida delivers a Republican landslide while the G.O.P. underperforms elsewhere is quite possibly your ideal scenario, because it seems to vindicate the theory that DeSantis will be offering, should he become a candidate in ’24.

That theory, basically, is that there’s a decisive right-of-center majority there for the taking in American politics, an opportunity magnified by the Biden administration’s unpopularity. It’s a majority that Donald Trump pushed the party toward, by picking up ***working-class*** white voters in 2016 and then Hispanic voters in 2020 — proving that the G.O.P. coalition could be more blue collar and multiracial than its Romney-Ryan iteration and better optimized for Electoral College success.

But Trump himself is just too much, too erratic and polarizing and plainly dangerous, to complete the realignment on his own. And his influence on the party as a whole, manifest in the underperforming candidates he elevated in this cycle, is preventing the new G.O.P. majority from taking its natural shape. States like Pennsylvania, Arizona, Georgia and maybe even New Hampshire should have been easy Republican pickups; all they needed was a normal set of Senate nominees. Instead they got the kind of nominees Trump wanted, and the result is difficulty, defeat, disappointment and votes being counted late into the night.

Crucially, the DeSantis theory emphasizes, “normal” doesn’t have to mean “squishy.” Instead, his sweeping success in Florida proves that you can be an avatar of cultural conservatism, a warrior against the liberal media and Dr. Anthony Fauci, a politician ready to pick a fight with Disney if that’s what the circumstances require. You just also have to be competent, calculating, aware of public opinion as you pick your fights and capable of bipartisanship and steady leadership in a crisis. The basic Trump combination — cultural pugilism and relative economic moderation — can work wonders politically; it just has to be reproduced in a politician who conspicuously knows what he’s doing‌ ‌and who conspicuously isn’t Donald Trump.

Now, there are various ways that this analysis might overstate the DeSantis case. There are reasons apart from his political skills that Florida has trended sharply to the right, and his message and persona might not yield the same results elsewhere. You can’t base a 2024 campaign just on being the guy who kept a sunny vacation destination open for business in 2021 (and drew many right-of-center migrants in the process). You can’t assume that the Hispanic vote nationwide will follow the same patterns as in South Florida. You can’t count on DeSantis’s peculiar kind of anti-charisma playing nationally the way it has played in his home state.

But powerful narratives have a way of burying caveats and doubts, and right now it looks as if DeSantis will be able to sell himself as the Republican who overperformed amid general underperformance, the only Republican who fully exploited the openings the Biden Democrats gave the G.O.P., the Republican who actually achieved the kind of realigning victory that Trumpism’s theoreticians kept promising was just around the corner.

In a normal political world, a normal political party, you would say that DeSantis effectively became the 2024 Republican front-runner last night. Nothing about the G.O.P. has been normal since Trump descended that escalator in 2015, so I won’t be claiming anything so definite.

But the script has been written, the stage prepared: Now we’ll see whether the governor of Florida can play the part that’s waiting for him.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTOpinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** November 9, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Plutocrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60KX-FS81-JBG3-62M4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 16, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 10; NONFICTION

**Length:** 1529 words

**Byline:** By Jeff Madrick

**Body**

THE SYSTEMWho Rigged It, How We Fix ItBy Robert B. ReichBREAK 'EM UPRecovering Our Freedom From Big Ag, Big Tech, and Big MoneyBy Zephyr Teachout

One of the mysteries in politics for decades now has been why white ***working-class*** Americans began to vote Republican in large numbers in the 1960s and 1970s. After all, it was Democrats who supported labor unions, higher minimum wages, expanded unemployment insurance, Medicare and generous Social Security, helping to lift workers into the middle class.

Of course, an alternative economic view, led by economists like Milton Friedman, was that this turn toward the Republican Party was rational and served workers' interests. He emphasized free markets, entrepreneurialism and the maximization of profit. These, Friedman argued, would raise wages for many and even most Americans.

But wages did not rise. And yet many in the ***working class*** kept voting Republican, still seemingly angered by Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, which was dedicated to helping the poor and assuring equal rights for people of color. In the 1980s, under Ronald Reagan, income inequality began to rise sharply; wages for typical Americans stagnated and poverty and homelessness increased. Capital investment remained relatively weak despite deep tax cuts (as it does today under Donald Trump). At the same time, antitrust regulation was severely wounded, and giant corporations began to monopolize industry after industry.

In 2004, Thomas Frank's book ''What's the Matter With Kansas?'' tried to explain why a once Democratic state had turned resolutely Republican. His eloquent review of the rhetoric of the age was instructive.

But the presidential election of 2016 sent the sharpest message yet. ***Working-class*** voters in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin opted for Trump, and apparently against their economic interests. Trump had succeeded in appealing to their anger and the Democrats were caught flat-footed.

Two new books, ''The System,'' by the former labor secretary Robert B. Reich, and ''Break 'Em Up,'' by the lawyer and activist Zephyr Teachout, a onetime candidate for New York State attorney general, are among the latest examples of an evolving set of explanations that try to make sense of the 2016 results.

A powerful money-fueled oligarchy has emerged in America that is an enemy of democracy, Reich writes. The self-interested power of the nation's wealthy often goes unnoticed by voters, and is partly misdirected by right-wing rhetoric about issues like immigration. But it leads to lower wages, less product choice and abusive labor practices. Trump has harnessed the frustration of the ***working class***, Reich says, but he was a ''smokescreen'' for the oligarchy. Reich has an almost unmatched ability to make insightful observations about the nation's inequities, and in ''The System,'' he observes that the question is no longer Democrat versus Republican or left versus right, but ''democracy versus oligarchy.''

To Teachout, what's behind our rigged system is the close cousin of oligarchy: corporate monopoly. Teachout lists her culprits, among them familiar names: Amazon, Google, Facebook, Monsanto, AT&T, Verizon, Walmart, Pfizer, Comcast, Apple and CVS. These companies ''represent a new political phenomenon,'' she says, ''a 21st-century form of centralized, authoritarian government.''

Two dramatic related facts underscore the claims of both Reich and Teachout. The much discussed rise of wealth among the top 0.1 percent, which now has 20 percent of the nation's wealth compared with only 10 percent 40 years ago, has been brought to light in recent years by the innovative economists Thomas Piketty and Emmanuel Saez. The flip side is that wages for the large majority of American workers have stagnated more or less over this same period.

According to Reich, the ''anti-establishment fury'' that is the result of such inequity supersedes racial prejudice as the cause of Trump's success. In 2001, more than three out of four workers were satisfied that they could get ahead by working hard. In 2014, only slightly more than one out of two thought so. Voters wanted badly to blame it all on the swamp Trump promised to clean up.

For Reich, the big oligarchical companies have the lobbying and campaign-financing muscle to mold the rules in their own favor. They can win enormous tax cuts, suppress financial and environmental regulations, acquire new patents and subsidies, fight for free trade -- it is a long list. For years, they successfully battled against higher minimum wages and labor laws that restricted their union-busting efforts.

Teachout, a dogged scholar, lays out a comprehensive list of damage done to American consumers by monopolized industries like Big Pharma, fossil fuels, Silicon Valley, health insurance, banking and communications giants from Verizon to Facebook and Google. She provides example after example of how these companies limit consumer choice and suppress regulation. Google and Facebook may make access to some news easier, but they also undermine the profitability of the print news organizations, putting many of them out of business. Big Pharma is protected from competition by questionable patents and by ever lighter regulations. The nation's private health care system, dominated by a relative handful of insurance companies, keeps costs much higher in the United States than in the rest of the rich world. For Teachout, the solution follows as night follows day. Break up the big companies and reintroduce competition. (Surprisingly, this is straightforward mainstream economic theory.)

But both Reich and especially Teachout should temper their anticorporate zeal, at least to a degree. Big companies have often done good while also doing bad. In the 1800s, the A.&P. grocery chain provided a wide range of products, though it put countless mom and pop stores out of business. Ford built a cheap functional car in the 1920s, and Apple an affordable personal computer in recent years. Some balance is required.

Still, they are mostly right. Here is Teachout's general recommendation: ''Instead of protesting Pfizer on Tuesday for hiking drug prices, Comcast on Wednesday for suppressing union voices and Amazon on Thursday for getting billions in subsidies, we should unite behind a coherent agenda, demanding that antitrust authorities break up Pfizer and Comcast, Amazon and Facebook, Monsanto and Tyson.''

Both authors say that Ronald Reagan led the way to the swift undoing of traditional antitrust regulation in the 1980s. But Reich is almost as harsh on the Clinton and Obama administrations. Even when the Democrats controlled both houses of Congress, he writes, they allowed antitrust enforcement to ''ossify,'' let companies hammer away at trade unions and went easy on Wall Street. They were also soft on the issue of campaign contributions, failing to advocate for public financing of elections.

Why? Reich argues that the Democrats chose to turn their backs on the ***working class*** and pursue suburban swing voters. He knows, he tells us. He was there. And he reports that the Democrats ''drank from the same campaign funding trough as the Republicans -- big corporations, Wall Street and the very wealthy.''

Reich makes an example of Jamie Dimon, the chairman of JPMorgan Chase. For Reich, he is representative of the C.E.O. class that talks about corporate social responsibility but rarely practices it. A lifetime Democrat, Dimon was a major supporter of the Trump tax cut and does not support an increase in the minimum wage.

Teachout by and large shares Reich's anger and may even exceed it. Yet both find reasons for optimism in new laws and grass-roots movements. America achieved marriage equality for gays and lesbians, elected a Black man president and made the Affordable Care Act law. Reich insists democracy will ultimately prevail over oligarchy. And Teachout sees America embarking on a new antimonopoly moment.

These are valuable books, and the anger they will generate may prove politically energizing. But Reich's claim that democracy will somehow prevail underestimates the dangers we face. As for Teachout, more competition may help alleviate some problems, but it is in fact an idealized version of free market thinking.

Meanwhile, the current president is moving in exactly the opposite direction. He is promising cuts in social policies that may well increase middle-income and ***working-class*** frustration. He wants to rewrite the official definition of poverty to claim that there are fewer poor. He undermines the rule of law on a regular basis. The Supreme Court has been stacked with extreme conservatives. Voter suppression is common.

Is it any wonder that many fear democracy in America may not prevail?Jeff Madrick, the author, most recently, of ''Invisible Americans: The Tragic Cost of Child Poverty,'' is the director of the Bernard Schwartz Rediscovering Government Initiative at the Century Foundation.THE SYSTEMWho Rigged It, How We Fix ItBy Robert B. Reich224 pp. Alfred A. Knopf. $24.BREAK 'EM UPRecovering Our Freedom From Big Ag, Big Tech, and Big MoneyBy Zephyr Teachout320 pp. All Points Books. $28.99.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/31/books/review/the-system-robert-reich-break-em-up-zephyr-teachout.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/31/books/review/the-system-robert-reich-break-em-up-zephyr-teachout.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Aaron Lowell Denton FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 16, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Enduring Appeal of ‘Wagatha,’ Now on Stage and Screen***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67Y7-VVW1-DXY4-X262-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 6, 2023 Thursday 00:24 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 1222 words

**Byline:** Isabella Kwai

**Highlight:** A dramatization of the trial between the wives of two soccer stars is returning to the West End in London, joining TV shows, podcasts and documentaries about the high-profile spat.

**Body**

A dramatization of the trial between the wives of two soccer stars is returning to the West End in London, joining TV shows, podcasts and documentaries about the high-profile spat.

With its stage transformed into a green soccer pitch, “[*Vardy v. Rooney: The Wagatha Christie Trial*](https://wagathaplay.com/)” at Wyndham’s Theater in London last November promised its nearly sold-out audience a game, and the two women onstage were both trying to score a goal.

But as two pundits ooh’ed and aah’ed from the sidelines, the actresses sparring were not playing soccer stars but the women married to them, caught at the center of an Instagram feud turned [*high-profile libel case*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/19/world/europe/wagatha-christie-rooney-vardy.html) that captured the British public’s attention last May and peeled back the curtain hiding the machinations of British celebrity and the glitzy world of English soccer.

“I see it as a comedy of manners,” said Liv Hennessy, the writer of the play, which returns to the West End on Thursday at the Ambassadors Theater. “It’s a theatrical way for us to look at the way people behave in our current society.”

The play is just one recent retelling of [*the real-life case that became known as the “Wagatha Christie” trial*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/19/world/europe/wagatha-christie-rooney-vardy.html), in which Rebekah Vardy, the wife of the Leicester City striker Jamie Vardy, sued Coleen Rooney, the wife of the former Manchester United star Wayne Rooney, for defamation. The catalyst: [*Rooney*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/10/world/europe/wagatha-christie-trial-uk.html)’s accusation, on Twitter, that Vardy had leaked her personal information to the British press.

The wives and girlfriends of soccer players — commonly known in Britain by the acronym WAGs — have long been followed by tabloids, but Rooney’s post [*caused an online furor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/09/style/coleen-rooney-rebekah-vardy-wags.html). Its escalation into the legal realm led to breathless coverage, drawing in powerhouse lawyers and unearthing revelations about both women’s personal lives.

The legal side of the long-running saga [*came to an end last July*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/29/style/wagatha-christie-trial-verdict.html), with the High Court ruling against Vardy, saying that the reputational damage from the scandal was not libel and [*ordering Vardy to pay almost all*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/04/world/europe/rebekah-vardy-wagatha-christie.html) of Rooney’s legal costs, which amounted to about £1.7 million, or $1.9 million.

But the case’s power as a story has lived on, with production companies, documentary makers, podcasters and journalists finding the unfolding trial and its cast of characters just too irresistible not to dissect, all helped by the availability of the weeklong case’s court transcripts.

“It’s the old adage of: You can’t write this,” said Thomas Popay, the creative director of Chalkboard TV, which produced a two-part dramatization, “[*Vardy v. Rooney: A Courtroom Drama*](https://www.channel4.com/programmes/vardy-v-rooney-a-courtroom-drama),” that aired on Channel 4 in Britain last December. “We literally didn’t. We took the transcripts and recreated them.”

Alongside the West End play and Channel 4 show, offerings for followers of the feud include [*a BBC podcast*](https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/brand/p0c4ks17) called “It’s … Wagatha Christie” and the Discovery+ documentary “[*Vardy vs Rooney: The Wagatha Trial*](https://www.discoveryplus.com/ph/show/vardy-vs-rooney-the-wagatha-trial-discovery-originals-ph).” Rooney has signed [*a Disney+ deal*](https://deadline.com/2022/08/disney-plus-edinburgh-tv-festival-1235098196/) for a three-part documentary looking at the events leading up to the trial, and [*the saga is reportedly being considered for a retelling*](https://deadline.com/2023/01/bbc-wagatha-christie-a-very-english-scandal-rose-lewenstein-flatshare-1235215999/) as part of the series “[*A Very British Scandal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/21/arts/television/a-very-british-scandal-review.html).”

“All of us can relate to the idea of being betrayed — especially betrayed by someone who we trusted,” Popay said. “And on Vardy’s side — we can all relate to not being believed.”

In her 2019 social media post, Rooney described how she concocted a sting operation to reveal the betrayer by posting false stories that were visible to a single account — Vardy’s — to test if they would turn up in The Sun, a London tabloid.

The popularity of the post led to Rooney being nicknamed “Wagatha Christie” — a portmanteau of WAG and Agatha Christie, the mystery writer — for her detective work. Vardy quickly denied she was the leaker and sued Rooney for defaming her.

“We are absolutely interested in people’s misfortunes and what goes on in celebrity lives,” said Adrian Bingham, a professor of modern British history at the University of Sheffield who has studied media and gender issues. The women’s involvement with the soccer world gave their dispute resonance with a wider audience, he added, while the legal case gave the non-tabloid media a legitimate reason to cover it. Producers of the adaptations say they have asked their own lawyers to look over scripts, lest they find themselves accused of defamation.

The court transcript itself had moments and revelations that many say were ripe for re-enactment: a phone with key evidence in the form of WhatsApp messages, apparently lost to the bottom of the North Sea; lawyers in wigs formally reading out text messages from the women, some containing profanities; Vardy’s tears on the witness stand after cross-examination by David Sherborne, Rooney’s lawyer.

“It was positively Shakespearean in terms of how it went down,” said Popay. “We decided the best thing to do and the most accurate thing to do was to completely recreate the trial by using the court transcripts verbatim.” His company’s show, which was commissioned in May during the trial and aired in December, drew 1.5 million viewers.

Hennessy, the writer of the West End play, also relied heavily on the court transcripts, but took liberties by leaning into the soccer world, structuring the play like a game itself. Reading the transcripts, she said she was struck by the humanity of the two women, who have both been criticized (Vardy [*has said*](https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-61398382) that people made abusive threats toward her and her unborn baby following that fateful post, while the trial laid bare tensions in [*Rooney’s marriage*](https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/may/13/wagatha-christie-case-coleen-rooney-says-leaks-added-to-marriage-issues) and her experience growing up with fame).

“It does ask how complicit we are in creating public figures, and tearing them down when they don’t meet our standards,” Hennessy said.

Even at a rehearsal in late March, before the play’s official return, it was clear the trial continued to intrigue and perplex even the cast members. During a pivotal scene in which Rooney is grilled by Vardy’s lawyer on precisely why she made the fateful decision to share the feud with the world, the actors broke character to pose their own burning questions: Was that decision one of a calculating woman, or a woman at a breaking point? Why had she not privately confronted Vardy? And what did it feel like to live, as they imagined Rooney did, in a world where one’s image could become a public commodity?

Though celebrity gossip can be easy to dismiss as frivolous, the two opponents in the trial were both women from ***working-class*** backgrounds who laid out one aspirational pathway for others like them, said Rebecca Twomey, an entertainment correspondent who has covered both women closely.

“We like to put people on pedestals — and bring them down,” she said, adding that many people enjoyed a modern-day pantomime. “You might think they’re airhead WAGs, but these are two sharp, intelligent women.”

Still, the enduring appeal of the high drama of “Wagatha Christie” is also simple, Professor Bingham said.

“The reason people are telling it is not because it’s insightful,” he added. “It’s because it’s a great story — with great lines.”

PHOTOS: Top, “Vardy v. Rooney: The Wagatha Christie Trial,” a play based on the transcript of a defamation trial involving Rebekah Vardy, above left, and Coleen Rooney, above right. It returned to a London stage this month. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAMELA RAITH; DANIEL LEAL/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** April 12, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Younger Voters Are Turning Out More Than Ever, and They're Leaning Left***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68D7-PV21-DXY4-X37W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 6, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1687 words

**Byline:** By David Leonhardt

**Body**

By David Leonhardt

Good morning. Today we're covering the new political engagement of younger adults, an Indian train crash and a sonic boom.

Young and active

In the 2018 elections -- the midterms of Donald Trump's presidency -- turnout among younger voters surged. Almost twice as many people in their late 20s and early 30s voted that year as had done so in the midterms four years earlier. And they strongly backed Democratic candidates, helping the party retake control of Congress.

At the time, it was not clear whether the newfound political engagement of younger adults would last beyond Trump's presidency. So far, though, it has -- and it's emerging as one of the biggest stories in American politics and a major advantage for the Democratic Party.

After each election, the data analysts at Catalist, a progressive research company, publish a post-mortem report based on months of analysis of election returns, voter files and other sources. A central theme of the latest report, covering the 2022 midterms, was that ''Gen Z and millennial voters had exceptional levels of turnout,'' as Catalist's experts wrote. In the 14 states with heavily contested elections last year, turnout among younger voters rose even higher than it was in 2018.

This chart, by my colleague Ashley Wu, offers a nice way to see the trends:

Since 2014, turnout among people born before 1950 has declined, mostly because more have died or been unable to get to the polls. (Experts refer to this dynamic euphemistically as ''exiting the electorate.'') Turnout among middle-aged people rose, and turnout among young voters rose even more sharply.

Older Americans still vote at higher rates than younger Americans, but the gap has narrowed substantially over the past two decades.

Fear, not love

Why? Many younger voters have become more politically active because they fear for the country's future. Those on the left -- who are a majority of younger voters -- worry about climate change, abortion access, the extremism of the Republican Party and more. Those on the right worry about secularization, political correctness, illegal immigration and more.

''What seems to be driving younger voters to the polls isn't love, but anger,'' Amy Walter of The Cook Political Report has written.

Contrary to conventional wisdom, younger voters throughout U.S. history have not automatically been liberal. In 1984, Americans under 30 strongly backed Ronald Reagan's re-election. In 2000, they split almost evenly between George W. Bush and Al Gore.

It's true that people often become somewhat more conservative as they age (and millennials are following this pattern, as my colleague Nate Cohn explained). But the more significant factor is that generations tend to have distinct ideologies. People are shaped by the political zeitgeist during their adolescence, as research by Yair Ghitza, Andrew Gelman and Jonathan Auerbach has shown.

Americans who came of age during the Depression and New Deal, for example, leaned Democratic for their entire lives. Those who grew up during the Reagan era (many of whom are part of Generation X) lean to the right. In recent decades, major news events, including the Iraq war, the financial crisis, Barack Obama's presidency and the chaos of Trump's presidency, appear to have created a progressive generation.

For four straight national elections dating back to 2014, Democrats have won at least 60 percent of the vote among 18- to 29-year-olds. It's longest such run of success since at least the 1970s, when Catalist's data begins.

The pattern offers reason for Democratic optimism. Millennials and Generation Z are growing parts of the electorate, while older, more conservative generations are gradually exiting the electorate. Even in the short term, the age dynamics matter: A Republican will have a slightly harder time winning the presidency in 2024 than in 2020. In the long term, Republicans will struggle to win national elections unless they can appeal to more Americans born since 1980.

Still a contest

With all this said, a coming period of Democratic dominance is not guaranteed. The party has other weaknesses that could eventually alienate more millennial and Gen Z voters.

Another theme of the Catalist report is that ***working-class*** voters across races have recently drifted toward the Republican Party. Many of these less affluent voters seem bothered by the increasing social liberalism of the Democratic Party. Many younger voters are also not sure which party offers more promising economic policies.

These concerns help explain why Florida and Texas have remained solidly Republican, to the disappointment of Democrats. The chart below compares the Democratic Party's performance by class and race in the past two midterm elections when a Democrat was in the White House.

I realize that the combination of trends is complex. The Democratic lean of Americans under 40, combined with their recent increase in voter turnout, has become a huge advantage for the party. Yet not all these voters are committed Democrats. Many identify as independents and are more conservative than the highly educated, affluent officials who dominate the Democratic Party and progressive groups.

In the competitive world of American politics, Democrats are in a stronger position than Republicans among younger voters, but the contest is not over.

More on 2024

â–  Mike Pence, Chris Christie and Doug Burgum, North Dakota's governor, are expected to announce presidential campaigns this week.

â–  Nikki Haley dodged opportunities to take on Trump in a CNN town hall.

THE LATEST NEWS

India Train Crash

â–  Indian officials are investigating signaling failure, but also suggested human error or sabotage could have led to a train crash that killed 275.

â–  These graphics show how the disaster unfolded.

â–  The Indian government has prioritized high-profile rail projects over basic safety improvements.

International

â–  Russia said a major Ukrainian operation had begun in the Donetsk region. Follow our updates.

â–  Cross-border shelling is bringing the war to Russians who live close to Ukraine.

â–  Vigilante justice is surging in Haiti. Civilians have killed at least 160 gang members.

â–  Hundreds of thousands of people marched through Warsaw in opposition to the deeply conservative governing party in Poland.

â–  The Chinese authorities punished two students who gave out rainbow flags. The students say Xi Jinping is cracking down on gay and transgender activism.

Media

â–  A Hollywood directors' union reached a tentative deal with the studios on a three-year contract. The writers' strike continues.

â–  Chuck Todd is stepping down from NBC's ''Meet the Press.'' Kristen Welker will succeed him.

â–  A damning profile of Chris Licht, CNN's chief executive, shook employees' confidence in him. ''He's done,'' a staffer told New York Magazine.

â–  Twitter's U.S. ad sales have plunged 59 percent, a problem for the company's new C.E.O.

Other Big Stories

â–  Billions in pandemic relief given to U.S. school districts to fight learning loss may not have helped much.

â–  Sixteen migrants from Venezuela and Colombia were flown on a private jet to California and dropped off outside a Sacramento church building.

â–  Allstate has stopped selling new home or commercial insurance policies in California, citing climate risks.

â–  A Brooklyn neighborhood policed itself for five days. The experiment could redefine law enforcement in New York City.

â–  The M.T.A. lost $690 million to fare evasion last year. Can technology make the turnstiles harder to jump?

â–  A company that makes a blood test for cancer said that about 400 customers were mistakenly told last month that they might have the disease.

Opinions

Ozempic can offer new insight into the nature of pleasure and addictions, Maia Szalavitz explains.

Here are columns by Nick Kristof on children living longer in Africa and Farhad Manjoo on artificial intelligence.

MORNING READS

Slow and loving it: This back-of-the-packer wants to make running everyone's sport.

Sonic boom: The loud noise heard across Washington, D.C., yesterday was caused by a military flight.

Metropolitan Diary: A thrift shop find she couldn't afford.

News quiz: How well did you follow the news last week? Take our quiz. The average score was 8.5.

Grill tools: Pick the right spatula and tongs.

Advice from Wirecutter: Find the best patio furniture.

Lives Lived: Kaija Saariaho was a Finnish composer who rose to the top of contemporary classical music. She died at 70.

SPORTS NEWS

Miami evens series: The Miami Heat won Game 2 of the N.B.A. Finals 111-108 last night. The Athletic explains what worked for the Heat.

Nikola Jokic: The Nuggets center may be the best player in the N.B.A., The Times's Sopan Deb writes. He avoids the spotlight, but Denver still loves him.

Faithful crowd: French fans are uniting behind French players at, naturally, the French Open, The Times's Matthew Futterman reports.

She's here: Rose Zhang, 20, turned pro last Thursday. By Sunday, she had her first L.P.G.A. Tour win, The Athletic reports.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Back to the cinema

Movie theaters are trying to lure back customers with perks like heated lounge chairs, buttons to summon waiters and seats that move with the movie's action, Jane Margolies writes. But these changes can cost you: Movies on extra-large screens or in 3-D cost as much as $20.

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

Cauliflower pasta layers flavor upon flavor.

Where to Go

Take in the spectacular shows of Iceberg Alley off the eastern coast of Canada.

Now Time to Play

Here are today's Spelling Bee and the Bee Buddy, which helps you find remaining words.

And here are today's Mini Crossword, Wordle and Sudoku.

\_\_\_\_\_\_

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. -- David

P.S. The Times's Juliet Macur won a Deadline Club award for reporting on an Afghan goalkeeper forced to flee her country.

Here's today's front page.

Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox. Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/05/pageoneplus/06nl-rex.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/05/pageoneplus/06nl-rex.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: In the 14 states with heavily contested elections last year, turnout among younger voters rose even higher than it was in 2018. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANNA WATTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** June 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Party of Family Values Should Truly Value Families***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67R8-G5F1-DXY4-X255-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 9, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 26; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1263 words

**Byline:** By Patrick T. Brown

**Body**

There has recently been a lot of chatter in Washington about family policy, and surprisingly to many people, a lot of it has happened among Republicans. Senators like Mitt Romney and Marco Rubio have released proposals that offer financial benefits to many American households for children, while other conservatives have talked about becoming a ''parents' party.'' The overturning of Roe v. Wade has accelerated this trend.

But the center of gravity in the Republican Party is still more comfortable picking culture war fights than offering policy solutions. A true party for parents needs to provide something for their pocketbooks as well as for their values. Republicans, still grappling with their newfound identity as the party of the ***working class***, need to understand that a pro-family agenda that doesn't provide material support to families will be, at best, half-baked.

The path forward for Republicans is to listen to parents, particularly those without a college degree who have too often been left out of such discussions, and respond with tangible policy solutions. A ''popularist'' version of a conservative governing agenda -- which would be heavily informed by polling -- has the potential to put the meat on the bones of a parents' party approach to politics. And critically, it could attract at least some bipartisan support.

Polling I did for the Ethics and Public Policy Center in conjunction with the Institute for Family Studies and YouGov suggests five key areas of focus: improving the child tax credit, protecting kids online, supporting new parents, promoting strong families with involved fatherhood and striving to eliminate marriage penalties in our tax code and benefit programs.

The research should make one thing clear to conservative politicians: It's not George W. Bush's Republican Party any more, and their policy preferences should shift accordingly. College-educated Republican parents, for example, would especially like to see elected officials focusing on more issues like promoting the so-called success sequence (that is, earn at least a high school diploma, get a job and then marry before having any children) to high schoolers, enforcing the paying of child support and keeping kids from getting access to pornography online.

Republican parents without a college diploma support those ideas, too. But they are much more likely to support actual spending for families -- a full child tax credit to every family with a worker present, assistance in paying for child care, social spending on pregnant mothers and elimination of tax code provisions and safety net policies that are more generous to couples who live together than those who marry. And as the parties increasingly sort along educational lines, parents without college degrees are the engine of today's Republican Party.

A pro-family agenda coupled with cultural and economic populism also has appeal to liberals. For example, over 80 percent of Republican and Democratic parents agreed that it is both ''too easy for kids to find explicit content online'' and that tech companies should be required to obtain parents' permission before allowing minors to create a social media account.

The research suggests an agenda that seeks to make it easier for couples to marry would garner support from most parents, not just conservatives. Among Republican parents, as well as Democratic parents without a college degree, a majority thought the government should do more to promote marriage. By contrast, college-educated Democratic parents were least likely to state a preference for policies that promoted marriage and the most likely to say they saw the institution as ''outdated.''

So a political movement that championed marriage on the level of both language and concrete policy would appeal to the bulk of parents while also highlighting where the college-educated Democrats' preferences diverge from the mainstream.

Pro-family policies could, however, err too far in the other direction. Explicit measures to encourage having children, additional assistance to large families or a tax credit for newly married couples all received some of the lowest approval marks, and across both parties. Over 60 percent of parents agreed with the sentiment that ''people shouldn't have kids if they can't afford to raise them without government assistance,'' highlighting why any successful agenda should be grounded in American values of self-reliance.

This impulse helps explain attitudes toward the child tax credit. Many parents, Democrats and Republicans alike, wanted to see a work requirement attached to the credit. But a hypothetical child benefit that fully benefited families so long as someone in the family was working would be supported by nearly 80 percent of Republican and Democratic parents.

A conservative approach to child benefits or paid leave may attract some bipartisan support. They can be done in fiscally prudent ways -- the Family Security Act, introduced last year by Senator Romney and his Republican colleagues Steve Daines of Montana and Richard Burr of North Carolina, was written to be budget-neutral, and a modest paid family leave program with universal eligibility could be had for under $20 billion annually.

At the state level, Republican governors are already fleshing out what a fully pro-family governing agenda could look like. In Montana, Gov. Greg Gianforte has proposed a $1,200 tax credit for young children, prioritized housing affordability by making it easier to build in the state and created an education credit for workers in the skilled trades. Gov. Bill Lee of Tennessee recently expanded Medicaid coverage for pregnant women, including a proposal to cover two years' worth of diapers.

Gov. Kevin Stitt of Oklahoma has proposed eliminating the state's tax on groceries and expanding fatherhood programs. Gov. Spencer Cox of Utah recently signed a bill joining Arizona and Iowa in giving all parents assistance in finding the school that is right for their children and has announced a willingness to explore new ways of keeping kids safe online. And Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida has sought to eliminate sales tax on necessities like cribs and strollers and to promote engaged fatherhood.

But this shift must ultimately be solidified in Washington, and for now, the Biden administration's failure to push through its grand visions for progressive family policy has left room for others to act. A Democratic Party with enough political flexibility could redraft its policies along some of these lines for broader appeal -- though its cultural preferences may make that play more challenging. In embracing a meaningful pro-parent agenda, Republicans also have a prime opportunity to go on offense.

The party should embrace an agenda that empowers parents to protect their kids online, buffers families against the pressures of the modern economy and eliminates barriers to starting a family. That approach would help the movement traditionally known as the party of family values become the party of authentically valuing families.

Patrick T. Brown (@PTBwrites) is a fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, a conservative think tank, and a former senior policy adviser to Congress's Joint Economic Committee.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/opinion/republican-family-policy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/opinion/republican-family-policy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A26.

**Load-Date:** March 9, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Millennials Just Keep Voting***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68D2-BS71-DXY4-X269-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 5, 2023 Monday 09:22 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1650 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** They are voting at higher rates than younger adults once did, helping the Democratic Party.

**Body**

They are voting at higher rates than younger adults once did, helping the Democratic Party.

In the 2018 elections — the midterms of Donald Trump’s presidency — turnout among younger voters surged. Almost twice as many people in their late 20s and early 30s voted that year as had done so in the midterms four years earlier. And they strongly backed Democratic candidates, helping the party retake control of Congress.

At the time, it was not clear whether the newfound political engagement of younger adults would last beyond Trump’s presidency. So far, though, it has — and it’s emerging as one of the biggest stories in American politics and a major advantage for the Democratic Party.

After each election, the data analysts at Catalist, a progressive research company, publish a post-mortem report based on months of analysis of election returns, voter files and other sources. A central theme of [*the latest report*](https://catalist.us/whathappened2022/), covering the 2022 midterms, was that “Gen Z and millennial voters had exceptional levels of turnout,” as Catalist’s experts wrote. In the 14 states with heavily contested elections last year, turnout among younger voters rose even higher than it was in 2018.

This chart, by my colleague Ashley Wu, offers a nice way to see the trends:

Since 2014, turnout among people born before 1950 has declined, mostly because more have died or been unable to get to the polls. (Experts refer to this dynamic euphemistically as “exiting the electorate.”) Turnout among middle-aged people rose, and turnout among young voters rose even more sharply.

Older Americans still vote at higher rates than younger Americans, but the gap has narrowed substantially over the past two decades.

Fear, not love

Why? Many younger voters have become more politically active because they fear for the country’s future. Those on the left — who are a majority of younger voters — worry about climate change, abortion access, the extremism of the Republican Party and more. Those on the right worry about secularization, political correctness, illegal immigration and more.

“What seems to be driving younger voters to the polls isn’t love, but anger,” Amy Walter of The Cook Political Report [*has written*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/analysis/national/national-politics/what-really-happened-2022).

Contrary to conventional wisdom, younger voters throughout U.S. history have not automatically been liberal. In 1984, Americans under 30 strongly backed Ronald Reagan’s re-election. In 2000, they split almost evenly between George W. Bush and Al Gore.

It’s true that people often become somewhat more conservative as they age (and millennials are [*following this pattern*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/01/upshot/millennials-polling-politics-republicans.html), as my colleague Nate Cohn explained). But the more significant factor is that generations tend to have distinct ideologies. People are shaped by the political zeitgeist during their adolescence, as research by Yair Ghitza, Andrew Gelman and Jonathan Auerbach [*has shown*](https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12713).

Americans who came of age during the Depression and New Deal, for example, leaned Democratic for their entire lives. Those who grew up during the Reagan era (many of whom are part of Generation X) lean to the right. In recent decades, major news events, including the Iraq war, the financial crisis, Barack Obama’s presidency and the chaos of Trump’s presidency, appear to have created a progressive generation.

For four straight national elections dating back to 2014, Democrats have won at least 60 percent of the vote among 18- to 29-year-olds. It’s longest such run of success since at least the 1970s, when Catalist’s data begins.

The pattern offers reason for Democratic optimism. Millennials and Generation Z are growing parts of the electorate, while older, more conservative generations are gradually exiting the electorate. Even in the short term, the age dynamics matter: A Republican will have a slightly harder time winning the presidency in 2024 than in 2020. In the long term, Republicans will struggle to win national elections unless they can appeal to more Americans born since 1980.

Still a contest

With all this said, a coming period of Democratic dominance is not guaranteed. The party has other weaknesses that could eventually alienate more millennial and Gen Z voters.

Another theme of the Catalist report is that ***working-class*** voters across races have recently drifted toward the Republican Party. Many of these less affluent voters seem bothered by [*the increasing social liberalism of the Democratic Party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/25/briefing/ron-desantis.html). Many younger voters are also not sure which party offers more promising economic policies.

These concerns help explain why Florida and Texas have remained solidly Republican, to the disappointment of Democrats. The chart below compares the Democratic Party’s performance by class and race in the past two midterm elections when a Democrat was in the White House.

I realize that the combination of trends is complex. The Democratic lean of Americans under 40, combined with their recent increase in voter turnout, has become a huge advantage for the party. Yet not all these voters are committed Democrats. Many identify as independents and are more conservative than the highly educated, affluent officials who dominate the Democratic Party and progressive groups.

In the competitive world of American politics, Democrats are in a stronger position than Republicans among younger voters, but the contest is not over.

More on 2024

* Mike Pence, Chris Christie and Doug Burgum, North Dakota’s governor, are expected to announce [*presidential campaigns this week*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/christie-pence-burgum-2024-announce-president.html).

1. Nikki Haley [*dodged opportunities*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/05/us/politics/nikki-haley-townhall-cnn.html) to take on Trump in a CNN town hall.

THE LATEST NEWS

India Train Crash

* Indian officials are investigating signaling failure, but also suggested human error or sabotage could have led to a [*train crash that killed 275*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/world/asia/india-train-crash.html).

1. These graphics show [*how the disaster unfolded*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/06/04/world/asia/india-train-crash-cause.html).
2. The Indian government has [*prioritized high-profile rail projects*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/world/asia/india-rail-money-safety.html) over basic safety improvements.

International

* Russia said a major Ukrainian operation had begun in the Donetsk region. [*Follow our updates*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/06/05/world/russia-ukraine-news).

1. Cross-border shelling is [*bringing the war to Russians*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/03/world/europe/belgorod-russia-ukraine-war.html) who live close to Ukraine.
2. Vigilante justice is surging in Haiti. Civilians have killed [*at least 160 gang members*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/03/world/americas/haiti-crime-gangs-vigilantes.html).
3. Hundreds of thousands of people [*marched through Warsaw*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/world/europe/poland-warsaw-protests.html) in opposition to the deeply conservative governing party in Poland.

* The Chinese authorities punished two students who [*gave out rainbow flags*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/03/world/asia/rainbow-flags-china-lgbtq.html). The students say Xi Jinping is cracking down on gay and transgender activism.

Media

* A Hollywood directors’ union [*reached a tentative deal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/business/media/hollywood-directors-guild-deal.html) with the studios on a three-year contract. The writers’ strike continues.

1. Chuck Todd is [*stepping down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/business/media/chuck-todd-meet-the-press.html) from NBC’s “Meet the Press.” Kristen Welker will succeed him.
2. A damning [*profile of Chris Licht*](https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2023/06/cnn-ratings-chris-licht-trump/674255/), CNN’s chief executive, shook employees’ confidence in him. “He’s done,” [*a staffer told*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2023/06/can-chris-licht-survive-at-cnn.html) New York Magazine.
3. Twitter’s U.S. [*ad sales have plunged 59 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/05/technology/twitter-ad-sales-musk.html), a problem for the company’s new C.E.O.

Other Big Stories

* [*Billions in pandemic relief*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/05/us/politics/schools-stimulus-covid-pandemic-aid.html)given to U.S. school districts to fight learning loss may not have helped much.

1. Sixteen migrants from Venezuela and Colombia were [*flown on a private jet*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/us/migrants-california-church-texas.html) to California and dropped off outside a Sacramento church building.
2. Allstate has stopped selling new [*home or commercial insurance policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/business/allstate-insurance-california.html) in California, citing climate risks.
3. A Brooklyn neighborhood [*policed itself for five days*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/nyregion/brooklyn-brownsville-no-police.html). The experiment could redefine law enforcement in New York City.
4. The M.T.A. lost [*$690 million to fare evasion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/05/nyregion/mta-fare-evasion.html) last year. Can technology make the turnstiles harder to jump?
5. A company that makes a blood test for cancer said that about 400 customers were [*mistakenly told*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/business/grail-blood-test-mistake-cancer.html) last month that they might have the disease.

Opinions

Ozempic can offer new insight into the [*nature of pleasure and addictions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/opinion/ozempic-weight-loss-addictions-desire.html), Maia Szalavitz explains.

Here are columns by Nick Kristof on [*children living longer in Africa*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/03/opinion/sierra-leone-progress-health-children.html) and Farhad Manjoo on [*artificial intelligence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/02/opinion/ai-coding.html).

MORNING READS

Slow and loving it: This back-of-the-packer wants to make running [*everyone’s sport*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/02/well/move/martinus-evans-slow-af-run-club.html).

Sonic boom: The loud noise heard across Washington, D.C., yesterday was [*caused by a military flight*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/us/sonic-boom-washington-dc-maryland.html).

Metropolitan Diary: A [*thrift shop find*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/nyregion/metropolitan-diary.html) she couldn’t afford.

News quiz: How well did you follow the news last week? [*Take our quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/06/02/briefing/news-quiz-debt-ceiling-succession-holmes.html). The average score was 8.5.

Grill tools: Pick the [*right spatula and tongs*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/reviews/best-grill-tools/).

Advice from Wirecutter: Find [*the best patio furniture*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/reviews/best-patio-furniture/).

Lives Lived: Kaija Saariaho was a Finnish composer who rose to the top of contemporary classical music. She [*died at 70*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/02/arts/music/kaija-saariaho-dead.html).

SPORTS NEWS

Miami evens series: The Miami Heat won Game 2 of the N.B.A. Finals 111-108 last night. The Athletic explains [*what worked for the Heat*](https://theathletic.com/4580562/2023/06/04/heat-nuggets-game-2-nba-finals-result/).

Nikola Jokic: The Nuggets center may be the best player in the N.B.A., The Times’s Sopan Deb writes. He avoids the spotlight, but [*Denver still loves him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/03/sports/basketball/nikola-jokic-denver-nuggets-nba-finals.html).

Faithful crowd: French fans [*are uniting behind French players*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/01/sports/tennis/french-open-fans.html) at, naturally, the French Open, The Times’s Matthew Futterman reports.

She’s here: Rose Zhang, 20, [*turned pro*](https://theathletic.com/4561812/2023/05/30/rose-zhang-lpga-tour/) last Thursday. By Sunday, she had her first L.P.G.A. Tour win, The Athletic reports.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Back to the cinema

Movie theaters are trying to lure back customers with perks like heated lounge chairs, buttons to summon waiters and seats that move with the movie’s action, [*Jane Margolies writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/31/business/movie-theater-upgrade-pandemic.html). But these changes can cost you: Movies on extra-large screens or in 3-D cost as much as $20.

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

Cauliflower pasta layers [*flavor upon flavor*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1024143-cauliflower-pasta-with-anchovies-and-bread-crumbs).

Where to Go

Take in [*the spectacular shows of Iceberg Alley*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/05/travel/iceberg-alley-newfoundland-labrador.html) off the eastern coast of Canada.

Now Time to Play

Here are [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee) and [*the Bee Buddy*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/upshot/spelling-bee-buddy.html), which helps you find remaining words.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html) and [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/sudoku/easy).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

P.S. The Times’s Juliet Macur won a Deadline Club award for reporting on an Afghan goalkeeper forced to flee her country.

Here’s [*today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2023/06/05/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Anna Watts for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 7, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A Good Walk, Filmed; New York Today***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68D1-HSV1-JBG3-60S9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 5, 2023 Monday 18:09 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1587 words

**Byline:** Katherine Rosman

**Highlight:** Peter Callahan, a filmmaker in Hastings-on-Hudson, is the writer, director and star of a movie that takes its entire story from one man’s afternoon walk around his town.

**Body**

Peter Callahan, a filmmaker in Hastings-on-Hudson, is the writer, director and star of a movie that takes its entire story from one man’s afternoon walk around his town.

Good morning. It’s Monday. I’m on duty today as my colleague James Barron caps off a well-earned vacation. Today we’ll talk to a local filmmaker who uses Hastings-on-Hudson, the New York City suburb, as his muse.

In the most isolating days of the pandemic, a walk around the neighborhood became for many a ritual of community, fresh air and mental salvation. These constitutionals were also a backdrop to a (re)kindled love and appreciation for all that is local — accessible not by plane or iPhone, but by feet.

Peter Callahan, a filmmaker in the New York City suburb of Hastings-on-Hudson, is the writer, director and star of a new movie, “[*Out and About*](https://outandaboutmovie.com/trailer),” that takes its entire story from one man’s afternoon walk around his town, a familiar setting in which he struggles to locate his place in the world. “There is a universality to small towns that I think makes the film resonate,” Callahan said in an interview. “Hastings is both unique and like everywhere else.”

The film takes some influence, Callahan said, from a story written by another suburban New Yorker, John Cheever.

In “[*The Swimmer*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1964/07/18/the-swimmer),” Cheever tells of Neddy Merrill, a seemingly well-to-do fellow who, while lounging beside a friend’s pool, decides to make his way home by taking a dip in more than a dozen swimming pools that separate the friend’s home from Neddy’s.

The 1964 New Yorker short story became the 1968 film, starring Burt Lancaster — and featuring a cameo from the ultimate New Yawker, [*Joan Rivers*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KYccH2VgZdA).

Callahan’s “Out and About” focuses on Jeff Fisher, a middle-age man stuck idling in the weeds at an age when it’s not so easy to pull yourself out.

The magazine for which Jeff has worked as an editor for years plans to cut his salary by a quarter (in exchange for not laying him off … yet). He is strategizing how to compel his daughter, who has left Hastings to start her own life, to return home for his mother’s birthday party. He seeks the help of his [*ex-wife*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CjdukiOuMs9/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&amp;igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA==), who now lives with a new husband who has provided for the conventional life that was not to be Jeff’s.

On his late-summer afternoon walk, we witness a cascade of encounters: with dreaded Brooklyn transplants, with ***working-class*** holdouts living in their aging parents’ homes and with Type-A arrivistes who see Jeff as a creepy lurker.

There is also the former high school baseball coach (the stage actor [*Tom Nelis*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CsmzUXYsvlp/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&amp;igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA==)) who recalls Jeff as a talented athlete but lazy; a Black man who is Jeff’s friend ([*Avery Glymph*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CskDkgZMVTh/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&amp;igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA==), a frequent Callahan collaborator) whose simple hello triggers Jeff’s worry about his experience of living in a mostly white town; and a former high school girlfriend ([*Bridget Ann White*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CjSn4fwuvfb/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&amp;igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA==)) — now a happily married adult who is enjoying a walk with her dog when she is confronted by the existential-crisis-on-two-feet and his need to reflect on the old days. (“You slept with half the girls in our class,” she says. “Half?” Jeff replies, astounded. “I wish.”)

The audience witnesses his conversations, but much more revealing is his inner talk.

“How’d all these people figure it out?” he asks himself while striding past beautiful homes set against winding roads and idyllic landscapes. For 83 minutes, he ponders the big questions, not acknowledging that the grass is most often greener because we aren’t privy to our neighbors’ self-doubts.

Callahan’s co-star is the village of [*Hastings-on-Hudson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/06/realestate/living-in-hastings-on-hudson-ny-inclusive-rivertown.html), which is about three square miles in size and is in Westchester County, north of Yonkers and on the banks of the Hudson River. Hastings is less than an hour by train from New York City.

It was once home to working-, middle- and upper-middle-class families, but today Hastings-on-Hudson is a mostly affluent community that prides itself on being a magnet for creative professionals — artists and writers — who want more space and quiet than the city can provide but are turned off by the conspicuous wealth of some neighboring towns. Hastings is known for progressive politics, but its demographics are fairly homogeneous (white) and, like many communities, it is facing a shortage of affordable housing.

Callahan, 60, grew up in a house on the hill, with his parents and five siblings. Though he has lived in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Los Angeles and Boston, he has always been drawn back.

“Out and About” is the third film he has written and directed, all centered in the Hudson Valley. “Last Ball,” a 2001 film, focuses on a 20-something child of privilege who rejects the path his parents laid for him, opting instead to drive a taxi around town.

Callahan’s 2009 film, “Against the Current,” is a darker personal narrative that contends with death and depression. Starring Joseph Fiennes and featuring Mary Tyler Moore, it made its debut at Sundance, which brought the blessings of industry attention and the curse of high expectations. “Sundance is like Harvard,” Callahan said. “It’s great that you got there, but it doesn’t guarantee you are set up for life.”

Indeed, Callahan fell into a rut in the subsequent years, struggling to come up with a screenplay that could attract financing as the film market shifted in the thrash of Marvel tent poles and streaming services.

By 2017, he started to think practically, and locally. “What’s the film I could do almost by myself?” Callahan wondered. “I began to think of the old adage, ‘Write what you know.’ What I know is walking around my hometown. I walk around and like many Americans, I’m envious and am comparing myself to others.”

He then wrote the screenplay for “Out and About” and started to work with producers. They struggled to find the right actor to play the lead role. Two days before filming began, he cast himself.

“I’ve never acted before,” he said. “It’s harder than it looks.” (Rex Reed, the critic, called Callahan a “charismatic and very appealing actor.”)

Callahan and his team shot the film over 14 days in August 2019, and paused to raise money for postproduction. He said the simplicity of the movie made it a hard sell for financiers — “there is no sex, there is no violence, it’s just a day in the life of an ordinary man,” he said — and the pandemic brought its own challenges. He declined to share the budget or cost but said, “This is not a movie shot on an iPhone, but we did it as cheaply as you can professionally do.”

The film, which is [*available*](https://outandaboutmovie.com/watch) on Apple, Amazon and Google streaming platforms, has won several awards, many fittingly bestowed by small-town film festivals. Last week it was named best feature film by the [*Romford Film Festival*](https://www.instagram.com/p/Cs8e4zMoamw/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link&amp;igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA==) in Britain. “Hastings is where I grew up and when you are young, you don’t know any different than what you have experienced,” Callahan said. “But now I know how truly special it is.”

It’s a partly sunny day near the high 70s. The evening will be partly cloudy, with a chance of showers late and temps around the low 60s.

In effect until June 19 (Juneteenth).

The latest Metro news

* A Brooklyn neighborhood policed itself: On a two-block stretch of Brownsville in April, the police stepped aside and let residents respond to 911 calls. [*It was a bold experiment that some believe could redefine law-enforcement in New York City*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/04/nyregion/brooklyn-brownsville-no-police.html).

1. Tribeca Film Festival: With the Tribeca Festival around the corner, it’s a fitting time to [*look back at the memorable ways cinema has given New York City a featured role*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/03/movies/new-york-city-movies-tribeca.html).

* Outdoor hockey: Outdoor N.H.L. hockey will make its debut in New Jersey next year when MetLife Stadium in East Rutherford will [*host a four-team doubleheader of sorts in the league’s so-called Stadium Series*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/03/sports/hockey/nhl-outdoor-game-new-york-meadowlands.html).

Kari patta

Dear Diary:

I cannot cook without my kari patta (curry leaves) plant, so I lugged my tall, gangly one with barely enough leaves to prepare one dish from Maine to a lightless rental apartment in Morningside Heights.

Eventually, I transferred the plant to my well-heated office, where it just about survived under fluorescent lights. Two years later, I moved into my own apartment in a prewar building and brought the plant there.

Looking for a sunny spot to put it one hot summer day, I chanced upon a large, neglected, open space near the building’s basement. I surreptitiously dragged my leafless, eight-foot plant there and attached a note: “Please don’t throw away, belongs to new owners of 62.”

Later, while watering it, I met another plant lover who expressed regret over how badly neglected the spot was.

When the next summer came, with the help of my plant-loving friend and a small check from the building’s board, I filled the area with flowers and ornamental plants, and I started an herb garden for everyone to use.

As summer passed, the place filled up with residents drinking tea, sipping wine and eating at a dining table someone had brought out. I got compliments and made tons of friends. My kari patta plant became lush and full of leaves.

— Helga Do Rosario Gomes

Illustrated by Agnes Lee. [*Send submissions here*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/how-to-submit-to-metropolitan-diary.html) and [*read more Metropolitan Diary here*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/metropolitan-diary).

Thanks for letting me pinch hit for the inimitable James Barron. He returns tomorrow. — K.R.

P.S. Here’s today’s [*Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini) and [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee). [*You can find all our puzzles here*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords).

Melissa Guerrero and Ed Shanahan contributed to New York Today. You can reach the team at [*nytoday@nytimes.com*](mailto:nytoday@nytimes.com)

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/newyorktoday)

Melissa Guerrero and Ed Shanahan contributed to New York Today. You can reach the team at [*nytoday@nytimes.com*](mailto:nytoday@nytimes.com)

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mark Feaster, via Sugar Pond Films FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 5, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Why Americans Feel More Pain; Nicholas Kristof***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6853-C351-DXY4-X3MH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 3, 2023 Wednesday 10:17 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3070 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Kristof

**Highlight:** Chronic pain is not just a result of car accidents and workplace injuries but is also linked to troubled childhoods, loneliness, job insecurity and a hundred other pressures on working families.

**Body**

Ever since Bobbie Wert was 8 years old, her stomach has ached. “My tummy hurts,” was her refrain as a girl, and the discomfort was accompanied by vomiting and diarrhea that kept her out of school — sometimes for half the days in the school year.

Doctors poked and scanned but couldn’t figure out anything wrong. Over the years, they cut her open and removed bits and pieces yet couldn’t drive away the pain. So doctors prescribed opioids in increasing doses — even fentanyl patches — that left her addicted. At age 43, she now is off opioids but still suffers every single day, enduring chronic pain like an estimated 50 million other Americans.

Wert is part of a vast and mysterious panorama of pain that is increasing, sometimes with no obvious physical cause. And while chronic pain is a global problem, it is particularly puzzling in America. In other wealthy countries, it’s the elderly who report the most chronic pain, which makes some sense. But in the United States it’s the middle-aged — especially the jobless and people like Wert, who did not graduate from high school — who suffer the most. It is a plague on the less educated.

All this raises the question: Is this physical suffering a canary in the coal mine warning us of larger dysfunction in our society?

Here’s what we do know: Tens of millions of Americans are suffering pain. But chronic pain is not just a result of car accidents and workplace injuries but is also linked to troubled childhoods, loneliness, job insecurity and a hundred other pressures on working families.

This essay is the first in an occasional series I’ll be writing about the interrelated crises unfolding in ***working-class*** America. I’ll explore the cluster of tightly woven problems that hold back our people and our country: childhood trauma, educational failure, addiction, mental health issues, homelessness, loneliness, family breakdown, unemployment — and, we increasingly recognize, physical pain.

“People’s lives are coming apart, and this leads to huge increases in physical pain,” said Angus Deaton, a Nobel Prize winner in economics who with Anne Case popularized the term “deaths of despair.” He, Case and Arthur Stone warn in a recent [*article*](https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2012350117) that “the mystery of American pain reveals a warning for the future.”

Americans die from deaths of despair — drugs, alcohol and suicide — at a rate of more than a quarter-million a year, and the number of walking wounded is far greater. We do have some evidence for how we can address our country’s pathologies, so this series will also focus on recovery.

I [*wrote*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/588999/tightrope-by-nicholas-d-kristof-and-sheryl-wudunn/) a few years ago about how more than [*one-quarter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/opinion/sunday/deaths-despair-poverty.html) of the kids who rode my No. 6 school bus in rural Oregon with me are gone from deaths of despair. Some friends are homeless and on the run from the law, and when I asked them what went wrong, they often spoke about their physical pains. Sometimes I wondered if this might be malingering. Now I understand that the pain was very real, but often more complicated than a broken arm from a brawl.

“I believe pain is the most complex experience a human body can have,” [*Dr. Haider Warraich*](https://scholar.harvard.edu/haiderwarraich/biocv) told me. Dr. Warraich is a cardiologist who teaches at Harvard Medical School, but his familiarity with pain is personal: While still in medical school, he began to suffer disabling back pain that for many years took over his life.

Dr. Warraich said that we tend to misperceive chronic pain simply as pain that lasts longer. Acute pain typically has a specific anatomical source — such as the shock you feel when you touch a hot stove — while chronic pain sometimes, not always, originates in the brain rather than the body. An extreme example is [*phantom limb pain*](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3468806/), in which an amputee feels intense pain in a limb that no longer exists.

Accustomed to treating acute pain, physicians diagnose through imaging and knowledge of anatomy: If someone suffers from chronic back pain, get an X-ray! And imaging often finds something odd that may suggest a surgical solution. In Dr. Warraich’s case, there were prolapsed discs. But it’s also true that X-rays of people with no pain show similar anatomical faults.

It’s the brain-body gap: Researchers [*find*](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2542996/) that some people with substantial knee pain have normal X-rays, while many whose X-rays suggest significant arthritis feel no pain at all.

Think of the brain as the control panel for a pain alarm system that mostly protects the body from injury — but sometimes goes haywire. It can blare like a home alarm system that maddeningly thinks a window has been opened when it hasn’t been.

Unfortunately, brain alarms are harder to turn off.

Medicines that work very well for acute pain, like opioids, were prescribed for many years for chronic pain like Wert’s, resulting in a tsunami of addiction that now claims more than 100,000 lives a year in overdoses of various drugs — and leaving large numbers of pain sufferers dependent on pills that they now struggle to obtain. While opioids can provide relief, some experts also believe that opioids were never a sound choice for long-term pain.

Fortunately, some new treatments are emerging for chronic pain, but they are imperfect and often not covered by insurance. For starters, we’re learning that pain sometimes responds better to approaches that target the brain and psyche, not the body. For example, phantom limb pain is helped with [*mirror therapy*](https://healthcare.utah.edu/the-scope/list/2022/03/mirror-therapy-treat-phantom-limb-pain), in which the sufferer repeatedly looks in the mirror at a remaining limb, to trick the brain into thinking that the body is doing just fine.

There is no single pain center in the brain, but chronic pain often reverberates in parts of the brain that can also be involved in emotions and traumatic memories, and that resonates with Bobbie Wert. She looks back at her odyssey through unexplained pain and addiction and has a simple explanation: “It was trauma.” As the title of a best-selling book by Bessel van der Kolk on how psychological trauma can manifest as physical pain puts it, “[*The Body Keeps the Score*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/24/podcasts/transcript-ezra-klein-interviews-bessel-van-der-kolk.html).”

After Wert’s parents divorced when she was 5 years old, life became particularly chaotic. The family was periodically homeless, Wert said, and physical and sexual abuse swirled around her in Washington State. She remembers that when she was 8, a boy punched her and held her down while another raped her 9-year-old sister.

She recalls only fragments of the rest of those difficult years. “It was just men in and out of our house constantly,” she said. “I remember old men coming in, but I don’t remember what happened.”

For all the school she missed, Wert was a brilliant student who managed to stay near the top of her class. But she fell in love at age 15 with a man six years older, then, seeking stability in a chaotic life, married him and dropped out of school. She had two children by the time she was 18.

Instead of subsiding, the pain ramped up. For a while, doctors thought it was irritable bowel syndrome. Then they said it was endometriosis, leading to surgery at the age of 20 and a full hysterectomy a year later.

None of that helped, and doctors later diagnosed interstitial cystitis, part of a spectrum called painful bladder syndrome. All of these diagnoses — irritable bowel syndrome, endometriosis and painful bladder syndrome — are commonly applied to people with chronic pain that is difficult to explain. The end of the diagnostic line is often fibromyalgia, a catchall to describe chronic pain in several locations.

Wert’s sister suffered from similar inexplicable pain and was likewise treated with large doses of opioids that left her addicted, too. She has been diagnosed with fibromyalgia.

Chronic pain is unusual among diseases of despair in that it disproportionately strikes women, who according to one study are [*75 percent*](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/28092650/) more likely than men to report severe pain. That apparently is because testosterone eases pain (boys and girls suffer pain equally until puberty).

Another big factor in pain differences is class. One study [*found*](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/28760648/) that poor Americans are more than three times as likely to report pain as wealthy Americans. Another found that just 2 percent of those with graduate degrees report severe pain, while almost [*10 percent*](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/28092650/) of high school dropouts do.

“Basically, if you’ve got a B.A., you’re vaccinated against all of this crap,” said Deaton, the economist. Deaton, Case and Stone found that each successive generation among less-educated Americans has reported more pain at any given age.

“If these patterns continue, pain prevalence will continue to increase for all adults,” they [*wrote*](https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2012350117) in The Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences. “Tomorrow’s elderly will be sicker than today’s elderly, with potentially serious implications for health care.”

The brain appears very sensitive to expectations of pain, which is why placebos ease pain — and this may be a factor in faith healing as well. In [*one study,*](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6741114/) injections of saline solution turned out to be almost as effective as injections of pain medication in reducing arm pain. Conversely, when research subjects received the saline but were warned it might increase pain — that’s a nocebo, the opposite of a placebo — they suffered significantly more.

The idea that chronic pain can arise from emotional discomfort isn’t new. An iconoclastic physician named [*John Sarno*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/09/well/mind/john-sarno-chronic-pain-relief.html) wrote a 1991 best-selling book, “Healing Back Pain: The Mind-Body Connection,” that emphasized the physical consequences of repressed emotions. Some patients swore by him, while many doctors rolled their eyes. He may have been something of a prophet, but today science has advanced far beyond his ideas and methods.

America’s increasing chronic pain doesn’t come primarily from obesity or workplace injuries but may have something to do with the financial and social stresses in ***working-class*** America. When jobs are lost, pain increases. [*One international study*](https://hbr.org/2022/03/research-the-link-between-recessions-and-physical-pain) found that a 3 percent increase in the unemployment rate is associated with a 1 percent increase in the number of people reporting pain.

[*Other studies*](https://hbr.org/2016/03/the-link-between-income-inequality-and-physical-pain?ab=at_art_art_1x4_s03) have found that economic insecurity is associated with more pain. So are [*discrimination*](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0277953618301163) and [*unhappiness*](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/19481610/). Pain can lead to depression, causing further pain. “Loneliness strongly predicts the development of pain,” another [*study*](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/35415848/) found. In effect, chronic pain is tightly woven into the bundle of diseases of despair, and causation probably runs in several directions.

There’s some evidence that trauma and stress teach the brain to be hypervigilant and put the pain alarm system on a hair trigger. This builds on itself: Researchers have also found that chronic pain can result in greater sensitivity, so that pain breeds more pain.

Pain even changes the physical brain. Several studies have [*found*](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/30101509/) that long-term pain leads to a loss of gray matter in the prefrontal cortex, although experts are still working out the implications of that.

The upshot is that whether pain is from psychological trauma or from physical injury, it can tip someone into a downward spiral. That’s what happened to Aaron Lopez.

Like Wert, he grew up in a troubled home. At about 12, Lopez began using drugs and drinking whiskey, and that was the backdrop for an incident at age 18 in which a sheet of plywood fell on his head and damaged his cervical spine.

“I just went home and got drunk,” he recalled. “I drank it away.”

Lopez later managed his pain with OxyContin, and for a while he got by. He landed a good job as a medic at a university in Oregon and had a house, two cars, a girlfriend and a son. But once he couldn’t get OxyContin prescriptions, he began buying painkillers on the street, and that proved unaffordable. So he bought heroin.

The first heroin high proved difficult to replicate — and Lopez’s habit grew expensive. He started dealing so that he could be paid in powder. His son bounced between him and his now ex-girlfriend (who also became addicted), depending on who was in better shape.

On top of his excruciating pain, Lopez was regularly on the run from the law, and he lost his home and his health care provider’s license. He overdosed nine times.

Lopez admits that he made bad choices. But pain made poor choices more likely.

“When I would have my bouts of neck pain, it magnified everything,” he told me. “Depression, anxiety, despair, everything was worse when I was in pain.” He was eventually homeless.

Finally, in 2019, Lopez gave up.

“I just decided I was going to end it,” he recalled. “So I did a massive dose of heroin.”

He overdosed and turned blue, but rescuers managed to revive him with five doses of naloxone. Awakening, he was exhausted and felt he had hit bottom. After that, drugs were less satisfying, and he found out that his girlfriend was pregnant. Soon after, he resolved to live: He went through detox and hasn’t used drugs since 2019. Now he is more prudent about avoiding anything that might aggravate his pain, but it still returns in waves, such as when his daughter unexpectedly jumped on his back. When it comes, he bulls through it with over-the-counter remedies and manages to go on with his life.

So how can we heal from chronic pain? What can experts advise those suffering from it?

[*Dr. Daniel Clauw*](https://medicine.umich.edu/dept/pain-research/daniel-clauw-md), director of the Chronic Pain and Fatigue Research Center at the University of Michigan, believes that we already have a toolbox of remedies that can help 80 percent or 90 percent of chronic pain sufferers but that our treatment system and insurance protocols betray those in need.

“We’ve really over-medicalized pain,” he told me. His first recommendation to patients with chronic pain is simple: Get more sleep and exercise. There’s no simple solution, he emphasized, and it takes work by patients to recover.

“I’m a huge advocate of physical therapy,” he added, and he also sees positive results from yoga, acupuncture, acupressure, cognitive behavioral therapy and meditation.

He mimics addressing a patient: “Mrs. Jones, I don’t know if acupuncture is going to work for you, or if it’s going to be physical therapy or chiropractic manipulation. But I do know that if you try three of these non-pharmacologic therapies, on average one of the three will work pretty well. And then the next year we’ll try two or three more, and you’ll get better yet.”

The demographic most vulnerable to chronic pain — unemployed middle-aged Americans with limited education — is less likely to have health insurance or the means to pay for treatment (much of which isn’t covered by insurance in any case). So these people suffer, or they may [*pay $5*](https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2022-10-14/fentanyl-pharmaceuticals-addiction-overdose-deaths-mexico-production) for a fentanyl-laced pill to delay the suffering.

New approaches are emerging, but they are not necessarily more accessible. [*Virtual reality*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/26/magazine/virtual-reality-chronic-pain.html) seems promising for alleviating chronic pain. [*Mindfulness training*](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4941786/) is sometimes helpful. Cannabis helps many people, with the most promising cannabinoids easing pain without producing a high, and researchers are [*investigating*](https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/can-psychedelic-drugs-treat-physical-pain/) some encouraging indications that psilocybin (the hallucinogenic substance in “magic mushrooms”) [*may help*](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/36066961/) as well.

Kevin Boehnke, a pain researcher at the University of Michigan, said that if cannabis were discovered today, the scientific world would be dazzled and would rush to test various cannabinoids for their medical potential.

“There’s this vast untapped potential there,” he said, but it’s often not available because insurers are wary — even as they cover expensive surgeries that have a poor record in resolving pain.

Today Wert still suffers pain every day but is able to hold a job counseling children through a group in McMinnville, Ore., called [*Provoking Hope*](https://provokinghope.com/). She is always on the lookout for kids with unexplained tummy aches.

She has some luck keeping her pain in check. “I use a heating pad, and I take a lot of hot baths,” she said. “If I feel pain coming, I work on crafts or keep myself busy. It’s mind over matter. I keep repeating, ‘It’s not so bad.’”

Another longtime pain sufferer, Anne Muilenburg, who used opioids for a time and then became homeless, told me something that stuck with me. She now struggles regularly with pain but gets by with physical therapy, ice and ibuprofen.

“The pain is not as bad as the addiction,” she said. “My worst day clean is so much better than my best day using.”

Another approach is to move from Band-Aids to prevention. Since pain and deaths of despair fall heavily on the poorly educated and unemployed, we might address educational gaps: getting everyone through high school and equipping graduates with a marketable skill. Before the pandemic caused setbacks, there was some progress in raising America’s pathetic high school graduation rate and in bolstering vocational training with initiatives like [*career academies*](https://www.ncacinc.com/nsop/academies).

Prevention also entails addressing broader social dysfunction. We’ve done a good job reducing workplace injuries, for example, but we haven’t shown the same determination to prevent the kinds of abuse that seared Wert and her sister. The foster care system is often a disaster that sets children up for diseases of despair. Home-visiting programs like [*Nurse-Family Partnership*](https://www.nursefamilypartnership.org/) coach parents on everything from avoiding substance abuse and chipped lead paint to talking frequently with one’s child, and they have a remarkable [*record*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/14/opinion/sunday/nicholas-kristof-the-way-to-beat-poverty.html) of improving outcomes for disadvantaged children. High-quality pre-K can similarly help get kids on track to success.

People recovering from addictions often talk about the importance of facing reality and accepting difficult truths. Here’s one for all of us to confront: Tens of millions of Americans are suffering in ways that lead to addiction, pain and a tangle of other pathologies and then transmit this misery to the next generation.

Maybe the brain’s pain alarm system is trying to tell us about how America heals: To ease our chronic pain, we must do better at addressing deeper wounds in our economy and society.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

PHOTOS: Bobbie Wert and Aaron Lopez have suffered chronic pain for years, and became addicted to opioids. Today, Wert uses techniques including swinging, applying a heating pad, and attending a mindfulness group to manage pain, while Lopez, below right middle, relies on overthe-counter drugs and sheer fortitude. (SR6-SR7); Lopez at home in McMinnville, Ore., with his daughter. Wert, below, attributes her chronic pain to childhood trauma. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RICARDO NAGAOKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (SR8) This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7, SR8.

**Load-Date:** September 7, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Two Men Arrested in Execution-Style Killings of a Family in California***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67G6-5H21-DXY4-X04Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 3, 2023 Friday 20:44 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1128 words

**Byline:** Miriam Jordan

**Highlight:** The brutal nature of the mass shooting, which included the murder of an innocent young mother and her infant, shocked the nation.

**Body**

The brutal nature of the mass shooting, which included the murder of an innocent young mother and her infant, shocked the nation.

Two men suspected of slaying four generations of the same family, including a 10-month-old baby, were captured on Friday near the house [*where the grisly crime occurred*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/mass-shooting-goshen-california.html) last month in the Central Valley of California, according to the authorities.

The attack in the wee hours of Jan. 16 left six people dead after they were shot execution-style at close range, a set of killings so brutal that residents accustomed to local gang violence said they were in disbelief. A 16-year-old and her baby boy were shot in the head after trying to flee. The victims also included a 72-year-old grandmother and a 19-year-old man who enjoyed playing video games late at night.

Angel “Nanu” Uriarte, 35, was arrested on Friday morning after a gunfight with federal officers in Goshen, the tiny town along Highway 99 where the murders took place. Noah David Beard, 25, was taken into custody without incident in Visalia, the city next to Goshen in Tulare County. Mr. Uriarte, who was injured in the shooting with agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, was rushed to a hospital where he remained in stable condition.

The Tulare County district attorney’s office has charged both suspects, who have criminal histories, with six counts of murder and other “special allegations,” including committing murder to further the activities of street gangs and using firearms despite being prohibited to own them as felons.

During a news conference, Mike Boudreaux, the Tulare County sheriff, described the men as “validated” members of the Norteños gang, which dominates the area. After bursting into the house at 3:38 a.m., they killed their first victim, Eladio Parraz Jr., 52, a member of the rival Sureños gang, the sheriff said.

He said that the motive for the killings was “not exactly clear,” and that the investigations would continue. At least two people on the property where the shooting occurred survived the attack and provided crucial information to law enforcement.

Mr. Boudreaux said that a multiagency effort involving more than 100 agents had led to the arrests. After identifying the two suspects, law enforcement officials conducted round-the-clock surveillance of them, starting a week after the shooting.

“We knew every move they were making,” Mr. Boudreaux said at the sheriff’s headquarters in Visalia. “We had them under our wing, exactly where we wanted them.’

“Once we had DNA information, we jumped,” he said. He asserted that he believed the two suspects were the sole perpetrators of the crime.

Mr. Boudreaux said the authorities executed search warrants at three locations in Goshen and Visalia on Friday morning, as well as at state prisons, targeting inmates linked to the Nuestra Familia prison gang, which has ties to the Norteños.

Gangs have been present for decades in California, and active members on the streets often answer to leaders who are incarcerated.

In Tulare County alone, a sprawling agricultural area that is home to 480,000 people, about 900 gangs have been documented.

Though gang violence is now entrenched in the Central Valley, California’s agricultural heartland, the horrific murders targeting an entire family, including innocent women and an infant, shook Goshen, a ***working-class*** town of 5,000, and reverberated across the nation.

“This family was targeted by coldblooded killers,” the sheriff said.

Since the slayings, Mr. Boudreaux has repeatedly called on Gov. Gavin Newsom to lift a moratorium on the death penalty that he imposed in 2019. When asked on Wednesday whether he would do so for this case, Mr. Newsom, a Democrat, responded only that the assailants should be caught and the case closed.

“Governor, we arrested the perpetrators. We are asking you to do your part,” the sheriff said on Friday.

Mr. Boudreaux said that the 16-year-old, Alissa Parraz, had fled with her baby, Nycholas, when she heard gunfire. Surveillance video played at the news conference showed her placing her son on the other side of a fence and leaping over. Then, both mother and infant were shot in the back of their heads by Mr. Beard, the sheriff said, and found dead in the street by the police.

The gunmen also killed Mr. Parraz’s mother, Rosa Parraz, 72, when she was on her knees, the sheriff said. The other victims were Mr. Parraz’s son, Marcos Parraz, 19, who was not in a gang; and Mr. Parraz’s girlfriend, Jennifer Analla, 50, who was asleep when she was murdered, the sheriff said.

Police [*had visited the family’s home*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/mass-shooting-goshen-california.html) with a drug search warrant a week before the ambush and found marijuana, methamphetamine and weapons. The 52-year-old Mr. Parraz, a felon, was arrested and released four days later after posting bail.

More than 30,000 gangs, representing more than one million people, operate in the United States, according to the F.B.I. The groups have increased their sophistication, organization and mobility in recent years. They also work closely with Mexican drug cartels that control the export of illicit substances to the United States across its southern border.

In the Central Valley, cartels are believed to collaborate with local Latino, Black and Asian criminal organizations that often buy drugs wholesale from them.

The Norteños and Sureños gangs have deployed members across the United States to expand their territory and increase drug sales. As a result, many suburban and rural areas face problems similar to those once confined to big cities.

Court documents charged Mr. Uriarte and Mr. Beard with carrying out the crime with “planning, sophistication and professionalism.” It said that Mr. Beard had prior convictions as an adult and had juvenile delinquency proceedings that were “numerous and of increasing seriousness,” including allegations of robbery and assault.

Mr. Uriarte was convicted in 2015 of assault with a firearm in the course of gang-related criminal activity.

The killings in Goshen, an impoverished town sandwiched between farmland and warehouses in the fertile San Joaquin Valley, were among [*a spate of mass shootings*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/01/24/us/california-shootings) in California over an eight-day span last month.

On Jan. 21, 11 people were killed and nine injured by a gunman at a ballroom dancing hall in Monterey Park, outside Los Angeles. Two days later, seven farm workers were killed and one injured in [*Half Moon Bay*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/us/california-shooting-half-moon-bay.html), where San Mateo County authorities arrested a fellow worker in the mass shooting.

Kirsten Noyes contributed research.

Kirsten Noyes contributed research.

PHOTO: Noah David Beard was one of two suspects arrested early Friday and charged with killing six members of a family in a small California town last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tulare County Sheriff’s Office FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***What Is ‘Cop City’? The Atlanta Police Center Protests, Explained***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67PY-0HX1-DXY4-X4YJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 7, 2023 Tuesday 13:43 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1261 words

**Byline:** Adeel Hassan and Sean Keenan

**Highlight:** Atlanta is ready to build a sprawling new police and fire training complex. Opponents argue that it would further militarize officers and destroy precious green space.

**Body**

Atlanta is ready to build a sprawling new police and fire training complex. Opponents argue that it would further militarize officers and destroy precious green space.

Atlanta’s plan to build a sprawling police and fire training center amid a 1,000-acre stretch of urban woodland has become the focus of intense protest, drawing opposition from environmentalists who want to preserve the woods and activists who say the center will accelerate the militarization of the police.

The protesters, who refer to the planned training center as “Cop City,” also include people who are opposed to the corporate funding of the $90 million project. Some have set up barricades at the site, taken up residence in trees, damaged property and come into direct confrontation with the authorities.

In January, police officers tried to expel demonstrators from the woods, and what they described as a shootout left one protester dead, a state trooper seriously wounded and Georgia’s governor [*authorizing the National Guard*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/27/us/kemp-atlanta-protests-national-guard.html) to intervene.

City officials say that the site is needed to replace inadequate training facilities and would become one of the largest such centers in the country. They have said that some of the protesters have crossed the line from civil disobedience into domestic terrorism.

Here’s what to know about the project and the opposition to it.

What does the city plan to build, and why?

After months of delays and debate, the City Council [*voted 10 to 4 in 2021 to authorize*](https://www.ajc.com/news/atlanta-news/breaking-atlanta-city-council-passes-police-fire-training-center-proposal/7OR7W3OLOZGJVPEUVE65KAOQBY/) the project, officially named the Atlanta Public Safety Training Center, on property owned by the city in DeKalb County.

The land has been leased to the Atlanta Police Foundation, a nonprofit which is raising about $60 million for the new campus. The foundation receives financial contributions directly from many of the area’s largest companies, or through its philanthropic arms. Many of those companies’ executives serve on the foundation’s board.

The proposal includes building classrooms, a shooting range and a driving course for practicing high-speed chases. There would also be pastureland for police horses and a “[*mock city*](https://atlantapolicefoundation.org/programs/public-safety-training-center/) for real-world training,” where the police could practice conducting raids.

City officials have said for years that they need a modern site for training. The police academy is run out of a patchwork of sites, including vacant school buildings. The Police Department also argues that a new complex could lift morale and help recruit officers to the understaffed force.

A spokesman for Mayor Andre Dickens said the complex would help officers train for increasingly common situations like convenience store robberies and mass shootings. “We need to make sure officers are prepared for real-life scenarios, like if you have a shooting in a nightclub or a gas station,” [*said the spokesman, Bryan Thomas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/04/us/cop-city-atlanta-police-training.html), who added that the city was committed to community-based policing and de-escalation techniques.

The Fire Department says the center would allow firefighters to practice driving fire engines on a spacious training track, instead of on city streets at night.

What are the protesters’ arguments for stopping construction?

The plans were approved in the aftermath of the police killings of George Floyd in Minneapolis and Rayshard Brooks in Atlanta, at a time when there was growing resistance to traditional policing strategies and there were calls for redirecting police funding to other public safety initiatives.

Opponents worry the center’s completion would set a dangerous precedent for law enforcement in Atlanta and beyond, emboldening police agencies across the country to adopt more militaristic tactics and weaponry.

“Police here have already responded to protests with militarized tactics, chemical weapons and domestic terrorism charges,” Micah Herskind, a community organizer, said. “With plans to include a ‘mock city’ for police to train in urban warfare tactics, Cop City would only further provide police with training and equipment to suppress dissent and terrorize Black and ***working-class*** communities.”

But this is more than just a fight over police conduct, said Will Harlan, the southeast director for the Center for Biological Diversity; it’s an effort to preserve metro Atlanta’s dwindling tree canopy, too.

“The South River Forest is one of the last and largest urban forests in Atlanta and in the country,” he said. “It is a really special place. It provides a habitat to some rare fish species and rare plant species, and it’s one of the largest intact forests we have in the region.”

Some critics also say city officials have insulated the training complex from public outcry by outsourcing it to the foundation.

Who are the protesters and what have they done?

There has been longstanding local opposition: More than 1,100 Atlanta residents [*called in*](https://www.ajc.com/news/atlanta-news/17-hours-of-public-comment-pour-in-ahead-of-police-training-center-vote/RDE6OHCQRRCZXPQFHFS776CX2I/) comments about the plan during City Council hearings, and most were against it.

After the proposal passed, some activists began to build barricades and tree-sit in the area designated for clearing, hoping to stall construction. In January, an attempt by officials to clear out the forest ended in what [*the authorities described as an exchange of gunfire*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/18/us/atlanta-police-center-protester-killed.html). The police say a protester, Manuel Esteban Paez Terán, 26, opened fire and was killed by officers. A state trooper was seriously wounded in the shootout.

Activists have thrown Molotov cocktails and destroyed heavy equipment, the police say, and the authorities claim that an assault on the development site on Sunday — burning police and construction vehicles and a trailer — resulted in $150,000 in damage. Fire officials say the flames could have spread into forest fires threatening the neighboring community.

“That goes completely against what a majority of the group is fighting for,” said Liliana Bakhtiari, a city councilor and one of the few public officials questioning the development plans, referring to the protesters’ desire for environmental preservation.

Why have some protesters been charged with domestic terrorism?

Since December, prosecutors have charged a couple dozen of the hundreds of protesters with domestic terrorism, which can carry a prison sentence of up to 35 years, under state guidelines that were [*approved*](https://www.ajc.com/news/state--regional-govt--politics/senate-backs-rewrite-georgia-domestic-terrorism-laws/rLglfP2pM14mEm3xWZFf1K/) in 2017.

“The new law provides prosecutors with considerably more power to crack down on violence that is geared toward intimidating the public and acts meant to coerce government action,” said Anthony Michael Kreis, a law professor at Georgia State University. “Now the law doesn’t require any harm to persons.”

The disturbance on Sunday led to 23 people facing charges of domestic terrorism, said the Atlanta police, which accused them of throwing large rocks, bricks and Molotov cocktails. Most of those arrested were not Georgia residents.

“I strongly believe in the right to peacefully protest for what one believes is right and just,” District Attorney Sherry Boston of DeKalb County said. “However, I draw the line at violence, destruction of property and threatening and causing harm to others.”

What happens next?

While some of the ground at the site has been cleared, no construction has started. The opposition shows no signs of abating, and the standoff continues.

Reporting was contributed by Eliza Fawcett, Joseph Goldstein, Rick Rojas and Alessandro Marazzi Sassoon.

Reporting was contributed by Eliza Fawcett, Joseph Goldstein, Rick Rojas and Alessandro Marazzi Sassoon.

PHOTO: Opponents worry the $90 million project in Atlanta would embolden police agencies to adopt more militaristic tactics and weaponry. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** March 8, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Encounters With Ordinary Lives***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68CV-NFF1-JBG3-6055-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 4, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 12; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 1573 words

**Byline:** By Arthur Lubow

**Body**

With a retrospective in Philadelphia, the artist is still seeking to capture a mysterious moment with a stranger.

In a room hung with empathetic black-and-white photographic portraits for her retrospective at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Judith Joy Ross, frail-looking and white-haired, was recently taking pictures for her next series. Posing a guard in front of her old-fashioned wooden view camera, she chattered on in an obscenity-laced monologue about her ineptitude.

Seemingly to herself, she said, ''I have no idea what I'm doing. I've forgotten.'' Then she looked up at the bald, bushy-bearded guard, who was standing compliantly where she had placed him. ''That's great,'' she gushed. ''Everybody can see that's great. Fantastic. You are perfect.'' He gazed ahead stolidly.

Ross turned to me and said, ''People don't like to be photographed, but photographers also don't like to photograph. You have to get in the zone. You have to get rid of all the bull: 'It's not working, it's not going to be right, it's not as good as it was before.' And then it might -- it might -- happen.''

The moment she seeks to capture is mysterious. At least as mysterious is how she has managed to find it so often. Portrait photographers are usually looking for a quality that can be described in a few words. Julia Margaret Cameron sought genius in men and beauty in women. August Sander revealed how Germans did and didn't conform to their stations in life. Diane Arbus exposed the flaws in her subjects' self-presentation. Ross assumes a more passive position. By downplaying her prowess, in a daffy, self-deprecating manner, and showering compliments, she allows her sitter to fill the space with a tentative individuality.

''The pictures are miracles,'' said Joshua Chuang, the independent curator who organized the show, which originated at Fundación MAPFRE in Madrid and runs here until Aug. 6. ''It's not like she has command over the subject or the moment. With Judith, it is complete surrender to that moment, even to the point of forgetting the technique.''

The large-format Deardorff camera contributes to the magic. Technically, it allows Ross to avoid using an enlarger and instead make 8-by-10 inch contact prints that register fine detail. She also can release the shutter without an apparatus obscuring her face. Less obviously, the view camera adds a sense of occasion to the act of being photographed -- the feeling, as she likes to say, that ''the circus has come to town.'' Her subjects hail mostly from humble backgrounds and find the unaccustomed attention gratifying.

''I don't photograph people with money,'' she said. ''I don't photograph people outside what I consider my class. I probably don't like them. And I don't know them. These are the people I know.''

Arguably her greatest achievement is the series of portraits she made in 1983 and 1984 at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, designed by Maya Lin, which had recently opened in Washington. ''I was going to go out and ask people stupid questions -- how do you deal with pain and suffering,'' she said. ''Then I heard about the Vietnam memorial. I knew I could ask that question without words.''

Most of the American toll of the war was borne by the ***working-class*** and lower-middle-class people Ross prefers to depict. Her portraits of solemn visitors caught up in silent emotion constitute a memorial as pared down and elegiacal as the monument they were visiting. In 1984, when she was briefly barred from photographing there, Ross continued the project back in Pennsylvania, outside a Pathmark store in Allentown. ''I looked for pain and suffering in the local crap mall,'' she said. ''It exists everywhere. The pictures I made there are about Vietnam.''

Ross, 76, lives modestly in Bethlehem, Penn., near Hazleton, the depressed coal-mining town where she grew up, a middle child of three raised by a father who owned a small chain of five-and-dime stores and a mother who taught piano. From her parents, she acquired a lifelong love of classical music and the natural world.

As a student on scholarship at the Moore College of Art & Design in Philadelphia, she was smitten with photography, and after receiving a degree in art education, she enrolled in a graduate course at the Institute of Design in Chicago. She felt so alienated in these early days that she was often unable to photograph people frontally. ''I would spend all day at the movies and you would see people from behind,'' she said, explaining how she trained her lens on the backs of people's heads. In 1972, she secured a part-time job teaching photography at Moravian College in Bethlehem. When that ended, she supported herself for several years by cleaning houses.

The turning point in Ross's career occurred after the death of her father in spring 1981. Profoundly depressed, she went that summer to a swimming hole in Eurana Park in Weatherly, Penn., a few miles from a creekside cabin in Rockport where the Ross family had spent summers in her childhood -- and on memorable occasions visited the park.

Now she photographed teenagers there. ''It was about connecting to life again,'' said Susan Kismaric, a curator who has been friendly with Ross since meeting her in the mid-1980s while working at the Museum of Modern Art. ''The pictures are fabulous, and it did help her understand something about life.''

Ross returned to Eurana Park the next summer with an 8-by-10-inch Deardorff view camera she had just acquired and took a series of photographs that established her artistic style. (She now uses a replacement for that camera, which broke after heavy use.)

The Eurana Park photographs convey the awkwardness and uncertainty of youth. The soon-to-melt Popsicles in the hands of three little girls in swimsuits -- two gazing back at the camera, one looking away -- accentuate the fleetingness of these years. In many portraits, teenagers seemingly lost in thought stare into the middle distance. Focusing her camera with a shallow depth of field, Ross rendered her subjects crisp and clear against backgrounds of trees or water that blur until only softly discernible. She suffused the images with a warm, archaic glow by making the prints on light-sensitive, gelatin silver chloride printing-out paper toned with gold. A photograph of first graders napping in a classroom taken in 1993 might have been produced by Lewis Hine nearly a century earlier.

Usually, she would place a print in a storage box and leave it there, not concerned with exhibition. ''The prints are so important to her,'' Chuang, the curator, said. ''She has no kids. She can be charming, but she's awkward with people, and there's a side of her that means she can't be around people too consistently. The prints became her connection with people.''

They commemorate the photographic encounter -- always with a stranger. ''I feel so intensely connected to someone I photograph that I can't do it with someone I know,'' she explained. ''I'm too self-conscious.'' Unlike her interactions with people, Ross usually experiences nature unmediated by a camera, taking walks daily by the Delaware River or Lehigh River. ''I don't think I've ever taken a picture of a plant,'' she told me, with slight exaggeration. ''I try and give up real fast.''

Ross likes to work in series. She has photographed students in her hometown, Hazleton; people at their various jobs in eastern Pennsylvania; young people (mostly African American) in northeast Philadelphia; adolescents in Easton, Penn.; political operatives working elections; and visitors to a New Jersey lookout point as they contemplate the mutilated New York skyline following the Sept. 11 attack. In a rare look at people with power, she received a commission to photograph U.S. senators and representatives, and their staff members, in 1986 and 1987. She assiduously avoided making the publicity shots that elected officials might typically send to their constituents. ''I generally fall in love with people, even if I don't like them,'' she said. ''We're all vulnerable. That's what these pictures are about.''

After the printing-out paper she favors became hard to obtain (popular in the 19th century, it allows the image to materialize in sunlight, not a darkroom), she experimented with color photography but gave it up because of the exorbitant expense of large-format color film. The few examples in the exhibition are intriguing, but most of this work -- along with thousands of other prints in Ross's archive -- has yet to be shown.

Ross is no longer represented by an American gallery. ''I think she's embittered by not being able to sell her work,'' Chuang said. ''Her various dealers have had a problem with the fact that people don't want pictures of ordinary people.''

In her self-belittling litany of complaints, Ross cites double vision, memory lapses and a tic that developed in middle age. At one point, I asked what I thought was an innocuous question, simply a follow-up to something she had previously told me: ''Are all your photographs about how people deal with pain and suffering?'' She was speechless. Her face froze up. After a few seconds, she spoke. ''I have a tic,'' she told me. ''You must have said something.'' I realized that I had done what she would never do -- pinned her to the wall with a direct question. Confronting instead of receding, I had removed the space for her to tell me on her own who she was.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/27/arts/design/04judith-joy-ross-arts-leisure.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/27/arts/design/04judith-joy-ross-arts-leisure.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From top: Judith Joy Ross, right, preparing to photograph a security guard, Naquyah Purdie, at the Philadelphia Museum of Art

Ross and her large-format Deardorff camera

and her ''Untitled, Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington, D.C.,'' 1984. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HANNAH YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JUDITH JOY ROSS AND GALERIE THOMAS ZANDER) (AR12)

Two portraits by Judith Joy Ross, from left: ''Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,'' 1999

and ''Untitled, Eurana Park, Weatherly, Pennsylvania,'' 1982. (PHOTOGRAPHS VIA JUDITH JOY ROSS AND GALERIE THOMAS ZANDER, COLOGNE) (AR14) This article appeared in print on page AR12, AR14.

**Load-Date:** June 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Biden Directs Education Funding to Community Colleges, a Key Lifeline***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62JB-MKK1-JBG3-60C0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 28, 2021 Wednesday 17:26 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1360 words

**Byline:** Stephanie Saul and Dana Goldstein

**Highlight:** President Biden’s proposal calls for community college to be free for all Americans, which may relieve some of the burdens saddling low-income and ***working-class*** college students.

**Body**

President Biden’s proposal calls for community college to be free for all Americans, which may relieve some of the burdens saddling low-income and ***working-class*** college students.

After she got divorced in 2015, Sonia Medeiros, 48, knew she had to earn a college degree. She needed to support herself and her young son, but employers were not responding to her résumé, which showed only a high school education from her native country, Brazil.

The coronavirus pandemic made everything worse. She lost her job in food services and sometimes struggled to afford groceries, rent and car insurance payments. She could not look for new paid work, she said, because her 13-year-old son’s school shut down often because of virus cases. Throughout, her federal Pell grant to pay tuition at LaGuardia Community College in Queens, where she is studying nutrition and culinary management, was an essential source of stability.

There are more than five million students, many of them from low-income families, enrolled at the nation’s 1,000 community colleges. Like Ms. Medeiros, many of them stand to see a considerably strengthened lifeline to the middle class in the sweeping higher education provisions in [*President Biden’s $1.8 trillion American Families Plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/us/politics/biden-american-families-plan.html).

The [*proposal calls for community college to be free for all Americans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/22/us/politics/free-community-college-democrats.html). For low-income students like Ms. Medeiros, that would free Pell grant money to be spent on the living expenses that prevent many from completing degrees.

“It’s very tough,” Ms. Madeiros said of her financial reality as a single parent and student. But the [*Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/04/28/us/biden-speech-congress) plan, she said, “would be very helpful” in helping her finish her degree and find a full-time job with benefits.

Proponents of the idea say it will relieve some of the burdens saddling low-income and ***working-class*** college students, many of whom struggle to cover tuition costs while at the same time paying for rent, food and other basic needs. Juan Salgado, chancellor of the 70,000-student City Colleges of Chicago system, said that by providing some free post-secondary education, Mr. Biden’s plan would bring education into the 21st century.

“At the very top-line level, what I like about it is the recognition of our students and the impact that our students have and can continue to have on the growth of our economy and the betterment of our communities,” Mr. Salgado said.

But critics question whether it makes sense to infuse public two-year colleges with so much federal funding, saying that many low-income students perform better at four-year universities. Others point out that community college is [*already free*](https://www.cnbc.com/2019/03/12/free-college-now-a-reality-in-these-states.html) or low cost in many states.

Beth Akers, a higher education expert at the center-right American Enterprise Institute, said an alternative approach would have been to send the dollars to students to spend at the institutions of their choice. The Biden plan, she said, “is sort of an experiment in more socialized education after high school, and it will be interesting to see how it works.”

Funded in part by increased taxes on the wealthy, the plan includes more than $300 billion in expenditures for higher education, aimed primarily at community college students as well as those attending historically Black colleges and universities.

Students like Ms. Madeiros would also benefit from many of the other provisions in the [*American Families Plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/us/politics/biden-american-families-plan.html?searchResultPosition=1), such as child care subsidies, free preschool and tax credits.

The centerpiece of the higher education proposal provides $109 billion to fund free community college for all, with the Biden administration estimating that it will benefit up to 5.5 million students, many who face economic barriers to obtaining a degree.

National enrollment at community colleges has [*declined by about 10 percent during the pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/02/us/politics/covid-19-colleges.html), far outstripping the drop in overall college enrollment. Some community colleges in poorer communities have lost as much as 20 percent of their student body.

Jill Biden, the first lady, is a community college professor and has long been a proponent of increased funding for community colleges and has been promoting the idea in visits around the country.

While generally consistent with Mr. Biden’s campaign blueprint, the proposal omits any reference to erasing college debt, a move promoted by a number of congressional Democrats, some who want to forgive $50,000 in federal student loans for many borrowers. The president had partially endorsed the idea during last year’s presidential campaign, proposing $10,000 in loan forgiveness.

The White House said this week that it was still reviewing loan forgiveness proposals. While there is likely to be pressure on the administration from progressives to include a loan forgiveness provision in the proposal, the plan’s overall cost — and its reliance on increased taxes on the wealthy — is likely to be a tough sell among Senate Republicans.

Although the plan makes community colleges free for everyone, they have generally served ***working-class*** students. Many of those students had trouble remaining in school even before the pandemic, juggling their own academic work with financial pressures and child care needs. The average age of community college students is 28, and many of them have their own families.

The proposal would also devote an additional $85 billion to low-income students eligible for federal Pell grants, which are currently capped at $6,495 per student a year. Mr. Biden’s plan would raise that by $1,400 a year, the first step to meeting his promise to double the maximum Pell grant during his administration.

Sara Goldrick-Rab, a professor at Temple University who studies the financial difficulties facing students, called the proposal a necessary and long overdue effort.

“The evidence is very clear — making community colleges free and increasing financial aid will increase college attainment, especially for people now being left behind in this economy,” Dr. Goldrick-Rab said.

Among its other provisions, the plan would set aside $39 billion to subsidize two years of tuition at historically Black four-year colleges and other [*minority-serving institutions*](https://www.doi.gov/pmb/eeo/doi-minority-serving-institutions-program).

The money, which would be available to students from families earning less than $125,000, is designed as a kind of counterbalance to make sure federal community college funding does not siphon students to community colleges who would otherwise have attended one of the minority colleges.

The president is also proposing $62 billion to finance college retention programs, including money for emergency grants, day care for the children of college students, and mental health services. Three in five students who begin college receive a degree, with even lower results at community colleges.

Mr. Salgado, whose system lost about 12 percent of its students during the pandemic, particularly applauded the proposed funding aimed at retaining students. “You have to understand that success with students requires more than just tuition support,” he said.

The plan includes so-called Dreamers, making the group of undocumented immigrants who were children when they entered the United States eligible for assistance.

The proposal would drastically alter the way community college is paid for by creating federal-state agreements — with the federal government kicking in $3 for every $1 paid by participating states.

The plan, which borrows from a proposal by President Barack Obama, dovetails with updated bills filed on Wednesday by Representative Robert C. Scott of Virginia and Senator Patty Murray of Washington, chairs of the House and Senate education committees. One of the bill co-sponsors, Representative Andy Levin of Michigan, called the president’s proposal “bold” in its reforms.

Seventeen states already offer some type of free community college, generally for low-income students, by augmenting federal Pell grants. Because community college costs vary from state to state, details of carrying out the plan could be [*tricky*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/28/upshot/biden-free-community-college.html) to work out. It is also unclear whether all 50 states would buy into the expansion.

PHOTO: Students in a math lab at Triton College, a community college in River Grove, Ill. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nolis Anderson for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 22, 2021

**End of Document**



[***I Prepped Elite College Applicants. Here's How the Race Game Is Played.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68M0-XKC1-JBG3-6543-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 3, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 19; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 2046 words

**Byline:** By Tyler Austin Harper

**Body**

When I was in graduate school several years ago, I spent my summers getting paid to help Asian American kids seem less Asian. I was a freelance tutor helping high school students prepare for college admissions, while living only a few miles from the heavily Chinese and Chinese American neighborhood of Flushing in Queens. For my first gig, on a sweltering summer afternoon, I made my way to a cramped apartment where my teenage client told me what she needed: for me to read over her college applications and make sure she didn't seem too Asian.

I remember laughing over the death rattle of a geriatric air-conditioning unit; I assumed she was making a joke.

But she pressed on straight faced. Good colleges don't want to let in Asians, she felt, because they already had too many -- and if she seemed too Asian, she wouldn't get in. She rattled off a list of Asian and Asian American friends from her church with stellar extracurriculars and sterling test scores who she said had been rejected from even their safety schools.

Nearly every college admissions tutoring job I took over the next few years would come with a version of the same behest. The Chinese and Korean kids wanted to know how to make their application materials seem less Chinese or Korean. The rich white kids wanted to know ways to seem less rich and less white. The Black kids wanted to make sure they came across as Black enough. Ditto for the Latino and Middle Eastern kids.

Seemingly everyone I interacted with as a tutor -- white or brown, rich or poor, student or parent -- believed that getting into an elite college required what I came to call racial gamification. For these students, the college admissions process had been reduced to performance art, in which they were tasked with either minimizing or maximizing their identity in exchange for the reward of a proverbial thick envelope from their dream school. It was a game I was soon compelled to play myself: A few years later, as a Black Ph.D. candidate in search of my first gig as a professor, I agonized over how -- and whether -- to talk about my race in ways that would mark me as a possible diversity hire. It felt like cheating to check the box and like self-sabotage not to.

Be it for an acceptance letter or a tenure-track professorship, the incentives at elite universities encourage and reward racial gamification. This will only get worse now that the Supreme Court has rejected affirmative action in college admissions. The rise of affirmative action produced, inadvertently, a culture of racial gamification by encouraging so many students and their parents to think about the ways race could boost or complicate their chances of admission; the end of affirmative action, in turn, will just exacerbate things by causing students and parents to get even more creative.

Let me be clear that I am not an opponent of affirmative action. I don't think I would have gotten into Haverford College as an undergraduate if it had not been for affirmative action, and the same is probably true of my Ph.D. program at New York University and the professorship I now hold at Bates College. I believe that affirmative action works, that it is necessary to redress the historical evils of chattel slavery and its myriad afterlives and, above all, that it is a crucial counterbalance against the prevailing system of de facto white affirmative action that rewards many academically mediocre (and wealthier) students for having legacy parents or for being good at rowing a boat.

Yet I also believe that affirmative action -- though necessary -- has inadvertently helped create a warped and race-obsessed American university culture. Before students ever set foot on a rolling green, they are encouraged to see racial identity as the most salient aspect of their personhood, inextricable from their value and merit.

Many prestigious institutions have themselves racially gamified the admissions process, finding ways to maximize diversity without making dents in their endowments. For example, some colleges and universities boost diversity statistics on the cheap by accepting minority students who can pay full freight. And even purportedly need-blind institutions seem to have a remarkable track record of recruiting minority students who don't need financial aid. (By some estimates, over 70 percent of Harvard's Black, Latino and Native American students have college-educated parents with incomes above the national median.)

Even though elite institutions haven't always lived up to the spirit of affirmative action -- giving a leg up to those who need it most -- the present system has managed to secure some racial diversity in higher education, including for ***working-class*** minority applicants. (I was one of these students.) In the world after affirmative action, however, our unhealthy system of racial gamification will intensify without any of the benefits of racial justice and real structural redress that affirmative action afforded.

Rest assured, diversity will endure as an ethos for the simple reasons that students overwhelmingly say they want it, U.S. News & World Report factors the success of students from underrepresented backgrounds in its rankings, and -- as fabulously wealthy institutions like universities, banks and tech companies that have cynically reduced diversity, equity and inclusion to a brand strategy realized -- talking about diversity is cheap. It costs nothing to change a syllabus or announce a D.E.I. task force composed of existing employees.

In a bygone world where elite colleges and universities could increase racial diversity through affirmative action, such performative signaling was largely harmless. But in a new educational landscape in which race-conscious affirmative action is outlawed, toothless D.E.I. commitments will morally launder an elite higher education system that is designed -- by both habit and financial expediency -- to pass over many Black, brown and poor students.

As my own undergraduate institution discovered when it dropped its need-blind admissions policy -- in a move one school newspaper writer blasted as a pivot to ''financially viable diversity'' -- it is expensive to admit lower-income minority students. In the wake of the court's decision outlawing affirmative action, we won't even have that. Financially viable admissions will be all that's left.

Despite recent talk about affirmative action policies based on class rather than race, I am skeptical that would increase racial diversity. In states where race-conscious affirmative action had already been outlawed, wealth-based admissions policies have largely failed to stem the bleeding of minority students from prestigious institutions. There is no reason to suspect that they will suddenly begin succeeding.

That leaves racial gamification.

Writing college essays will descend further into a perverse, racialized version of the Keynesian beauty contest. Many minority applicants (and their parents and tutors) will be left to guess which racial or ethnic category or subcategory -- or even which crass racial stereotype -- will be most appealing to any given admissions officer or to the particular school they are applying to. Chief Justice John Roberts all but offered a road map to gamification in his majority opinion Thursday, writing, ''Nothing prohibits universities from considering an applicant's discussion of how race affected the applicant's life, so long as that discussion is concretely tied to a quality of character or unique ability that the particular applicant can contribute to the university.''

In truth, this is already happening: As the sociologist Aya Waller-Bey wrote in a brilliant but depressing piece in The Atlantic, minority college applicants are keenly aware that they are more likely to be admitted if they cough up their darkest experiences. Meanwhile, many white or Asian or rich applicants will continue trying to appear less white or less Asian or less rich when they think it best suits their chances of winning admission to a fiercely picky elite campus.

Expect more antiracist action plans, more vaporous decolonization, more mandated training, more huckster consultants, more vacuous reports, more administrators whose jobs no one can explain, more sleazy land acknowledgments (''Sorry I stole your house!''), more performative white self-flagellation, more tokenization of minority faculty members.

And amid this great tornado of race chatter, if you take a moment to plug your ears and look around, you will probably begin to notice fewer and fewer brown and Black kids reading on the quad and, down the line, fewer and fewer brown and Black doctors in the maternity wards. It will turn out that all those initiatives will have next to nothing to do with actually combating structural racism. We may well find ourselves teaching Toni Morrison to rooms that get whiter and richer by the year.

So what is to be done? What actions should elite colleges and universities take next if they actually care about diversity?

First, they should exit the D.E.I.-industrial complex, which prioritizes the kind of cheap fixes, awareness raising and one-off speaker events that have been shown to bear little fruit. If you work at or attend these, any time people claim to be taking antiracist actions, demand that they explain -- specifically -- whom it is going to materially help and how it is going to materially help them. (Hint: If it doesn't cost someone a significant amount of time or money, it is probably garbage.) If ''success'' is a change in the culture that you can't quantify, document or meaningfully evaluate, then it is probably B.S. So ask for the receipts. Doing nothing is better than doing something if the something in question is P.R. skulduggery that provides cover for racist policies that keep campuses rich and white.

Second, elite colleges and universities should band together to strangle the parasitic U.S. News & World Report ranking system. The infamous college rankings, which have come under fire for years, rely on a series of metrics -- like graduation rates -- that effectively reward institutions for recruiting wealthier, whiter students and that falsely correlate excellence with endowment size. Because poor and minority students are more likely to quit college because of circumstances outside their control, institutions that apply policies targeting these groups for admission are likely to take a ranking hit. A few prestigious law schools have stopped participating in the ranking system, and Columbia University recently became the first Ivy League undergraduate institution to do so.

Exiting this system, which elite college and university presidents should collectively announce they are doing right now, will allow them to reimagine the admissions process without fear of penalty.

As for students? What advice would I give if I were tutoring again, sitting across from talented brown or Black kids worried that the Supreme Court has just made it easier to keep them out of the school of their dreams?

Remember that racial gamification is just that: a game. Ignore anyone who would have you believe that attending Ivy League universities -- with their endowments as large as a reasonably sized country's nominal G.D.P. -- is the only path to happiness or success or racial equality. Civil rights leaders did not endure the dogs and the cold baptism of the fire hoses in the hopes that one day their children's children could become Ivy-minted venture capitalists and management consultants. Remember that Martin Luther King Jr. did not dream of a multiracial oligarchy and that the ''vaults of opportunity'' of which he spoke are not hidden only behind a golden door at Yale University. There are other paths in life that do not require gaming anything. Remember that hope is wherever you find yourself.

Tyler Austin Harper is an assistant professor of environmental studies at Bates College.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/29/opinion/college-admissions-affirmative-action.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/29/opinion/college-admissions-affirmative-action.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY NORA WILLIAMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** July 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***What Is 'Cop City'? The Atlanta Police Center Protests, Explained***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67R2-JKX1-DXY4-X0HV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 7, 2023 Tuesday

The New York Times on the Web

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section ; Column 0; National Desk

**Length:** 1237 words

**Byline:** By Adeel Hassan and Sean Keenan

**Body**

Atlanta is ready to build a sprawling new police and fire training complex. Opponents argue that it would further militarize officers and destroy precious green space.

Atlanta's plan to build a sprawling police and fire training center amid a 1,000-acre stretch of urban woodland has become the focus of intense protest, drawing opposition from environmentalists who want to preserve the woods and activists who say the center will accelerate the militarization of the police.

The protesters, who refer to the planned training center as ''Cop City,'' also include people who are opposed to the corporate funding of the $90 million project. Some have set up barricades at the site, taken up residence in trees, damaged property and come into direct confrontation with the authorities.

In January, police officers tried to expel demonstrators from the woods, and what they described as a shootout left one protester dead, a state trooper seriously wounded and Georgia's governor authorizing the National Guard to intervene.

City officials say that the site is needed to replace inadequate training facilities and would become one of the largest such centers in the country. They have said that some of the protesters have crossed the line from civil disobedience into domestic terrorism.

Here's what to know about the project and the opposition to it.

What does the city plan to build, and why?

After months of delays and debate, the City Council voted 10 to 4 in 2021 to authorize the project, officially named the Atlanta Public Safety Training Center, on property owned by the city in DeKalb County.

The land has been leased to the Atlanta Police Foundation, a nonprofit which is raising about $60 million for the new campus. The foundation receives financial contributions directly from many of the area's largest companies, or through its philanthropic arms. Many of those companies' executives serve on the foundation's board.

The proposal includes building classrooms, a shooting range and a driving course for practicing high-speed chases. There would also be pastureland for police horses and a ''mock city for real-world training,'' where the police could practice conducting raids.

City officials have said for years that they need a modern site for training. The police academy is run out of a patchwork of sites, including vacant school buildings. The Police Department also argues that a new complex could lift morale and help recruit officers to the understaffed force.

A spokesman for Mayor Andre Dickens said the complex would help officers train for increasingly common situations like convenience store robberies and mass shootings. ''We need to make sure officers are prepared for real-life scenarios, like if you have a shooting in a nightclub or a gas station,'' said the spokesman, Bryan Thomas, who added that the city was committed to community-based policing and de-escalation techniques.

The Fire Department says the center would allow firefighters to practice driving fire engines on a spacious training track, instead of on city streets at night.

What are the protesters' arguments for stopping construction?

The plans were approved in the aftermath of the police killings of George Floyd in Minneapolis and Rayshard Brooks in Atlanta, at a time when there was growing resistance to traditional policing strategies and there were calls for redirecting police funding to other public safety initiatives.

Opponents worry the center's completion would set a dangerous precedent for law enforcement in Atlanta and beyond, emboldening police agencies across the country to adopt more militaristic tactics and weaponry.

''Police here have already responded to protests with militarized tactics, chemical weapons and domestic terrorism charges,'' Micah Herskind, a community organizer, said. ''With plans to include a 'mock city' for police to train in urban warfare tactics, Cop City would only further provide police with training and equipment to suppress dissent and terrorize Black and ***working-class*** communities.''

But this is more than just a fight over police conduct, said Will Harlan, the southeast director for the Center for Biological Diversity; it's an effort to preserve metro Atlanta's dwindling tree canopy, too.

''The South River Forest is one of the last and largest urban forests in Atlanta and in the country,'' he said. ''It is a really special place. It provides a habitat to some rare fish species and rare plant species, and it's one of the largest intact forests we have in the region.''

Some critics also say city officials have insulated the training complex from public outcry by outsourcing it to the foundation.

Who are the protesters and what have they done?

There has been longstanding local opposition: More than 1,100 Atlanta residents called in comments about the plan during City Council hearings, and most were against it.

After the proposal passed, some activists began to build barricades and tree-sit in the area designated for clearing, hoping to stall construction. In January, an attempt by officials to clear out the forest ended in what the authorities described as an exchange of gunfire. The police say a protester, Manuel Esteban Paez Terán, 26, opened fire and was killed by officers. A state trooper was seriously wounded in the shootout.

Activists have thrown Molotov cocktails and destroyed heavy equipment, the police say, and the authorities claim that an assault on the development site on Sunday -- burning police and construction vehicles and a trailer -- resulted in $150,000 in damage. Fire officials say the flames could have spread into forest fires threatening the neighboring community.

''That goes completely against what a majority of the group is fighting for,'' said Liliana Bakhtiari, a city councilor and one of the few public officials questioning the development plans, referring to the protesters' desire for environmental preservation.

Why have some protesters been charged with domestic terrorism?

Since December, prosecutors have charged a couple dozen of the hundreds of protesters with domestic terrorism, which can carry a prison sentence of up to 35 years, under state guidelines that were approved in 2017.

''The new law provides prosecutors with considerably more power to crack down on violence that is geared toward intimidating the public and acts meant to coerce government action,'' said Anthony Michael Kreis, a law professor at Georgia State University. ''Now the law doesn't require any harm to persons.''

The disturbance on Sunday led to 23 people facing charges of domestic terrorism, said the Atlanta police, which accused them of throwing large rocks, bricks and Molotov cocktails. Most of those arrested were not Georgia residents.

''I strongly believe in the right to peacefully protest for what one believes is right and just,'' District Attorney Sherry Boston of DeKalb County said. ''However, I draw the line at violence, destruction of property and threatening and causing harm to others.''

What happens next?

While some of the ground at the site has been cleared, no construction has started. The opposition shows no signs of abating, and the standoff continues.

Reporting was contributed by Eliza Fawcett, Joseph Goldstein, Rick Rojas and Alessandro Marazzi Sassoon.Reporting was contributed by Eliza Fawcett, Joseph Goldstein, Rick Rojas and Alessandro Marazzi Sassoon.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/article/cop-city-atlanta-protests.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/cop-city-atlanta-protests.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Critics say the $90 million project further militarizes policing. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nicole Craine for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 8, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Miuccia Prada***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69FP-K381-JBG3-6216-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 22, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section M2; Column 0; TGreats; Pg. 114

**Length:** 4225 words

**Byline:** By Nick Haramis

**Body**

The designer reimagined fashion's relationship to art -- and forever transformed what the world considers beautiful.

EVEN BEFORE HEADING from the Fondazione Prada, a contemporary art complex housed in an old distillery on the southeastern edge of Milan, to Miuccia Prada's office about a mile away, I'm reminded of her towering presence everywhere I look. A docent, dressed in a black Prada uniform, shepherds a pair of tourists, both carrying Prada handbags, into a screening of ''Four Unloved Women, Adrift on a Purposeless Sea, Experience the Ecstasy of Dissection,'' a short film by the Canadian director David Cronenberg accompanied by a wunderkammer of 18th-century anatomical wax sculptures. Once outside, I pass an abandoned rail yard and billboards for two other Fondazione exhibitions: a permanent re-creation of the home studio in Switzerland where Jean-Luc Godard edited his final movie, and a survey of videos, photographs and other works by the New York-based artist Dara Birnbaum on view at the Osservatorio, a satellite venue overlooking Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, the shopping arcade where Mario Prada, Miuccia's maternal grandfather, opened the brand's first store in 1913. Down another few blocks, an old woman in a pair of Prada sunglasses walks by with her dog.

At 75, Mrs. Prada, as she's known to strangers and friends alike, is perhaps the most peculiar and certainly the most innovative fashion designer of her generation. In 1975, she took over her family's leather goods business. Two years later, she met her future husband, Patrizio Bertelli, now 77 and the chairman of the Prada Group, with whom she began building a global empire. (In 2022, the company's annual revenue was $4.5 billion.) In addition to Prada, the couple has ownership stakes in Miu Miu, which might be described as Prada's unruly niece; the footwear brands Church's and Car Shoe; and the Pasticceria Marchesi pastry shops. (As of last year, they can also claim some of those dusty train tracks: Prada Holding, which owns 80 percent of the Prada Group and is controlled by the Prada family, is one of three entities that acquired the plot of disused land for roughly $190 million to convert it into a park, housing, offices and the Olympic Village for the 2026 Winter Games.)

Those with no interest in fashion have at least seen the house's triangular logo and know Prada's name, whether through movies (in 1999's teen comedy ''10 Things I Hate About You,'' a student explains, ''There's a difference between like and love. Because I like my Skechers, but I love my Prada backpack'') and TV shows (in a 2019 episode of ''The Simpsons,'' Homer relieves himself behind ''Prada Marfa,'' a replica of a Prada store created in 2005 near Marfa, Texas, by the artists Elmgreen & Dragset), books (Lauren Weisberger's 2003 novel, ''The Devil Wears Prada,'' which became a hit film) or music (BeyoncÃ©, Doja Cat and Drake have all name-checked the brand). And yet no matter how far and wide her influence extends, Prada hasn't made it easy to know her, which is, like everything she does, deliberate.

Upon my arrival at the Prada headquarters, a set of stern buildings that occupy approximately 108,000 square feet, I'm confronted by my potential expulsion: the notorious stainless-steel slide connecting the designer's third-floor work space to the courtyard. The German artist Carsten HÃ¶ller, who installed it in 2000, says it was intended to help her ''leave quickly, traveling through the floor under her office to have a glance at the people working there and then land right where her chauffeur is waiting.'' But, he adds, ''It's also a good way to get rid of people.''

INTERVIEWING MIUCCIA PRADA, unlike talking to her, can be a tricky enterprise. From her desk in an austere room with white walls and poured concrete floors -- what might be mistaken for an operating theater, were it not for the Gerhard Richter painting and a silver bar cart stacked with cookies -- she seems to begin every other sentence with, ''Between us. ...'' She is 5-foot-4, with hazel eyes and wavy blond hair, and has the measured confidence of someone who's about to deliver the bad news first. Despite her warmth and frequent laughter, she also seems ready, maybe even eager, to spar. She, too, is recording the conversation and taking notes. When I ask what she does to relax, her answer is ''no.''

Although she's less inscrutable than her intellectual peers -- Rei Kawakubo rarely speaks to journalists; Martin Margiela never has -- she's certainly not as flamboyant as Domenico Dolce and Stefano Gabbana or Donatella Versace, flashier designers from the height of Italy's sex-bomb era. And while she refuses to acknowledge personal achievements (''I leave it to other people to say what I did,'' she says), she's not above engaging in some mythmaking of her own: There's a reason her last fragrance was called Paradoxe.

''If Harvard was a billionaire woman, it would be Miuccia Prada,'' says the Italian artist Francesco Vezzoli, her close friend and frequent travel companion. The Belgian stylist Olivier Rizzo, who has worked with her since 2005, tells me she's changed the way we dress and think about clothing ''on every possible level on all levels forever and ever.'' She's ''a challenger,'' says the Italian creative director Ferdinando Verderi, who has consulted for the brand since 2019. ''She'd even challenge the idea of being a challenger.'' The American artist Theaster Gates, chairman of Prada's Diversity and Inclusion Advisory Council, says, ''If you're trying to get a character sketch of Miuccia, she's [expletive] sincere. And sincerity is better than being right all the time.'' The actress Uma Thurman, who developed a relationship with the designer after wearing a lilac Prada gown to the 1995 Oscars, likens her to ''a growing tree, letting herself have new barks,'' while the musician Frank Ocean, who was photographed for the brand's spring 2020 campaign, draws an analogy between her ''tone,'' he says -- ''how she resonates, basically'' -- and the meditative sound of om. The Italian gallerist Carlaâ€¯Sozzani, the founder of the 10 Corso Como concept store in Milan, who remembers ''applauding like children'' with her friend at runway shows in the 1970s, says, ''Some people are more reserved when they're in public. I'm not saying she's another person [in private], but she's more open.''

Though that might be accurate, it's also true that no other female designer has produced such a robust body of autobiographical work. (The punk iconoclast Vivienne Westwood came closest; one screamed, the other sublimates.) Prada may not seem especially eager to reveal herself in conversation, but she's always communicated more freely through her clothes, which make the case against what she calls ''clichÃ© beauty'' and ''the isolation of fashion.'' Instead, she has grounded her work in the idea of a uniform -- she's as likely to find inspiration in nuns as in sex workers -- craving the proximity to what she considers more noble, or at least more honest, professions. If Yves Saint Laurent created a wardrobe for the modern woman in the 1960s, then Prada, a champion of bad taste and the jolie laide, gave her permission to be weird and mercurial; to be, in a sense, her. ''One of the reasons I started doing clothes was because I couldn't find anything to wear,'' she says.

It's almost as if she comes up with her designs because they could be -- and maybe so that they will be -- deemed unflattering or unsexy. ''She's always looking for something that's unseen,'' says the Russian stylist Lotta Volkova, who consults for Miu Miu, which was established in 1993 as a less intellectualized and slightly less expensive alternative to Prada. Earlier this year, at Miu Miu's fall 2023 show in Paris, some of the models wore underwear as outerwear; many had frizzy hair and cowlicks. The British hairstylist Guido Palau, who contributed to his first Prada show in 2004, says that the designer wanted the models to look as if they'd been caught in a gust of wind. A few seasons earlier, for Miu Miu's spring 2022 collection, Prada delivered raw-edge chino micro-miniskirts belted below the hip bone. ''Sometimes it's the breasts, sometimes it's the back,'' she says about fashion's obsession with the female form. ''What wasn't trendy was the lower waist, so I said, 'Let's make it as low as possible.''' The garment, which was her way of poking fun at things like fashion magazines, showed up in all of them.

''It's a lot about being against something,'' she says. Prada's spring 1996 collection, its first of many ''ugly chic'' offerings, incorporated jarring colors (rust, mustard and ''bile green,'' as one critic would call it) and banal prints (later described as ''Formica''), a response to the relentless sex appeal at the time of brands like Gucci, then stewarded by Tom Ford. But for fall 2002, to avoid being reduced to her somewhat prim, vaguely retro aesthetic -- which had, however improbably, come to define Italian style as much as an Armani suit -- she released what became known as a ''porno chic'' collection of transparent PVC coats and knee-high black leather boots. ''Clothes were never about doing clothes,'' she says. ''It's about living different parts of your personality.''

PRADA STILL RESIDES in the Milanese apartment where she and her two older siblings, Marina and Alberto, grew up. In 1958, her mother, Luisa Prada -- a ''beautiful, elegant lady,'' says Sozzani -- took over Miuccia's grandfather's shop, which she then ran for nearly 20 years. Her father, Luigi Bianchi, owned a company that made putting-green mowers. The details of that period bore her. ''Nothing bad, nothing good,'' she says. But she sits a bit straighter when it comes to her teenage years. ''That,'' she says, ''was the big political moment.''

While enrolled at the University of Milan (where she also earned a Ph.D. in political science), Miu Miu, as she'd been known to her family since childhood, joined the youth-led demonstrations and worker strikes that became referred to across Europe as the protests of 1968 (an era that in Italy would morph into the violent Years of Lead). ''I really believed we could transform the world,'' says Prada, who also studied mime for five years at Milan's Piccolo Teatro. When she was a young member of the Union of Italian Women, a feminist offshoot of the Communist Party, the films of Godard and Pier Paolo Pasolini, both avowed Marxists then, greatly influenced her; fashion, on the other hand, was considered an inconsequential pursuit. ''I was ashamed,'' she says. ''But nevertheless, I pursued it because I liked it.''

She was also compelled by a sense of duty. ''I started kind of against my will,'' she admits. ''Somehow it just happened.'' A couple of years after taking control of the company, she attended a trade show where she met Bertelli, who had recently given up on an engineering degree to run a leather factory that manufactured belts and bags. ''We started as competition, and we're still competing,'' she says fondly. ''In the end, that's something that keeps us together.''

People tend to speak about Bertelli, a shrewd industrialist who collects vintage sports cars and sails several yachts -- and with whom Prada has two children, Lorenzo Bertelli, 35, the Prada Group's head of corporate social responsibility, and Giulio Bertelli, 33, a sailboat racer -- as if they were describing a movie villain they're secretly rooting for. ''He has amazing charm,'' says Sozzani. ''You have to love Bertelli. Or you don't.'' Francesco Risso, Marni's creative director and a member of Prada's design team for eight years until 2016, recalls ''the most theatrical fights'' between the couple. ''It didn't feel unhealthy ever, but it felt like fireworks, that's for sure,'' he says. But as much as they might bicker -- he was initially against, for example, her decision to do a sneaker collaboration; she released it anyway -- Bertelli is also quite protective of her: Seldom does one approach Prada about a project without going through him first.

''If I hadn't met my husband, I don't know if I would've done this job,'' says Prada, who set out opening factories with Bertelli and creating an international brand for ''good women, bad women -- the richness of all these different people.'' The designer, who has no formal training and doesn't sketch, begins each collection with concepts rather than silhouettes. One of her earliest pieces, in 1984, was a statement of intent: a modest backpack made not from crocodile or calfskin but black Pocono, an army-grade nylon more commonly associated at the time with parachutes than with purses. Nearly 40 years later, that utilitarian bag and its many iterations remain unlikely objects of desire. ''Any bourgeois subject that I approached,'' she says, ''I always wanted to destroy it.'' (Well, maybe not any bourgeois subject: ''You shouldn't eat, you shouldn't drink, you should just work and work and work,'' Risso recalls Prada telling him at one of his first staff meetings. ''I could see that she was trying to push me to be better.'')

With the 1988 debut of her ready-to-wear line -- some models came out in black and brown jackets inspired by men's tailoring, others in hot pink dresses with 1950s silhouettes; almost all of them in flats -- she introduced house codes that now include specific garments and accessories (knee-length skirts, bucket hats) and signature styles (geometric prints, color blocking). It's often said that she and her trusted design director, Fabio Zambernardi (who is leaving the brand this month after more than three decades), determine the trends one season that others follow the next, which, though true, is incomplete; the clothes are only one part of it. At some point, it became almost obligatory for luxury brands to mount cultural, educational or philanthropic initiatives. But back then, she was the only one. ''Basically, now every fashion house is a cultural platform,'' says Vezzoli. ''Bottega Veneta does a show with Gaetano Pesce chairs and Gaetano Pesce becomes the most sought-after Italian designer. Saint Laurent produces a movie for Pedro AlmodÃ³var. But Prada did it 30 years ago.''

The Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas, whose research and design studio, AMO, has created the environments for every Prada show since 2004, says that each season the conversation starts with a word or two to ''trigger intentions.'' The prompts for the spring 2024 men's presentation, which featured curtains of slime dripping from the ceiling down to an industrial steel grate on the floor -- the cascading goo also made an appearance at September's spring 2024 women's show -- were ''creepy,'' ''flesh and skin'' and ''organic minimalism.'' James Jean, a Taiwanese American painter who in 2007 designed the wallpaper for the brand's SoHo store (his drawings of fantastical creatures and flowers were later printed on Art Nouveau-inspired skirts, trousers and bags for the spring 2008 collection), recalls their project beginning with three adjectives: ''romantic,'' ''nonlinear'' and ''surreal.'' The French sound artist FrÃ©dÃ©ric Sanchez, who has scored most Prada shows since the mid-90s, was, in a similar way, also creating for an idea of clothes rather than a finished garment. ''With Margiela,'' says Sanchez about his other longtime collaborator, ''it was very physical''; sometimes they'd even repeat the same soundtrack season after season. His experience with Prada, he says, has been more ''cerebral.''

It's difficult to overstate how radically Prada has changed the landscape of contemporary luxury, a word she hates (''hate,'' on the other hand, is one she really likes). These days, every reference seems to lead back to her, whether it's a padded headband or a utility vest. Such a fixture is Prada on other designers' mood boards that for her spring 2000 collection -- which she referred to as ''the ABC of fashion'' -- she paid homage not only to the work of Yves Saint Laurent but also, rather cheekily, to her own, in the form of reinterpreted cardigans and schoolboy shorts. And yet, what Prada has put out into the world feels more substantial and transgressive than a khaki crop top or the very notion of so-called quiet luxury -- both things, mind you, that came from her. ''It's much cooler than being eccentric,'' says the designer Marc Jacobs, a friend of hers. ''With Mrs. Prada, it's that thing of style with substance. It's not just a shell that looks good.''

THE SOUL OF the Fondazione Prada is the Haunted House, a four-story gilded tower that contains work by the sculptors Robert Gober and Louise Bourgeois. On the second floor, there's a Bourgeois installation called ''Cell (Clothes)'' (1996), in which pants and dresses appear to be trapped by a ring of wooden doors. On the top floor, there's a 2010 wax sculpture by Gober of a child's leg -- almost Prada-like in a white sandal and matching ankle sock -- weighed down by an anchor. There are no other clothes on this floor. Instead, Gober has installed a storm drain with water running beneath it. Under the metal bars, among the rocks and debris, sits an illuminated heart -- discarded, but still beating.

Journalists inevitably like to bring up Prada's political past, and not just because she likes to bring it up, too -- though as a New Yorker article about her from 2004 notes, ''in the '60s it was almost a rite of passage for thousands of young middle-class Italians'' to join the Communist Party. Prada, however, does seem to have a genuine need to reconcile the idealism of her youth with the choices she's made since; and if ambivalence can be paralyzing, in her case it appears to have had the opposite effect. In 1993, her days of on-the-ground protest behind her -- she'd long stopped handing out flyers at rallies -- Prada and Bertelli created Milano Prada Arte, which later became the Fondazione Prada. It would give them a place to house their growing art collection but, for Prada, it also became a way to funnel her revolutionary spirit -- and her money. ''I tell my people in the Fondazione all the time to thank me,'' she says. ''I have to sell a lot of expensive handbags to run a museum.'' (''Handbags are not art,'' the British sculptor and painter Damien Hirst, a friend, recalls her saying. ''Whereas when you meet other people, they're constantly telling you that they are art, and you need 100.'')

From the beginning, Prada has been dutifully managing and scrutinizing every detail of the Fondazione's programming -- even showing up at Gober's studio in Manhattan to convince him to contribute. Gober remembers that when she appeared on his doorstep, she said, ''Like everything else, I have to do this myself!'' (Her exit was equally quotable: When Gober sent her home with some books, she took one look at the tote bag he offered and said, ''I'll carry them.'') In 1999, she and Bertelli dropped in on Koolhaas at his studio in Rotterdam in the Netherlands. ''They were bored with their stores,'' Koolhaas says, and wanted him to oversee the construction of their New York flagship. ''All my friends in the art world, or let's say in the cultural sector, were extremely skeptical whether this would be a desirable collaboration,'' he says. Koolhaas reimagined the Epicenter, as it's called, on the site of what was once the Guggenheim Museum's SoHo location, with an undulating wood floor and motorized hanging displays. In 2008, OMA, Koolhaas's firm, was hired to design the Fondazione Prada.

Thirty years in, having worked tirelessly to earn her place in the art world, Prada has chosen to become the new director of the foundation. ''My main track is [the Fondazione Prada],'' she says. ''I'd decided that I wanted to keep it separate from fashion. And no one knew -- I never told anybody.'' As she deliberates over what to say next, I'm reminded of something that the filmmaker Wes Anderson -- who's partnered with her on various film and art projects and who designed Bar Luce, the 1950s-style cafe at the Fondazione Prada -- told me. ''You quickly sense her vulnerability, which can sort of disappear from a person with such authority. I think without a bit of that, you can't quite reach them. She can be fearless, but I don't think she's fearless,'' he wrote in an email. ''Maybe it's because I'm getting older,'' Prada continues, ''but I want to reconcile my whole life and declare my job: I run the Fondazione.''

''She's properly a patron,'' says Hirst. ''She really, genuinely sees art as something beneficial to other people.'' And unlike almost every other collector who tells him they're building a museum, he says, she actually did. The two were out to dinner one night when Hirst, who grew up ***working class***, ordered caviar for the table. Prada sighed. ''I really struggle to eat caviar,'' she said. ''Why would you struggle with that?'' he recalls saying. ''And she was like, 'Oh, I was a communist.'''

FOR THE PAST few years, Miuccia Prada hasn't had to do quite as much all by herself. In February 2020, just before the pandemic forced Italy into lockdown, the Belgian designer Raf Simons was announced as her co-creative director. The two of them, she said, would be jointly responsible for Prada's women's and men's wear going forward. (She's still the sole designer at Miu Miu; ''When I change floors, I change mentalities,'' she says.) The next day, Simons flew home to Antwerp. Upon his return to Milan that June, he mostly communicated with Prada through a screen.

It was a challenging start to an ambitious experiment. They both had simple reasons for wanting it to succeed. Prada was, as she puts it, ''fed up working alone.'' She was also, of course, planning her succession. ''But they don't want me to talk about that because they're afraid it looks like I want to leave,'' she says. ''I don't want to leave at all.'' Simons, 55, had briefly worked for Prada and Bertelli before going to Dior and then Calvin Klein. (He was the creative director of Jil Sander from 2005 until 2012; the Prada Group sold the brand in 2006.) Following his two-year stint at Calvin Klein, a tumultuous period he describes as ''hysteria,'' he'd vowed to never again run someone else's fashion brand.

''I'm not a stupid guy,'' says Simons, who now lives in the Milanese apartment where the first Prada shows took place. When Bertelli reached out to set up a meeting, Simons says he knew they wouldn't be discussing Church's shoes. ''It was more like, 'Miuccia and I, this is our age, this is our reality,''' he recalls Bertelli saying. (In January, she and Bertelli stepped down as co-chief executive officers of the Prada Group and were replaced by Andrea Guerra, formerly the chief executive officer of the Luxottica eyewear conglomerate. Their son Lorenzo is expected to assume the role down the line.) Prada had wondered if Simons, who'd overseen his own cultish men's wear brand for 24 years at that point (the line has since been discontinued), might want to look after the men's collections. ''But in three seconds,'' says Prada, Simons suggested, '' 'Why don't we do the two together?' And I immediately said, 'Yes, why not.'''

In practice, they couldn't be more different. Simons, whose cool aesthetic conveys restraint, would rather adhere to deadlines; she ''loves to design today what needs to go on the runway tomorrow,'' he says. And yet they share an aversion to traditional clothes. ''It wasn't a shock, like, 'Oh my god, what a left-field choice,''' says Marc Jacobs. ''If I were doing this movie, I'd have cast Raf.''

After years of having to make every decision on her own -- even now, she's thinking about the most recent installment of ''Women's Tales,'' Miu Miu's ongoing short film series, by the Croatian-born director Antoneta Alamat KusijanoviÄ‡, and the Fondazione's next two art shows -- Prada is relieved to sit down with Simons and discuss the upcoming women's collection. ''Listen,'' she says the day after the men's show in June from her office, where she's spent part of the morning reading the (good) reviews. ''Every single moment you have to have ideas on so many things. Your brain evaporates.'' Recently, she and Simons have resolved, at least temporarily, not to divulge the references or describe the characters in their collections with the world. ''I decided that I didn't want to tell stories anymore,'' she says. ''We'll see how long it lasts.''

When it comes to how her own story is eventually told, she hopes not to have, as she puts it, ''thrown my life out on superficial things.'' Her goal, today, as it was in 1968, is to have done something good. ''And deep down,'' she says, ''political.'' But on my way out, I ask Prada if she ever wonders how her life might have looked had she not become a designer. ''Always,'' she says without hesitation. Then, as the elevator door begins to close between us, she smiles. ''And never.'' Models: Elio Berenett at Next Management, Saunders at Oui Management, Awar Odhiang at Ford Models, Jonas GlÃ¶er at Lumien Creative, Chloe Nguyen at Select Model Management Paris, Estrella Gomez at IMG Models and America Gonzalez at Supreme. Hair by Cim Mahony at LGA. Makeup by Marie Duhart at Bryant Artists. Set design by Rafael Medeiros. Casting by DM Casting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/06/t-magazine/miuccia-prada.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/06/t-magazine/miuccia-prada.html)

**Load-Date:** October 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***What Republican Parents Really Want; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67PM-XT81-JBG3-6439-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 6, 2023 Monday 22:31 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1267 words

**Byline:** Patrick T. Brown

**Highlight:** How the party of family values can truly value families.

**Body**

There has recently been a lot of chatter in Washington about family policy, and surprisingly to many people, a lot of it has happened among Republicans. Senators like Mitt Romney and Marco Rubio have released proposals that offer financial benefits to many American households for children, while other conservatives have talked about becoming a “[*parents’ party*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/can-the-gop-become-the-parents-party-education-schooling-arizona-republican-school-choice-classroom-savings-11656359844).” The overturning of Roe v. Wade has accelerated this trend.

But the center of gravity in the Republican Party is still more comfortable picking [*culture war fights*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2023/02/2024-election-trump-desantis-gop-primary-culture-war.html) than offering policy solutions. A true party for parents needs to provide something for their pocketbooks as well as for their values. Republicans, still grappling with their newfound identity as the party of the ***working class***, need to understand that a pro-family agenda that doesn’t provide material support to families will be, at best, half-baked.

The path forward for Republicans is to listen to parents, particularly those without a college degree who have too often been left out of such discussions, and respond with tangible policy solutions. A “[*popularist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/08/opinion/democrats-david-shor-education-polarization.html)” version of a conservative governing agenda — which would be heavily informed by polling — has the potential to put the meat on the bones of a parents’ party approach to politics. And critically, it could attract at least some bipartisan support.

[*Polling*](https://ifstudies.org/ifs-admin/resources/reports/ifs-congress-familypriorities-final.pdf) I did for the Ethics and Public Policy Center in conjunction with the Institute for Family Studies and YouGov suggests five key areas of focus: improving the child tax credit, protecting kids online, supporting new parents, promoting strong families with involved fatherhood and striving to eliminate marriage penalties in our tax code and benefit programs.

The research should make one thing clear to conservative politicians: It’s not George W. Bush’s Republican Party any more, and their policy preferences should shift accordingly. College-educated Republican parents, for example, would especially like to see elected officials focusing on more issues like promoting the so-called [*success sequence*](https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/IFS-MillennialSuccessSequence-Final.pdf) (that is, earn at least a high school diploma, get a job and then marry before having any children) to high schoolers, enforcing the paying of child support and keeping kids from getting access to pornography online.

Republican parents without a college diploma support those ideas, too. But they are much more likely to support actual spending for families — a full child tax credit to every family with a worker present, assistance in paying for child care, social spending on pregnant mothers and elimination of tax code provisions and safety net policies that are [*more generous*](https://www.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/documents/ofa/hmrf_marriagepenalties_paper_final50812_6_19.pdf) to couples who live together than those who marry. And as the parties increasingly sort along educational lines, parents without college degrees are the engine of today’s Republican Party.

A pro-family agenda coupled with cultural and economic populism also has appeal to liberals. For example, over 80 percent of Republican and Democratic parents agreed that it is both “too easy for kids to find explicit content online” and that tech companies should be required to obtain parents’ permission before allowing minors to create a social media account.

The research suggests an agenda that seeks to make it easier for couples to marry would garner support from most parents, not just conservatives. Among Republican parents, as well as Democratic parents without a college degree, a majority thought the government should do more to promote marriage. By contrast, college-educated Democratic parents were least likely to state a preference for policies that promoted marriage and the most likely to say they saw the institution as “outdated.”

So a political movement that championed marriage on the level of both language and concrete policy would appeal to the bulk of parents while also highlighting where the college-educated Democrats’ preferences diverge from the mainstream.

Pro-family policies could, however, err too far in the other direction. Explicit measures to encourage having children, additional assistance to large families or a tax credit for newly married couples all received some of the lowest approval marks, and across both parties. Over 60 percent of parents agreed with the sentiment that “people shouldn’t have kids if they can’t afford to raise them without government assistance,” highlighting why any successful agenda should be grounded in American values of self-reliance.

This [*impulse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/opinion/child-tax-credit-biden.html) helps explain attitudes toward the child tax credit. Many parents, Democrats and Republicans alike, wanted to see a work requirement attached to the credit. But a hypothetical child benefit that fully benefited families so long as someone in the family was working would be supported by nearly 80 percent of Republican and Democratic parents.

A conservative approach to child benefits or paid leave may attract some bipartisan support. They can be done in fiscally prudent ways — the [*Family Security Act*](https://www.romney.senate.gov/romney-family-security-act-2-0-one-of-the-most-important-efforts-to-support-the-family-in-nearly-thirty-years/), introduced last year by Senator Romney and his Republican colleagues Steve Daines of Montana and Richard Burr of North Carolina, was written to be budget-neutral, and a modest paid family leave program with universal eligibility could be had for under [*$20 billion*](https://ifstudies.org/ifs-admin/resources/ifs-paidleavereport-final.pdf) annually.

At the state level, Republican governors are already fleshing out what a fully pro-family governing agenda could look like. In Montana, Gov. Greg Gianforte has [*proposed*](https://news.mt.gov/Governors-Office/Governor_Gianforte_The_American_Dream_Is_Alive_and_Well_Here_in_Montana) a $1,200 tax credit for young children, prioritized housing affordability by making it easier to build in the state and created an education credit for workers in the skilled trades. Gov. Bill Lee of Tennessee recently expanded Medicaid coverage for pregnant women, including a [*proposal*](https://www.citizentribune.com/full-text-of-gov-bill-lees-state-of-the-state-address/article_087ac828-a6f6-11ed-8003-6ba4ab4db09c.html) to cover two years’ worth of diapers.

Gov. Kevin Stitt of Oklahoma has [*proposed*](https://oklahoma.gov/governor/newsroom/newsroom/2023/february2023/governor-stitt-delivers-2023-state-of-the-state-address.html) eliminating the state’s tax on groceries and expanding fatherhood programs. Gov. Spencer Cox of Utah recently signed a bill joining Arizona and Iowa in giving all parents assistance in finding the school that is right for their children and [*has announced*](https://www.youtube.com/live/0VvLeU0sLYI?feature=share) a willingness to explore new ways of keeping kids safe online. And Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida has sought to [*eliminate*](https://flgov.com/2023/02/01/governor-ron-desantis-announces-framework-for-freedom-budget/) sales tax on necessities like cribs and strollers and to [*promote*](https://flgov.com/2022/04/11/governor-ron-desantis-signs-groundbreaking-legislation-to-support-involved-fatherhood-in-florida/) engaged fatherhood.

But this shift must ultimately be solidified in Washington, and for now, the Biden administration’s failure to push through its grand visions for progressive family policy has left room for others to act. A Democratic Party with enough political flexibility could redraft its policies along some of these lines for broader appeal — though its cultural preferences may make that play more challenging. In embracing a meaningful pro-parent agenda, Republicans also have a prime opportunity to go on offense.

The party should embrace an agenda that empowers parents to protect their kids online, buffers families against the pressures of the modern economy and eliminates barriers to starting a family. That approach would help the movement traditionally known as the party of family values become the party of authentically valuing families.

Patrick T. Brown ([*@PTBwrites*](https://twitter.com/ptbwrites)) is a fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, a conservative think tank, and a former senior policy adviser to Congress’s Joint Economic Committee.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A26.

**Load-Date:** March 8, 2023

**End of Document**



[***How Much of a Democrat Is Eric Adams?; New York Today***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:687S-JS01-JBG3-601T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 16, 2023 Tuesday 08:27 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1495 words

**Byline:** James Barron

**Highlight:** On policing, religion and rents, the mayor is to the right of many liberals in New York City. He’s likely to face a progressive challenger in 2025.

**Body**

On policing, religion and rents, the mayor is to the right of many liberals in New York City. He’s likely to face a progressive challenger in 2025.

Good morning. It’s Tuesday. Mayor Eric Adams says he identifies as progressive. We’ll look at why some left-leaning Democrats disagree.

Mayor Eric Adams is a Democrat, but on issues like public safety, religion and budget cuts, he [*stands to the right of many Democrats in New York*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/14/nyregion/eric-adams-conservative-migrants.html). Adams acknowledges that some of his views are considered conservative but says that others are “extremely liberal.” Still, some left-leaning Democrats wonder about Adams’s approach, which sometimes brings to mind City Hall predecessors like Michael Bloomberg or even Rudolph Giuliani, a Republican. I asked [*Emma G. Fitzsimmons*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/emma-g-fitzsimmons), our City Hall bureau chief, to explain how Adams is perceived — and how he sees himself.

The Jordan Neely case again put him at odds with progressives like Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, with whom he seemed to have reached a détente. How did his statements on the Neely case play with progressives?

Some progressive Democrats criticized the mayor for not moving quickly to denounce Neely’s death, to express sympathy for him and to discourage New Yorkers from taking matters into their own hands when someone is disruptive on a train.

Nine days after Neely was killed, the mayor gave a speech saying for the first time that Neely “did not deserve to die.” Still, unlike some Democrats, the mayor did not call for charges against Daniel Penny, the man who put Neely in a chokehold.

Two days after that, when Penny was ultimately charged with second-degree manslaughter, Adams said: “Now justice can move forward against Daniel Penny.”

You write that Adams has been pushing moderate, sometimes even conservative, views. Sometimes he seems to look at this like the police officer he once was. Has that hurt him with the left?

The mayor has never really gotten along with the left. He did not win over progressive voters in the 2021 mayoral primary; many of them voted for Maya Wiley, a civil rights advocate.

But left-leaning Democrats have increasingly raised the alarm about the mayor’s decisions — his comments casting doubt on the separation of church and state, his response to the migrant crisis and homelessness and his support for rent increases and charter schools.

Adams has called for budget cuts that threaten to reduce city services like libraries as he tries to cover the cost of sheltering migrants, which is expected to come to more than $1 billion. You wrote that this is not an expense that Adams’s predecessors had to worry about. Is that his only concern on the financial front?

The mayor has said that New York City is facing several budget challenges: the response to the migrant crisis, the cost of new labor contracts with city workers, including police officers, and economic concerns over slowing tax revenues and empty office buildings. Leaders of the City Council say that his budget projections are too pessimistic and that the city needs to invest in key priorities like housing and free preschool to help New Yorkers during an affordability crisis.

How different is Adams now from when he was a candidate? Has being in City Hall changed him?

The mayor ran on a public safety message at a time when New Yorkers were feeling anxious about crime, and he’d be the first to tell you that he’s the same guy as he was on the campaign trail. During the 2021 mayoral race, the city was still in the depths of the pandemic. Other issues like housing, schools and homelessness received less attention, and progressive Democrats were to some extent playing defense after a backlash to the “defund the police” movement.

Some of the mayor’s decisions have been surprising, like his cuts to Mayor Bill de Blasio’s popular preschool program for 3- and 4-year-olds and his cuts to schools and libraries. Those weren’t issues he talked about on the campaign trail.

Adams says pragmatism is what the city needs. He also says it’s what his core constituency, ***working-class*** New Yorkers from places like Brooklyn and Queens, wants. How’s he doing with them, and with other voters?

Adams became mayor with the support of Black and Latino voters outside Manhattan, and he is often governing with them in mind. His poll numbers have dropped, but his support among Black voters has been stronger.

When we asked voters about how he’s doing, many older voters still like him. Younger voters and left-leaning voters felt strongly that he was taking the city in the wrong direction, and CUNY law school graduates turned their back on him at a graduation ceremony.

People often forget that the mayor only won the primary by 7,197 votes. He could face a challenge from the left when he runs for re-election in 2025.

Adams needs help from the Biden administration on migrants. Is his relationship with the White House fraying because of his rhetoric lately? How much of what he says is off the cuff?

Adams has called himself the “Biden of Brooklyn,” and he has argued that he and the president are aligned and have a similar brand of moderate politics.

But the mayor is genuinely frustrated with President Biden over the migrant crisis. He made a calculated decision to attack the president directly to get his attention. Adams believes that the Biden administration has failed to help New York City as city officials try to provide housing and services for the more than 61,000 migrants who have arrived over the last year. The mayor wants billions of dollars in federal funding to help the city pay for those services.

The mayor was announced as a key Biden surrogate for the president’s re-election campaign in March, but he was quietly removed from the list last week.

Expect increasing clouds and temperatures reaching the low 80s. At night, prepare for mostly cloudy skies with temps dropping to the high 50s.

In effect until Thursday (Solemnity of the Ascension).

The latest New York news

* Garage collapse: Four weeks after a parking garage collapsed in Lower Manhattan, a New York Times examination of the city’s garages has found that serious structural problems are widespread — [*and in many cases have gone uncorrected for years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/15/nyregion/nyc-garage-collapse.html).
* Support and donations for Daniel Penny: The 24-year-old man charged with fatally choking Jordan Neely on a subway has been [*called a “hero” and a good Samaritan by right-wing political figures*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/14/nyregion/daniel-penny-jordan-neely-conservative.html).

1. Fined for violations: Mayor Eric Adams’s mayoral transition committee [*was fined $19,600*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/15/nyregion/adams-campaign-fines-violations.html) on Monday for violating New York City’s campaign finance rules.

Arts

* Last call at the Friars Club? The landmark sanctum of comedians in Midtown Manhattan is facing the threat of foreclosure after missing payments on a $13 million mortgage. [*The club’s leaders are looking for an 11th-hour savior*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/15/arts/friars-club-last-call.html).

1. Frieze pop-up: The 11th edition of the fair Frieze New York will pop up at the Shed in Hudson Yards this week, from Thursday to Sunday, [*and will feature 68 galleries.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/15/arts/design/frieze-new-york.html)
2. Matthew Barney’s “Secondary”: In Matthew Barney’s new video installation, the artist known for maximalist works like “The Cremaster Cycle” [*returns to the football fields*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/14/arts/design/matthew-barney-secondary-football.html) of his childhood.
3. Death of a virtuoso: Thomas Stacy, who helped make the English horn better known in his decades with the New York Philharmonic, [*died at 84.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/12/arts/music/thomas-stacy-dead.html)

Dear Diary:

It was a late evening in May 1983, and it happened to be the 100th anniversary of the Brooklyn Bridge. I was a trading assistant at Lehman Brothers living in the decidedly unglamorous neighborhood of Park Slope, Brooklyn.

The trains were less reliable then than they are now, and I always had a plan B to get home if there was a problem taking the 2 or 3 at Wall Street.

It was one of those days. Feeling miserable after a long day as a kid on the trading floor, I waited on the platform to get home. The train I was planning to take had just been pulled out of service.

I left the Wall Street station and walked to the Broad Street station to take a different train. One finally came and I was on my way home.

The train trundled up to the Manhattan Bridge, got halfway across and suddenly stopped. We sat there for a few minutes wondering what was going on.

Then the lights went out and we all sighed, thinking the worst. Just then the conductor’s voice came over the.

“It’s showtime, folks!” he said.

We sat on the train, in the dark, in the middle of the bridge and the East River, watching the fireworks celebrating the Brooklyn Bridge for over five minutes from the best seats in the house.

— Peter J. Goldman

Illustrated by Agnes Lee. [*Send submissions here*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/how-to-submit-to-metropolitan-diary.html) and [*read more Metropolitan Diary here*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/metropolitan-diary).

Glad we could get together here. See you tomorrow. — J.B.

P.S. Here’s today’s [*Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini) and [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee). [*You can find all our puzzles here*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords).

Melissa Guerrero, Jeffrey Furticella, Rick Martinez and Olivia Parker contributed to New York Today. You can reach the team at [*nytoday@nytimes.com*](mailto:nytoday@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox.*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/newyorktoday)

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hiroko Masuike/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 16, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Remembering a Revolution That So Many Forget***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68GV-80T1-DXY4-X3WD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 18, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1760 words

**Byline:** By Alex Traub

**Body**

On a rainy night last month, down an alleyway in the Jackson Heights section of Queens, in a restaurant basement, sat about two dozen retirees. There was a onetime federal tax agent, a retired car salesman, a former pharmacy cashier and several taxi drivers who had shut off their meters for good.

One of these men, Golam Khan, a 72-year-old ex-cabby, was in charge. He put his arm around other gray-haired men and whispered instructions. He cleared the front row of seats for a few distinguished guests.

After some introductory speeches, Mr. Khan stood before the crowd at a lectern on a raised stage. He cast his mind to their faraway homeland, Bangladesh, and the time more than 50 years ago when they participated in the victorious but bloody war that led to the nation's independence.

''We are fortunate people who fought in the War of Liberation,'' he said. ''In a nation's life, freedom fighters come but once.''

The 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War might seem like an obscure bit of history, but it looms as an immense trauma for many New Yorkers -- people like the men in that basement. The war provided their most honored accomplishments and their most terrifying memories.

Estimates of how many Bengalis were killed in 1971 range from the hundreds of thousands to the millions. A leading American scholar of the conflict, the Princeton international affairs professor Gary Bass, calls it ''a forgotten genocide.''

Finding men and women who lived through the war is not difficult in New York. From 2000 to 2015, Bangladeshis were the city's fastest-growing immigrant group. Revolutionaries of the 1970s today work humble jobs on the streets and sidewalks where New Yorkers spend their days.

Fakhrul Alam, a 69-year-old owner of newsstands in Manhattan, Queens and the Bronx, says that in 1971 he guarded what he calls a ''famous tree'' that from time immemorial both Hindus and Muslims had believed to possess magic healing powers -- until he woke up one morning to find the whole tree somehow stolen, uprooted: a casualty of the war.

Jewel Mohammad Jamal, 69, a Midtown traffic policeman, says that during his time as a young soldier, he once saw hundreds of dead bodies floating in the Salda River, near Bangladesh's eastern border with India. If he describes this moment in conversation, he said, he fears that nightmares will haunt his sleep.

That might seem like a reason to repress memories. Yet in interviews, dozens of Bangladeshi veterans grew expansive when given the chance to recount heroic and tragic episodes from the distant world of their youth.

''Nobody asked me,'' said Shawkat Akbar, a 68-year-old retired seller of Fords and Toyotas, ''but if somebody did ask me, I would explain very well our liberation war.''

Mr. Akbar is part of the organization that held last month's event and that Mr. Khan founded and runs, Bangladesh Liberation War Veterans 1971 U.S.A. Inc. The group of about 60 veterans provides a forum for gossip, ennobles its ***working-class*** members with titles (Mr. Khan has appointed eight of them vice presidents) and stages events where poems are recited, war stories are recounted, old slogans are raised, manly tears are shed and an exalted status lost with immigration to the United States is recovered, briefly.

The occasion last month was honoring Ruhul Amin, a veteran who died in April and who, like Mr. Khan, was a retired taxi driver in his 70s.

''After five years, after 10 years, freedom fighters will not have ability to arrange these events,'' Mr. Khan said in his speech. His voice broke, and his eyes grew red and watery. ''We will not be around anymore.''

Mr. Khan discussed the meaning of this prospect in an interview a few days later.

''When the people came from Bangladesh, they have become crazy to make money,'' he said. ''They have forgot their culture, they have forgot their nationality.'' But now, he continued, they have settled down. ''We're all retired people.''

This is the moment when a first generation of immigrants finally has time to reminisce.

Tazin Khan, 30, a cybersecurity specialist and one of Mr. Khan's daughters, asked to join one of our interviews. ''I hope you don't mind if I ask questions,'' she said. ''I am trying to learn this history, too.''

Before 1971, Bangladesh was a region of Pakistan, which encompassed two halves separated by about 1,000 miles, with India in between. West Pakistan, populated largely by Punjabis who spoke Urdu, was militarily, politically and economically dominant, while East Pakistan consisted of Bengalis who felt marginalized.

East Pakistan was a poor, agrarian society with a popular, pipe-smoking, bespectacled and frequently imprisoned leader in Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who fought for greater autonomy for Bengalis.

Even in casual conversation, Mr. Khan refers to him by his full name, preceded by his sobriquet, ''Father of the Nation, Friend of Bengal.''

Mr. Khan and Mr. Rahman came from landowning families in the same rural district. As a teenager, Mr. Khan recalls, he found his way to a meeting at his idol's home. He stood up and announced that he would like to recite a poem by the Bengali writer Kazi Nazrul Islam.

Mr. Khan still remembers the poem.

''The mosque, church, and Buddhist temple and Hindu temple -- all crush it, break down it,'' he declaimed in his living room. ''Start a slogan by the name of Human Being -- A Victory for the Human Being.''

Mr. Rahman won Pakistan's 1970 general election, but was denied the prime ministership by the West's military authorities, who feared that he would bring about the East's secession. Bengali protest became the pretext for Mr. Rahman's arrest and a military crackdown on March 25, 1971.

Mr. Khan requested his parents' blessing to join a Bengali guerrilla uprising.

''Fight for your country,'' Mr. Khan recalled his father telling him. ''I have another two sons.''

The decision represented a grave risk.

The Pakistani army used its firepower to brutal ends, Professor Bass said in a phone interview: ''You're seeing massive numbers of civilians being killed in a systematic campaign. That easily qualifies as crimes against humanity.''

Mr. Khan describes his experience of the war as an Odyssean saga.

He traversed his nation by foot, he says, to be armed and trained in India before returning to his homeland. His platoon scattered after it was ambushed. He shot a Pakistani captain at close range. Twice he watched a fellow soldier die right next to him. Twice he killed someone he did not intend to in the middle of a firefight. He was tricked by a group of Maoist insurgents, who gave his troop free food and then tried to steal their guns. He allied with another Bengali military unit, defected from it and allied with yet a third group. He narrowly escaped a deadly mortar blast.

With the war still raging, he returned home. It was nighttime. He stood outside. ''Ma?'' Mr. Khan called.

Soon he was inside, his family surrounding him. His father told him they had received a letter stating that he had died during the ambush. Mr. Khan's family had already held his funeral.

The war ended in December 1971 with Pakistan's defeat. Mr. Rahman became the leader of independent Bangladesh, but he suspended democracy in 1974 and was assassinated in 1975. Bangladeshi politics lost the secular progressivism of Mr. Khan's poem and split into bitter divisions.

Mr. Khan became a rebel again, only to find himself imprisoned and tortured. After being released, he earned a master's degree in Bengali literature and started a prosperous furniture business. Years passed, and Mr. Khan became a well-connected businessman with the reputation of a war hero.

In the early 1990s, the political winds in Bangladesh changed and he faced the threat of another detention. He gave up everything and moved to the United States in 1993. Now he was a poor immigrant from an obscure land.

He asked himself, Am I not meant to do something better than drive a taxi?

He did the job in two stints, in the 1990s and again in the 2010s, in addition to working as a cashier at McDonald's and managing a grocery store.

His three children attended college in the United States and now have corporate or creative professions in New York City. In 2017, thanks to their financial support, Mr. Khan was able to retire. He lives with Rizia Khan, his wife since 1982, in New Hyde Park on Long Island.

Of all the occasions when Mr. Khan has spoken in America about his past, one stands out.

In September 2021, he found himself at an improbable scene: a packed hip-hop show at Manhattan's Bowery Ballroom. At one point, the concert organizers summoned him backstage.

Shortly thereafter, the headliner, a Bangladeshi American rapper named Anik Khan, paused between songs. He announced a special guest: someone who had grown up in a village, recited poetry in front of thousands, started a successful business, enjoyed the services of a personal driver -- and then left it all behind to become a driver for other people while living in a one-bedroom apartment with six people in Queens.

''If it's OK,'' Anik said, ''I'd love to bring out my father to do one of his poems.''

To the sound of a blaring klaxon and shrieks from the crowd, Mr. Khan emerged. Anik was sporting cornrows and an unbuttoned short-sleeve shirt; his father wore pointed slippers, a white kurta and a green shawl with golden trim. Turning toward the hip-hop fans, Golam folded his hands in the traditional South Asian sign of respect.

He did not, however, recite his poem.

''I was a freedom fighter in the War of Liberation,'' he said.

Many in the crowd could not have known what war, exactly, he was referring to, but they cheered in response.

Mr. Khan continued: ''In 1971 ...''

Anik reappeared. He whispered something into his father's ear and made a straight-ahead gesture with his arm before backing away.

Mr. Khan continued his explanation.

''This poetry was very much encouragement the War of Liberation,'' he went on. ''I was very young that time.''

Anik returned. He leaned over his father's shoulder, the microphone picking up his words. ''I have to do a show, Baba,'' Anik pleaded. ''Can you do your poem? Right now. No more talking.''

For two minutes, gesticulating to the crowd and to his heart, Mr. Khan recited Bengali verse.

Finally, he finished. The D.J. shouted, ''Make some noise for Golam!''

He might not have made himself understood, but in that moment, Mr. Khan found glory in America.

Silvia Saberin contributed reporting.Silvia Saberin contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/14/nyregion/bangladesh-veterans-new-york.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/14/nyregion/bangladesh-veterans-new-york.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Golam Khan, founder of Bangladesh Liberation War Veterans 1971 U.S.A. Inc., at his home on Long Island. Center, commando training in 1971. Above left, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, center, who won Pakistan's 1970 general election but was denied the prime ministership. Above right, a recent meeting of the veterans group. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JONAH MARKOWITZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

DENNIS LEE ROYLE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

BETTMANN ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page MB10.

**Load-Date:** June 18, 2023

**End of Document**



[***National Book Award Finalists Are Chosen***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66J6-VSC1-JBG3-637N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 5, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 751 words

**Byline:** By Elizabeth A. Harris

**Body**

Twenty five books, spread across five categories, were named on Tuesday, including fiction, nonfiction and poetry. The winners will be announced next month.

Three debut novels were among the five National Book Award fiction finalists announced on Tuesday.

''All This Could be Different,'' by Sarah Thankam Mathews, follows a young, queer immigrant from India. Tess Gunty's ''The Rabbit Hutch'' takes place over the course of one week in an affordable housing complex in Indiana. And in Alejandro Varela's ''The Town of Babylon,'' a queer Latinx professor moves back to suburban Long Island to take care of his parents.

The other two fiction finalists are ''The Haunting of Hajji Hotak and Other Stories,'' by Jamil Jan Kochai, which follows characters in Afghanistan and in the Afghan diaspora, and ''The Birdcatcher,'' by Gayl Jones, which is about a group of Black American artists in Ibiza, including a sculptor whose husband tries to institutionalize her repeatedly for trying to kill him.

There were 25 finalists, spread across five categories. Among the nonfiction finalists were two that examined the world of health care and medicine.

''Breathless: The Scientific Race to Defeat a Deadly Virus,'' by David Quammen, charts the scientific response to Covid-19, including the race to track its origins and develop a vaccine, and the continuing efforts to understand Covid's long-term effects. In ''The Invisible Kingdom: Reimagining Chronic Illness,'' a New York Times best seller, Meghan O'Rourke draws from her experience living with chronic illness and from interviews with doctors, public health experts and patients to discuss what she calls ''invisible'' illnesses like autoimmune diseases, post-treatment Lyme disease syndrome and long Covid.

The poetry finalists include ''The Rupture Tense,'' by Jenny Xie, which deals with the history of her family and of China, and with forced memory loss. ''Look at this Blue,'' by Allison Adelle Hedge Coke, considers the history of destruction and violence in the United States toward people, animals and the planet.

''Kibogo,'' by Scholastique Mukasonga, was nominated in the translated literature category. Translated from French by Mark Polizzotti, it explores clashes between ancient Rwandan beliefs and Christian missionaries. In ''A New Name: Septology VI-VII,'' Jon Fosse writes about two doppelgängers; the book was translated from Norwegian by Damion Searls.

Among the young people's literature finalists are ''The Lesbiana's Guide to Catholic School,'' a debut novel by Sonora Reyes about a 16-year-old queer Mexican American girl. ''All My Rage,'' by Sabaa Tahir, follows a ***working class*** Pakistani American family from Lahore to Juniper, Calif., where they run a motel.

The winners will be announced on Nov. 16 by the National Book Foundation. Here is a complete list of the finalists.

Fiction

Tess Gunty, ''The Rabbit Hutch''

Gayl Jones, ''The Birdcatcher''

Jamil Jan Kochai, ''The Haunting of Hajji Hotak and Other Stories''

Sarah Thankam Mathews, ''All This Could Be Different''

Alejandro Varela, ''The Town of Babylon''

Nonfiction

Meghan O'Rourke, ''The Invisible Kingdom: Reimagining Chronic Illness''

Imani Perry, ''South to America: A Journey Below the Mason-Dixon to Understand the Soul of a Nation''

David Quammen, ''Breathless: The Scientific Race to Defeat a Deadly Virus''

Ingrid Rojas Contreras, ''The Man Who Could Move Clouds: A Memoir''

Robert Samuels and Toluse Olorunnipa, ''His Name Is George Floyd: One Man's Life and the Struggle for Racial Justice''

Poetry

Allison Adelle Hedge Coke, ''Look at This Blue''

John Keene, ''Punks: New & Selected Poems''

Sharon Olds, ''Balladz''

Roger Reeves, ''Best Barbarian''

Jenny Xie, ''The Rupture Tense''

Translated Literature

Jon Fosse, ''A New Name: Septology VI-VII''Translated from the Norwegian by Damion Searls

Scholastique Mukasonga, ''Kibogo''Translated from the French by Mark Polizzotti

Mónica Ojeda, ''Jawbone''Translated from the Spanish by Sarah Booker

Samanta Schweblin, ''Seven Empty Houses''Translated from the Spanish by Megan McDowell

Yoko Tawada, ''Scattered All Over the Earth''Translated from the Japanese by Margaret Mitsutani

Young People's Literature

Kelly Barnhill, ''The Ogress and the Orphans''

Sonora Reyes, ''The Lesbiana's Guide to Catholic School''

Tommie Smith, Derrick Barnes, and Dawud Anyabwile, ''Victory. Stand!: Raising My Fist for Justice''

Sabaa Tahir, ''All My Rage''

Lisa Yee, ''Maizy Chen's Last Chance''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/04/books/national-book-award-finalists.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/04/books/national-book-award-finalists.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: From left: Tess Gunty, Sarah Thankam Mathews and Alejandro Varela, whose debut novels were among the National Book Award finalists. (PHOTOGRAPH BY From left: Lauren Alexandra

Dondre Stuetley

Matias Pelenur FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 5, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘Swimming Wasn’t for Us’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65VD-WPJ1-DXY4-X2BM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 4, 2022 Monday 11:24 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1282 words

**Byline:** Campbell Robertson and Rachel Wisniewski

**Highlight:** The nation’s first Black-owned pool club aims to teach hundreds of children to swim this summer, helping to close a dangerous racial gap in the process.

**Body**

YEADON, Pa. — On a hot summer afternoon in 1959, hundreds of Black families in this little town just outside Philadelphia gathered on Union Avenue to cool off and make some history.

Only two years had passed since three of the families had been refused membership by the whites-only swim club in town, a rejection that set off a bustle of kitchen table meetings and door-to-door fund-raising. Now on this mid-July afternoon, the Nile Swim Club was celebrating its grand opening: the first Black-owned private swim club in the country.

After the speeches, the board members waded into the new pool, and after what Bill Mellix, who was 13 at the time, remembers as an interminable few minutes of waiting, the children were invited to join them. They laughed, splashed and reveled in their achievement. But there was one thing that most of them did not do.

“None us knew how to swim,” Mr. Mellix said.

The mere existence of the Nile Swim Club was a strike against the bigoted history of recreational swimming in the United States. But there are legacies of that history that run deeper than racist membership policies — legacies that the Nile is now trying to remedy one swimmer at a time.

To this day, Black children [*are far more likely*](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/30688639/) than white children to report low or no swimming ability, a disparity that underlies other, grimmer statistics. Black people drown at a rate 50 percent higher than that of white people, [*according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*](https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/70/wr/mm7024a1.htm#contribAff). In swimming pools in particular, the drowning rate for Black children ages 10-14 is nearly eight times that of white children of the same age. The disparities are only reinforced by their tragic consequences.

“My mother’s sister drowned when she was 17,” said Victoria Pearsall, sitting in the poolside shade at the Nile, recalling how the shock of her aunt’s death reverberated across generations in her family. “That made a cycle of kids not knowing how to swim.”

Around a long-abandoned underground swimming pool at Philadelphia’s Fairmount Water Works, an exhibition called [*“Pool: A Social History of Segregation,”*](https://fairmountwaterworks.org/pool/) explains how vicious cycles like this began.

From the country’s earliest days, swimming was an activity curbed and constrained by racism, brutally punished by slave owners who saw it as an avenue to freedom. But in the late nineteenth century, some big Northern cities, with Philadelphia leading the way, began building city pools in a burst of Victorian civic-mindedness, viewing them as public baths for the ***working class***.

These pools “reinforced class and gender divisions but not racial distinctions,” wrote Jeff Wiltse in his book “Contested Waters: A Social History of Swimming Pools in America.” Poor and ***working-class*** boys, Black and white, crowded into city pools on hot summer days, while women and members of the middle-class swam at different times or in different pools, if at all.

This changed by the 1920s, as an appetite for exercise facilities had taken hold among the well-off. Women and men started swimming together, and bathing suits alluringly shrank. In direct reaction to the mixing of genders, [*racial segregation became the rule*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/01/sports/black-people-pools-racism.html), enforced, if not by law then by violence.

From this point, the history of swimming pools unfolds like so many other social spaces in America. As Black people began challenging pool segregation and winning in court, white people began deserting public pools altogether. Cities closed pools rather than accept integration, and private pools boomed in white backyards across the country.

Urban swimming opportunities have waxed and waned ever since, at the mercy of funding and municipal attention. Over the past couple of years, a [*nationwide lifeguard shortage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/09/us/lifeguard-shortage-beaches-pools.html) has forced many urban pools to close or to open [*without adequate staffing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/29/nyregion/nyc-pools-swim-lesson-shortage.html), including more than a dozen that were shut down in Philadelphia this summer.

For many Black people growing up in past decades in Philadelphia, even though it boasts the highest number of swimming pools per capita of any major city, learning how to swim was almost a matter of luck: whether you lived near a city pool, whether there were instructors there, whether your family encouraged it.

“If you didn’t have the stuff to go to swimming in, like swimsuits and trunks and things like that, you weren’t allowed in,” said Lynn Ruff, 58, who was one of the few in her circle of friends who learned to swim as a child. A lot of people she knew just figured “swimming wasn’t for us.”

Ms. Ruff is now a lifeguard and instructor herself, taking on the job after being laid off from a bank in her mid-40s. A grandmother of five, she insists that everyone should — and anyone can — learn to swim. In the off-season, she teaches swimming at a school for the blind.

Among the adults sitting around the pool at the Nile Swim Club, it was not hard to find skepticism about the claim that anyone could learn. Ms. Pearsall, for her part, said she had no plans to start swimming at this point. But as she talked, she watched James, her 10-year-old son who was in the water, breaking the family cycle.

“Kick, kick, kick, kick, kick, kick!” shouted André Kenneth Andrews, a bald and goateed 69-year-old retiree who spends his mornings exhorting scores of girls and boys into becoming swimmers. “I’m not kidding, you kick them feet!”

In 2019, board members at the Nile Swim Club began talking about the racial disparities in swimming ability and what they could do about them. They saw the main obstacles as money, time and a feeling of comfort that was crucial before the anxiety of the lessons themselves.

“Most swim clubs you go into, you’re not going to see a pool full of Black kids,” said Lisa Ivery, a board member at the Nile. She grew up in Yeadon in the 1980s and remembered even her close white friends talking of pool parties at local clubs to which she was conspicuously not invited. (The whites-only swim club in Yeadon, which prompted the creation of Nile in the first place, went out of business a couple of decades ago.)

The board came up with a program called “No Child Will Drown in Our Town,” offering 10 days of free swimming lessons to anyone who signs up. Anthony Patterson, the club president, said instructors taught swimming lessons to nearly a thousand children last summer and hoped to teach more than that this year.

It is a big number, but not an inconceivable one given the crowds of children coming and going at the pool on one recent morning. At one end of pool, an instructor cajoled a half dozen little girls to put their heads underwater one at a time. Not far away, a group took turns doing the whip kick of the breaststroke. At the deep end, a line of boys walked tentatively to the end of the diving board, as Mr. Andrews shouted up like a floating drill sergeant.

One of the boys was Christopher Chiles, 11. He did not make the jump last time.

“I told him to do it for your ancestors,” said his grandmother, Joslyn Pattani-Raines, 61, standing on the side of the pool where she had learned to swim herself decades ago.

This morning, Christopher stood at the end of the board, took a breath and made the fateful hop. Then he climbed out the water. And he did it again and again and again.

PHOTOS: Clockwise from left: André Kenneth Andrews, a co-founder of the No Child Will Drown in Our Town program, helping Liam Anderson, 12, float on his back at the Nile Swim Club; Lynn Ruff, a lifeguard, was one of the few children among her friends who could swim; Tujuanna Jackson demonstrating how to float; Will Coleman, a water safety instructor.; Children in the swimming program at the Nile Swim Club in Yeadon, Pa., waiting their turn on the diving board. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RACHEL WISNIEWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 5, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Is It Too Late for Ron DeSantis?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67X6-TWM1-JBG3-61PD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 1, 2023 Saturday 11:40 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1323 words

**Byline:** Jamelle Bouie

**Highlight:** Republican voters don’t want a manager, they want a performer.

**Body**

The Republican establishment thought it could have Donald Trump’s political appeal without Donald Trump himself.

That’s why many of the most prominent voices in conservative politics and media have lined up behind Ron DeSantis, the governor of Florida, as the presumptive leader of the Republican Party in the 2024 presidential race. He combines traditional, elite credentials and orthodox conservative views with a pugilistic, Trumpish affect. DeSantis, goes the thinking, could hold Trump’s ***working-class*** supporters and reclaim suburban Republicans who decamped for bluer pastures in the 2020 presidential election.

To be the nominee, of course, DeSantis has to win the nomination. And to win the nomination, he has to topple Trump, who remains the largest orbital body in Republican politics. Trump’s pull is so powerful — his influence is so great — that he basically compelled much of the Republican Party, including would-be rivals, to [*defend him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/30/us/politics/trump-indicted-republican-response.html) in the wake of his indictment by a Manhattan jury.

Besting Trump, in other words, will require a certain amount of skill, finesse and political daring.

DeSantis has to find an avenue of attack on the former president and actually take the shot, knowing that he could alienate legions of Republican voters in the process. He has to somehow persuade Trump supporters that he could do a better job — more effective and less chaotic — without disparaging Trump to the point where he, DeSantis, is no longer viable. And he has to do all of this before Trump can build steam and roll over him like he did his rivals in the 2016 Republican primary.

The problem for DeSantis is that it might already be too late.

According to [*a recent Fox News poll*](https://www.foxnews.com/official-polls/fox-news-poll-trumps-lead-grows-in-gop-primary-race-now-over-50-support), more than 50 percent of Republican voters support Trump for the Republican presidential nomination, compared with 24 percent for Gov. DeSantis. According to [*a recent Quinnipiac University poll*](https://poll.qu.edu/poll-release?releaseid=3869), 51 percent of Republican voters support Trump, compared with 40 percent for DeSantis. And according to [*a recent Morning Consult poll*](https://morningconsult.com/2024-gop-primary-election-tracker/), 52 percent of Republicans support Trump, compared with 26 percent for DeSantis.

A lot could change between now and next year. Trump could collapse and DeSantis could pick up the pieces. But let’s consider the context of the last 13 years of Republican politics. Republican voters have always liked Trump. When asked in a 2011 NBC News poll whom they wanted to win the party nomination, 17 percent [*said Trump*](https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/poll-donald-trump-catapults-place-2012-gop-field/story?id=13318814), just behind Mitt Romney and beating both Sarah Palin and Newt Gingrich. Trump was so influential even then that Romney asked for his endorsement, sharing the stage with the real estate mogul at an embarrassing Las Vegas news conference.

The weakest Trump has ever been among Republican voters was in the wake of Jan. 6, when it seemed as if the entire political class, Republicans included, was ready to cut him loose. But they didn’t. Prominent Republican leaders kept him in the fold. Conservative media defended his actions. He was vulnerable, yes. But he remained the dominant figure in Republican politics.

DeSantis could have struck when the former president was weak. He didn’t. And now the most likely outcome is that Trump takes the crown again, tossing his rivals aside like a collection of old dolls.

What’s clear in all of this is that the Republican establishment — DeSantis included, it seems — is as clueless about its situation now as it was when Trump came down the escalator in 2015. They seem to think that they can harness Trump’s energy without submitting to Trump himself. But Republican voters want Trump, and they won’t take any substitutes.

The draw of Trump is that he is an entertainer and a showman who will turn those skills against their political enemies. DeSantis might be more competent, but Republican voters don’t want a manager, they want a performer. If Trump’s opponents can outperform him, then, maybe, they have a chance. But in a fight for attention between a seasoned celebrity and a conservative apparatchik, I know where I would place my bet.

What I Wrote

[*My Tuesday column*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/28/opinion/parents-rights-republicans-florida.html) was on the slogan “parents’ rights” and what it actually means.

The reality of the “parents’ rights” movement is that it is meant to empower a conservative and reactionary minority of parents to dictate education and curriculums to the rest of the community. It is, in essence, an institutionalization of the heckler’s veto, in which a single parent — or any individual, really — can remove hundreds of books or shut down lessons on the basis of the political discomfort they feel. “Parents’ rights,” in other words, is when some parents have the right to dominate all the others.

And [*my Friday column*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/31/opinion/protecting-children-republicans.html) was on the farce that is the Republican Party’s claim to want to “protect children.”

When you put all of this together, the picture is clear. The Republican Party will use the law and the state to shield as many children as possible from the knowledge, cultural influences and technologies deemed divisive or controversial or subversive by the voters, activists and apparatchiks that shape and guide its priorities. When Tucker Carlson, Christopher Rufo and Moms for Liberty say jump, their only question is: How high?

But when it comes to actual threats to the lives of American children — from poverty, from hunger, from sickness and from guns — then, well, the Republican Party wants us to slow down and consider the costs and consequences and even possible futility of taking any action to help.

Now Reading

[*Edward Ongweso Jr.*](https://slate.com/technology/2023/03/silicon-valley-bank-rescue-venture-capital-calacanis-sacks-ackman-tantrum.html) on venture capitalists for Slate.

[*Adam Serwer*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2023/03/bethany-mandel-woke-interview-definition/673454/) on “wokeness” for The Atlantic.

[*Claire Potter*](https://clairepotter.substack.com/p/its-never-the-gun-is-it) on gun violence in her newsletter.

[*Simona Foltyn*](https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/iraq-twenty-years-later/) on the consequences of the Iraq War for Boston Review.

[*Adolph Reed Jr.*](https://nonsite.org/bayard-rustin-the-panthers-couldnt-save-us-then-either/) on Bayard Rustin for Nonsite.

Photo of the Week

I have a few more pictures I want to share from my trip to Hawaii last December. This is the Makapu‘u Point Lighthouse, which comes at the end of a nice trail with a decent amount of elevation. I took a few different pictures of this lighthouse, from a few different angles, but this was the one that I think worked best.

Now Eating: Pasta and Lentils

We’re all about pasta and legumes in this house — the kids are big fans of the combination — and this recipe [*from New York Times Cooking*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1023006-pasta-and-lentils-pasta-e-lenticchie?action=click&amp;module=RecipeBox&amp;pgType=recipebox-page&amp;region=recently-viewed&amp;rank=5) is a nice variation on the theme. I usually make this vegetarian, but you can fry pancetta and cook the vegetables in the rendered fat if you prefer.

Ingredients

* 3 tablespoons extra-virgin olive oil, plus more for serving

1. 1 yellow onion, coarsely chopped
2. 8 garlic cloves, smashed and peeled
3. kosher salt and black pepper
4. 1 cup brown or green lentils
5. 3 thyme sprigs
6. 3 fresh or dried bay leaves (optional)
7. 1 (28-ounce) can whole peeled tomatoes, crushed
8. 10 ounces tubular or ridged pasta, like penne
9. \xC2 cup freshly grated Parmesan, plus more for serving
10. fresh parsley for garnish

Directions

In a large pot or Dutch oven, heat the oil over medium-high. Add the onion and garlic, season with salt and pepper and cook, stirring occasionally, until golden brown and tender, 5 to 7 minutes. Add 5 cups of water, the lentils, the thyme and bay leaves (if using). Partially cover, bring to a boil, then reduce heat and simmer, partially covered, until the lentils are al dente, 25 to 30 minutes.

Add the tomatoes and 1 teaspoon salt, and bring to a boil over high. Add the pasta and cook, stirring often to keep the pasta from sticking to the pot, until the pasta is al dente, 10 to 20 minutes. (It may take longer than the cook time on the package.) If the pot starts to look dry at any point, add more water, ¼ cup at a time.

Turn off the heat, discard the thyme and bay leaves, then stir in the Parmesan. Cover and let sit for 3 minutes so the flavors meld and the sauce thickens. Season to taste with salt and pepper. Eat with more Parmesan and a drizzle of olive oil.

PHOTO: Ron DeSantis, the governor of Florida, as seen in an in-camera multiple exposure in Iowa last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Nevada's Economic Turmoil Threatens a Democratic Stronghold***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:654J-70H1-DXY4-X1PN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 2, 2022 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1530 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Medina and Reid J. Epstein

**Body**

LAS VEGAS -- Scars from the coronavirus pandemic are still visible here. Housing prices skyrocketed, with rents rising faster than almost anywhere else in the country. Roughly 10,000 casino workers remain out of work. Gas prices, now more than $5 a gallon, are higher than in every other state except California.

Amid a flagging economy, the state Democrats held up as a national model for more than a decade -- registering and turning out first-time voters -- has become the epitome of the party's difficulties going into the 2022 midterm elections.

Democrats have long relied on ***working-class*** and Latino voters to win Nevada, but the loyalty of both groups is now in question. Young voters who fueled Senator Bernie Sanders' biggest victory in the 2020 Democratic presidential primary remain skeptical about President Biden. And Senator Catherine Cortez Masto, a Nevada Democrat and the country's first Latina senator, is one of the party's most endangered incumbents.

She must overcome the president's sagging approval ratings, dissatisfaction with the economy and her own relative anonymity. And she lacks the popularity and deep ties with Latino voters that Senator Harry M. Reid, who died in December, harnessed to help build the state's powerful Democratic machine. The state has long been a symbol of the Democratic Party's future by relying on a racially diverse coalition to win elections, but those past gains are now at risk.

''There's a lot of frustration on the ground that no one is listening,'' said Leo Murrieta, the director of Make the Road Nevada, a liberal advocacy group. ''They are not wrong. It's hard to talk about the possibility of tomorrow when your todays are still torn apart.''

Nevada, which Mr. Biden carried in 2020, has been a linchpin for Democrats in presidential elections since 2008. But an election-cycle pattern that has alarmed Democrats has emerged. The party dominates in presidential elections but struggles during the midterms when a Democrat is in the White House. Democratic turnout takes a steep drop, largely because of the state's highly transient population, and Republicans gain ground.

In 2014, the last midterm election with a Democrat in the White House, the state's turnout dropped 46 percent compared to the previous presidential election, ushering in Republican control of the state legislature. This year, Republican victories could unseat the Democratic governor, Steve Sisolak, and the state's three Democratic members of the House while also replacing Ms. Cortez Masto with a 2020 election denier in the Senate.

Beyond turnout, a deeper problem for Democrats is that the state has been turning, ever so slightly, less blue. The state's share of registered Democrats has fallen -- from 39.4 percent in 2016 to 33.6 percent in February, according to figures from the Nevada secretary of state. At the same time, more than 28 percent of registered voters are now unaffiliated with any party, an increase from 20 percent in 2016. Officials said the spike in unaffiliated voters stems from an automatic voter registration system Nevada voters adopted in 2018.

The state's economy has shown some signs of improvement. Joblessness in Reno is down to some of the lowest numbers in a century. Democrats are counting on the region, which has attracted new residents, many from California, and become something of a tech hub. But with more than 70 percent of the state's population living in Clark County, which is home to Las Vegas, the election is likely to be decided on the outcome there. In interviews with Las Vegas voters, the economy overshadowed all other issues. There was a sense of optimism among some, but they worried that they would not have enough money for the basics -- rent, food, gas.

''What I care about is opportunity and the economy,'' said Angel Clavijo, 23, who voted for the first time in 2020. Though he cast his ballot for Mr. Biden, Mr. Clavijo said he was not registered with either party.

Though he was able to keep his job as a housekeeper at The Venetian Resort through the pandemic, Mr. Clavijo watched anxiously as his parents' bills stacked up. ''I really can't say I'm paying a lot of attention to politics right now,'' he said. ''I'm not just going to vote by party.''

Margarita Mejia, 68, a retired hotel worker, said she has voted for most of her life for Democrats but sat out the 2020 election as she helped her family and friends deal with the pandemic.

''It was depressing, being alone, struggling for everything,'' said Ms. Mejia, who was selling clothing, stuffed animals and art from her front yard last week. ''I don't know what the government does for us, even when they say they want to help.''

Mr. Clavijo and Ms. Mejia could not name Nevada's incumbent senator up for re-election -- Ms. Cortez Masto, whose seat is critical if the Democrats want to maintain control of the Senate.

Despite five years in the Senate and eight years as Nevada's attorney general, Ms. Cortez Masto remains unknown by a broad swath of the Nevada electorate, as a result of her longtime aversion to publicity, cautious political demeanor and Nevada's transient voters.

Almost half the voters on Nevada's rolls have registered since Ms. Cortez Masto was last on the ballot in 2016, according to an analysis by TargetSmart, a Democratic data firm. Her own internal polling found that nearly a quarter of Latinos didn't have an opinion on the race between her and Adam Laxalt, a former Nevada attorney general who is likely to be her Republican opponent in the general election.

The Cortez Masto campaign began reintroducing her to Latino audiences last month with a Spanish-language television advertisement that leaned heavily on telling her life story as a political pioneer and her family's history in the military.

It gave a generous interpretation of her biography: Her father, Manny Cortez, was one of the most powerful figures in Las Vegas during stints on the Clark County Commission and later as the head of the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority. In that role, he approved the ubiquitous Las Vegas marketing phrase, ''What happens here, stays here.''

''He didn't start at the top,'' Mr. Reid said from the Senate floor after Mr. Cortez died in 2006, ''but he ended up there.''

Mr. Cortez, who maintained a close friendship with Mr. Reid, operated as a behind-the-scenes player. While that served him as a political operator, it may not help his daughter in this year's high-profile race that will help determine control of the Senate.

''He was never a guy who went out and sought attention from the media,'' said Jon Ralston, the longtime Nevada journalist. ''She is kind of an exaggerated version of him in many ways.''

That aversion to seeking the spotlight has left Ms. Cortez Masto as essentially a generic Democrat in a midterm year when being yoked to Mr. Biden is a political hazard. A January poll from The Nevada Independent showed Mr. Biden's approval rating in the state at just 41 percent.

Ms. Cortez Masto declined to be interviewed.

''No state was hit harder than Nevada, and we're recovering quickly because Catherine fought to get the relief our hospitality industry needed, supporting the tens of thousands of workers who rely on our tourism economy,'' a spokesman, Josh Marcus-Blank, said in a statement.

Jeremy Hughes, a Republican who was a campaign adviser to Dean Heller, the former Republican senator, said Ms. Cortez Masto would have difficultly separating herself from Mr. Biden and the national party's diminished brand.

''Every data point I've seen points to Hispanic voters being more open to supporting a Republican this cycle than any in recent memory,'' Mr. Hughes said. ''If the economy is the No. 1 issue on voters' minds across the country, in Nevada and especially among Hispanic voters, it's the No. 1, 2 and 3 issue.''

But Democrats say that her likely Republican opponent, Mr. Laxalt, is unlikely to win over moderate voters. Mr. Laxalt, whose father and grandfather both served in the Senate, ran the Trump campaign's effort to overturn Nevada's 2020 election results.

Democrats are also counting on more economic improvement in Las Vegas, where the economy took a hit with the abrupt shutdown of the Strip but has started to be revived with crowded casinos.

On a recent sunny afternoon in east Las Vegas, Paul Madrid and Daniel Trujillo took a break in front of the barbershop they've run for the last 20 years. Business has been brisk lately, and the pair described themselves as relieved that the worst was behind them. Still, they have winced while watching the price of gas tick up at the station across the street.

Mr. Madrid, 52, called himself a ''lifelong ***working-class*** Democrat'' and said he had tried to pay less attention to politics since former President Donald J. Trump left office. As frustrated as he's been, he is likely to vote for Democrats in November. But he said he felt less loyal than he once did.

''Something's got to change,'' he said. ''We've got to put the country before party. I've got to stay positive. My business is back, customers are back and I just want this all to be over with.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/01/us/politics/nevada-midterms-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/01/us/politics/nevada-midterms-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Left, Itzel Hernandez of Make the Road Nevada with Francisco Lozano in North Las Vegas. Right, Angel Clavijo, who said he voted for President Biden but isn't beholden to either party in the midterms.

Paul Madrid, 52, of Eastside Cutters in Las Vegas, is a ''lifelong ***working-class*** Democrat'' who said his frustration was still not likely to keep him from voting for Democrats in the midterms.

Margarita Mejia, 68, a retired hotel worker in North Las Vegas, shares the same kind of frustra- tion: ''I don't know what the government does for us, even when they say they want to help.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

With control of the Senate threatened, Democrats fear the vulnerability of Senator Catherine Cortez Masto, who does not have a strong bond with voters. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARAHBETH MANEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 2, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Warning for New Victims of Environmental Catastrophe***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67P6-M4B1-JBG3-61T9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 4, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 20; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1179 words

**Byline:** By Vanessa Ogle

**Body**

Dead birds still fall from the sky near my hometown. Their bodies hit the ground as part of the fallout of an environmental disaster that dates back to the 1970s, the result of corporate pollution that made the county I grew up in the home of one of Michigan's most notorious Superfund sites.

It's impossible to know what environmental and health challenges the residents of East Palestine, Ohio, will face in the years to come, but my worry is that they will know what I experienced from childhood onward: unease, loved ones getting sick and a fear of natural landscapes that should be local treasures.

In East Palestine, the derailment of a freight train last month, which was carrying toxic chemicals, including vinyl chloride, has already had a clear impact on wildlife and residents. The Environmental Protection Agency continues to monitor the situation.

But the people living there must be prepared for the reality that this disaster could affect their lives in both monumental and minor ways, in a manner that is not fully visible yet. When the media frenzy fades, they should be ready to organize to ensure that the government provides necessary resources to their communities. Organizing, in my own experience, may have to continue for decades.

There have been reports of more than 43,000 animals dying, mostly fish. Residents have reported various health issues, including respiratory and skin ailments.

My town in rural Central Michigan -- a part of Gratiot County -- was only a few miles from the site of the Velsicol chemical plant, and the fallout of that catastrophe and the environmental cleanup defined much of my early life.

The environmental disaster I faced in Michigan was different from the current crisis in East Palestine. Contamination (primarily of the Pine River) and pollution happened in my county, initially out of the public eye, because from the 1930s to the 1970s a plant produced chemical compounds and products in the town of St. Louis, Mich. In other words, the company had a long presence in the community.

The derailment in East Palestine was happenstance, at least in part the product of bad luck. Still, I see unsettling parallels in my own Midwestern experience with environmental catastrophe and corporate failure.

In Michigan, we suffered horrific tragedy in multiple parts. The first occurred in 1973, before I was born, when the flame retardant PBB, which was produced at the chemical plant, was mixed up with livestock feed supplements. The result was disastrous and sickened the animals. The cause, at first, was unknown, which created more chaos and confusion. It has been estimated that 70 to 90 percent of Michigan residents may have been affected by the tainted livestock through consumption of meat, eggs and milk. (While Michigan residents may have been affected through consumption of tainted products from the sickened livestock, birds fell from the skies for years because they fed on contaminated worms, insects and other grub.) After the plant closed, the county was warned that chemicals, including DDT, were found in the Pine River. More than $100 million has been spent to clean up the area, and that work continues.

Like East Palestine, the town I grew up in is a ***working-class*** community that has been a victim of both federal neglect and corporate greed. I have seen many people in the county diagnosed with diseases and illnesses, including multiple cancers and autoimmune issues, which, according to studies, could stem from chemical exposure.

The Ohio senators Sherrod Brown (a Democrat) and J.D. Vance (a Republican) recently sent a letter to the directors of the state's E.P.A. and the federal E.P.A. that requested information on plans to monitor East Palestine, as well as the surrounding area, for highly toxic dioxins. This bipartisan effort is crucial, because it's important for this disaster to receive attention and assistance as part of an all-hands-on-deck approach.

Immediately after a catastrophe -- especially like the one in East Palestine, which commanded attention on social media with its disturbing images of smoke and flame -- there is often an outpouring of interest and assistance. There was another unusual twist to this one: The East Palestine disaster has affected residents who were extras in the film adaptation of the Don DeLillo novel ''White Noise.'' The parallel between the actual derailment and the fictional event (in the movie and the novel, a train accident results in a chemical spill) was irresistible to the media.

It's vital, though, that the focus remain when the striking visuals fade away -- and that the unseen consequences get as much attention as what first lit up Twitter and TikTok. Environmental crises like this one can be slow-moving, and people who need help may not know for weeks, months, years or even decades what the true consequences could be.

The environmental monitoring and continued attention could be very expensive. Financial resources should be available for health monitoring, environmental protection, wildlife research, cleanup efforts and other measures needed for long-term remediation. This will mean the federal government cannot leave East Palestine behind.

I'm still haunted by the unnecessary tragedy that was the backdrop to my youth. Though many are aware of the dangers in the water and ample signage warns residents about not consuming fish, in the summer people still can't resist fishing there. Much of that fishing is recreational, but there is always a fear that some people may try to cook and consume their catch.

The human margin-of-error reality has to be acknowledged. Many people canoe or boat not far from the site where Velsicol leaked its chemicals, and I've watched dogs wade there. People understand the dangers, but as so much time has passed, they have become accustomed to them.

Advocacy is critical. My home county has incredibly engaged individuals who make up the Pine River Superfund Citizen Task Force. Local advocates pressured the politicians in my area and helped make cleanup a top priority.

But the onus of advocacy shouldn't be on residents, who are the victims here. Government has to step up and spearhead efforts, and corporations have to be held accountable if they are found to be at fault.

Most important, there needs to be a continuous bipartisan effort to get answers and funding to understand what the consequences in Ohio will be. And even as the terrifying visuals fade and life appears to return to a sense of normalcy, attention must be paid to this disaster and the physical, ecological and emotional battles that will inevitably follow.

Vanessa Ogle, a former New York City Council staffer and journalist, is a writer in Brooklyn who grew up in Gratiot County, Mich.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/03/opinion/east-palestine-ohio-derailment-michigan.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/03/opinion/east-palestine-ohio-derailment-michigan.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above left, Debi Pritchard, who was in the evacuation zone in East Palestine. ''Sadly, we're going to be waiting years before we really know the true outcome,'' Ms. Pritchard said. Above right, Teresa Sprowls, the proprietor of the restaurant Sprinklz on Top. ''People don't trust the government. They don't know if the water is safe. Right now, they're just a little scared,'' she said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RICH-JOSEPH FACUN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** March 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Rift Between A.O.C. and Eric Adams: When Democratic Stars Collide***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65DF-5H61-JBG3-62X0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 9, 2022 Monday 13:42 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1810 words

**Byline:** Jesse McKinley

**Highlight:** Mayor Adams and Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who represent divergent wings of the Democratic Party, have not spoken one-on-one in nearly a year.

**Body**

Mayor Adams and Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who represent divergent wings of the Democratic Party, have not spoken one-on-one in nearly a year.

Last July, shortly after [*his win in New York City’s Democratic primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/nyregion/eric-adams-wins.html) for mayor, Eric Adams traveled to Washington for a customary visit with members of [*the state’s congressional delegation*](https://www.ny.gov/new-york-state-congressional-delegation).

Mr. Adams had already made waves on the national scene, [*declaring himself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/24/nyregion/eric-adams-crime-mayor.html) “the face of the new Democratic Party” and warning party leaders of future election losses if they didn’t follow his political playbook.

And while the mayor received a warm reception from his fellow Democrats, there was a notable exception: Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, the party’s outspoken progressive star, was uncharacteristically quiet. Days earlier, [*Mr. Adams warned guests at a fund-raiser*](https://nypost.com/2021/07/27/eric-adams-declares-war-on-aocs-socialists/) about the dangers of democratic socialists, who happen to count the second-term congresswoman as their most famous member.

Representative Nydia Velázquez, a congressional mentor of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s, sought to clear the air, [*pleading with the mayor to treat “everyone with respect.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/28/nyregion/adams-aoc-ocasio-cortez.html)

Yet since then, the friction has continued between Mr. Adams and Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, two ascendant political stars and unusually gifted communicators representing sharply divergent wings of the fractured Democratic Party: Mr. Adams as an avatar of “pragmatic” moderatism, as he has described his policies, and Ms. Ocasio-Cortez as an ardent, left-wing warrior.

“They are fundamentally arguing from the two sides of the Democratic Party,” said Jefrey Pollock, a veteran Democratic strategist, adding, “And therefore, they are bound to be in conflict.”

Despite their prominence and proximity, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and Mr. Adams have had no public events together and have not spoken one-on-one since the July meeting, according to representatives from both camps.

And when they do speak of each other, it is usually to trade barbs and brickbats on issues weighty, and less so. In September, for example, Mr. Adams questioned Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s provocative [*“Tax the Rich” dress*](https://nypost.com/2021/09/20/eric-adams-says-aocs-tax-the-rich-dress-is-the-wrong-message/) at last fall’s Met Gala. (Mr. Adams mimicked the move last week, [*with a tuxedo emblazoned*](https://nypost.com/2022/05/02/eric-adams-sports-end-gun-violence-tux-at-met-gala-2022/?utm_source=twitter_sitebuttons&amp;utm_medium=site%20buttons&amp;utm_campaign=site%20buttons) with the message “End Gun Violence.”)

In early January, shortly after Mr. Adams’s inauguration, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez scolded him [*on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/AOC/status/1478758105999679490?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1478758105999679490%7Ctwgr%5E%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.teenvogue.com%2Fstory%2Faoc-eric-adams-low-skill-workers) for referring to some workers as “low skill.” The mayor shot back that the congresswoman and her followers were acting like the “word police.”

“I know they’re perfect, and there’s not much I can do about that,” [*the mayor said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/10/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-covid.html). “I can only aspire one day to be as perfect as they are.”

The unease between Mr. Adams and Ms. Ocasio-Cortez is not as pronounced or as damaging as past feuds in New York politics, such as the prolonged, internecine battle between the [*former mayor Bill de Blasio and the former governor Andrew M. Cuomo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/22/nyregion/cuomo-deblasio-feud-nyc.html).

Nor is the lack of relationship completely surprising, considering the disparate demands of each official: a congresswoman focused on pushing a progressive-left platform to a more centrist Democrat-led House, a mayor as a buck-stops-here executive.

Still, the seeming enmity is troubling for some Democrats who believe that the appearance of party unity is crucial to staving off serious electoral losses in this year’s midterms and beyond.

The friction between Mr. Adams and Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, who both declined to be interviewed, belies a bevy of personal similarities: Both are ambitious Democrats, people of color raised in the New York City area by families with ***working-class*** roots, their bootstrap backgrounds deeply informing their politics and personal style. Ms. Ocasio-Cortez famously worked [*as a bartender*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/aoc-biography-book-excerpt.html); Mr. Adams recounts being a childhood member of a gang and a victim of police brutality.

Political observers say the schism between the two seems to be underlaid by a complicated mix of personal disdain and policy differences. But there is also a dash of political calculation: an almost symbiotic relationship, with each finding a useful foil in their own backyard, someone on whom to focus their fire and to use to polish their own brand.

Mr. Adams and Ms. Ocasio-Cortez are essentially playing to different crowds, said Peter Ragone, a former aide to Mr. de Blasio.

“The truth is, Adams won without them,” Mr. Ragone said of the college-educated liberals who adore Ms. Ocasio-Cortez. “And if he’s going to expand his base beyond ***working-class*** African American and Latino, it’s not going to be progressives.”

The discord between the two [*surfaced last June*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/05/nyregion/aoc-maya-wiley-endorsement-nyc-mayor.html), when Ms. Ocasio-Cortez endorsed Maya Wiley in the Democratic mayoral primary, arguing that she was best positioned to lead “a city for and by working people.”

Mr. Adams fired back, accusing Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and Ms. Wiley of wanting to “shrink the police force at a time when Black and brown babies are being shot in our streets,” and while hate crimes were increasing.

Indeed, no issue has been the source of more disagreement than policing, on which Mr. Adams, a former police captain, campaigned last year and has taken a hard line as mayor, as violent crime has risen in the city.

Late last month, Mr. Adams called for an increase in the police budget during [*his State of the City address*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/26/nyregion/eric-adams-crime-homeless.html), as well as agreed to hire nearly 600 new correction officers.

Even before that announcement, however, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez had already rejected many of Mr. Adams’s early ideas — including his approach to policing and [*austerity measures he announced in February*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/16/nyregion/budget-adams-police-nyc.html).

In an [*Instagram post.*](https://twitter.com/emmagf/status/1510663244368781313?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw) she noted that the mayor was “cutting virtually every city agency’s budget while raising the NYPD’s,” adding, “It’s a no for me.”

Many mainstream Democratic leaders blamed progressive leaders and ideas like “defund the police,” as well as rising crime, for the party’s poor showing in the 2021 election cycle, including losses [*in moderate areas like Long Island*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/08/nyregion/nassau-county-republicans-election.html), where the state’s bail reform laws turned off swing voters.

Supporters of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez reject that assertion, noting that Mr. Adams only narrowly won the primary, in a ranked-choice vote with relatively low turnout.

They also contend that the progressive agenda trumpeted by Ms. Ocasio-Cortez — focusing on climate change, housing, labor issues and health care — is far more aligned with New York values than Mr. Adams’s ethos of being tough on crime and friendly to real estate and business interests.

“Let’s not overstate the mayor’s mandate,” said Tiffany Cabán, a city councilwoman from Queens and an ally of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, noting victories by more liberal candidates in citywide races for public advocate and comptroller. “It’s clear that his approach is actually the outlier.”

Stylistic differences also divide the two politicians, leading to criticism from both sides. Mr. Adams’s supporters, for instance, find Ms. Ocasio-Cortez to be self-righteous; the congresswoman’s backers find Mr. Adams to be arrogant.

There is no question that Mr. Adams has felt pestered by liberals like Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and Ms. Cabán, as well as their socialist partners in Albany, like State Senator [*Jabari Brisport*](https://www.nysenate.gov/senators/jabari-brisport) of Brooklyn, who says that the mayor is merely “repackaging Republican talking points and ideology for a Democratic audience.”

“It’s definitely not a progressive agenda,” Mr. Brisport said. “It’s the Mayor Adams agenda.”

Mr. Adams’s supporters contend that despite the mayor’s aggressive stance on law enforcement issues, he has much in common with the progressive wing of the party, noting planned investments in public housing, child care and mental health services.

They also note that Mr. Adams just won an election, and thus has a mandate to lead as he sees fit.

Even before his inauguration, Mr. Adams had struck a defiant tone with left-wingers, rebuffing incoming City Council members by saying he would ignore a written plea to [*end solitary confinement at Rikers Island*](https://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/politics/im-going-to-ignore-them-adams-on-council-members-letter-about-solitary-confinement/3463395/). “Like it or not,” he said, “I’m the mayor.”

Evan Thies, an adviser to Mr. Adams, said that “it’s important to recognize that the mayor and many of those who are critical of him from the far left started in the same place” — as ***working-class*** New Yorkers, often from “underserved communities” — and want the same things, including equality, affordability, and “a higher quality of life.”

“So his message to them is: We are prioritizing the same people,” Mr. Thies said. “Let’s start there and then talk short-term and long-term solutions.”

Mr. Adams, who at 61 is nearly twice the congresswoman’s age, is a product of a classic New York City political upbringing. Fashioned in the trenches of Brooklyn machine politics, he likes to communicate via street corner interviews and tabloid headlines, something he has managed to regularly generate with a series of nights on the town, trumpeting [*his swagger*](https://www.newyorker.com/news/our-local-correspondents/eric-adams-says-he-has-swagger-what-else-does-he-have) as a selling point.

And while his administration uses Twitter as a way to amplify policy and city announcements, the mayor has made clear his disdain for the medium, telling a primary night crowd that “social media does not pick a candidate.”

“People on Social Security pick a candidate,” he said.

At 32, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez is an online juggernaut, with millions of Twitter followers, legions of devoted fans and robust fund-raising operation. Dan Sena, a Democratic consultant in Washington, said that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez also possessed an uncanny political skill for defining her positions — and her opponent.

“She is always, always, always on message,” he said, adding, “She does a very good job of always creating a bad guy. And in this particular case, it’s the mayor.”

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s office points out that both teams do work together on various projects — including combating Covid-19, improving subway stations and securing a potential grant for City Island — in Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s district, which spans parts of [*southeastern Bronx and northern Queens*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/about/our-district).

Still, the squabbles between Mr. Adams and Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and others on the left may hint at larger issues for Democrats.

Susan Kang, a political science professor at John Jay College of Criminal Justice and a democratic socialist, said that the infighting represented an “unresolved dilemma” for Democrats, who have lost the specter of former President Donald J. Trump as a unifying force for their sometimes unwieldy electoral coalition.

“It’s really a very different time than 2018,” she said, noting that left-wing candidates — and their grass-roots energy — were welcomed by party leaders in that election cycle, when Ms. Ocasio-Cortez burst onto the national stage with her primary upset over Representative Joseph Crowley.

“They were like, ‘Oh look, the young people, they’re doing something cute,’” Professor Kang added. “Now, it’s seen as a real existential threat.”

PHOTOS: Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Mayor Eric Adams have not spoken one-on-one since July, according to both camps. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARAHBETH MANEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES; MIKE BLAKE/REUTERS) (A21)

**Load-Date:** May 9, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Trains Are Stopped. Some Brits Are Moved.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65V6-FPF1-DXY4-X4X1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 3, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1211 words

**Byline:** By Saskia Solomon

**Body**

At a time of rampant inflation and wage stagnation, Mick Lynch, the force behind Britain's largest railway strikes in three decades, has found success that has surprised even his colleagues.

LONDON -- Prime Minister Boris Johnson has branded him a ''union baron,'' but Mick Lynch, the union leader who is orchestrating the largest railway strikes in Britain in three decades, has emerged from work stoppages that disrupted the plans of millions of people as an unexpected media sensation.

Mr. Lynch, the general secretary of the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers, has used a series of combative television interviews to build public support for the R.M.T., despite the fact that its striking workers halted most of Britain's trains for three days last week.

When Richard Madeley, the host of ''Good Morning Britain,'' asked him if he was a Marxist, Mr. Lynch shot back, ''Richard, you do come up with the most remarkable twaddle sometimes,'' before pivoting swiftly to what he insisted the strike was about: better working conditions, higher pay, and avoiding layoffs.

His success has surprised even some of his union colleagues, who were bracing themselves for much greater public backlash to their fight for a ''square deal'' at a time of rampant inflation and wage stagnation.

That does not mean Mr. Lynch, 60, who took over the union in May 2021, has not been the subject of hostile headlines in the London tabloids. Nor does it mean that public opinion will not turn against the railway workers, particularly if the strikes drag on through the summer. Polling on public attitudes toward the strikes varies widely, suggesting that many people have yet to make up their minds.

''We know it's a tough gig, this negotiation,'' Mr. Lynch said in an interview last week in the exposed-brick boardroom of Unity House, the R.M.T.'s London headquarters. ''It's not perfect from our point of view, or anyone else's.''

But he added, ''We've got to have something that reflects the real cost of living.''

Mr. Lynch accused the train operators of trying to cut wages rather than reaching a fair settlement. ''Not just against inflation,'' he added, ''Not relatively against the cost of living -- but actually lower the salaries, and extend the working week from 35 hours to 40. Anyone can see that is a massive attack on the trade union.''

Social media has helped his cause. Clips of Mr. Lynch sparring with interviewers have circulated widely. ''Until this week I didn't know what 'trending' was,'' Mr. Lynch said to a crowd at a rally outside King's Cross station on a recent Saturday, ''I suppose it's a good thing.'' People jostled to take photographs with him.

But does all this visibility risk a backlash?

''Mick Lynch being an effective orator is a great advantage, and a great support, to the dispute,'' said Gregor Gall, a visiting professor of industrial relations at the University of Leeds. ''But in itself, it's not going to win the dispute.''

''It's possible that public opinion might shift against Mick Lynch if people feel that their travel plans are being disrupted on a long-term basis,'' Professor Gall added. ''I think he's in the honeymoon period at the moment.''

Some critics argue that, in comparison to the national average for salaries, rail workers are quite well paid. Grant Shapps, Mr. Johnson's transportation secretary, dismissed the strikes as a stunt. Others have accused Mr. Lynch of using the strikes to protect ''archaic working practices'' such as restrictions on maintenance workers in one area helping in another.

Union leaders are used to such charges. Like Bob Crow, his most prominent predecessor at the R.M.T., Mr. Lynch plays the part of a firebrand. But compared with Mr. Crow, who went on a beach vacation to Brazil on the eve of disruptive rail strikes in 2014, Mr. Lynch is viewed as a more unifying force, which may help him secure a deal for his members.

Born in 1962 to a ***working-class*** Irish family in Paddington, West London, Mr. Lynch was one of five children, raised in what he has described as ''rented rooms that would now be called slums.'' After leaving school at 16, he worked first as an electrician, and then in construction before he was illegally blacklisted for joining a union.

Mr. Lynch took a job in 1993 with Eurostar, the operator of the high-speed trains that cross under the English Channel, and became a card-carrying member of the R.M.T.

''Mick's from a different generation,'' said Alex Gordon, the union's president. ''He's been around since the 1980s as a worker, as a trade unionist for 40 years, and you do pick up a lot of experience. He's an exceptionally clever and perceptive guy.''

In some respects, the timing of the strikes is good for the union. Mr. Johnson's approval ratings are at their lowest level since he became prime minister, with revelations of illicit parties at Downing Street during coronavirus lockdowns heightening a growing public disdain for the government.

''In many people's eyes, he is the most effective critic of the government at the moment,'' Professor Gall said of Mr. Lynch.

The strike has also put the opposition Labour Party in an awkward position. The party has deep emotional and financial ties to Britain's unions -- some, though not the R.M.T., even have voting rights in its internal elections -- but also a deep fear of seeming to be controlled by them.

Keir Starmer, Labour's leader, has discouraged his members from visiting picket lines, a decision mocked by Diane Abbott, the Labour lawmaker for the Hackney district of London, who spoke at the R.M.T. rally on a recent Saturday.

''I don't understand the argument that Labour M.P.s shouldn't be there because we're not supposed to pick a side,'' Ms. Abbott said. ''I thought when you joined the Labour Party you had picked a side.''

Not having to appeal to disparate voting blocs, Mr. Lynch can push a simple message. Allies say that makes him an authentic champion of the ***working class*** at a time when politicians seem increasingly detached from reality.

Rhys Harmer, 28, the former R.M.T. youth chair, and a rail worker, said he and his colleagues watched videos of Mr. Lynch ''tearing apart people making blatant lies about our union, our workplaces, and what's happening to us. It's refreshing for a lot of our members.''

Even those with no connection to the union have been moved.

''He doesn't have any long-term ambitions in terms of winning people over in the media, and he can just speak truth to power,'' said Fabienne Camm, 36, a charity worker who traveled an hour by bus to attend the King's Cross rally.

Since the strikes, the R.M.T. said its membership had increased by over a thousand.

For many, this is a departure from previous strikes, in which frustrated passengers clashed with picketers and the British press vilified union leaders as disrupters. While the papers have covered people missing medical appointments because of the strike, it has so far done little to dent the union's image.

''We will strike a deal with them eventually,'' said Mr. Lynch said of his negotiations with the rail companies. ''There's more than one way to construct value in a package -- it doesn't all have to be about salary. So we'll see what we can do.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/02/world/britain-rail-strikes-rmt-union-mick-lynch.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/02/world/britain-rail-strikes-rmt-union-mick-lynch.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Mick Lynch, a union leader in Britain, built public support for striking workers with viral videos. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SASKIA SOLOMON/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 3, 2022

**End of Document**



[***How a New City Council Map of L.A. Turned Into a Political Brawl***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6938-06V1-JBG3-6171-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 3, 2023 Sunday 23:00 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 3055 words

**Byline:** Jill Cowan, Serge F. Kovaleski and Leanne Abraham

**Highlight:** Blatant political gerrymandering occurs in cities across the country, many of them run by Democrats. In Los Angeles, a scandal over a racist recording was only the tip of the iceberg.

**Body**

Blatant political gerrymandering occurs in cities across the country, many of them run by Democrats. In Los Angeles, a scandal over a racist recording was only the tip of the iceberg.

Nithya Raman turned into a political celebrity almost overnight when she emerged as the face of a rising progressive vanguard to campaign for the Los Angeles City Council in 2020.

With a master’s degree in urban planning from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and experience working with slum dwellers in India, Ms. Raman zeroed in on the city’s soaring housing prices and promised to give renters and homeless people a seat at the political table — her seat.

Ms. Raman, 42, wound up receiving more votes than any council member in the city’s history and began to [*draw comparisons*](https://www.lamag.com/mag-features/nithya-raman-david-ryu-council-district-4/) to the progressive New York congresswoman, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez — “LAOC,” one local critic [*derisively called her*](https://venturablvd.goldenstate.is/nithya-raman-aims-to-shake-it-up-on-las-city-council/).

Barely a year later, though, Ms. Raman ran into an adversary her grass-roots army was powerless to confront: the bruising power politics involved in running a city of 3.8 million people. The City Council had embarked on its once-a-decade redistricting process, and Ms. Raman, who had few allies among the city’s old-guard politicians, was threatened at one point with losing virtually all of the constituents who had elected her.

“I’ve been in politics for 50 years and I’ve never seen anything like this before in my entire life,” said Jackie Goldberg, Ms. Raman’s representative on the redistricting commission. “I’ve never seen a group of people come together and try to disband the City Council district of a woman who got more votes than any of them ever did.”

The redistricting battle in Los Angeles underscores how some big city leaders — often Democrats — have used gerrymandering for their political advantage, much the way Republican lawmakers have redrawn legislative lines to secure or expand their control over some statehouses. Similar fights have been waged in [*Boston*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2023/05/16/metro/with-three-competing-maps-bostons-redistricting-drama-continues/?event=event12), [*Miami*](https://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/miami-dade/article270053727.html) and [*Chicago*](https://news.wttw.com/2022/05/16/chicago-city-council-votes-43-7-approve-new-ward-map-after-racially-polarizing-debate).

The conflict in Los Angeles became a national controversy last fall after audio was leaked that revealed the [*shockingly frank, racist language*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/us/la-city-council-audio-recording-leaked.html) that politicians used behind closed doors to discuss where to draw district boundaries. Nury Martinez, the former council president, used slurs to describe the young, Black child of a white colleague, as well as Indigenous immigrants from Oaxaca, and was forced to resign.

But the uproar over the recordings obscured the more fundamental impact of Los Angeles’s 2021 redistricting process: the degree to which political interference by council members directly undermined some of the very goals the politicians said they were trying to achieve.

As the city prepares this fall to look closely at what lessons were learned from the scandal-ridden process, The New York Times conducted dozens of interviews with redistricting commissioners, council members, neighborhood leaders and experts on voting rights to understand the ultimate outcomes of the closed-door maneuvering. Maps of the various district configurations were analyzed to examine their impacts on race and other demographics.

In instance after instance, the review showed, the recommendations of the commission appointed to review district boundaries — advice based on months of neighborhood meetings, expert studies and comments from the community — were largely ignored as the council pushed through a map that would help re-elect the incumbents.

The council members on the audio all largely maintained their existing districts — Ms. Martinez’s constituency remained nearly 100 percent intact — as did at least six other council members.

The city made no progress at all on one of its chief original aims — to build fairer representation for Latinos, who currently make up about half the city’s population but hold about a third of the council seats.

A longstanding goal of unifying Koreatown, which had historically been split across four council districts, was accomplished. But many residents there who had helped elect Ms. Raman — an important base of the renters she wanted to mobilize — no longer had her as their councilwoman.

“This all felt counter to the political explosion that got me here in the first place,” Ms. Raman said. “Eleven months after a very democratic process, a very undemocratic process takes hold.”

Frank Cardenas, who was the redistricting commission’s executive director, said he was “disgusted” at how an effort that involved the participation of some 15,000 Angelenos was so abruptly set aside.

“Thousands of people got vested in the process of designing their city only to have their work and efforts pissed on by the council,” he said. “Here we have elected officials literally playing games with them while inviting them to be part of a democratic process — only to become authoritarian on them at the end. It was a breathtaking bait and switch.”

Several of the eight council members who spoke with The Times about the redistricting process said their interventions to prevent large changes to their districts were intended to protect the will of the people who had voted for them.

“The common interest we had was in preventing our constituents from being completely taken away from the council member they voted for,” said Paul Krekorian, who is now City Council president.

But in a City Council election campaign this spring, held to fill the seat vacated by Ms. Martinez, much of the blame was pointed at the Council itself.

“Neighborhoods like the one I live in, Sun Valley, were carved up for political purposes, not for empowering constituents,” said Imelda Padilla, a community organizer who was elected to the council in June. “These public officials were in that room discussing the consolidation of their own individual power, not equitable political representation.”

A process designed to be inclusive

Los Angeles is home to one of the country’s biggest immigrant populations and a network of stunningly disparate neighborhoods — the mansions of Brentwood, the high-rises of Century City, the suburbs of the San Fernando Valley and the dense urban communities of Watts, Boyle Heights and Echo Park.

Nowhere in the country do City Council members preside over fiefs so large: 15 council members represent [*about 264,900 people*](https://clkrep.lacity.org/onlinedocs/2022/22-1196-s1_misc_4-20-23.pdf) each. To put it in perspective, this is one-and-a-half times the size of City Council districts in New York and five times more than those in Chicago. A single council district in Los Angeles is more populous than [*the vast majority of California cities*](https://www.california-demographics.com/cities_by_population).

Racial and ethnic groups have spent decades jostling for power and building coalitions, and the redrawing of the city’s political map has often exposed fault lines and simmering conflicts. The redistricting process is overseen by a commission that is supposed to be independent, yet the members are appointed by council members who can also ignore whatever recommendations the commission makes.

As things got underway in November 2020, the commission staff began urging neighborhoods to participate and submit their own possible maps. “We need to hear about what you believe makes up your community,” a commission flier said. “Tell us about the schools, churches, parks and shopping areas. Tell us about the people.”

Faced with the challenges of the coronavirus pandemic, organizers set up webcams around the city — some outdoors and some in large community centers — and more than 1,450 speakers ultimately provided testimony.

“We had assembly lines of people giving public testimony,” said Rafael González, who was the commission’s director of community outreach and engagement.

Maria-Isabel Rutledge, a 70-year-old resident of the 8th Council District in South Los Angeles, said residents there were trying to reverse a neighborhood decline she said had been exacerbated by a bout of political horse trading during the redistricting of 2012, when the University of Southern California and Exposition Park — magnets for jobs and spending in the community — were both moved from the 8th district into the 9th.

In the decade afterward, Ms. Rutledge said, businesses shut down, and streetlights and roads were not repaired as quickly. An alley near her house was left perpetually muddy.

So in 2021, she and her fellow activists pushed for the return of U.S.C.

Even bigger conflicts emerged in Koreatown, the place where Ms. Raman’s troubles started.

The neighborhood’s more than 100,000 people — including ***working-class*** immigrants from around the world — live in a mix of aging apartment buildings and luxurious new high-rises alongside bustling strip malls, bars and restaurants, all packed into an area less than three square miles that is one of the most densely populated neighborhoods in the country.

The area, west of downtown, had been split among four council districts — one of them Ms. Raman’s — meaning that for decades, it had never had a single council member to represent its collective interests. Though a majority of Koreatown’s residents are now Latino, Asian residents there had long pushed for more direct representation.

But consolidating 100,000 people into one district would require hefty adjustments, and Ms. Raman was poised to lose about 17,000 Koreatown residents, some of whom had been among her strongest supporters.

Drawing boundary lines is typically a rough-and-tumble process, and several council members nominated local heavyweights, including former lawmakers and lobbyists, as their representatives on the redistricting commission. Ms. Raman stayed true to her roots by naming a relative political outsider, Alexandra Suh, who leads the nonprofit Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance.

But when the commission broke into groups to focus on different areas of the city, Ms. Suh was grouped with commissioners from the city’s Westside, and she felt she was left out of many discussions on how Koreatown might be carved up.

“It was clear that people had come in with agendas,” Ms. Suh said.

As the map developed, Ms. Raman and Mr. Krekorian, who was already due to leave the Council in 2024 because of term limits, were offered two alternative districts. One of them would lose the entire population of voters who had elected them only a year earlier. The other alternative showed Ms. Raman losing about 70 percent of her constituents.

Fred Ali, who was the chairman of the redistricting commission, said that Ms. Raman’s district was located in the center of the city and none of the goals the commission was trying to achieve — accommodating population shifts westward, uniting Koreatown, building better Latino representation in the San Fernando Valley — could be accomplished without significant changes in that center.

But David Ely, a redistricting consultant for the Council, said it was his impression that Ms. Raman was vulnerable because she was a political newcomer.

“She was perceived as the one least able to defend herself,” Mr. Ely said. “She wasn’t strongly connected and not part of any power blocks on the Council.”

Jonathan Mehta Stein, the executive director of California Common Cause, which closely monitored the redistricting process, said he believed there was also a larger political goal: “They pulled her base out from under her to have her turn down the volume on behalf of renters,” he said.

Ms. Suh tried to introduce alternatives that would preserve more of Ms. Raman’s district, but to no avail.

That’s when Ms. Raman decided that she would need a new strategy. “Raman was wrestling a pig,” Mr. Stein said of the process, “and she had to get in the mud herself.”

Joining the fray

Ms. Suh was thanked for her help, and told she was being replaced.

Enter Ms. Goldberg, a veteran Los Angeles politician — the city’s first openly gay City Council member, a three-term member of the State Assembly and a two-time member of the Los Angeles Board of Education.

“Alexandra did not have the political know-how compared to an old political hand like Jackie,” Ms. Raman recalled. “Unfortunately, I felt like I needed a warrior like her.”

Ms. Goldberg was a veteran of many past political realignments. “I have voted in six council districts,” she said. “And I’ve been in the same house for 30 years.”

By the time she was brought in to help salvage Ms. Raman’s district, she said, “it was clear the fix was in.”

“I got there too late,” she said.

As she saw it, Ms. Raman’s election represented a threat to the “liberal Democrat” status quo that was roiling Democratic politics across the country. “Nithya is a leftist,” she said, part of a wave of “new, young people who think we can do more.”

Ms. Goldberg’s entry on Ms. Raman’s behalf turned what had been a difficult process into a highly contentious one, several commissioners said, as she accused fellow commissioners of drawing boundaries that were racist and insisted on preserving more of Ms. Raman’s district.

“The power of her anger was visible,” Mr. Cardenas, the executive director, said of Ms. Goldberg.

Several other council members also brought in new appointees — for political and other reasons — and soon, the Council was getting even more involved. Mr. Ali said he started to receive calls from Ackley Padilla, the chief of staff for Ms. Martinez, who had appointed Mr. Ali to the commission.

Initially, the calls were “questions about process and plans for upcoming meetings,” Mr. Ali said. “And then there were calls with specific questions about particular map configurations, such as why certain changes were being made.” Ultimately, he said, “I was being asked to consider other configurations.”

Mr. Padilla said his phone calls were part of the normal process of guiding the deliberations. “Providing input was both ordinary and appropriate,” he said.

In October 2021, the commission finally released its plan for the city, dubbed the “K2.5” map. The commission said it achieved a number of goals: It would keep more neighborhoods and ethnic enclaves whole; the San Fernando Valley’s growth would be recognized by the creation of five council districts entirely in the Valley; Koreatown would be unified; and Black and Latino voter power would be “maintained, and in some cases, strengthened.”

The final lines of Ms. Raman’s district were left for the City Council to decide, an acknowledgment that the decision, ultimately, would be a political one.

Richard Polanco, a former State Senate majority leader who was council member Gilbert Cedillo’s appointee, said he thought the map “addressed the needs of Los Angeles” and that he had expected the Council to adopt it.

“We did our jobs and shame on them,” he said.

The gloves come off

The City Council, charged at that point with adopting or tweaking the commission’s map, proceeded in a series of 38 motions to redraw it entirely. The effect of these changes, The Times analysis shows, was to return to a map that closely resembled what had been drawn during the last redistricting in 2012 — the point where they had all started.

While Ms. Raman did not lose her entire district, she lost about 40 percent of her constituency, more than any other council member.

‌The hope of creating a new Latino-majority district went nowhere in the end — the city ended up with exactly the same number of Latino-majority districts as it had in 2012.

U.S.C. stayed exactly where it was, despite the efforts of Ms. Rutledge and her neighbors.

And attempts to more fairly realign one of the fastest-growing areas of the city, the San Fernando Valley, were undermined when Ms. Martinez, the former council president who had been heard scheming on the audio recording, fought back the commission’s plan to move Van Nuys Airport and the Sepulveda Basin — a possible venue location for the 2028 Olympics — out of her district.

In the chaotic days after the audio was leaked, council members scrambled to demonstrate their support for redistricting reform — though they quickly opposed a proposal in the State Legislature to take the whole process out of their hands.

In June, a group of academics that studied the recent problems, [*advised*](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/6418fa9c70a5ba0abd5abcc7/t/64938f94dc07a77bc3840a07/1687392153966/2023.06.21+LA+GOVERNANCE+INTERIM+REPORT+V.+12.pdf) adding 10 more seats to the City Council, in addition to establishing truly independent redistricting commissions for both the council and the school board.

Now, after months of listening sessions held around town, City Council leaders say they plan to put the two questions to voters next year, with the precise details to be discussed this fall.

Creating more seats, many experts say, could also potentially reduce corruption. Los Angeles has seen a parade of corruption scandals at City Hall, often tied to the immense power that council members wield over commerce and land development in such large districts.

Mark Ridley-Thomas, who was set to represent the newly unified Koreatown, in March became the third council member in less than four years to be [*convicted on corruption charges*](https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/mark-ridley-thomas-found-guilty-bribery-and-fraud-involving-benefits-son-exchange) and was sentenced last week to 42 months in prison. Curren Price, the council member who had managed to hold on to U.S.C. and Exposition Park, was charged in June with [*embezzlement, perjury and conflict of interest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/13/us/curren-price-los-angeles-corruption.html#:~:text=Prosecutors%20said%20that%20Curren%20Price,%24150%2C000%20between%202019%20and%202021.). He has vigorously denied any wrongdoing.

Sara Sadhwani, an assistant politics professor at Pomona College who was part of the academic panel that suggested reforms, said that a narrow window for change could close soon as last year’s audio scandal fades from memory and public pressure diminishes.

“It’s a rare thing to see a council member or any legislator that has such a power have a willingness to relinquish it,” she said.

Michael Wines contributed reporting. Kirsten Noyes, Susan C. Beachy, Sheelagh McNeill and Kitty Bennett contributed research.

Michael Wines contributed reporting. Kirsten Noyes, Susan C. Beachy, Sheelagh McNeill and Kitty Bennett contributed research.

PHOTOS: FRANK CARDENAS: The redistricting commission’s executive director felt the City Council overstepped in its interventions.; NITHYA RAMAN: A newcomer to the Council, she lost 40 percent of her constituency, more than any other member.; PAUL KREKORIAN: The City Council president said the goal was to keep constituents from losing the members they had voted for. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY STELLA KALININA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A12); A pop-up amusement park in Koreatown, top, which with its 100,000 residents in less than three square miles, is one of the country’s most densely populated neighborhoods. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK ABRAMSON) (A12-A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A12, A13.

**Load-Date:** September 7, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Past Returns, Looking To Fight***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67P0-N7F1-DXY4-X33H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 3, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1125 words

**Byline:** By Manohla Dargis

**Body**

In his tender and gruff directorial debut, Michael B. Jordan again takes the lead, this time alongside Jonathan Majors as a childhood friend who has reappeared.

The tears flow as freely as the blood in ''Creed III,'' the latest entry in the apparently indestructible ''Rocky'' saga. Once again, Adonis Creed -- the tough but tender, gruff but gentle heavyweight boxer played by Michael B. Jordan -- must be knocked down so that he can rise higher still. That story line is a metaphor for life, no doubt. It's also a perfect distillation of this franchise, which has had repeated ups and downs during its staggering 47-year run.

In 1976, the year that Sylvester Stallone's Rocky sprinted up the long steps leading to the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gerald R. Ford was president and most of the principal cast of ''Creed III'' wasn't yet born. The 2015 release of ''Creed,'' seventh in the series, inaugurated a narrative shift that found Rocky taking on the role of the avuncular trainer, a part he also played three years later in the sequel. Stallone isn't in this latest chapter. While his absence has obvious resonance, if you were expecting some kind of Hamlet-style anguish or even a hint of misty melancholia about the now-absent symbolic father, forget it. This isn't the Sly Stallone show; it's Michael B. Jordan's, from first scene to last.

For this installment, Jordan has taken over as both the star and the director (it's his feature debut), twinned roles that he has assumed with seamless assurance. As entertaining as it is predictable, ''Creed III'' does exactly what you expect, delivering nicely balanced helpings of intimacy and spectacle, grit and glamour. It's enjoyably old-school Hollywood in how squarely it hits all the familiar genre beats -- even as it pragmatically advances the series -- yet it's also very much of the moment in how it grapples with family, friendship and the complexities of contemporary masculinity, its pleasures and its burdens.

Every boxer needs a challenger, a hard body to spar with physically and otherwise. Here, that foe is Damian, a childhood friend of Adonis (Donnie to his pals), a walking wound played as an adult by Jonathan Majors. (In flashback, Spence Moore II and Thaddeus James Mixson Jr. play the characters as adolescents.) After the usual recap -- now retired, Donnie is fabulously successful and settled down with his family -- Damian appears in a hoodie one day outside Donnie's gym while leaning on the champ's Rolls-Royce. It's an image that's more biting than any line of dialogue, all the more so because an irritated Donnie doesn't at first recognize Damian, a scene that Jordan invests with dramatic tension and visceral unease.

That sense of disquiet remains as an enigmatically wary Donnie and an unreadable Damian share a meal and guarded laughs, and the story's (too) many pieces begin sharply clicking into place. The movie is a continuation of Creed's story, and a further burnishing of a new big-screen myth -- one that is now refracted through Damian and his desire to get back into the ring. A Golden Gloves fighter as a teen, Damian wants to reclaim his boxing glory and resume a trajectory cut short by prison. That's exactly what happens, more or less, despite Donnie's reservations, the strong objections of his business partner, Tony (Wood Harris), and some complications with Donnie's mother, Mary-Anne (Phylicia Rashad).

Like many actors-turned-directors, Jordan does very fine work with the performers, including in his scenes with Tessa Thompson, who again plays Bianca, his lover and now wife. Her character doesn't have all that much to do (a musician, she has given up performing), but Thompson's charisma ensures that the character never registers like an afterthought or an appendage to the male protagonist. There's no question that Jordan is the star, as his ample screen time affirms -- the man certainly knows his best camera angles and when to strip down -- but what gives the movie interest and heft is how it insistently deploys other characters to complicate and recast the classic figure of the rugged American individual.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Like ''Rocky'' was for Stallone, the first ''Creed'' served as a breakthrough for Jordan and for its director, Ryan Coogler, who have become entertainment-world juggernauts. Stallone's presence in the earlier ''Creed'' movies ensured that the franchise remained tethered to his legacy, with its sequels and fraught semiotics, even if the titles no longer carried the Rocky name. Instructively, the first ''Creed'' ends with Donnie and Rocky side by side; the second restlessly cuts between the two, as if asking for you to choose between them. The choice has now been made, and with the shift from Rocky to Creed the franchise has moved to fertile new ground. (Coogler and Stallone remain attached to the series as producers; Coogler also shares the story credit with the screenwriters, his brother Keegan Coogler and Zach Baylin.)

''Nobody owes nobody nothing,'' Rocky says in the first film, a philosophical declaration from a white ***working-class*** striver who can seem alone even when he's with other people and whose self-reliance puts him on a continuum with other bootstrapping self-mythologizers. In ''Creed III,'' Donnie has his share of lonely moments, too, but the story continually puts him into play with other people, including in tender scenes of him caring for his and Bianca's daughter (Mila Davis-Kent). In contrast to, say, those dead-mom movies in which men take over for absent mothers, Donnie shares parenting duties. He is responsible for -- and to -- other people and deeply connected to a community that, however anxiously, includes Damian, who isn't a combative stranger but an old friend, as well as a reminder of a fate escaped.

''Creed III'' suffers from the customary franchise bloat, and the ending is rushed and underdeveloped. It's also bogged down by a tragic subplot that feels expedient (you can sense the next movie being plotted out as it unfolds), but that also gives Donnie a narrative rationale to shed copious tears, which Jordan does with aching vulnerability. There's art and craft in those tears. There is also, well, a creed. And as emotion floods this movie, Jordan lets loose a torrent of ideas about Black masculinity and community, about how the past haunts the present, the legacy of state violence, the chimera of self-reliance and the existential necessity of love. So, come for the boxing, yes -- but bring plenty of hankies, too.

Creed IIIRated PG-13 for gun and boxing-ring violence. Running time: 1 hour 56 minutes. In theaters.Creed IIIRated PG-13 for gun and boxing-ring violence. Running time: 1 hour 56 minutes. In theaters.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/02/movies/creed-iii-review-michael-b-jordan.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/02/movies/creed-iii-review-michael-b-jordan.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Jonathan Majors plays Damian, a childhood friend of Adonis Creed, in ''Creed III.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY SER BAFFO/MGM) This article appeared in print on page C10.

**Load-Date:** March 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***For South Texas Democrats, an Intraparty Test of Abortion Politics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65D1-75M1-JBG3-616W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 7, 2022 Saturday 08:34 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1769 words

**Byline:** James Dobbins, Jennifer Medina and Katie Glueck

**Highlight:** A staunchly anti-abortion Democrat in Congress will face a young abortion-rights supporter in a pivotal primary runoff.

**Body**

A staunchly anti-abortion Democrat in Congress will face a young abortion-rights supporter in a pivotal primary runoff.

Follow our live updates on the midterm [*primary elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/05/24/us/election-georgia-primary-texas).

LAREDO, Texas — When Representative Henry Cuellar stepped onstage at a campaign rally in San Antonio this week, he spoke of education, health care and his experience in Congress. But as Mr. Cuellar, a nine-term Democratic congressman, faces his toughest re-election challenge yet, one word did not escape his lips: abortion.

Mr. Cuellar, the most staunchly anti-abortion Democrat in the House, will face a primary runoff later this month against Jessica Cisneros, a 28-year-old immigration lawyer and a progressive supporter of abortion rights.

[*Democrats across the country hope*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/03/us/politics/abortion-midterms-supreme-court.html) the leaked draft Supreme Court opinion overturning Roe v. Wade will help galvanize their voters in the midterm elections, potentially rallying support for the party in a year that is widely expected to benefit Republicans.

But one of the first tests of just how much the issue will motivate Democratic voters will come in a primary runoff at the end of May, in the South Texas district held by Mr. Cuellar where conservative Democrats have regularly succeeded. It is a heavily Latino district that includes the border city of Laredo and parts of San Antonio, where Catholicism dominates, and where, as Mr. Cuellar showed from the stage, the subject of abortion often goes undiscussed.

Dr. Enrique Benavides III, a 51-year-old obstetrician-gynecologist who manages a women’s health clinic with his father in Laredo, said that typically when patients request abortions, he gives them information about a clinic in San Antonio, more than a two-hour drive away.

Dr. Benavides described himself as a pro-choice Catholic Democrat who will vote for Mr. Cuellar. “Democrats here are very different than those on the coasts, very Catholic and conservative,” he said.

Abortion rights advocates believe the Supreme Court’s draft ruling will shake up the race, providing a helpful jolt for Ms. Cisneros. But supporters of Mr. Cuellar and some local Democratic officials say the district’s voters, who lean socially conservative, are unlikely to be moved by the issue. And several national Democratic leaders who have publicly made fiery vows to maintain abortion rights are nonetheless standing behind Mr. Cuellar, with some warning that a win for Ms. Cisneros later this month could give Republicans an edge in November.

In interviews with nearly a dozen men and women in Laredo, most said they would support Mr. Cuellar in spite of — or even because of — his stance on abortion.

These voters, several of whom expressed support for abortion rights but said they would still vote for an anti-abortion congressman, revealed the uphill battle Ms. Cisneros faces as she tries to convince voters to oust a familiar political figure whose family has long been a fixture in the community. Even among Democrats, support for abortion rights may not uniformly motivate voters, particularly ***working-class*** Latinos — a demographic that has shown signs of drifting away from the party.

Hector Gomez, 67, has known Mr. Cuellar since they were classmates at J.W. Nixon High School in the 1970s, and has voted for the congressman in every election since he first ran in 2006.

“He’s doing his job,” said Mr. Gomez, an antique store owner, adding that although he is Catholic and opposed to abortion, the issue does not determine his vote. “Mr. Cuellar is the best choice because he’s not someone you can just brush off.”

Texas’ 28th Congressional District stretches from the Mexican border to San Antonio, and Laredo is its political center. A ***working-class*** city, it has been a Democratic stronghold for decades but remains culturally conservative, with residents who fill Catholic church pews on Sundays. Many describe themselves as apolitical, and said they are more focused on making ends meet than staking out positions on partisan political issues.

Before this week’s leaked Supreme Court opinion, abortion had not been the central issue in the primary campaign, though several national abortion rights groups had invested heavily in the district, focusing on the new state abortion restrictions in Texas. Ms. Cisneros did not run a television advertisement on the issue until late last month, according to AdImpact, an ad tracking firm. Until the focus on abortion was renewed this week, the runoff had been a mostly sleepy affair, with observers predicting an extremely low turnout.

Now, Ms. Cisneros and her supporters have moved to use the threat to abortion rights as a primary motivator for both voters and donors.

“We’re really at a moment where people are fired up and they know how much they are at risk of losing,” said Kristin Ford, the vice president of communications and research at the abortion rights group NARAL Pro-Choice America, which has sent organizers to Laredo to campaign for Ms. Cisneros.

Ms. Cisneros argues that the district is not nearly as conservative as Mr. Cuellar and his backers suggest, and that attitudes are changing.

“This ignited the urgency,” she said in an interview on Friday. “When we defeat the anti-choice Democrat, that’s going to set the tone for the rest of the midterms that we want a pro-choice Democratic majority in power.”

Several prominent left-wing lawmakers, [*including Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez*](https://twitter.com/AOC/status/1521515760484503560?s=20&amp;t=tIs9_QfGEnEAijxCuBEWzQ) of New York, have made fund-raising appeals for Ms. Cisneros. Earlier this week, Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, one of Ms. Cisneros’s most prominent backers, used an appearance on MSNBC to make a full-throated fund-raising pitch.

“If you’re mad when you listen to this, send Jessica Cisneros ten bucks,” [*she said*](https://www.msnbc.com/all-in/watch/warren-plan-of-gop-extremists-was-always-to-blast-roe-v-wade-to-pieces-139226693724).

And during a recent virtual fund-raiser for Ms. Cisneros, Ms. Warren, speaking of Mr. Cuellar, said, “When it comes to reproductive rights, Henry’s got a record that makes my blood boil,” according to prepared remarks obtained by The New York Times.

Ms. Cisneros first challenged Mr. Cuellar in 2020, when she lost the Democratic primary by 4 percentage points, and quickly made plans to pursue a rematch. Earlier this year, the F.B.I. raided Mr. Cuellar’s Laredo home as part of an ongoing investigation that appears to be linked to an inquiry into the political influence of Azerbaijan, the former Soviet republic. In March, Ms. Cisneros [*fell less than 1,000 votes short*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/03/01/us/elections/results-texas-us-house-district-28.html) of Mr. Cuellar’s total, forcing the two into the May 24 runoff.

Mr. Cuellar, who declined to comment for this article, has long defended his anti-abortion stance.

“As a lifelong Catholic, I have always been pro-life,” he said in a [*statement*](https://twitter.com/CuellarCampaign/status/1521614378637869070?s=20&amp;t=tIs9_QfGEnEAijxCuBEWzQ) this week. “As a Catholic, I do not support abortion, however, we cannot have an outright ban. There must be exceptions in the case of rape, incest and danger to the life of the mother.”

Mr. Cuellar has repeatedly insisted that his stance mirrors the views of voters in the district. Though there has not been any public district-level polling on the issue, 2018 data from the Public Religion Research Institute found that Hispanics in Texas are less likely than other Americans to say they believe abortion should be legal in all cases, with 53 percent saying it should be illegal in most or all cases. [*Gallup’s Values and Beliefs poll*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/244709/pro-choice-pro-life-2018-demographic-tables.aspx)last year found that low-income voters are also more likely to identify themselves as “pro life,” a trend that has held steady for several years and could be a factor in Mr. Cuellar’s largely ***working-class*** district. But in a poll from the [*Texas Politics Project at the University of Texas at Austin*](https://texaspolitics.utexas.edu/blog/overview-abortion-attitudes-texas-four-things-know) released last June, 54 percent of Hispanics said they were opposed to a ban on abortion if Roe v. Wade was overturned.

Just two days after the draft opinion was leaked, Mr. Cuellar campaigned alongside Representative James E. Clyburn, the House majority whip and third-ranking Democrat. Mr. Clyburn’s visit, which had been announced before the leaked opinion, put him in an awkward spotlight — supporting the only Democrat to vote against the Women’s Health Protection Act, a bill that would have codified Roe v. Wade into law.

Mr. Clyburn defended the incumbent, saying Democrats are a “big-tent party.”

“I don’t believe we ought to have a litmus test in the Democratic Party,” he told reporters in San Antonio. “We have to bring as many people into the party as we possibly can.”

Mr. Cuellar also has the support of Nancy Pelosi, the House Speaker, and Steny Hoyer, the majority leader. He frequently touts their endorsements, leaving many progressives privately grumbling that party leaders’ promises to fight for abortion rights in Congress ring hollow.

But several Texas Democratic officials cautioned against the idea that an intense focus on abortion would reshape the race. Asked how the leaked draft Supreme Court opinion overturning Roe v. Wade might change the runoff, Gilberto Hinojosa, the chairman of the Texas Democratic Party, sounded skeptical that it would fundamentally alter the dynamics of the contest, as some advocates have predicted. South Texas, he said, is “a different place.”

Angie Martinez, a 40-year-old bartender, said that while she supports abortion rights, it will not prevent her from voting for Mr. Cuellar.

“People are happy with the guy,” she said, adding that he had helped bring more funding into the district. “If abortion ends, it’s OK. Women go to Nuevo Laredo for abortions,” she said, referring to the Mexican city across the border from Laredo.

But Maxine Rebeles, a 39-year-old middle school writing teacher, said she is eager to see Mr. Cuellar out of office.

“He doesn’t protect our water, and he doesn’t protect our women,” Ms. Rebeles said. “When the government forces women to have children too young, bring children into unloving households, born to mothers who don’t love themselves, they get into a bad cycle.”

James Dobbins reported from Laredo, Jennifer Medina from Los Angeles and Katie Glueck from New York.

James Dobbins reported from Laredo, Jennifer Medina from Los Angeles and Katie Glueck from New York.

PHOTOS: Democrats in Texas’ 28th District, with Laredo at its core, face a choice in a runoff between a firmly anti-abortion incumbent and a young abortion-rights supporter.; ENRIQUE BENAVIDES III, a doctor who helps to manage a women’s clinic in Laredo. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JASON GARZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Henry Cuellar, who was first elected in 2004, said that as a Catholic, “I have always been pro-life.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC GAY/ASSOCIATED PRESS); Jessica Cisneros, a lawyer who backs abortion rights, on the campaign trail with Elizabeth Warren. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 24, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Worry That What Happens in Nevada Won’t Stay in Nevada***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:654B-KRS1-JBG3-62MV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 1, 2022 Friday 11:41 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1655 words

**Byline:** Jennifer Medina and Reid J. Epstein

**Highlight:** Democrats have long held up Nevada as a symbol of their future. But as the state’s economy struggles, it has become the epitome of the party’s midterm difficulties.

**Body**

LAS VEGAS — Scars from the coronavirus pandemic are still visible here. Housing prices skyrocketed, with rents [*rising faster*](https://www.reviewjournal.com/business/housing/las-vegas-rental-price-growth-blows-past-us-average-2549179/) than almost anywhere else in the country. Roughly 10,000 casino workers remain out of work. Gas prices, now more than $5 a gallon, are higher than in [*every other state except California*](https://gasprices.aaa.com/?state=US).

Amid a flagging economy, the state Democrats held up as a national model for more than a decade — registering and turning out first-time voters — has become the epitome of the party’s difficulties going into the 2022 midterm elections.

Democrats have long relied on ***working-class*** and Latino voters to win Nevada, but the loyalty of both groups is now in question. Young voters who fueled [*Senator Bernie Sanders’ biggest victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/22/us/politics/how-sanders-won-nevada.html) in the 2020 Democratic presidential primary remain skeptical about President Biden. And Senator Catherine Cortez Masto, a Nevada Democrat and the country’s first Latina senator, is one of the party’s most endangered incumbents.

She must overcome the president’s sagging approval ratings, dissatisfaction with the economy and her own relative anonymity. And she lacks the popularity and deep ties with Latino voters that Senator Harry M. Reid, who died in December, harnessed to help build the state’s powerful Democratic machine. The state has long been a symbol of the Democratic Party’s future by relying on a racially diverse coalition to win elections, but those past gains are now at risk.

“There’s a lot of frustration on the ground that no one is listening,” said Leo Murrieta, the director of Make the Road Nevada, a liberal advocacy group. “They are not wrong. It’s hard to talk about the possibility of tomorrow when your todays are still torn apart.”

Nevada, which Mr. Biden carried in 2020, has been a linchpin for Democrats in presidential elections since 2008. But an election-cycle pattern that has alarmed Democrats has emerged. The party dominates in presidential elections but struggles during the midterms when a Democrat is in the White House. Democratic turnout takes a steep drop, largely because of the state’s highly transient population, and Republicans gain ground.

In 2014, the last midterm election with a Democrat in the White House, the state’s turnout dropped 46 percent compared to the previous presidential election, ushering in [*Republican*](https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2014/nevada-elections)control of the state legislature. This year, Republican victories could unseat the Democratic governor, Steve Sisolak, and the state’s three Democratic members of the House while also replacing Ms. Cortez Masto with a 2020 election denier in the Senate.

Beyond turnout, a deeper problem for Democrats is that the state has been turning, ever so slightly, less blue. The state’s share of registered Democrats has fallen — from [*39.4 percent in 2016*](https://www.nvsos.gov/sos/home/showpublisheddocument/4518/636855767008770000) to 33.6 percent [*in February*](https://www.nvsos.gov/sos/home/showpublisheddocument/10195/637826028370270000), according to figures from the Nevada secretary of state. At the same time, more than 28 percent of registered voters are now unaffiliated with any party, an increase from 20 percent in 2016. Officials said the spike in unaffiliated voters stems from an automatic voter registration system Nevada voters adopted in 2018.

The state’s economy has shown some signs of improvement. Joblessness in Reno is down to some of the lowest numbers in a century. Democrats are counting on the region, which has attracted new residents, [*many from California*](https://thisisreno.com/2021/02/whos-moving-to-reno-data-finds-some-surprises/), and become something of a tech hub. But with more than 70 percent of the state’s population living in Clark County, which is home to Las Vegas, the election is likely to be decided on the outcome there. In interviews with Las Vegas voters, the economy overshadowed all other issues. There was a sense of optimism among some, but they worried that they would not have enough money for the basics — rent, food, gas.

“What I care about is opportunity and the economy,” said Angel Clavijo, 23, who voted for the first time in 2020. Though he cast his ballot for Mr. Biden, Mr. Clavijo said he was not registered with either party.

Though he was able to keep his job as a housekeeper at The Venetian Resort through the pandemic, Mr. Clavijo watched anxiously as his parents’ bills stacked up. “I really can’t say I’m paying a lot of attention to politics right now,” he said. “I’m not just going to vote by party.”

Margarita Mejia, 68, a retired hotel worker, said she has voted for most of her life for Democrats but sat out the 2020 election as she helped her family and friends deal with the pandemic.

“It was depressing, being alone, struggling for everything,” said Ms. Mejia, who was selling clothing, stuffed animals and art from her front yard last week. “I don’t know what the government does for us, even when they say they want to help.”

Mr. Clavijo and Ms. Mejia could not name Nevada’s incumbent senator up for re-election — Ms. Cortez Masto, whose seat is critical if the Democrats want to maintain control of the Senate.

Despite five years in the Senate and eight years as Nevada’s attorney general, Ms. Cortez Masto remains unknown by a broad swath of the Nevada electorate, as a result of her longtime aversion to publicity, cautious political demeanor and Nevada’s transient voters.

Almost half the voters on Nevada’s rolls have registered since Ms. Cortez Masto was last on the ballot in 2016, according to an analysis by TargetSmart, a Democratic data firm. Her own internal polling found that nearly a quarter of Latinos didn’t have an opinion on the race between her and Adam Laxalt, a former Nevada attorney general who is likely to be her Republican opponent in the general election.

The Cortez Masto campaign began reintroducing her to Latino audiences last month with a [*Spanish-language television advertisement*](https://vimeo.com/685973525/784c10ad8d) that leaned heavily on telling her life story as a political pioneer and her family’s history in the military.

It gave a generous interpretation of her biography: Her father, Manny Cortez, [*was one of the most powerful figures in Las Vegas*](https://lasvegassun.com/news/2006/jun/19/former-las-vegas-convention-chief-cortez-dies-at-6/) during stints on the Clark County Commission and later as the head of the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority. In that role, he approved the ubiquitous Las Vegas marketing phrase, “What happens here, stays here.”

“He didn’t start at the top,” Mr. Reid said [*from the Senate floor*](https://www.congress.gov/congressional-record/2006/06/21/senate-section/article/S6275-1) after Mr. Cortez died in 2006, “but he ended up there.”

Mr. Cortez, who maintained a close friendship with Mr. Reid, operated as a behind-the-scenes player. While that served him as a political operator, it may not help his daughter in this year’s high-profile race that will help determine control of the Senate.

“He was never a guy who went out and sought attention from the media,” said Jon Ralston, the longtime Nevada journalist. “She is kind of an exaggerated version of him in many ways.”

That aversion to seeking the spotlight has left Ms. Cortez Masto as essentially a generic Democrat in a midterm year when being yoked to Mr. Biden is a political hazard. A [*January poll from The Nevada Independent*](https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/poll-cortez-masto-leads-laxalt-in-senate-race-but-biden-disapproval-foreboding) showed Mr. Biden’s approval rating in the state at just 41 percent.

Ms. Cortez Masto declined to be interviewed.

“No state was hit harder than Nevada, and we’re recovering quickly because Catherine fought to get the relief our hospitality industry needed, supporting the tens of thousands of workers who rely on our tourism economy,” a spokesman, Josh Marcus-Blank, said in a statement.

Jeremy Hughes, a Republican who was a campaign adviser to Dean Heller, the former Republican senator, said Ms. Cortez Masto would have difficultly separating herself from Mr. Biden and the national party’s diminished brand.

“Every data point I’ve seen points to Hispanic voters being more open to supporting a Republican this cycle than any in recent memory,” Mr. Hughes said. “If the economy is the No. 1 issue on voters’ minds across the country, in Nevada and especially among Hispanic voters, it’s the No. 1, 2 and 3 issue.”

But Democrats say that [*her likely Republican opponent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/22/us/politics/adam-laxalt-election-fraud.html), Mr. Laxalt, is unlikely to win over moderate voters. Mr. Laxalt, whose father and grandfather both served in the Senate, ran the Trump campaign’s effort to overturn Nevada’s 2020 election results.

Democrats are also counting on more economic improvement in Las Vegas, where the economy took a hit with the abrupt shutdown of the Strip but has started to be revived with crowded casinos.

On a recent sunny afternoon in east Las Vegas, Paul Madrid and Daniel Trujillo took a break in front of the barbershop they’ve run for the last 20 years. Business has been brisk lately, and the pair described themselves as relieved that the worst was behind them. Still, they have winced while watching the price of gas tick up at the station across the street.

Mr. Madrid, 52, called himself a “lifelong ***working-class*** Democrat” and said he had tried to pay less attention to politics since former President Donald J. Trump left office. As frustrated as he’s been, he is likely to vote for Democrats in November. But he said he felt less loyal than he once did.

“Something’s got to change,” he said. “We’ve got to put the country before party. I’ve got to stay positive. My business is back, customers are back and I just want this all to be over with.”

PHOTOS: Left, Itzel Hernandez of Make the Road Nevada with Francisco Lozano in North Las Vegas. Right, Angel Clavijo, who said he voted for President Biden but isn’t beholden to either party in the midterms.; Paul Madrid, 52, of Eastside Cutters in Las Vegas, is a “lifelong ***working-class*** Democrat” who said his frustration was still not likely to keep him from voting for Democrats in the midterms.; Margarita Mejia, 68, a retired hotel worker in North Las Vegas, shares the same kind of frustra- tion: “I don’t know what the government does for us, even when they say they want to help.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); With control of the Senate threatened, Democrats fear the vulnerability of Senator Catherine Cortez Masto, who does not have a strong bond with voters. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SARAHBETH MANEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 2, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Warning for the Newest Victims of Federal Neglect and Corporate Greed in Ohio; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67P1-1BX1-DXY4-X3RH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 3, 2023 Friday 12:30 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1253 words

**Byline:** Vanessa Ogle

**Highlight:** I grew up near a toxic disaster. The years ahead in East Palestine could be tough.

**Body**

Dead birds still fall from the sky near my hometown. Their bodies hit the ground as part of the fallout of an environmental disaster that dates back to the 1970s, the result of corporate pollution that made the county I grew up in the home of one of Michigan’s most [*notorious Superfund sites*](https://www.mlive.com/news/saginaw-bay-city/2019/05/cleanup-of-michigans-largest-superfund-site-begun-in-1998-could-take-7-more-years.html).

It’s impossible to know what environmental and health challenges the residents of East Palestine, Ohio, will face in the years to come, but my worry is that they will know what I experienced from childhood onward: unease, loved ones getting sick and a fear of natural landscapes that should be local treasures.

In East Palestine, the derailment of a freight train last month, which was carrying toxic chemicals, including [*vinyl chloride*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/19/opinion/train-ohio-chemical.html), has already had a clear impact on wildlife and residents. The Environmental Protection Agency continues to monitor the situation.

But the people living there must be prepared for the reality that this disaster could affect their lives in both monumental and minor ways, in a manner that is not fully visible yet. When the media frenzy fades, they should be ready to organize to ensure that the government provides necessary resources to their communities. Organizing, in my own experience, may have to continue for decades.

There have been reports of more than [*43,000 animals dying*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2023/02/24/east-palestine-train-derailment-fish-animal-deaths/11337404002/), mostly fish. Residents have reported various health issues, [*including respiratory and skin ailments*](https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/east-palestine-ohio-health-clinic-1234683289/).

My town in rural Central Michigan — a part of Gratiot County — was only a few miles from the [*site of the Velsicol chemical plant*](https://cumulis.epa.gov/supercpad/SiteProfiles/index.cfm?fuseaction=second.Cleanup&amp;id=0502194#bkground), and the fallout of that catastrophe and the environmental cleanup defined much of my early life.

The environmental disaster I faced in Michigan was different from the current crisis in East Palestine. Contamination (primarily of the Pine River) and pollution happened in my county, initially out of the public eye, because from the 1930s to the 1970s a plant [*produced chemical compounds and products*](https://cumulis.epa.gov/supercpad/SiteProfiles/index.cfm?fuseaction=second.Cleanup&amp;id=0502194#bkground) in the town of St. Louis, Mich. In other words, the company had a long presence in the community.

The derailment in East Palestine was happenstance, at least in part the product of bad luck. Still, I see unsettling parallels in my own Midwestern experience with environmental catastrophe and corporate failure.

In Michigan, we suffered horrific tragedy in multiple parts. The first occurred in 1973, before I was born, when the flame retardant PBB, which was produced at the chemical plant, was [*mixed up*](https://www.michigan.gov/mdhhs/safety-injury-prev/environmental-health/topics/dehbio/pbbs/history) with livestock feed supplements. [*The result was disastrous*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qhJNpIKQvuc) and sickened the animals. The cause, at first, was unknown, which created more chaos and confusion. It has been estimated that [*70 to 90 percent of Michigan residents*](https://news.emory.edu/stories/2019/02/marcus_smith_pbb_exposure_epigenetic_marks/index.html) may have been affected by the tainted livestock through consumption of meat, eggs and milk. (While Michigan residents may have been affected through consumption of tainted products from the sickened livestock, birds fell from the skies for years because they fed on contaminated worms, insects and other grub.) After the plant closed, the county was warned that chemicals, including DDT, were found in the Pine River. More than $100 million has been spent to clean up the area, and that work continues.

Like East Palestine, the town I grew up in is a ***working-class*** community that has been a victim of both federal neglect and corporate greed. I have seen many people in the county diagnosed with diseases and illnesses, including multiple cancers and autoimmune issues, which, [*according to studies*](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15592294.2019.1565590), could stem from chemical exposure.

The Ohio senators Sherrod Brown (a Democrat) and J.D. Vance (a Republican) recently sent a [*letter*](https://www.brown.senate.gov/newsroom/press/release/brown-vance-call-on-ohio-epa-us-epa-to-monitor-east-palestine-for-dioxins) to the directors of the state’s E.P.A. and the federal E.P.A. that requested information on plans to monitor East Palestine, as well as the surrounding area, for highly toxic dioxins. This bipartisan effort is crucial, because it’s important for this disaster to receive attention and assistance as part of an all-hands-on-deck approach.

Immediately after a catastrophe — especially like the one in East Palestine, which commanded attention on social media with its disturbing images of smoke and flame — there is often an outpouring of interest and assistance. There was another unusual twist to this one: The East Palestine disaster has [*affected*](https://www.cnn.com/2023/02/11/health/ohio-train-derailment-white-noise/index.html) residents who were extras in the film adaptation of the Don DeLillo novel “White Noise.” The parallel between the actual derailment and the fictional event (in the movie and the novel, a train accident results in a chemical spill) was irresistible to the media.

It’s vital, though, that the focus remain when the striking visuals fade away — and that the unseen consequences get as much attention as what first lit up Twitter and TikTok. Environmental crises like this one can be slow-moving, and people who need help may not know for weeks, months, years or even decades what the true consequences could be.

The environmental monitoring and continued attention could be very expensive. Financial resources should be available for health monitoring, environmental protection, wildlife research, cleanup efforts and other measures needed for long-term remediation. This will mean the federal government cannot leave East Palestine behind.

I’m still haunted by the unnecessary tragedy that was the backdrop to my youth. Though many are aware of the dangers in the water and ample signage warns residents about not consuming fish, in the summer people still can’t resist fishing there. Much of that fishing is recreational, but there is always a fear that some people may try to cook and consume their catch.

The human margin-of-error reality has to be acknowledged. Many people canoe or boat not far from the site where Velsicol leaked its chemicals, and I’ve watched dogs wade there. People understand the dangers, but as so much time has passed, they have become accustomed to them.

Advocacy is critical. My home county has incredibly engaged individuals who make up the [*Pine River Superfund Citizen Task Force*](https://www.pinerivercag.org/about). Local [*advocates pressured the politicians in my area*](https://www.bridgemi.com/michigan-environment-watch/michigan-town-toxic-legacy-residents-fought-decades-heal) and helped make cleanup a top priority.

But the onus of advocacy shouldn’t be on residents, who are the victims here. Government has to step up and spearhead efforts, and corporations have to be held accountable if they are found to be at fault.

Most important, there needs to be a continuous bipartisan effort to get answers and funding to understand what the consequences in Ohio will be. And even as the terrifying visuals fade and life appears to return to a sense of normalcy, attention must be paid to this disaster and the physical, ecological and emotional battles that will inevitably follow.

Vanessa Ogle, a former New York City Council staffer and journalist, is a writer in Brooklyn who grew up in Gratiot County, Mich.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTOS: Above left, Debi Pritchard, who was in the evacuation zone in East Palestine. “Sadly, we’re going to be waiting years before we really know the true outcome,” Ms. Pritchard said. Above right, Teresa Sprowls, the proprietor of the restaurant Sprinklz on Top. “People don’t trust the government. They don’t know if the water is safe. Right now, they’re just a little scared,” she said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RICH-JOSEPH FACUN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** March 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***His Union Went on Strike. His Interviews Went Viral.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65V0-K031-DXY4-X42G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 2, 2022 Saturday 13:07 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD

**Length:** 1218 words

**Byline:** Saskia Solomon

**Highlight:** At a time of rampant inflation and wage stagnation, Mick Lynch, the force behind Britain’s largest railway strikes in three decades, has found success that has surprised even his colleagues.

**Body**

At a time of rampant inflation and wage stagnation, Mick Lynch, the force behind Britain’s largest railway strikes in three decades, has found success that has surprised even his colleagues.

LONDON — Prime Minister Boris Johnson has branded him a “union baron,” but Mick Lynch, the union leader who is orchestrating the largest railway strikes in Britain in three decades, has emerged from work stoppages that disrupted the plans of millions of people as an unexpected media sensation.

Mr. Lynch, the general secretary of the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers, has used a series of combative television interviews to build public support for the R.M.T., despite the fact that its striking workers halted most of Britain’s trains for three days last week.

When Richard Madeley, the host of “Good Morning Britain,” asked him if he was a Marxist, Mr. Lynch shot back, “Richard, you do come up with the most remarkable twaddle sometimes,” before pivoting swiftly to what he insisted the strike was about: better working conditions, higher pay, and avoiding layoffs.

His success has surprised even some of his union colleagues, who were bracing themselves for much greater public backlash to their fight for a “square deal” at a time of rampant inflation and wage stagnation.

That does not mean Mr. Lynch, 60, who took over the union in May 2021, has not been the subject of hostile headlines in the London tabloids. Nor does it mean that public opinion will not turn against the railway workers, particularly if the strikes drag on through the summer. Polling on public attitudes toward the strikes varies widely, suggesting that many people have yet to make up their minds.

“We know it’s a tough gig, this negotiation,” Mr. Lynch said in an interview last week in the exposed-brick boardroom of Unity House, the R.M.T.’s London headquarters. “It’s not perfect from our point of view, or anyone else’s.”

But he added, “We’ve got to have something that reflects the real cost of living.”

Mr. Lynch accused the train operators of trying to cut wages rather than reaching a fair settlement. “Not just against inflation,” he added, “Not relatively against the cost of living — but actually lower the salaries, and extend the working week from 35 hours to 40. Anyone can see that is a massive attack on the trade union.”

Social media has helped his cause. Clips of Mr. Lynch sparring with interviewers have circulated widely. “Until this week I didn’t know what ‘trending’ was,” Mr. Lynch said to a crowd at a rally outside King’s Cross station on a recent Saturday, “I suppose it’s a good thing.” People jostled to take photographs with him.

But does all this visibility risk a backlash?

“Mick Lynch being an effective orator is a great advantage, and a great support, to the dispute,” said Gregor Gall, a visiting professor of industrial relations at the University of Leeds. “But in itself, it’s not going to win the dispute.”

“It’s possible that public opinion might shift against Mick Lynch if people feel that their travel plans are being disrupted on a long-term basis,” Professor Gall added. “I think he’s in the honeymoon period at the moment.”

Some critics argue that, in comparison to the national average for salaries, rail workers are quite well paid. Grant Shapps, Mr. Johnson’s transportation secretary, dismissed the strikes as a stunt. Others have accused Mr. Lynch of using the strikes to protect “archaic working practices” such as restrictions on maintenance workers in one area helping in another.

Union leaders are used to such charges. Like [*Bob Crow*](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/14/world/europe/bob-crow-firebrand-at-helm-of-british-union-dies-at-52.html), his most prominent predecessor at the R.M.T., Mr. Lynch plays the part of a firebrand. But compared with Mr. Crow, who went on a beach vacation to Brazil on the eve of disruptive rail strikes in 2014, Mr. Lynch is viewed as a more unifying force, which may help him secure a deal for his members.

Born in 1962 to a ***working-class*** Irish family in Paddington, West London, Mr. Lynch was one of five children, raised in what he has described as “rented rooms that would now be called slums.” After leaving school at 16, he worked first as an electrician, and then in construction before he was illegally blacklisted for joining a union.

Mr. Lynch took a job in 1993 with Eurostar, the operator of the high-speed trains that cross under the English Channel, and became a card-carrying member of the R.M.T.

“Mick’s from a different generation,” said Alex Gordon, the union’s president. “He’s been around since the 1980s as a worker, as a trade unionist for 40 years, and you do pick up a lot of experience. He’s an exceptionally clever and perceptive guy.”

In some respects, the timing of the strikes is good for the union. Mr. Johnson’s approval ratings are at their lowest level since he became prime minister, with revelations of illicit parties at Downing Street during coronavirus lockdowns heightening a growing public disdain for the government.

“In many people’s eyes, he is the most effective critic of the government at the moment,” Professor Gall said of Mr. Lynch.

The strike has also put the opposition Labour Party in an awkward position. The party has deep emotional and financial ties to Britain’s unions — some, though not the R.M.T., even have voting rights in its internal elections — but also a deep fear of seeming to be controlled by them.

Keir Starmer, Labour’s leader, has discouraged his members from visiting picket lines, a decision mocked by Diane Abbott, the Labour lawmaker for the Hackney district of London, who spoke at the R.M.T. rally on a recent Saturday.

“I don’t understand the argument that Labour M.P.s shouldn’t be there because we’re not supposed to pick a side,” Ms. Abbott said. “I thought when you joined the Labour Party you had picked a side.”

Not having to appeal to disparate voting blocs, Mr. Lynch can push a simple message. Allies say that makes him an authentic champion of the ***working class*** at a time when politicians seem increasingly detached from reality.

Rhys Harmer, 28, the former R.M.T. youth chair, and a rail worker, said he and his colleagues watched videos of Mr. Lynch “tearing apart people making blatant lies about our union, our workplaces, and what’s happening to us. It’s refreshing for a lot of our members.”

Even those with no connection to the union have been moved.

“He doesn’t have any long-term ambitions in terms of winning people over in the media, and he can just speak truth to power,” said Fabienne Camm, 36, a charity worker who traveled an hour by bus to attend the King’s Cross rally.

Since the strikes, the R.M.T. said its membership had increased by over a thousand.

For many, this is a departure from previous strikes, in which frustrated passengers clashed with picketers and the British press vilified union leaders as disrupters. While the papers have covered people missing medical appointments because of the strike, it has so far done little to dent the union’s image.

“We will strike a deal with them eventually,” said Mr. Lynch said of his negotiations with the rail companies. “There’s more than one way to construct value in a package — it doesn’t all have to be about salary. So we’ll see what we can do.”

PHOTO: Mick Lynch, a union leader in Britain, built public support for striking workers with viral videos. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SASKIA SOLOMON/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 3, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Former Enforcer Searches For Some Answers on C.T.E***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:697X-G1C1-JBG3-60MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 25, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Sports Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 3035 words

**Byline:** By David Waldstein

**Body**

Page 68 of Boston University's Hope Study questionnaire asks, ''Have you ever injured your head or neck in a fight or been hit by someone?''

For Chris Nilan, a simple yes could never convey the whole story.

The answer stretches out over 300 bare-knuckle fights as a professional hockey player, and countless other brawls on the street corners of Boston beginning in his childhood. Most times, Nilan was the one dispensing the punishment. But hockey fights almost always involve mutual, bone-crushing blows, fists jackhammering from powerful shoulders, sometimes fracturing bones, tearing tissue and rattling brains.

The Hope Study, run by B.U.'s Chronic Traumatic Encephalopathy Center, has been measuring the brain health of living subjects with Alzheimer's disease and related dementias since 1996. Nilan, curious about the condition of his brain after years of furious on-ice battles and eager to help with the research, turned to B.U., where participants return each year to repeat extensive testing, and eventually donate their brains. C.T.E. can only be diagnosed posthumously, but the Hope Study's testing can provide valuable clues while patients are alive.

One of the key elements of the research is the background questionnaire, where subjects detail any history of brain impacts.

Nilan had played only a few N.H.L. games when, one night in 1980 as a rugged rookie for Montreal, he dropped his gloves and fought Boston's Stan Jonathan and Terry O'Reilly, two of the most feared pugilists in league history. The bouts came in consecutive periods -- hockey's equivalent of boxing Muhammad Ali and Mike Tyson within an hour of one another.

Nilan, who was labeled Knuckles before he even turned pro, survived that night, plus 12 more seasons of fighting and scoring goals (118, including the playoffs). He won a Stanley Cup in 1986 with Montreal and was named an All-Star in 1991. Over his 13 years in the league, he fought an astonishing 316 times, the third most in N.H.L. history, according to the N.H.L. Fight Card database.

All of it was followed, coincidentally or not, by years of agonizing drug addiction, alcohol abuse and anger issues before Nilan settled into a quiet life in a Montreal suburb. An engaging, humorous sort with a Boston accent thicker than Chahles Rivah sludge, Nilan now hosts the ''Raw Knuckles'' podcast, fishes, cooks, reads every day -- mainly books on military history -- runs addiction recovery groups and spends quiet time with his fiancée, Jaime Holtz.

But if there was ever a high-risk candidate for C.T.E., the degenerative neurological disease associated with repeated impacts to the head or a body blows harsh enough to rattle the skull, Nilan would seem to fit the category.

Researchers have long suggested that the more hits to the head someone receives, including subconcussive ones, the more likely they are to develop cognitive and neurological problems later in life. A study earlier this year of football players' brains suggested that the cumulative impact of multiple hits can also play a role.

Thirty years after retiring from an uncompromising, violent and successful career, and with the encouragement of the widow of a fellow enforcer who had the disease, Nilan signed up for the Hope Study.

''I don't worry about having C.T.E.,'' Nilan said. ''But sometimes you wonder.''

Ten years ago, there might have been more concern. Nilan's past substance abuse and outbursts of rage mirror some of the behavior exhibited by other hockey enforcers following retirement, players like Bob Probert, Derek Boogaard, Wade Belak, Todd Ewen and Steve Montador. All of them were diagnosed with C.T.E., which can only be detected after death.

More than a dozen hockey players have been diagnosed with C.T.E., and not all of them fighters. The most recent was Henri Richard, a small, skillful center for the Canadiens who died in 2020, the kind of player Nilan was paid to protect.

Nilan is 65 and sober now, still with a sharp wit and a vivid memory of a tumultuous and violent life that intersected closely with some of Boston's most infamous figures, including James Bulger, the murderous crime boss, known as Whitey, who was Nilan's father-in-law.

A Family History of Dementia

On April 17, Nilan entered the Hope Study. He and Holtz answered background questions from their home over a video conference call with researchers, who asked about Nilan's family and behavioral history, his moods, his memory, his mother's dementia and his career on the ice.

A few weeks later, he went to Boston for the cognitive and medical testing, and a month after that he received results that can give participants a snapshot of their brain health at that moment.

Nilan went into the study feeling healthy and robust, perhaps even a bit lucky. He empathizes with players who suffered from the same dangerous work that he did, but points no fingers.

In 2013, a group of former players sued the N.H.L. for not doing enough to address head injuries. Nilan was asked to join but declined, believing the sport did not cause his past substance abuse issues, and he does not regularly suffer from depression.

But because of his nearly unmatched history of fighting in hockey, Nilan has emerged as an important subject for researchers studying the effects of repetitive brain impacts and ways to detect it before death.

Even if he does not have C.T.E. or show signs of cognitive impairment, researchers will want to know why not, and what can be learned from it.

''That's huge,'' said Dr. Michael Alosco, the co-director of clinical research at Boston University's C.T.E. Center. ''Why do some people get it, and some don't? What is different about them? It could be very informative for treatment and prevention.''

'A Window Into the Brain'

A year ago, Dani Probert was a guest on Nilan's podcast. They discussed her husband's career and the time he tangled with Nilan on the ice. They recalled how Nilan and Bob Probert had become good friends after hockey, Probert's addictions and his death in 2010 from a heart attack, at 45 years old.

Dani Probert explained that when she donated her husband's brain to B.U.'s C.T.E. research center, she had difficulty answering an accompanying questionnaire about her husband's life and career. She knew Probert was considered hockey's heavyweight champion. But she did not know the details of every brutal punch, every check into the boards or fall to the ice.

She urged Nilan to answer those questions now, while he still could. A year later, Nilan joined the Hope Study and pledged to donate his brain.

''It's vital to get athletes like Chris to participate,'' said Chris Nowinski, the co-founder of B.U.'s C.T.E. Center and of the Concussion Legacy Foundation.

Over a day and a half in Boston, Nilan underwent a battery of medical, cognitive and neurological exams designed to help researchers learn the causes and effects of repetitive head impacts that can lead to C.T.E., and perhaps one day design a test that will detect it in living patients.

Nilan had his blood and spinal fluids drawn and was scheduled for magnetic resonance imaging of his brain. He tackled cognitive and memory tests involving word games, number sequences, short stories and mazes. One of the key tests is a lumbar puncture to draw spinal fluids that Dr. Alosco calls ''a window into the brain.''

There are more than 400 participants in the program now, and about one third have been exposed to repetitive head impacts. Originally it focused on Alzheimer's disease, but in recent years its C.T.E. research has expanded.

During the first day of testing in Boston, the city of his youth, Nilan had lunch with Dr. Alosco, who was curious about Nilan's career and upbringing. Dr. Alosco asked if Nilan fought in college hockey and in high school. Nilan did not, but he casually mentioned some street fights. Asked how many, Nilan replied, ''Oh, gosh, I couldn't even tell you.''

More Than an Enforcer

In some ways, Nilan's contribution to the study was an opportunity to do in retirement what he loved most as a player, defending teammates.

''If what I do now can help them figure out ways to detect C.T.E. earlier,'' Nilan said, ''maybe guys in the future can be forewarned and saved from further damage.''

On the ice, if an opposing player dared jam a stick blade into Guy Lafleur's ribs or throw an elbow at Guy Carbonneau, they or their own enforcer answered to Nilan. When the other team was stocked with notorious tough guys, Nilan was the one expected to drop the gloves, absorb the crunching pain, and then weld someone's eyes shut with his infamous knuckles.

''You'd go into Philly or Boston and you could see there were guys before the game who were scared,'' Nilan said. ''But I couldn't be scared. I was the one they looked to blow the bugle, carry the flag and charge in there.''

Nilan accumulated 3,584 penalty minutes over the regular season and playoffs, the fifth-most in league history, and he played almost 300 fewer games than the top four offenders. He twice set the Canadiens record for most penalty minutes in a season: 338 in the 1983-84 regular season, and 358 the following year.

''I was a menace,'' he said.

He was also one of the Canadiens' most popular players, as much for his energetic goal celebrations as his fists. More than just a fighter, Nilan could play. In opposing arenas, he was the target of hatred and boos, even in Boston. But those who played alongside Nilan adored him.

''Chris Nilan was one of the absolute best teammates I ever had,'' said Tony Granato, who played 13 years in the N.H.L., including his first two with Nilan on the Rangers, from 1988 to 1990.

A goal scorer, Granato recalled a game against the Pittsburgh Penguins in 1988 when he almost engaged in his first fight. When he returned to the bench, Nilan slid over hard and lectured him never to drop his gloves again. If there was a problem -- with anyone -- he should tell Nilan, who would take care of it. Nilan did the same for Brian Leetch, the star Rangers defenseman.

''There is guilt on my part for all the punishment he and those guys had to take for us,'' Granato said. ''But that was their job, and they took pride in it. No one did it better than Knuckles.''

Memory, Now and Five Years Ago

Chris Nilan is a quintessential Bostonian of a certain time and demographic, the kind they make movies about: A tough, ***working-class*** hockey player of Irish descent, hundreds, if not thousands, of local kids yearned to be just like him. He was born on Feb. 9, 1958, at the Faulkner Hospital in West Roxbury, Mass., the son of Henry and Leslie Nilan, a hard-working, blue collar couple who raised their four children in a strict household. Chris still found his way into scraps as a kid, and soon discovered he was a capable and fearless fighter. Often, he said, it was in defense of others. Later, he mixed it up with groups of kids and young adults on the streets and in the bars of Boston.

He met Karen Stanley at Northeastern University and they fell in love. When people asked about Bulger, Nilan would point out that he married Karen, not her stepfather. He described their 1981 wedding, with Henry Nilan's Green Beret buddies on one side, Bulger and his cohorts on another and Nilan's hockey pals up the middle.

''We could have invaded a small country,'' Nilan said with a laugh.

Several years later, Bulger was photographed with the Stanley Cup after Nilan's Canadiens won it in 1986. Nilan stresses he was never aware of Bulger's criminal activities, but described tension between Bulger and his own father, an honest, taxpaying working man who disapproved of the then-reputed gangster's ''lifestyle.''

Once, when both sets of parents were visiting Montreal, Bulger bought Nilan's mother an expensive fur coat, which upset Nilan's father. Bulger adored Nilan's fearless and pugnacious demeanor.

Waking In The Night, Punching or Kicking

At 6 feet, 205 pounds, Nilan was shorter and lighter than many of his opponents, like the 6-foot-5, 225-pound Dave Brown, whom he fought six times. Nilan relied on his remarkable stamina and developed a kind of rope-a-dope technique, tucking his head into one shoulder to protect his face and head and pouncing when the other fighter tired or allowed an opening. He quickly emerged as one of the most courageous and terrifying players in the league, willing to trade blows with any heavyweight.

Fighting is far less common in today's N.H.L. than it was in the 1980s and '90s, as the league has ushered in rules modifications and a faster style of play, even though Gary Bettman, the league commissioner, still denies a link between fighting and C.T.E. Nilan opposes a ban on fighting, but acknowledges being sickened when a player is knocked unconscious in a fight.

It never happened to him, but in his later seasons, after he was traded to the Rangers and the Bruins, the fighting secretly wore him down.

''I fought right to the end, but it was getting harder on me,'' he said. ''Fight one guy and then fight another guy the next period or next shift. I'd come back to the bench and tell myself, 'I'm losing that little edge,' which you can never own up to. So you hide it.''

In the years after his career ended, his hands, knees and back throbbed from 13 years of pounding and too many surgeries. Nilan began ingesting Percocet, a prescription pain killer, and then became addicted to Oxycodone and alcohol, a familiar combination for many retired enforcers.

He eventually found heroin and took it intravenously. In 2015 his mother had a stroke and Nilan went to visit her at Faulkner, the hospital where he was born. He asked a drug dealer to meet him there and he snorted up in a maintenance closet. The next thing he knew, he was on a gurney with a nurse calling his name, yet another overdose victim.

Had he gone outside to find the dealer that night, instead of insisting they meet at the hospital, Nilan likely would not have survived.

He does not hide from the harrowing memory, or others, like the time decades ago when he savagely beat a young man who had hit his teenage daughter and was arrested in the assault. He grapples with the anguish he has inflicted on others, on himself, his family and Holtz.

And yes, he still wakes up, perhaps three or four times a year, throwing punches at the air in reaction to a nightmare, usually that he is being carjacked.

Problems With Anger

Nilan met Holtz in rehab and she has been his stanchion, guiding him out of relapses and back to recovery. The researchers asked Holtz about Nilan's memory and moods and if he displayed moments of rage. She explained that several years ago, she told Nilan that if he did not get his anger under control, she would leave him.

''He would lose his temper for the smallest things,'' she said. ''Chris acknowledged those issues in his life and is completely different now. All of that has changed. He faced some hard truths and emotions and dealt with them. Growing up, that is how he was raised.''

Nilan adored his father, who died in 2021, and is immensely proud of him. Henry Nilan was a Green Beret in the Army reserves and a draftsman at Draper Labs in Cambridge, Mass., and he worked hard to provide for his family. He also hit Chris as punishment, sometimes in the chest, sometimes a slap to the back of the head, sometimes a punch, until Chris was about 16 and finally threatened to run away.

Growing up in that environment, he says, led to much of his anger and propensity to violence, not his career as an enforcer.

Have You Had Any Concussions?

Concussions are a concern, but not a prerequisite for C.T.E. Rather, the condition is believed to result from repeated impacts to the head.

''With C.T.E., concussions have been overemphasized,'' Nowinski said.

Nilan recalls four possible concussions. One was from an opponent's shoulder during play that left him dazed. Another time, as a fight wound down, Nilan's opponent fell on top of his head as it struck the ice. Nilan saw stars. A third time was during a street altercation in Boston when he was struck in the head with a full bottle of beer and was, ''out on my feet.'' Lastly, several years ago he rolled his car into a ditch and was ejected out the back window, unconscious.

''I never felt any long-term symptoms,'' he said. ''I never had problems with light, or noise, or sleeping.''

'Are you ready to hear the results?'

Nilan and Holtz sat in Nilan's podcast studio in their home on June 8 and listened to Dr. Alosco and Hannah Bruce, a fellow researcher, present the findings. Nilan was eager to hear the results, and was also looking forward to interviewing Jim Montgomery, the Bruins' head coach, for the podcast before heading out for a round of golf.

Holtz was nervous.

The results cannot rule out C.T.E., but they were very good for Nilan. His cognitive, memory and motor tests showed he was well within the normal range for his age, gender and education. In most he was above average. Had there been any reason for concern, Dr. Alosco would have recommended clinical care for diagnosis and treatment, which he did not consider necessary at the time.

''I kind of thought,'' Nilan began, then paused and shook his head. ''Look, I'm a special case.''

Everyone on the call laughed, but it could be true. Dr. Alosco said Nilan is in a very high-risk group and urged him to remain vigilant with his sobriety and a healthy lifestyle. He also asked him to return for the yearly research follow-ups, and Nilan said he would.

At the end of the meeting, Dr. Alosco stressed that researchers want to know the factors that have made Nilan appear resistant so far to degenerative neurological disease, whether genetics, medical history, the types of head impacts, his lifestyle or other factors.

''That's why your data might be so valuable to answer who is resilient to these long-term effects of repetitive head impacts,'' Dr. Alosco told Nilan.

Nilan was upbeat afterward, as he prepared to head out of the house. But not because of the results.

''Either way,'' he said with a clap of his hands, ''I was going to play golf.''

Audio produced by Kate Winslett.Audio produced by Kate Winslett.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/22/sports/hockey/nhl-nilan-boston-study-cte-concussions.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/22/sports/hockey/nhl-nilan-boston-study-cte-concussions.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Chris Nilan, 65, at his home in Terrasse Vaudreuil, Quebec, top, and preparing for an M.R.I. at Boston University this spring. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NASUNA STUART-ULIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

KAYANA SZYMCZAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH VIA GETTY IMAGES) (D1)

Chris Nilan earned the nickname Knuckles even before turning pro and was one of the most combative and most penalized players in N.H.L. history. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY UPI/BETTMANN, VIA GETTY IMAGES

GETTY IMAGES

NASUNA STUART-ULIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

CHRIS NOWINSKI, Boston University's C.T.E. Center. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NASUNA STUART-ULIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Nilan at Boston University with, left, Hannah Bruce, senior research assistant at the C.T.E. Center, and, below left, with Dr. Michael Alosco, its co-directer of clinical research. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KAYANA SZYMCZAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Nilan, a Boston area native whose father-in-law was the Boston gangster Whitey Bulger, at home in Quebec, above, and with his fiancée, Jaime Holtz, and their dog, Adele, outside the house. Now 65, Nilan likes to fish, cook, play golf and read, especially books on military history. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NASUNA STUART-ULIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D4-D5) This article appeared in print on page D1, D4, D5.

**Load-Date:** September 25, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Comparing Trump's $750 Tax Bill With What Average Workers Pay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60Y8-YX91-JBG3-629Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 29, 2020 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 397 words

**Body**

Not long after The New York Times published an investigation into President Trump's longsought tax returns, the campaign of Joseph R. Biden Jr. turned one of its most revealing findings -- that Mr. Trump paid only $750 in federal income taxes the year he won the presidency -- into a 30-second video comparing that tax bill to those paid by American workers.

THE MESSAGE One of Mr. Trump's enduring strengths has been his appeal to white ***working-class*** voters, many of whom view him as a billionaire who made personal sacrifices to run for, and serve as, president. The video seeks to undercut that, comparing Mr. Trump's tax bill with those typical of elementary school teachers ($7,239), firefighters ($5,283), nurses ($10,216) and construction managers ($16,447).

In recent weeks, Mr. Biden has tried to frame the presidential race as ''Scranton versus Park Avenue,'' and the findings of the Times investigation could help him further that effort by casting Mr. Trump as not just a rich candidate who is detached from the experiences of average Americans, but someone who deployed complex tax-avoidance schemes to avoid paying his fair share.

FACT CHECK Mr. Trump broke with the modern tradition of major-party presidential candidates' releasing their tax returns. The Times report, the first look at his recent filings, showed that he paid $750 in federal income taxes the year he won the presidency and another $750 in his first year in the White House. He also paid no income taxes in 10 of the previous 15 years, mostly because he reported losing much more money than he made.

The Biden campaign said that it obtained the average earnings for each profession from 2019 Bureau of Labor Statistics data, and that the average paid in income taxes was calculated for a single person, age 40, with $0 in state and federal withholdings.

WHERE IT'S RUNNING The video was shared online organically enough to rack up more than three million views on Twitter alone in less than a day. This particular video, which features only words flashing on the screen and no narration, was designed for social media, but its message could find its way into the Biden campaign's large paid-media budget.

THE TAKEAWAY The Biden campaign hopes to cut into Mr. Trump's support among white ***working-class*** workers and hopes the specificity of the $750 tax figure helps it break through. SHANE GOLDMACHER

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/28/pageoneplus/29rex-ad.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/28/pageoneplus/29rex-ad.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2020

**End of Document**



[***‘Creed III’ Review: A Franchise Finds New Fertile Ground***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67NV-8H51-JBG3-654G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 2, 2023 Thursday 09:18 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1143 words

**Byline:** Manohla Dargis

**Highlight:** In his tender and gruff directorial debut, Michael B. Jordan again takes the lead, this time alongside Jonathan Majors as a childhood friend who has reappeared.

**Body**

In his tender and gruff directorial debut, Michael B. Jordan again takes the lead, this time alongside Jonathan Majors as a childhood friend who has reappeared.

The tears flow as freely as the blood in “Creed III,” the latest entry in the apparently indestructible “Rocky” saga. Once again, Adonis Creed — the tough but tender, gruff but gentle heavyweight boxer played by Michael B. Jordan — must be knocked down so that he can rise higher still. That story line is a metaphor for life, no doubt. It’s also a perfect distillation of this franchise, which has had repeated ups and downs during its staggering 47-year run.

In 1976, the year that [*Sylvester Stallone*](https://www.nytimes.com/1976/11/22/archives/film-rocky-pure-30s-makebelieve.html)’s Rocky sprinted up the long steps leading to the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gerald R. Ford was president and most of the principal cast of “Creed III” wasn’t yet born. The 2015 release of “[*Creed,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/25/movies/review-in-creed-rockys-back-as-a-mentor-not-a-fighter.html)” seventh in the series, inaugurated a narrative shift that found Rocky taking on the role of the avuncular trainer, a part he also played three years later in the sequel. Stallone isn’t in this latest chapter. While his absence has obvious resonance, if you were expecting some kind of Hamlet-style anguish or even a hint of misty melancholia about the now-absent symbolic father, forget it. This isn’t the Sly Stallone show; it’s Michael B. Jordan’s, from first scene to last.

For this installment, Jordan has taken over as both the star and the director (it’s his feature debut), twinned roles that he has assumed with seamless assurance. As entertaining as it is predictable, “Creed III” does exactly what you expect, delivering nicely balanced helpings of intimacy and spectacle, grit and glamour. It’s enjoyably old-school Hollywood in how squarely it hits all the familiar genre beats — even as it pragmatically advances the series — yet it’s also very much of the moment in how it grapples with family, friendship and the complexities of contemporary masculinity, its pleasures and its burdens.

Every boxer needs a challenger, a hard body to spar with physically and otherwise. Here, that foe is Damian, a childhood friend of Adonis (Donnie to his pals), a walking wound played as an adult by Jonathan Majors. (In flashback, Spence Moore II and Thaddeus James Mixson Jr. play the characters as adolescents.) After the usual recap — now retired, Donnie is fabulously successful and settled down with his family — Damian appears in a hoodie one day outside Donnie’s gym while leaning on the champ’s Rolls-Royce. It’s an image that’s more biting than any line of dialogue, all the more so because an irritated Donnie doesn’t at first recognize Damian, a scene that Jordan invests with dramatic tension and visceral unease.

That sense of disquiet remains as an enigmatically wary Donnie and an unreadable Damian share a meal and guarded laughs, and the story’s (too) many pieces begin sharply clicking into place. The movie is a continuation of Creed’s story, and a further burnishing of a new big-screen myth — one that is now refracted through Damian and his desire to get back into the ring. A Golden Gloves fighter as a teen, Damian wants to reclaim his boxing glory and resume a trajectory cut short by prison. That’s exactly what happens, more or less, despite Donnie’s reservations, the strong objections of his business partner, Tony (Wood Harris), and some complications with Donnie’s mother, Mary-Anne (Phylicia Rashad).

Like many actors-turned-directors, Jordan does very fine work with the performers, including in his scenes with Tessa Thompson, who again plays Bianca, his lover and now wife. Her character doesn’t have all that much to do (a musician, she has given up performing), but Thompson’s charisma ensures that the character never registers like an afterthought or an appendage to the male protagonist. There’s no question that Jordan is the star, as his ample screen time affirms — the man certainly knows his best camera angles and when to strip down — but what gives the movie interest and heft is how it insistently deploys other characters to complicate and recast the classic figure of the rugged American individual.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/xTaIZo8OJYE)]

Like “Rocky” was for Stallone, the first “Creed” served as a breakthrough for Jordan and for its director, Ryan Coogler, who have become entertainment-world juggernauts. Stallone’s presence in the earlier “Creed” movies ensured that the franchise remained tethered to his legacy, with its sequels and fraught semiotics, even if the titles no longer carried the Rocky name. Instructively, the first “Creed” ends with Donnie and Rocky side by side; the second restlessly cuts between the two, as if asking for you to choose between them. The choice has now been made, and with the shift from Rocky to Creed the franchise has moved to fertile new ground. (Coogler and Stallone remain attached to the series as producers; Coogler also shares the story credit with the screenwriters, his brother Keegan Coogler and Zach Baylin.)

“Nobody owes nobody nothing,” Rocky says in the first film, a philosophical declaration from a white ***working-class*** striver who can seem alone even when he’s with other people and whose self-reliance puts him on a continuum with other bootstrapping self-mythologizers. In “Creed III,” Donnie has his share of lonely moments, too, but the story continually puts him into play with other people, including in tender scenes of him caring for his and Bianca’s daughter (Mila Davis-Kent). In contrast to, say, those dead-mom movies in which men take over for absent mothers, Donnie shares parenting duties. He is responsible for — and to — other people and deeply connected to a community that, however anxiously, includes Damian, who isn’t a combative stranger but an old friend, as well as a reminder of a fate escaped.

“Creed III” suffers from the customary franchise bloat, and the ending is rushed and underdeveloped. It’s also bogged down by a tragic subplot that feels expedient (you can sense the next movie being plotted out as it unfolds), but that also gives Donnie a narrative rationale to shed copious tears, which Jordan does with aching vulnerability. There’s art and craft in those tears. There is also, well, a creed. And as emotion floods this movie, Jordan lets loose a torrent of ideas about Black masculinity and community, about how the past haunts the present, the legacy of state violence, the chimera of self-reliance and the existential necessity of love. So, come for the boxing, yes — but bring plenty of hankies, too.

Creed III

Rated PG-13 for gun and boxing-ring violence. Running time: 1 hour 56 minutes. In theaters.

Creed III Rated PG-13 for gun and boxing-ring violence. Running time: 1 hour 56 minutes. In theaters.

PHOTO: Jonathan Majors plays Damian, a childhood friend of Adonis Creed, in “Creed III.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY SER BAFFO/MGM) This article appeared in print on page C10.

**Load-Date:** March 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***G.O.P. Already Pressing Immigration as Core Issue of 2024 Election***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6874-DD51-DXY4-X2PD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 13, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1529 words

**Byline:** By Trip Gabriel and Reid J. Epstein

**Body**

Donald J. Trump rode border security to the presidency in 2016. Republicans hope the issue will be at the center of the debate again.

Border security, the issue that largely defined Donald J. Trump's victorious 2016 campaign, is back on the national agenda, a potential boost for Mr. Trump -- and, for President Biden, a headache with no simple remedy in either policy or politics.

The termination of a pandemic-era program that allowed officials to swiftly expel migrants was expected to draw an additional 7,000 unauthorized people a day, adding to already record levels of migrants, from Latin America and elsewhere, driven north by poverty and violence and by perceptions of a more welcoming border under Mr. Biden.

At a televised town hall this week, Mr. Trump predicted that Friday would be a ''day of infamy'' as the policy known as Title 42 that he first put in place came to an end. He used the same fear-mongering rhetoric of his earlier campaigns to describe migrants in broad and inaccurate strokes as ''released from prisons'' and ''mental institutions.''

The Biden administration announced policies beginning in February to blunt the surge, and so far there have not been signs of disorder since the policy expired. But Mr. Trump -- along with Republican officials and conservative media -- in recent days have escalated their yearslong attacks over border security, claiming that Mr. Biden has ignored a burgeoning crisis.

Fox News employed a countdown clock to observe the end of Title 42, while broadcasting overhead video from a ''Fox flight team'' of thousands of migrants in a tent camp that a correspondent said were ''waiting until Title 42 drops to cross over illegally.''

Nikki Haley, a former South Carolina governor and 2024 presidential candidate, told the far-right outlet Newsmax that what she saw on a border visit was ''unbelievable,'' citing cartels trafficking people and fentanyl, the lethal opioid that has caused the deaths of tens of thousands of Americans and has become a primary theme of Republican attacks on Mr. Biden's policies.

''Along with inflation, an out-of-control border is one of the administration's greatest vulnerabilities,'' said Whit Ayres, a Republican pollster. ''If you watch Fox News, there are few other issues that are as important for the federal government to address.'' The lifting of Title 42, he added, was an issue ''gift-wrapped with a beautiful bow'' for Mr. Trump.

White House and Biden campaign officials largely scoffed at this analysis, citing past efforts by Republicans and conservative media to turn caravans of migrants heading toward the border into election-year crises. For the most part, Mr. Biden himself has avoided focusing attention on the border, with polls showing that immigration motivates far more Republican voters than Democrats.

Still, there is a broad recognition even among Mr. Biden's allies that perceptions of chaos at the southern border are a political liability -- though strategists are optimistic that by the time 2024 ballots are cast voters will have moved on to other topics.

The expected migrant surge is ''coming at a good time because it's not coming in June or May of '24,'' said Matt Barreto, who conducts polling for Mr. Biden's White House. ''The election is not happening in June of '23. So you're going to see an extremely well-managed process with the resources we have.''

But while there is potential for the administration to spin the handling of the situation as a show of competence, Mr. Biden's record will be scrutinized. On his first day in office, he proposed an immigration package that offered a path to citizenship for 11 million undocumented residents, protected so-called Dreamers and added technology to help secure the southern border. The bill, faced with solid Republican opposition, went nowhere.

As a candidate, Mr. Biden had promised not to separate families at the border, as Mr. Trump did in 2018 -- and which the former president suggested this week he would reinstate if elected in 2024. Mr. Biden's more humane message and policies, along with the waning of the Covid-19 pandemic, have led to a rise in the number of people trying to enter the country unlawfully, contributing to a large increase in border apprehensions.

Now, with the end of Title 42, the administration has introduced stricter asylum rules to turn back those crossing without permission and sent 1,500 active-duty troops to support the Border Patrol.

And while pressure along the border built earlier this week -- on some days more than 11,000 people crossed the southern border unlawfully and were taken into custody -- according to internal agency data obtained by The New York Times, that number dropped somewhat to fewer than 10,000 people on Thursday.

But even some Democrats aligned with Mr. Biden have criticized him for not doing more to control the border and for failing to highlight his policies more forcefully.

''All of us who work in Democratic politics have been dreading this moment for two years,'' said Lanae Erickson, who runs the public opinion and social policy division at Third Way, a centrist Democratic think tank. ''It is very evident that Republicans still have an upper hand on immigration and people don't think that Democrats particularly care about securing the border.''

Progressives seem to agree. ''They should have undone Title 42 on the first day in office. They didn't,'' said Chris Newman, the legal director of the National Day Laborer Organizing Network, a nonprofit advocacy group based in Los Angeles. ''Now they have to do what they should have done in the first day of office, and they're doing it poorly.''

Polls show broad dissatisfaction with the president's handling of immigration. In an ABC News/Washington Post poll earlier this year, just 28 percent of Americans approved of Mr. Biden's handling of the southern border.

In a Fox News poll in April of registered voters, 66 percent of white voters without a college degree said that the White House was not tough enough on unlawful immigration. A majority of Hispanic voters, 55 percent, also said the president was not tough enough.

''Biden won the 2020 election not just because he got big shifts among white college voters, but he stopped the bleeding among white ***working class*** voters,'' said Ruy Teixeira, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. ''What happens with those voters now that he's going into 2024 with approval ratings in the low 40s, and then you add to that an emerging immigration problem -- a problem these voters very much think matters?''

Other polling is more favorable to the administration. In Mr. Barreto's recent surveys, conducted in seven battleground states for Immigration Hub, a pro-immigration group, there was broad support for Mr. Biden's policies, including reversing Trump-era child separation and developing pathways to citizenship for Dreamers.

Democrats point to recent electoral history as a counter to predictions that new scenes of disruption on the border will exact a political price. Republicans and their allies in the media have turned the prospect of caravans of migrants approaching the nation's southern border into biennial programming designed to motivate a conservative base. But Democrats won convincing victories in 2018, Mr. Biden won the presidency in 2020 and the party over-performed expectations in last year's midterm elections.

Part of the problem for Democrats is that their border policies tend to be more nuanced than Republicans' blunt calls to get tough, such as Mr. Trump's continued focus on building a wall. The Republican approach fires up the party's base, while Democrats have focused more energy on issues like abortion rights and the economy, which can motivate theirs.

Mr. Biden is also cross-pressured in his own party, with centrist Democrats calling for tougher measures and progressives warning of the dangers faced by expelled migrants and insisting on due process rights for asylum seekers.

''The majority of the American people are with us on this,'' said Maria Cardona, a longtime party strategist for the Democrats. ''It would be easier to explain if they actually explain it, which is we are for strong border security and humane pathways to legalization.''

Jon Seaton, a Republican strategist who works in Arizona, said that the latest surge of migrants was severely straining government services in parts of the border state and that the issue could play a role in tipping Arizona away from Mr. Biden in 2024, after he defeated Mr. Trump there by the slimmest of margins.

Arizona's large bloc of independent voters view immigration through a lens that is less ideological and more about government competency, Mr. Seaton said. ''These images are not just on Fox News, they're on local news, they're fairly pervasive,'' he said of scenes of people crossing the border and filling the streets of U.S. border cities.

''When they see things like what's happening, it's really a potential problem for President Biden and his re-election, and for Democrats up and down the ticket.''

Eileen Sullivan contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/12/us/politics/immigration-politics-2024-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/12/us/politics/immigration-politics-2024-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Migrants who turned themselves in Tuesday to U.S. Customs and Border Protection officers after crossing the border were loaded onto buses for processing in El Paso. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** May 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***To Turn Around Twitter, Musk Looks to an Advertising Expert***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6874-DD51-DXY4-X2PY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 13, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1497 words

**Byline:** By Tiffany Hsu, Sapna Maheshwari, Benjamin Mullin and Ryan Mac

**Body**

Mr. Musk said Ms. Yaccarino would focus on business operations and he would work on product design and technology at the social media platform.

Linda Yaccarino, NBCUniversal's advertising chief, was preparing to interview Elon Musk, Twitter's owner, onstage at a conference last month when she received an email from a peer in the advertising industry.

Rob Norman, a former executive at the ad giant WPP, wanted to know if Ms. Yaccarino had seen the op-ed he wrote after Mr. Musk bought Twitter last year. Mr. Norman's column discussed the tech billionaire's amplification of misinformation on Twitter and its chilling effect on advertisers.

Ms. Yaccarino said that she had and that she planned to raise such concerns, Mr. Norman said. But the main focus of her talk with Mr. Musk would be on something else: His efforts to revamp the social network into ''Twitter 2.0.''

Now Ms. Yaccarino is set to become the face of Twitter 2.0. Mr. Musk said on Friday that he had selected Ms. Yaccarino, 60, to become the company's chief executive. Hours earlier, NBCUniversal announced that Ms. Yaccarino was leaving, effective immediately.

''I am excited to welcome Linda Yaccarino as the new C.E.O. of Twitter,'' Mr. Musk tweeted. He said she would mainly handle business operations while he would continue working on product design and technology.

In choosing Ms. Yaccarino, Mr. Musk is signaling what his priority is at Twitter: its advertising business, rather than social media know-how. Ms. Yaccarino has been one of Madison Avenue's power brokers for decades. And Twitter, which makes the bulk of its revenue from ads, has struggled to expand that business, especially after Mr. Musk spooked advertisers last year.

''Linda's a force,'' said Joe Marchese, the former head of ad sales at the Fox Networks Group, who has known Ms. Yaccarino for at least a decade. ''She has one of the biggest jobs in advertising, and the ad market is as hard as it's ever been.''

Yet Ms. Yaccarino will have to do more than contend with Twitter's advertising woes. The company, which is based in San Francisco, has been severely slimmed down since Mr. Musk slashed 75 percent of its work force and has grappled with gaps in expertise and technical glitches. Twitter is also weighed down by $13 billion in debt that it took on to enable Mr. Musk to buy the company.

Most significantly, Ms. Yaccarino would have to deal with a mercurial and unpredictable boss in Mr. Musk. The 51-year-old billionaire has a track record of firing executives who don't achieve his goals. He sometimes tweets news about his various companies, which also include the electric carmaker Tesla, without warning. And as Twitter's owner, Mr. Musk retains absolute power at the company.

Mr. Musk already upended Ms. Yaccarino's carefully laid plans when he tweeted on Thursday that he had selected a new Twitter chief, though he did not identify her. Ms. Yaccarino, who was in back-to-back rehearsals for NBC's annual pitch to major advertisers when the tweet went out, hadn't informed many of her fellow executives that she was planning to leave, four people with knowledge of the matter said.

Lou Paskalis, a longtime ad executive and friend of Ms. Yaccarino, likened her move to Twitter to taking a ''step into the lion's mouth.''

''With her stature in the industry as probably one of the most beloved and trusted people on the revenue side, I question why she would subject herself to that kind of potential reputational risk,'' he said.

Mr. Musk and Ms. Yaccarino may be betting that there is plenty of upside with Twitter 2.0. Mr. Musk has laid out ambitious plans for the company, telling employees that it could be worth $250 billion one day and that the platform can be an ''everything app,'' with features like payments. (He recently said that Twitter is worth $20 billion, down from the $44 billion he paid for it.)

Ms. Yaccarino has already been working on her priorities at Twitter. One person who has spoken with her in recent days said that she is focused on repairing the company's relationship with Madison Avenue and wooing media companies back to the platform, potentially with partnership deals.

And she and Mr. Musk appear aligned on political issues -- such as a more permissive approach toward speech on Twitter -- that are central to his vision for the platform, two people familiar with her views said. She is a conservative and a critic of so-called woke discourse, a term used by conservatives to describe elements of left-wing social progressivism they view as censorious, they said.

Former President Donald J. Trump twice appointed Ms. Yaccarino to two-year terms on the President's Council on Sports, Fitness and Nutrition, where she joined would-be Republican politicians such as Mehmet Oz, the celebrity physician.

Ms. Yaccarino, who did not return requests for comment, grew up with ***working-class*** Italian parents in Long Island, New York, including a father who was a police officer. She attended Catholic school. After graduating from Pennsylvania State University in 1985 with a telecommunications degree, she spent nearly 20 years at Turner Entertainment, becoming chief operating officer of advertising sales, marketing and acquisitions before leaving for NBCUniversal in 2011.

At Turner and NBCUniversal, Ms. Yaccarino -- who has been said to negotiate like a ''velvet hammer'' -- made a name for herself by helping traditional television hold its ground in advertising in the era of Facebook and Google. Each year, she strode onstage at Radio City Music Hall for the upfront presentations, the glitzy showcases used by television networks to woo Madison Avenue, to persuade marketers to pay a hefty premium over social media rates to advertise on shows like ''This Is Us'' and ''Saturday Night Live.''

But while Ms. Yaccarino has spent years defending TV ad dollars from tech companies and been a fierce critic of Facebook and YouTube, she has also struck partnerships with apps like Snapchat and TikTok and digital outlets like BuzzFeed.

Outside work, Ms. Yaccarino became involved in initiatives including the World Economic Forum's Taskforce on Future of Work, which she heads. She was also a chair on the board of the Ad Council, a nonprofit, and helped the group raise $60 million in three months early in the pandemic to help counter vaccine hesitancy, making private calls, sending notes and ''working every lever that she had,'' said Lisa Sherman, the council's chief executive.

Ms. Yaccarino reached out to Mr. Musk around the time of the Super Bowl in February to discuss a partnership with NBCUniversal and potentially joining Twitter as chief executive, three people familiar with their talks said.

She had previously expressed admiration for Twitter, calling the platform ''the single, No. 1 biggest'' content distribution partner for NBCUniversal at an ad industry event soon after Mr. Musk took over the company. At the time, she added that she did not plan to ''bet against him'' and that she believed he could ''learn advertising.''

''I think we can teach him,'' she said.

This week, Ms. Yaccarino was in attendance when Mr. Musk spoke at an advertising conference in California's Napa Valley hosted by WPP, three people familiar with the event said.

Ms. Yaccarino would be a rare female chief executive in technology, as top executives like Meta's Sheryl Sandberg and YouTube's Susan Wojcicki have recently left their roles. Throughout her career, Ms. Yaccarino has often said that she has been the only woman at the table and has described incidents of bias, such as the time a male supervisor complained in an otherwise flattering performance review about her aggressiveness: ''I only wish she would stop using her high heels as a weapon.''

While Ms. Yaccarino is active on Twitter, her habits are sedate compared to Mr. Musk's, though in recent weeks, she has liked dozens of posts by and about him.

Still, the differences between Mr. Musk and Ms. Yaccarino were clear last month at the media conference in Miami. A polished Ms. Yaccarino came with prepared comments. An unshaven Mr. Musk spent a few moments wrangling his toddler son, X Æ A-12, before joining her and offering sometimes halting answers to her questions.

Ms. Yaccarino returned repeatedly to worries that her industry colleagues have voiced since Mr. Musk took control of Twitter, emphasizing several times that the audience of ad executives was crucial to the company's financial success.

Mr. Musk said that ''there's legitimate concerns that advertisers have that I want to hear.'' He recounted a complaint he had heard from David Zaslav, the chief executive of Warner Bros. Discovery, who was frustrated that he was unable to place ads for ''White Lotus,'' the hit HBO show, next to discussions of ''White Lotus'' on Twitter.

The issue has since been fixed, Mr. Musk said.

Ms. Yaccarino answered: ''So it's a new beginning.''

John Koblin contributed reporting from New York.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/12/technology/yaccarino-twitter-ceo-musk.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/12/technology/yaccarino-twitter-ceo-musk.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Linda Yaccarino, new C.E.O. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAWNI BANNISTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

Linda Yaccarino, NBCUniversal's former advertising chief, has been one of Madison Avenue's power brokers for decades. (PHOTOGRAPH BY REBECCA BLACKWELL/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

**Load-Date:** May 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***In L.A., They're Singing a New Song***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6874-DD51-DXY4-X2MY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 13, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1478 words

**Byline:** By Adam Nagourney

**Body**

LOS ANGELES -- When the tenor Russell Thomas appeared at the Los Angeles Opera in 2017, Plácido Domingo, the company's general director, asked him to return one day to sing the title role in Verdi's ''Otello.'' It was a notable invitation coming from Domingo, the leading Otello of his day, who sang the role in 1986 at the very first performance of the Los Angeles company.

Six years later, Thomas is back in Los Angeles starring as Otello in a six-performance run that begins Saturday. But Domingo, who had initially contemplated singing opposite him as the opera's villain, Iago, is gone, having resigned in 2019 at the age of 78 amid allegations that he had sexually harassed multiple women over the course of his career.

So it is that the company's season-ending production of ''Otello'' is at once a look back to its foundations and a glimpse into its future, as the Los Angeles Opera charts its course in a post-Domingo era at a moment when it faces the same challenges as other companies in recovering from the loss of audience members and revenues since the pandemic.

''It's slow -- it's much slower than I would have desired,'' Christopher Koelsch, the company's president and chief executive officer, said of the audience's return. But he noted that attendance was in line with what other opera houses across the country were seeing these days, and that there were signs that the company was overcoming its recent setbacks. ''By most criteria, other than audience attendance, the company is in significantly better shape than it's been in its 38-year history,'' he said.

Attendance so far this season has averaged 64 percent of the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion's 3,033-seat capacity -- still short of the 83 percent the company logged in 2018-2019, but showing improvement since it first reopened after the shutdown. Two productions that sold well, and sometimes sold out, reflected the company's efforts to balance new works with the classics: ''Omar,'' the new Rhiannon Giddens and Michael Abels opera based on the autobiography of an enslaved Muslim scholar that won the Pulitzer Prize for music this week, and ''The Marriage of Figaro,'' the Mozart comedy.

In a season when the Metropolitan Opera in New York was forced to dip into its endowment to make up for declining revenues, the Los Angeles Opera's endowment is at a record high -- $74.1 million, up from $28.8 million in 2012 -- reflecting a continued influx of contributions, said Keith Leonard, the chairman of its board. It survived the downturn without running a deficit, relying on salary reductions, a handful of layoffs, a $5 million five-year loan against the endowment, and federal aid.

Domingo's downfall stunned Los Angeles and its opera company, which had been so closely identified with the star tenor, who had been singing there since the 1960s and was instrumental in the creation of the company. An investigation by the Los Angeles Opera found accusations that he had engaged in ''inappropriate conduct'' with women ''to be credible,'' but did not find evidence that he had engaged in ''a quid pro quo or retaliated against any woman by not casting or otherwise hiring her at L.A. Opera.'' When he left, the company pledged to strengthen its measures for preventing misconduct.

It is difficult to say precisely whether attendance was affected by the departure of Domingo, given that the coronavirus shutdown followed so soon afterward. For many years his performances had drawn the biggest crowds, and his image was as integral to the company's marketing as Gustavo Dudamel's is for its neighbor, the Los Angeles Philharmonic. ''It is unmistakably a loss because he's such a titanic figure in the world,'' Koelsch said. But, he added, ''a scientific controlled experiment is impossible here.''

The opera never filled the general director position after Domingo left; those responsibilities were picked up by Koelsch, who already was running its day-to-day operations.

Domingo, in an email interview, said that in his view, the company had continued to thrive even after what he made clear was his unhappy departure from a position that had been a high point of his career.

''I saw it grow and I believe that I gave it my all, to the point that it became one of the leading opera houses in the U.S. and the world,'' he said, adding: ''I see the programming and the seasons appear to be very diverse, with a big focus on new works that can attract new audiences and I think this is a great added value for all the people of Los Angeles.''

With a $44 million operating budget, the Los Angeles Opera is the fifth largest company in the United States. Despite its (by opera standards) short existence, and with its modest roster of six productions a season (compared with 23 this season at the Met), it has been establishing itself as one of the more adventurous mainstream opera houses in the country: working to be more edgy than stuffy.

Even before Domingo left, the company -- aware of his age, and that an institution should not be too closely tied to any one person -- had been planning for its future, working to forge an identity that would combine war horses with more contemporary work.

For a decade it has been working with Beth Morrison Projects, which has been at the vanguard of producing contemporary opera: they collaborated on the world premiere of Ellen Reid's opera ''p r i s m'' in 2018 at Los Angeles' smaller Roy and Edna Disney/CalArts Theater, or REDCAT, and the work won a Pulitzer Prize. And in 2020, ''Eurydice,'' by Matthew Aucoin, who was then the opera's artist-in-residence, had its world premiere at the Dorothy Chandler before moving to the Metropolitan Opera.

''L.A. Opera is doing very, very well,'' said Marc A. Scorca, the president of Opera America, a nonprofit service organization for opera companies. ''Of all the major companies in the country, it is the youngest and is still discovering new audiences and new momentum as L.A. continues to build out its cultural infrastructure. I am very optimistic about the company.''

This spring, it collaborated with Beth Morrison Projects to present two operas by Emma O'Halloran, the Irish composer, at the 250-seat black box theater inside REDCAT.

One of them, a 70-minute, two-person work called ''Trade,'' explores an emotionally unsettling hotel room liaison in ***working-class*** Dublin between an older married man and a younger male prostitute, hardly the kind of story that has historically been presented on the opera stage.

''When we started this relationship, most opera companies were not doing new work,'' Morrison said. ''L.A. Opera, in terms of the big companies, was very much ahead of the curve on that. They believe in experimental work, and they believe we need to have these things to make sure that opera evolves into the future and brings in new audiences.''

Now other large companies, including the Met, are programming more new works in hopes of attracting new audiences.

If this is a recovery, it is still a tentative one; crucial questions about how audience behavior has changed remain to be answered. James Conlon, who has been the opera's music director since 2006, after being recruited for the job by Domingo, said that the opera was ''working very hard to regain that audience.''

''My own suspicion,'' he said, ''is that a lot of the competition is not going to be other venues but people who are sitting home who became used to making more use of their televisions.''

That is a particular issue in Los Angeles, considering the early evening traffic that can make trips downtown to the Music Center an exhausting, hourslong adventure.

When the company was first formed, there was much talk about whether Los Angeles had an appetite for grand opera. ''Up until the early 80s the received opinion by many of the leading figures at the Music Center was that 'L.A. is not an opera town' and 'L.A. can afford a great symphony or a great opera, but not both,''' said Don Franzen, an original member of the opera's board of directors.

But 38 years after that opening night, that question appears to have been answered.

''Los Angeles is very much an opera town -- I see the growth of the company and its success as a testimony to that,'' Scorca, of Opera America, said.

Now Thomas, the company's current artist-in-residence, is getting ready to take his place singing the demanding role that launched the company: Otello. He recalled that invitation from Domingo, who had floated the idea of appearing with him in the lower-lying baritone role of Iago, since he had stopped singing high tenor roles.

''He was very interested in my singing Otello, and he and I performing the show together,'' Thomas said the other day. ''I would have loved that to happen. I would have loved to be onstage with one of the legendary singers in opera. Things happen the way they do.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/12/arts/music/los-angeles-opera-placido-domingo.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/12/arts/music/los-angeles-opera-placido-domingo.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Los Angeles Opera is balancing classics like ''Otello,'' starring, from left, Rachel Willis-Sørensen, Russell Thomas, Sarah Saturnino and Igor Golovatenko, with edgier fare. (C1)

Russell Thomas, right, in rehearsal in the title role of Verdi's ''Otello'' at the Los Angeles Opera. Above from top: James Conlon, the music director of the Los Angeles Opera

in the pit at the tech rehearsal for ''Otello,'' the work the company opened with in 1986

Christopher Koelsch, who is president and chief executive. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAMON CASAREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C4) This article appeared in print on page C1, C4.

**Load-Date:** May 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***I Teach at an Elite College. Here’s a Look Inside the Racial Gaming of Admissions.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68K6-WM31-JBG3-602W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 29, 2023 Thursday 13:57 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2050 words

**Byline:** Tyler Austin Harper

**Highlight:** The end of affirmative action will only cause students and parents to get even more creative about gaming college admissions.

**Body**

When I was in graduate school several years ago, I spent my summers getting paid to help Asian American kids seem less Asian. I was a freelance tutor helping high school students prepare for college admissions, while living only a few miles from the heavily Chinese and Chinese American neighborhood of Flushing in Queens. For my first gig, on a sweltering summer afternoon, I made my way to a cramped apartment where my teenage client told me what she needed: for me to read over her college applications and make sure she didn’t seem too Asian.

I remember laughing over the death rattle of a geriatric air-conditioning unit; I assumed she was making a joke.

But she pressed on straight faced. Good colleges don’t want to let in Asians, she felt, because they already had too many — and if she seemed too Asian, she wouldn’t get in. She rattled off a list of Asian and Asian American friends from her church with stellar extracurriculars and sterling test scores who she said had been rejected from even their safety schools.

Nearly every college admissions tutoring job I took over the next few years would come with a version of the same behest. The Chinese and Korean kids wanted to know how to make their application materials seem less Chinese or Korean. The rich white kids wanted to know ways to seem less rich and less white. The Black kids wanted to make sure they came across as Black enough. Ditto for the Latino and Middle Eastern kids.

Seemingly everyone I interacted with as a tutor — white or brown, rich or poor, student or parent — believed that getting into an elite college required what I came to call racial gamification. For these students, the college admissions process had been reduced to performance art, in which they were tasked with either minimizing or maximizing their identity in exchange for the reward of a proverbial thick envelope from their dream school. It was a game I was soon compelled to play myself: A few years later, as a Black Ph.D. candidate in search of my first gig as a professor, I agonized over how — and whether — to talk about my race in ways that would mark me as a possible diversity hire. It felt like cheating to check the box and like self-sabotage not to.

Be it for an acceptance letter or a tenure-track professorship, the incentives at elite universities encourage and reward racial gamification. This will only get worse now that the Supreme Court has rejected affirmative action in college admissions. The rise of affirmative action produced, inadvertently, a culture of racial gamification by encouraging so many students and their parents to think about the ways race could boost or complicate their chances of admission; the end of affirmative action, in turn, will just exacerbate things by causing students and parents to get even more creative.

Let me be clear that I am not an opponent of affirmative action. I don’t think I would have gotten into Haverford College as an undergraduate if it had not been for affirmative action, and the same is probably true of my Ph.D. program at New York University and the professorship I now hold at Bates College. I believe that affirmative action works, that it is necessary to redress the historical evils of chattel slavery and its myriad afterlives and, above all, that it is a crucial counterbalance against the prevailing system of de facto [*white affirmative action*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/01/opinion/affirmative-action.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&amp;referringSource=articleShare) that rewards many academically mediocre (and wealthier) students for having legacy parents or [*for being good at rowing a boat*](https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2018/10/college-sports-benefits-white-students/573688/).

Yet I also believe that affirmative action — though necessary — has inadvertently helped create a warped and race-obsessed American university culture. Before students ever set foot on a rolling green, they are encouraged to see racial identity as the most salient aspect of their personhood, inextricable from their value and merit.

Many prestigious institutions have themselves racially gamified the admissions process, finding ways to maximize diversity without making dents in their endowments. For example, some colleges and universities boost diversity statistics on the cheap by accepting minority students who can pay full freight. And even purportedly need-blind institutions seem to have a remarkable track record of recruiting minority students who don’t need financial aid. (By some estimates, [*over 70 percent*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/10/supreme-court-harvard-affirmative-action-legacy-admissions-equity/671869/) of Harvard’s Black, Latino and Native American students have college-educated parents with incomes above the national median.)

Even though elite institutions haven’t always lived up to the spirit of affirmative action — giving a leg up to those who need it most — the present system has managed to secure some racial diversity in higher education, including for ***working-class*** minority applicants. (I was one of these students.) In the world after affirmative action, however, our unhealthy system of racial gamification will intensify without any of the benefits of racial justice and real structural redress that affirmative action afforded.

Rest assured, diversity will endure as an ethos for the simple reasons that students overwhelmingly [*say they want it*](https://www.insidehighered.com/quicktakes/2022/09/07/survey-students-want-colleges-be-diverse), U.S. News &amp; World Report factors the success of students from underrepresented backgrounds in its [*rankings*](https://www.cnn.com/2023/05/23/us/us-news-college-rankings-change/index.html), and — as fabulously wealthy institutions like universities, banks and tech companies that have cynically [*reduced diversity, equity and inclusion to a brand strategy*](https://www.forbes.com/sites/forbescoachescouncil/2022/12/16/four-ways-to-align-your-brand-strategy-to-your-corporate-dei-initiatives/?sh=72e102037cdd) realized — talking about diversity is cheap. It costs nothing to change a syllabus or announce a D.E.I. task force composed of existing employees.

In a bygone world where elite colleges and universities could increase racial diversity through affirmative action, such performative signaling was largely harmless. But in a new educational landscape in which race-conscious affirmative action is outlawed, toothless D.E.I. commitments will morally launder an elite higher education system that is designed — by both habit and financial expediency — to pass over many Black, brown and poor students.

As my own undergraduate institution discovered when it [*dropped*](https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/06/27/haverford-college-shifts-need-blind-need-aware-admissions) its need-blind admissions policy — in a move one school newspaper writer [*blasted*](http://haverfordclerk.com/why-we-need-need-blind/) as a pivot to “financially viable diversity” — it is expensive to admit lower-income minority students. In the wake of the court’s decision outlawing affirmative action, we won’t even have that. Financially viable admissions will be all that’s left.

Despite recent talk about affirmative action policies based on class rather than race, I am skeptical that would increase racial diversity. In states where race-conscious affirmative action had already been outlawed, wealth-based admissions policies have [*largely failed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/26/us/affirmative-action-admissions-supreme-court.html) to stem the bleeding of minority students from prestigious institutions. There is no reason to suspect that they will suddenly begin succeeding.

That leaves racial gamification.

Writing college essays will descend further into a perverse, racialized version of the Keynesian beauty contest. Many minority applicants (and their parents and tutors) will be left to guess which racial or ethnic category or subcategory — or even which crass racial stereotype — will be most appealing to any given admissions officer or to the particular school they are applying to. Chief Justice John Roberts all but offered a road map to gamification in his majority opinion Thursday, writing, “Nothing prohibits universities from considering an applicant’s discussion of how race affected the applicant’s life, so long as that discussion is concretely tied to a quality of character or unique ability that the particular applicant can contribute to the university.”

In truth, this is already happening: As the sociologist Aya Waller-Bey wrote in a [*brilliant but depressing*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2023/06/affirmative-action-supreme-court-college-admissions-essays-trauma/674314/) piece in The Atlantic, minority college applicants are keenly aware that they are more likely to be admitted if they cough up their darkest experiences. Meanwhile, many white or Asian or rich applicants will continue trying to appear less white or less Asian or less rich when they think it best suits their chances of winning admission to a fiercely picky elite campus.

Expect more antiracist action plans, more vaporous decolonization, more mandated training, more huckster consultants, more vacuous reports, more administrators whose jobs no one can explain, more [*sleazy land*](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/11/against-land-acknowledgements-native-american/620820/) acknowledgments (“Sorry I stole your house!”), more performative white self-flagellation, more [*tokenization of minority faculty members*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2023/06/02/opinion/wrong-kind-of-black-professor/).

And amid this great tornado of race chatter, if you take a moment to plug your ears and look around, you will probably begin to notice fewer and fewer brown and Black kids reading on the quad and, down the line, fewer and fewer brown and Black doctors [*in the maternity wards*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/02/12/upshot/child-maternal-mortality-rich-poor.html). It will turn out that all those initiatives will have next to nothing to do with actually combating structural racism. We may well find ourselves teaching Toni Morrison to rooms that get whiter and richer by the year.

So what is to be done? What actions should elite colleges and universities take next if they actually care about diversity?

First, they should exit [*the D.E.I.-industrial complex*](https://www.thecut.com/article/diversity-equity-inclusion-industrial-companies.html), which prioritizes the kind of cheap fixes, awareness raising and one-off speaker events that have been [*shown to bear little fruit.*](https://hbr.org/2022/12/the-failure-of-the-dei-industrial-complex) If you work at or attend these, any time people claim to be taking antiracist actions, demand that they explain — specifically — whom it is going to materially help and how it is going to materially help them. (Hint: If it doesn’t cost someone a significant amount of time or money, it is probably garbage.) If “success” is a change in the culture that you can’t quantify, document or meaningfully evaluate, then it is probably B.S. So ask for the receipts. Doing nothing is better than doing something if the something in question is P.R. skulduggery that provides cover for racist policies that keep campuses rich and white.

Second, elite colleges and universities should band together to strangle the parasitic U.S. News &amp; World Report ranking system. The infamous college rankings, which have [*come under fire for years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/us/us-news-college-ranking.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&amp;referringSource=articleShare), rely on [*a series of metrics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/22/opinion/us-news-world-report-rankings.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&amp;referringSource=articleShare) — like graduation rates — that effectively reward institutions for recruiting wealthier, whiter students and that falsely correlate excellence with endowment size. Because poor and minority students are more likely to quit college [*because of circumstances outside their control*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2022/01/30/college-poverty-expense-cost-dropout/), institutions that apply policies targeting these groups for admission are likely to take a ranking hit. A few prestigious law schools have [*stopped participating*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/22/opinion/us-news-world-report-rankings.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&amp;referringSource=articleShare) in the ranking system, and Columbia University recently became the first Ivy League undergraduate institution [*to do so*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/06/us/columbia-university-us-news-rankings.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&amp;referringSource=articleShare).

Exiting this system, which elite college and university presidents should collectively announce they are doing right now, will allow them to reimagine the admissions process without fear of penalty.

As for students? What advice would I give if I were tutoring again, sitting across from talented brown or Black kids worried that the Supreme Court has just made it easier to keep them out of the school of their dreams?

Remember that racial gamification is just that: a game. Ignore anyone who would have you believe that attending Ivy League universities — with their endowments as large as a reasonably sized country’s nominal G.D.P. — is the only path to happiness or success or racial equality. Civil rights leaders did not endure the dogs and the cold baptism of the fire hoses in the hopes that one day their children’s children could become Ivy-minted venture capitalists and management consultants. Remember that Martin Luther King Jr. did not dream of a multiracial oligarchy and that the “vaults of opportunity” of which he spoke are not hidden only behind a golden door at Yale University. There are other paths in life that do not require gaming anything. Remember that hope is wherever you find yourself.

Tyler Austin Harper is an assistant professor of environmental studies at Bates College.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY NORA WILLIAMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** July 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Erdogan's Fierce Power Leaves Him Vulnerable***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6874-DD51-DXY4-X2N7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 13, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1552 words

**Byline:** By Ben Hubbard

**Body**

Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, has tilted the political playing field in his favor over the past two decades, concentrating power in his own hands. Still, he faces a stiff challenge in Sunday's election.

ISTANBUL, Turkey -- As President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey approaches the toughest election of his career on Sunday, he has marshaled many of the resources of the state to tilt the playing field to his advantage.

Mr. Erdogan, who has come to increasingly dominate the country over the past two decades, tapped the Treasury for populist spending programs and has raised the minimum wage three times in the last year and a half. His challenger barely appears on the state broadcaster while Mr. Erdogan's speeches are aired in full. And this weekend's vote will be overseen by an election board that, during recent votes, have made questionable calls that benefited the president.

And yet, Mr. Erdogan could still lose.

Recent polls show him trailing the main challenger, Kemal Kilicdaroglu, in a tight race that could go to a runoff later this month. But Mr. Erdogan's grip on the country could also contribute to his undoing, if voters drop him because of his strongman ways and persistently high inflation that has left Turks feeling poorer.

''The elections are not fair, but nonetheless they are free, and that is why there is always the prospect of political change in Turkey,'' said Sinan Ulgen, director of the Istanbul-based EDAM research group. ''The prospect exists, and is now palpable.''

Mr. Erdogan has eroded democratic institutions, stocking the judiciary with loyalists and limiting free expression. His main challenger, Mr. Kilicdaroglu, has vowed to restore democracy if he wins.

The close race speaks to Turkey's complicated character. Political scientists say it is neither a full democracy nor a full-blown autocracy, but rather a mix of the two in which the leader has outsized power but where elections can still bring about change.

Turkey has never tipped into full-on autocracy because electoral politics retain a hallowed place in the national identity, one revered by Mr. Erdogan himself. He and his governing Justice and Development Party have regularly trounced their opponents at the ballot box over the years with no indications of foul play, granting Mr. Erdogan a mandate.

Turkey's political ambiguity is also reflected in its global position.

During Mr. Erdogan's tenure, much of Turkish foreign policy has become personally associated with him as he has proved to be a necessary, but problematic -- and at times puzzling -- partner of the West. He condemned Russia's invasion of Ukraine and sent aid to the Ukrainian government while not only refusing to join Western sanctions on Russia, but also expanding trade ties with, and drawing closer to, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

He has sparred with the United States over Syria policy and disparages Washington in his speeches. He heads a NATO member state but has hampered the alliance's expansion, delaying Finland's ability to join and still refusing to accept Sweden.

All of that, at times, has left Western leaders wondering whose side he is really on.

A change of leadership in Turkey would resonate around the world, given the country's unique position as a predominantly Muslim society with a staunchly secular state and a vast network of economic and diplomatic ties spanning Asia, Africa, Europe and the Middle East.

Mr. Kilicdaroglu has promised that if he wins, he will improve relations with the West and make Turkish foreign policy less personal. But what exactly that would look like is hard to predict: He represents a coalition of six political parties with widely divergent ideologies and his record provides few clues. Before entering politics, he was a civil servant who ran Turkey's social security administration.

After Mr. Erdogan rose to the national stage as prime minister in 2003, he was widely seen as a new model of Islamist democrat, one pro-business and interested in strong ties with the West. During his first decade, Turkey's economy boomed, lifting millions into the middle class.

But more recently -- after facing mass street protests against his governing style, becoming president in 2014 and surviving a failed coup attempt in 2016 -- he purged his foes from the state bureaucracy, limited civil liberties and centralized power in his hands.

Mr. Erdogan retains a fervent following, particularly among ***working class***, rural and more religious voters, who love his rhetoric about standing up for Turkey against an array of domestic and foreign enemies. He has pushed back against Turkey's state secularism, expanding Islamic education and changing regulations to allow women in government jobs to wear head scarves.

The political opposition says that his consolidation of power has gone too far and portrays Sunday's vote as a make-it-or-break-it moment for Turkish democracy that could inspire other states struggling with aspiring autocrats.

Mr. Erdogan's advantages are clear, starting with the perks citizens can receive through links to his political party, including state jobs, social support or local services like new roads, analysts said.

The president's use of power for electoral gain has raised questions about how fair these elections really are.

''It is more like a hybrid regime, where you have multiparty elections but where the opposition does not enjoy the same opportunities as the government to put their ideas and policies through to voters,'' said Ersin Kalaycioglu, a professor of political science at Sabanci University in Istanbul.

Mr. Erdogan has extended his sway over the news media. Major news networks are owned by businessmen close to Mr. Erdogan while outlets that criticize his policies are often hounded with fines and lawsuits.

A recent analysis of the state-funded broadcaster TRT found that in April, Mr. Kilicdaroglu received only 32 minutes of airtime. Mr. Erdogan got 32 hours.

''TRT acts like a public relations firm assigned to run the election campaign of the ruling party and its presidential candidate,'' Ilhan Tasci, an opposition party member at the state broadcasting regulator, said in a statement when releasing the data.

Overseeing Sunday's vote is the Supreme Election Council, a panel of judges. For decades, it was widely regarded as independent and trustworthy, but two recent decisions marred its reputation in the eyes of opposition supporters.

In 2017, while the votes were being counted in a referendum on changing Turkey from a parliamentary to a presidential system, the board decided to override the electoral law and include ballots that lacked an official stamp proving their authenticity. The referendum passed by a slim margin, allowing Mr. Erdogan, the president at the time, to greatly expand his powers.

In 2019, after an opposition candidate beat Mr. Erdogan's candidate in the mayor's race for Istanbul, Turkey's largest city, the council voided the results, citing irregularities, and called for a redo. The same opposition candidate won that, too, by an even larger margin.

Those decisions raised questions about the election board's willingness to rule against Mr. Erdogan's preferred outcome, said Hasan Sinar, an associate professor of criminal law at Altinbas University in Istanbul.

''On paper, they are neutral,'' he said. ''But when the government stays in power so long, no one in that position can be neutral anymore.'' Any doubt about the electoral board's neutrality was detrimental to Turkey's democracy, he added. ''This is never supposed to be poisoned by doubt,'' he said.

In recent weeks, Mr. Erdogan has used his bully pulpit to bludgeon the opposition, warning that the country would suffer under their leadership and accusing them of conspiring with terrorists. Mr. Erdogan's interior minister, Suleyman Soylu, who oversees the security forces, has gone further, sowing doubts about the results before the vote even begins.

The election amounted to ''a political coup attempt by the West,'' Mr. Soylu said last month during a campaign stop. ''It is a coup attempt formed by bringing together all of the preparations to purge Turkey.''

A few days later, Mr. Soylu said that Mr. Kilicdaroglu's party was ''always open to cheating.''

Despite the problems, Turks remain hopeful that Sunday's poll will express the people's will. This week, after Mr. Soylu requested that the election board share detailed data about polling places and voter registrations so his ministry could set up its own system to tabulate the vote, the election board pushed back, saying that only it was empowered to count votes.

Others noted Mr. Erdogan's long commitment to electoral politics, hoping that meant he would accept his own loss if it happened.

''Turkey has a long tradition of multiparty democracy and a very strong attachment to the integrity of the vote,'' said Mr. Ulgen, the director of EDAM. If a clean vote is held, it would probably be respected, even by Mr. Erdogan, he added.

But trouble could arise if the results are very close, causing the candidates to contest them or question the process.

If the spread is very thin, Mr. Ulgen said, ''all options are on the table.''

Gulsin Harman contributed reporting.Gulsin Harman contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/12/world/middleeast/turkey-election-erdogan.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/12/world/middleeast/turkey-election-erdogan.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A campaign poster of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey at a market in the city of Kayseri. (A1)

Recent polls show President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey trailing Kemal Kilicdaroglu. The race could go to a runoff this month. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Supporters of Mr. Kilicdaroglu at a campaign event in Ankara. Mr. Kilicdaroglu has vowed to restore democracy if he wins. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SEDAT SUNA/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) (A5) This article appeared in print on page A1, A5.

**Load-Date:** May 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Elon Musk Appoints Linda Yaccarino Twitter’s New Chief***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:686Y-H1C1-DXY4-X29G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 12, 2023 Friday 12:06 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** TECHNOLOGY

**Length:** 1533 words

**Byline:** Tiffany Hsu, Sapna Maheshwari, Benjamin Mullin and Ryan Mac

**Highlight:** Mr. Musk said Ms. Yaccarino would focus on business operations and he would work on product design and technology at the social media platform.

**Body**

Mr. Musk said Ms. Yaccarino would focus on business operations and he would work on product design and technology at the social media platform.

Linda Yaccarino, NBCUniversal’s advertising chief, was preparing to interview [*Elon Musk*](https://www.nytimes.com/topic/person/elon-musk), Twitter’s owner, onstage at a conference last month when she received an email from a peer in the advertising industry.

Rob Norman, a former executive at the ad giant WPP, wanted to know if Ms. Yaccarino had seen [*the op-ed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/01/opinion/elon-musk-twitter-advertisers.html) he wrote after [*Mr. Musk bought Twitter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/technology/elon-musk-twitter-deal-complete.html) last year. Mr. Norman’s column discussed the tech billionaire’s [*amplification of misinformation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/07/business/media/twitter-misinformation-report.html) on Twitter and its chilling effect on advertisers.

Ms. Yaccarino said that she had and that she planned to raise such concerns, Mr. Norman said. But the main focus of her talk with Mr. Musk would be on something else: His efforts to revamp the social network into “Twitter 2.0.”

Now Ms. Yaccarino is set to become the face of Twitter 2.0. Mr. Musk said on Friday that he had selected [*Ms. Yaccarino, 60,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/11/technology/elon-musk-ceo-twitter.html) to become the company’s chief executive. Hours earlier, NBCUniversal announced that [*Ms. Yaccarino was leaving*](https://www.nbcuniversal.com/press-release/linda-yaccarino-leave-nbcuniversal-mark-marshall-named-interim-chairman-global), effective immediately.

“I am excited to welcome Linda Yaccarino as the new C.E.O. of Twitter,” Mr. Musk [*tweeted*](https://twitter.com/elonmusk/status/1657050349608501249). He said she would mainly handle business operations while he would continue working on product design and technology.

In choosing Ms. Yaccarino, Mr. Musk is signaling what his priority is at Twitter: its advertising business, rather than social media know-how. Ms. Yaccarino has been one of Madison Avenue’s power brokers for decades. And Twitter, which makes the bulk of its revenue from ads, has struggled to expand that business, especially after [*Mr. Musk spooked advertisers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/01/technology/elon-musk-twitter-advertisers.html) last year.

“Linda’s a force,” said Joe Marchese, the former head of ad sales at the Fox Networks Group, who has known Ms. Yaccarino for at least a decade. “She has one of the biggest jobs in advertising, and the ad market is as hard as it’s ever been.”

Yet Ms. Yaccarino will have to do more than contend with Twitter’s advertising woes. The company, which is based in San Francisco, has been severely slimmed down since Mr. Musk slashed 75 percent of its work force and has grappled with gaps in expertise and technical glitches. Twitter is also weighed down by $13 billion in debt that it took on to enable Mr. Musk to buy the company.

Most significantly, Ms. Yaccarino would have to deal with a [*mercurial and unpredictable boss*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/03/technology/elon-musk-twitter-plan.html) in Mr. Musk. The 51-year-old billionaire has a track record of firing executives who don’t achieve his goals. He sometimes tweets news about his various companies, which also include the electric carmaker Tesla, without warning. And as Twitter’s owner, Mr. Musk retains absolute power at the company.

Mr. Musk already upended Ms. Yaccarino’s carefully laid plans when [*he tweeted on Thursday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/11/technology/elon-musk-ceo-twitter.html) that he had selected a new Twitter chief, though he did not identify her. Ms. Yaccarino, who was in back-to-back rehearsals for NBC’s annual pitch to major advertisers when the tweet went out, hadn’t informed many of her fellow executives that she was planning to leave, four people with knowledge of the matter said.

Lou Paskalis, a longtime ad executive and friend of Ms. Yaccarino, likened her move to Twitter to taking a “step into the lion’s mouth.”

“With her stature in the industry as probably one of the most beloved and trusted people on the revenue side, I question why she would subject herself to that kind of potential reputational risk,” he said.

Mr. Musk and Ms. Yaccarino may be betting that there is plenty of upside with Twitter 2.0. Mr. Musk has laid out ambitious plans for the company, telling employees that it could be worth $250 billion one day and that the platform can be an “everything app,” with features like payments. (He recently said that Twitter is [*worth $20 billion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/26/technology/elon-musk-twitter-value.html), down from the $44 billion he paid for it.)

Ms. Yaccarino has already been working on her priorities at Twitter. One person who has spoken with her in recent days said that she is focused on repairing the company’s relationship with Madison Avenue and wooing media companies back to the platform, potentially with partnership deals.

And she and Mr. Musk appear aligned on political issues — such as a more permissive approach toward speech on Twitter — that are central to his vision for the platform, two people familiar with her views said. She is a conservative and a critic of so-called woke discourse, a term used by conservatives to describe elements of left-wing social progressivism they view as censorious, they said.

Former President Donald J. Trump twice appointed Ms. Yaccarino to two-year terms on the President’s Council on Sports, Fitness and Nutrition, where she joined would-be Republican politicians such as Mehmet Oz, the celebrity physician.

Ms. Yaccarino, who did not return requests for comment, grew up with [***working-class*** *Italian parents*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IxSRZRNApAc) in Long Island, New York, including a father who was a police officer. She attended Catholic school. After graduating from Pennsylvania State University in 1985 with a telecommunications degree, she spent nearly 20 years at Turner Entertainment, becoming chief operating officer of advertising sales, marketing and acquisitions before leaving for NBCUniversal in 2011.

At Turner and NBCUniversal, Ms. Yaccarino — who has been said to negotiate like a “[*velvet hammer*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304543904577401151149418384)” — made a name for herself by helping traditional television [*hold its ground*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/14/business/media/nbcuniversal-advertising-sales-linda-yaccarino.html) in advertising in the era of Facebook and Google. Each year, she strode onstage at Radio City Music Hall for the upfront presentations, the glitzy showcases used by television networks to woo Madison Avenue, to persuade marketers to pay a hefty premium over social media rates to advertise on shows like “This Is Us” and “Saturday Night Live.”

But while Ms. Yaccarino has spent years defending TV ad dollars from tech companies and been a fierce critic of Facebook and YouTube, she has also struck partnerships with apps like Snapchat and TikTok and digital outlets like BuzzFeed.

Outside work, Ms. Yaccarino became involved in initiatives including the World Economic Forum’s Taskforce on Future of Work, which she heads. She was also a chair on the board of the Ad Council, a nonprofit, and helped the group raise [*$60 million in three months*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/23/business/media/ad-council-covid-vaccine-skeptics.html) early in the pandemic to help counter vaccine hesitancy, making private calls, sending notes and “working every lever that she had,” said Lisa Sherman, the council’s chief executive.

Ms. Yaccarino reached out to Mr. Musk around the time of the Super Bowl in February to discuss a partnership with NBCUniversal and potentially joining Twitter as chief executive, three people familiar with their talks said.

She had previously expressed admiration for Twitter, calling the platform “the single, No. 1 biggest” content distribution partner for NBCUniversal at [*an ad industry event*](https://adage.com/article/digital-marketing-ad-tech-news/elon-musks-twitter-gets-support-nbcuniversals-linda-yaccarino/2451061) soon after Mr. Musk took over the company. At the time, she added that she did not plan to “bet against him” and that she believed he could “learn advertising.”

“I think we can teach him,” she said.

This week, Ms. Yaccarino was in attendance when Mr. Musk spoke at an advertising conference in California’s Napa Valley hosted by WPP, three people familiar with the event said.

Ms. Yaccarino would be a rare female chief executive in technology, as top executives like Meta’s Sheryl Sandberg and [*YouTube’s Susan Wojcicki*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/16/technology/susan-wojcicki-youtube-ceo-step-down.html) have recently left their roles. Throughout her career, Ms. Yaccarino has often said that she has been the only woman at the table and has described [*incidents of bias*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IxSRZRNApAc), such as the time a male supervisor complained in an otherwise flattering performance review about her aggressiveness: “I only wish she would stop using her high heels as a weapon.”

While Ms. Yaccarino is active on Twitter, her habits are sedate [*compared to Mr. Musk’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/01/31/technology/elon-musk-tweets.html), though in recent weeks, she has liked dozens of posts by and about him.

Still, the differences between Mr. Musk and Ms. Yaccarino were clear last month at the media conference in Miami. A polished Ms. Yaccarino came with prepared comments. An unshaven Mr. Musk spent a few moments wrangling his toddler son, X Æ A-12, before joining her and offering sometimes halting answers to her questions.

Ms. Yaccarino returned repeatedly to worries that her industry colleagues have voiced since Mr. Musk took control of Twitter, emphasizing several times that the audience of ad executives was crucial to the company’s financial success.

Mr. Musk said that “there’s legitimate concerns that advertisers have that I want to hear.” He recounted a complaint he had heard from [*David Zaslav*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/10/business/media/warner-bros-discovery.html), the chief executive of Warner Bros. Discovery, who was frustrated that he was unable to place ads for “White Lotus,” the hit HBO show, next to discussions of “White Lotus” on Twitter.

The issue has since been fixed, Mr. Musk said.

Ms. Yaccarino answered: “So it’s a new beginning.”

John Koblin contributed reporting from New York.

PHOTOS: Linda Yaccarino, new C.E.O. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAWNI BANNISTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); Linda Yaccarino, NBCUniversal’s former advertising chief, has been one of Madison Avenue’s power brokers for decades. (PHOTOGRAPH BY REBECCA BLACKWELL/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

**Load-Date:** May 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***New York's Ascendant Left Sets Sights on Longtime Representative***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62FH-46K1-DXY4-X2FY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 15, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1354 words

**Byline:** By Katie Glueck

**Body**

Justice Democrats, a left-wing group that fueled the rise of Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, is backing Rana Abdelhamid's primary bid.

Nearly three years ago, a little-known left-wing organization helped engineer Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's shock victory over Representative Joseph Crowley in a House primary. Last year, the group, Justice Democrats, aided Jamaal Bowman's ouster of Representative Eliot Engel in another House primary.

Now the group has found its next New York target: Representative Carolyn B. Maloney, 75, a Democrat first elected to Congress in 1992, who chairs the House Committee on Oversight and Reform.

Justice Democrats has thrown its support behind Rana Abdelhamid, a community organizer and nonprofit founder, in her bid against Ms. Maloney, laying the groundwork for a generational, ideological and insider-versus-outsider battle that will test the power and energy of the left with President Donald J. Trump now out of office.

Ms. Abdelhamid, a 27-year-old member of the Democratic Socialists of America who is keenly focused on matters of housing access and equity, officially announced her candidacy for the 2022 primary on Wednesday.

''We strongly believe in Rana's leadership capabilities to build a coalition like we've been able to in some of our previous elections,'' said Alexandra Rojas, the executive director of Justice Democrats, adding that she believed Ms. Abdelhamid could connect with younger voters, ***working-class*** voters of color, some older white liberals and those inspired by left-wing leaders like Senator Bernie Sanders and Ms. Ocasio-Cortez.

Ms. Maloney's district, the 12th District of New York, is home to wealthy, business-minded moderates along the East Side of Manhattan. But it also includes deeply progressive pockets of the city in western Queens and a corner of Brooklyn with a well-organized left-wing activist scene.

There is great uncertainty around what the district will ultimately look like following an expected redistricting process, and Ms. Abdelhamid is not Ms. Maloney's only likely challenger; Suraj Patel, who has unsuccessfully challenged Ms. Maloney twice, has indicated that he intends to run again.

But for now, Ms. Abdelhamid's candidacy will measure whether New Yorkers reeling from the pandemic and navigating economic recovery are skeptical of elevating another political outsider to steer the city forward -- or if vast inequalities, which only worsened over the last year, have put the electorate in an anti-establishment mood.

Ms. Abdelhamid, a daughter of Egyptian immigrants, is a 2015 graduate of Middlebury College and 2017 graduate of the Harvard Kennedy School, with a day job at Google. A first-degree black belt in karate, she founded a nonprofit called ''Malikah'' -- ''queen'' in multiple languages -- that offers self-defense training and other efforts to empower women, an initiative she launched after a man tried to yank off her hijab when she was a teenager.

She embraces her age as she casts herself as a change agent who keenly understands the challenges facing ***working-class*** and immigrant communities in the district: Her own family was priced out of the area.

''Congresswoman Maloney has been in office for 28 years, for longer than I've been alive,'' she said in an interview this week, sitting outside a restaurant on a crowded street in the Little Egypt enclave of Astoria, Queens. ''Under her leadership, rent has only skyrocketed, our public schools have only gotten more segregated and more underfunded.

''The progressive case against Carolyn Maloney,'' she charged, ''is that Carolyn Maloney is not a progressive.''

Ms. Maloney describes herself as ''a recognized progressive national leader,'' and her allies say that she has a long record of delivering for constituents -- indeed, a map on her congressional website offers a detailed guide to the funding she says she has procured for projects across the district.

''Carolyn is committed to running again regardless of who's running against her, and she will wage an aggressive campaign as she always does,'' said Jim Duffy, a partner at Putnam Partners, which works with Ms. Maloney's campaigns. ''She's never lost a race before. She doesn't intend to lose this one.''

She was not made available for an interview.

Ms. Abdelhamid unquestionably still faces an uphill battle against a seasoned, well-known congresswoman who is in a position to claim credit for tangible federal assistance for New York.

''She's an extremely hard worker, she delivers for her district, she works very hard on individual cases,'' said George Arzt, a veteran political consultant who has advised Ms. Maloney. ''Everyone in her district knows her.''

And nationally, candidates backed by Justice Democrats have far from a perfect record of success.

But the recent history of New York politics also shows why Ms. Abdelhamid's entry into the race is likely to be taken very seriously.

In 2018, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, then 28, defeated Mr. Crowley, who at the time was the No. 4 Democrat in the House. Last summer, Mr. Bowman beat Mr. Engel, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Strategists who worked with those campaigns see another opportunity for significant grass-roots engagement in 12th district, given the leftward shift of New York politics. ''This is a place where our base is active, and a lot of voters and folks that power a lot of the most recent local campaigns over the past few years are here,'' Ms. Rojas said.

Ms. Maloney, a battle-tested candidate, won her primary contests in 2018 and 2020 -- though last year, she only received 43 percent of the vote.

The race instantly became highly contentious. The chairman of the New York State Democratic Party, Jay S. Jacobs, released a blistering statement declaring that ''the argument that she and her 'Justice Democrats' and 'Democratic Socialists of America' allies put forth that Carolyn Maloney is not progressive enough is just pure nonsense.''

Ms. Abdelhamid called it an ''unhinged statement'' that ''could have been written by Donald Trump,'' and said later Wednesday that she had raised more than $100,000 since announcing her campaign. Ms. Rojas said she had hit that metric ''faster than any Justice Democrat challenger.''

Ms. Abdelhamid is running on a platform of housing affordability and a range of other left-wing priorities, including Medicare for All, the Green New Deal and a broadly anti-corporate message. She said she shared a number of goals and values with the Democratic Socialists, but that she was not especially active in a local chapter of the group.

She also supports defunding the police, describing experiences with family members who were the subject of stop-and-frisk tactics and raising the issue of police surveillance of Muslim communities. As a victim of assault herself in the hijab incident, she said, she believed in directing more funds to community services, and she speaks passionately about racial justice.

But she is likely to face intense scrutiny over her ability to navigate Washington. And she volunteered that she does not live in the district, living instead with her family, whom she says she is supporting financially, in a different part of Astoria -- a fact that is almost certain to become an issue in the campaign.

She did live in the district until high school, her team says, but her family moved because the area became too expensive. She sought to frame her current living situation as a reflection of how unaffordable the area has become under Ms. Maloney's leadership. Ms. Abdelhamid, who is getting married, indicated that she plans to move back to the district in about three months.

She still attends a mosque in the district and clearly has relationships there -- a worker at Al-Sham Sweets & Pastries greeted her warmly as she ordered kenafeh, a Middle Eastern dessert, there this week.

''My family is a ***working-class*** family that can't afford to live in Little Egypt as an Egyptian family,'' she said. ''Because of gentrification. And this is a story that many ***working-class*** ethnic communities understand.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/14/nyregion/carolyn-maloney-primary-rana-abdelhamid.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/14/nyregion/carolyn-maloney-primary-rana-abdelhamid.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Rana Abdelhamid, a nonprofit founder, says she plans to challenge Representative Carolyn B. Maloney, far left, who has been in office since 1992. Ms. Abdelhamid, campaigning at near left, said her own family had been priced out of the district, which includes Astoria's Little Egypt. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BENJAMIN NORMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 15, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The Party's Over for Us. Where Do We Go Now?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67B0-XKV1-JBG3-622T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 15, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 6; THE CONVERSATION

**Length:** 3219 words

**Byline:** By Bret Stephens and David Brooks

**Body**

For decades, conservative values have been central to Bret Stephens's and David Brooks's political beliefs, and the Republican Party was the vehicle to extend those beliefs into policy. But in recent years, both the party and a radicalized conservative movement have left them feeling alienated in various ways. Now, with an extremist fringe seemingly in control of the House, the G.O.P. bears little resemblance to the party that was once their home. Bret and David got together to suss out what happened and where the party can go.

Bret Stephens: Lately I've been thinking about that classic Will Rogers line: ''I am not a member of any organized political party. I am a Democrat.'' A century or so later, it looks like the shoe is on the other foot. Is it even possible to call the Republican Party a ''party'' anymore?

David Brooks: My thinking about the G.O.P. goes back to a brunch I had with Laura Ingraham and Dinesh D'Souza in the '80s that helps me see, in retrospect, that people in my circle were pro-conservative, while Ingraham and D'Souza and people in their circle were anti-left. We wanted to champion Edmund Burke and Adam Smith and a Reaganite foreign policy. They wanted to rock the establishment. That turned out to be a consequential difference because almost all the people in my circle back then -- like David Frum and Robert Kagan -- ended up, decades later, NeverTrumpers, and almost all the people in their circle became Trumpers or went bonkers.

Bret: Right, they weren't conservatives. They were just illiberal.

David: Then in 1995 some friends and I created a magazine called The Weekly Standard. The goal was to help the G.O.P. become a mature governing party. Clearly we did an awesome job! I have a zillion thoughts about where the Republican Party went astray, but do you have a core theory?

Bret: I have multiple theories, but let me start with one: The mid-1990s was also the time that Newt Gingrich became speaker of the House and Fox News got started. Back then, those who were on the more intelligent end of the conservative spectrum thought a magazine such as The Weekly Standard, a channel such as Fox and a guy like Gingrich would be complementary: The Standard would provide innovative ideas for Republican leaders like Gingrich, and Fox would popularize those ideas for right-of-center voters. It didn't work out as planned. The supposed popularizers turned into angry populists. And the populists turned on the intellectuals.

To borrow Warren Buffett's take about investing, the conservative movement went from innovation to imitation to idiocy. It's how the movement embraced Donald Trump as a standard-bearer and role model. All the rest, as they say, is Commentary.

Your theory?

David: I think I'd tell a similar story, but maybe less flattering to my circle. The people who led the Republican Party, either as president (Ronald Reagan through the Bushes), members of Congress (Jack Kemp, John McCain, Paul Ryan) or as administration officials and intellectuals (Richard Darman, Condi Rice) believed in promoting change through the institutions of established power. They generally wanted to shrink and reform the government but they venerated the Senate, the institution of the presidency, and they worked comfortably with people from the think tanks, the press and the universities. They were liberal internationalists, cosmopolitan, believers in the value of immigration.

Bret: I'd add that they also believed in the core values of old-fashioned liberalism: faith in the goodness of democracy, human rights, the rule of law, free speech, political compromise, the political process itself. They believed in building things up, not just tearing them down. I would count myself among them.

David: Then the establishment got discredited (Iraq War, financial crisis, the ossifying of the meritocracy, the widening values gap between metro elites and everybody else), and suddenly all the people I regarded as fringe and wackadoodle (Pat Buchanan, Donald Trump, anybody who ran CPAC) rose up on the wave of populist fury.

Everybody likes a story in which the little guy rises up to take on the establishment, but in this case the little guys rode in on a wave of know-nothingism, mendacity, an apocalyptic mind-set, and authoritarianism. Within a few short years, a somewhat Hamiltonian party became a Jacksonian one, with a truly nihilistic wing.

Bret: Slightly unfair to Jackson, who at least opposed nullification, but I take your overall point.

David: After many years of the G.O.P. decaying, the party's institutional and moral collapse happened quickly, between 2013 and 2016. In the 2000 Republican primaries I enthusiastically supported John McCain. I believed in his approach to governance and I admired him enormously. But by 2008, when he got the nomination, the party had shifted and McCain had shifted along with it. I walked into the polling booth that November genuinely not knowing if I would vote for McCain or Barack Obama. Then an optical illusion flashed across my brain. McCain and Obama's names appeared to be written on the ballot in 12-point type. But Sarah Palin's name looked like it was written in red in 24-point type. I don't think I've ever said this publicly before, but I voted for Obama.

Bret: I voted for McCain. If I were basing my presidential votes on the vice-presidential candidate, I'd have thought twice about voting for Biden.

On your point about populism: There have been previous Republican presidents who rode to office on waves of populist discontent, particularly Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan. But as presidents they channeled the discontent into serious programs and also turned their backs on the ugly fringes of the right. Nixon created the Environmental Protection Agency and expanded the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Reagan established a working relationship with Democratic House leaders to pass tax reform and gave amnesty to millions of illegal immigrants. What's different this time is that populist feelings were never harnessed to pragmatic policies. As you say, it's just populism in the service of nihilism.

David: So where does the G.O.P. go from here and where does the old core of the conservative movement go? Do they (we) become Democrats or a quiet left-wing fringe of what's become Matt Gaetz's clown show?

Bret: When people get on a bad path, whether it's drinking or gambling or political or religious fanaticism, they tend to follow it all the way to the bottom, at which point they either die or have that proverbial moment of clarity. I've been waiting for Republicans to have a moment of clarity for a while now -- after Joe Biden's victory, or Jan. 6, the midterms, Trump's dinner with Kanye West. I had a flicker of hope that the Kevin McCarthy debacle last week would open some eyes, but probably not. Part of the problem is that so many Republicans no longer get into politics to pass legislation. They do it to become celebrities. The more feverish they are, the better it sells.

On the other hand, some Republicans who conspicuously did well in the midterms were the ''normies'' -- people like Gov. Brian Kemp in Georgia and Gov. Mike DeWine in Ohio. It gives me hope that the fever will eventually burn itself out, maybe after a few well-earned defeats. The solution here is some kind of Republican version of the old Democratic Leadership Council, which yanked left-wing Democrats back to the center after three consecutive presidential wipeouts and paved the way for the election of Bill Clinton.

Which raises another question for me, David: Where are the old brains and money trusts of the G.O.P., to give life and energy to that kind of effort?

David: Well, it's not going to be me! Even in my red-hot youth, when I worked for Bill Buckley at National Review, I didn't see myself as a Republican, just a conservative. I maintain a distance from political parties because I think it's always wrong for a writer to align too closely to a party. That's the path to predictability and propagandism. Furthermore, I belong in the American tradition that begins with Alexander Hamilton, runs through the Whig Party and Lincoln, and then modernized with Theodore Roosevelt, parts of Reagan and McCain. I wasted years writing essays on how Republicans could maintain this tradition. The party went the other way. Now I think the Democrats are a better Hamiltonian home.

Bret: I'm part of the same conservative tradition, though maybe with a heavier dose of Milton Friedman.

David: Our trajectories with the G.O.P. are fairly similar, and so are our lives. I'm older than you, but our lives have a number of parallels. We both grew up in secular Jewish families, went to the University of Chicago, worked at The Wall Street Journal, served in Brussels for The Journal, and wound up at The Times.

Bret: We also probably had many of the same professors at Chicago -- wonderful teachers like Nathan Tarcov, Ralph Lerner, François Furet, and Leon and Amy Kass -- who taught me that Lesson No. 1 was to not succumb to the idea that justice is the advantage of the stronger, and to always keep an open mind to a powerful counterargument. That's not a mind-set I see with the current Republican leaders.

David: When people ask me whether they should end a relationship they're in, I answer them with a question: Are the embers dead? Presumably when the relationship started there was a flame of love. Is some of that warmth still there, waiting to be revived, or is it just stone-cold ash? In my relationship with the G.O.P., the embers are dead. I look at the recent madness in the House with astonishment but detachment. Isaiah Berlin once declared he belonged to ''the extreme right-wing edge of the left-wing movement,'' and if that location is good enough for old Ike Berlin, it's good enough for me.

Bret: I wouldn't have had trouble calling myself a Republican till 2012, when I started to write pretty critically about the direction the party was taking on social issues, immigration and foreign policy. In 2016 I voted for a Democratic presidential candidate for the first time in my life, did it again in 2020, and I think of myself as a conservative-minded independent. If I haven't finalized my divorce from the G.O.P., we're definitely separated and living apart.

David: I suppose I went through stages of alienation. By the early 2000s, I came to believe that the free market policies that were right to combat stagnation and sclerosis a few decades earlier were not right for an age of inequality and social breakdown. Then the congressional Republicans began to oppose almost every positive federal good, even George W. Bush's compassionate conservatism. Trump brought the three horsemen of the apocalypse -- immorality, dishonesty and bigotry. The party, complicit in all that, is dead to me, even though, I have to say, a good chunk of my friends are Republicans.

Bret: I'm loath to give up completely on Republicans only because I believe a successful democracy needs a morally healthy conservative party -- one that channels conservative psychological tendencies into policies to check heedless progressivism while engaging productively with an evolving world. I see no other plausible vehicle to advance those policies. Still, the party's road to recovery is going to be long and hard. And it's going to require some courageous and credible conservatives to speak up and denounce the current direction of the party.

David: As for who is going to lead a Republican revival, I guess I'd start in the states. One of Al From's insights in leading the Democratic Leadership Council was that change was going to come from the young and ambitious state legislators and governors, like Bill Clinton -- a new generation of politicians from moderate parts of the country. But the Democrats had a strong incentive to change because they lost a lot of elections between 1968 and 1992. The country is now so evenly divided, it takes only a slight shift to produce victory, and nobody has an incentive to rethink his or her party.

Bret: And, of course, when Republicans lose, they console themselves with the thought that it's because the other side cheated.

David: If the Republican Party is to thrive, intellectually and politically, it will have to become a multiracial ***working-class*** party. A lot of people are already thinking along these lines. Oren Cass at American Compass has been pushing a ***working-class*** agenda. The Trumpish writers and activists who call themselves national conservatives are not my cup of tea, but they do speak in the tone of anti-coastal-elite protest that is going to be the melody of this party for a long time to come. To my mind, Yuval Levin is one of the brightest conservatives in America today. He runs a division at the American Enterprise Institute where the debates over the future of the right are already being held.

The party will either revive or crack up, the way the Whig Party did. But it's going to take decades. If I'm still around to see it, I'll be eating mush and listening to Led Zeppelin Muzak with the other fogeys at the Rockefeller Republican Home for the Aged.

Bret: You may well be right about how long it takes. But I don't think it's going to do so as a party of the ***working class***. The natural place for the G.O.P. is as the party of economic freedom, social aspiration and moral responsibility -- a party of risers, if not always of winners. Its archetypal constituent is the small-business owner. It wants less regulation because it understands from experience how well-intended ideas from above translate into onerous and stupid rules at the ground level. It doesn't mind big business per se but objects to moralizing C.E.O.s who try to use their size and incumbency to impose left-coast ideology. And it thinks there should be consequences, not excuses, for unlawful behavior, which means it looks askance at policies like bail reform and lax law enforcement at borders.

The problem is that Trump turned the party into a single-purpose vehicle for cultural resentments. It doesn't help that coastal elites do so much on their own to feed those resentments.

David: We've reached a rare moment of disagreement! Your configuration for Republicans was a product of long debates in the 20th century. Size-of-government arguments are going to be less salient. Values, identity and social status issues will be more salient. I think the core driver of politics across the Western democracies is this: In society after society, highly educated professionals have formed a Brahmin class. The top of the ladder go to competitive colleges, marry each other, send their kids to elite schools and live in the same neighborhoods. This class dominates the media, the academy, Hollywood, tech and the corporate sector.

Many people on the middle and bottom have risen up to say, we don't want to be ruled by those guys. To hell with their economic, cultural and political power. We'll vote for anybody who can smash their machine. The Republican Party is the party of this protest movement.

Bret: Another way of thinking about the class/partisan divide you are describing is between people whose business is the production and distribution of words -- academics, journalists, civil servants, lawyers, intellectuals -- and people whose business is the production and distribution of things -- manufacturers, drivers, contractors, distributors, and so on. The first group makes the rules for the administrative state. The latter lives under the weight of those rules, and will continue to be the base of the G.O.P.

By the way, since you mentioned earlier the need for new leaders to come from the states, is there anyone who particularly impresses you? And how do you feel about the quasi-nominee-in-waiting, Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida?

David: I'm slightly bearish about DeSantis. He does a good job of being Trumpy without Trump, but I wonder if a man who apparently has net negative social skills and empathy can really thrive during an intimately covered national campaign that will last two years. Trump was at least funny, and to his voters, charismatic. Do you have any other candidates on your radar screen?

Bret: Well, I don't think it'll be either of the Mikes -- Pious Pence or Pompous Pompeo. I like Nikki Haley personally and think she has a good mind and a terrific personal story. But I don't get the sense of much public enthusiasm for her beyond high-level donors.

Which brings me back to DeSantis. He seems to have figured out that the G.O.P. sits on a three-legged stool consisting of Trumpists, evangelicals and the business community. He's earned the respect of the first with his pugilistic jabs at the media, of the second with his attacks on Disney and his parental rights legislation, and of the third with an open-for-business approach to governance that has brought hundreds of thousands of people to Florida. Next to all that, the personality defects seem pretty surmountable.

David: Sigh. I can't rebut your logic here. Save us, Glenn Youngkin!

Bret: Final question, David: If you could rewind the tape to 1995, is there anything you or anyone in our circle could have done differently to save the Republican Party from the direction it ultimately took?

David: In 1996 Pat Buchanan's sister, Kathleen, worked at The Standard as an executive assistant. A truly wonderful woman. We virulently opposed Pat in his presidential run that year. The day after he won the New Hampshire primary she smiled kindly at us and said something to the effect of: Don't worry. I'll protect you guys when the pitchforks come.

Bret: Given what happened to The Standard, it didn't work out as promised.

David: I wish we had taken that Buchanan victory more seriously, since it was a precursor of what was to come. I wish we had pivoted our conservatism even faster away from (sorry) Wall Street Journal editorial page ideas and come up with conservative approaches to inequality, to deindustrialization, to racial disparities, etc. I wish, in other words, that our mentalities had shifted faster.

But in truth, I don't believe it would have made any difference. Authoritarian populism is a global phenomenon. The Republicans were destined to turn more populist. The big question is, do they continue on the path to authoritarianism?

Bret: I look back at the world of conservative ideas I grew up in, professionally speaking, and I see a lot worth holding on to: George Kelling and James Q. Wilson on crime, Nicholas Eberstadt on social breakdown, Linda Chavez on immigration, Shelby Steele on racial issues, Garry Kasparov on the threat of Vladimir Putin, and so on. I don't think the ideas were the core problem, even if not every one of them stands the test of time. The problem was that, when the illiberal barbarians were at the conservative gates, the gatekeepers had a catastrophic loss of nerve. Whether it's too late to regain that nerve is, to me, the ultimate question.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/11/opinion/republican-party-future.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/11/opinion/republican-party-future.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

**Load-Date:** January 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Immigration Politics Return to the Forefront as the 2024 Race Picks Up Pace***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6870-B0K1-JBG3-61VS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 12, 2023 Friday 11:51 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1555 words

**Byline:** Trip Gabriel and Reid J. Epstein

**Highlight:** Donald J. Trump rode border security to the presidency in 2016. Republicans hope the issue will be at the center of the debate again.

**Body**

Donald J. Trump rode border security to the presidency in 2016. Republicans hope the issue will be at the center of the debate again.

Border security, the issue that largely defined Donald J. Trump’s victorious 2016 campaign, is back on the national agenda, a potential boost for Mr. Trump — and, for President Biden, a headache with no simple remedy in either policy or politics.

The termination of a pandemic-era program that allowed officials to swiftly expel migrants was expected to draw [*an additional 7,000 unauthorized people a day*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/05/11/us/title-42-immigration), adding to already record levels of migrants, from Latin America and elsewhere, [*driven north by poverty and violence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/11/world/americas/title-42-migration-us-border.html) and by [*perceptions of a more welcoming border*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/08/briefing/migrants-southern-border-surge-title-42.html?searchResultPosition=2) under Mr. Biden.

At a televised town hall this week, Mr. Trump predicted that Friday would be a “day of infamy” as the policy known as Title 42 that he first put in place came to an end. He used the same fear-mongering rhetoric of his earlier campaigns to describe migrants in broad and inaccurate strokes as “released from prisons” and “mental institutions.”

The Biden administration [*announced*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/02/us/politics/biden-troops-border.html) [*policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/08/us/politics/biden-trump-immigration-title-42.html) beginning in February to blunt the surge, and so far there have not been signs of disorder since the policy expired. But Mr. Trump — along with Republican officials and conservative media — in recent days have escalated their yearslong attacks over border security, claiming that Mr. Biden has ignored a burgeoning crisis.

[*Fox News*](https://www.foxnews.com/video/6327091902112) employed a countdown clock to observe the end of Title 42, while broadcasting overhead video from a “Fox flight team” of thousands of migrants in a tent camp that a correspondent said were “waiting until Title 42 drops to cross over illegally.”

Nikki Haley, a former South Carolina governor and 2024 presidential candidate, [*told*](https://www.newsmax.com/newsmax-tv/nikki-haley-title-42-border-crisis/2023/05/11/id/1119388/) the far-right outlet Newsmax that what she saw on a border visit was “unbelievable,” citing cartels trafficking people and fentanyl, the lethal opioid that has caused the deaths of tens of thousands of Americans and has become a primary theme of Republican attacks on Mr. Biden’s policies.

“Along with inflation, an out-of-control border is one of the administration’s greatest vulnerabilities,” said Whit Ayres, a Republican pollster. “If you watch Fox News, there are few other issues that are as important for the federal government to address.” The lifting of Title 42, he added, was an issue “gift-wrapped with a beautiful bow” for Mr. Trump.

White House and Biden campaign officials largely scoffed at this analysis, citing past efforts by Republicans and conservative media to turn caravans of migrants heading toward the border into election-year crises. For the most part, Mr. Biden himself has avoided focusing attention on the border, with polls showing that immigration motivates far more Republican voters than Democrats.

Still, there is a broad recognition even among Mr. Biden’s allies that perceptions of chaos at the southern border are a political liability — though strategists are optimistic that by the time 2024 ballots are cast voters will have moved on to other topics.

The expected migrant surge is “coming at a good time because it’s not coming in June or May of ’24,” said Matt Barreto, who conducts polling for Mr. Biden’s White House. “The election is not happening in June of ’23. So you’re going to see an extremely well-managed process with the resources we have.”

But while there is potential for the administration to spin the handling of the situation as a show of competence, Mr. Biden’s record will be scrutinized. On his first day in office, he proposed [*an immigration package*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/01/20/fact-sheet-president-biden-sends-immigration-bill-to-congress-as-part-of-his-commitment-to-modernize-our-immigration-system/) that offered a path to citizenship for 11 million undocumented residents, protected [*so-called Dreamers*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-daca.html) and added technology to help secure the southern border. The bill, faced with solid Republican opposition, went nowhere.

As a candidate, Mr. Biden had promised not to [*separate families at the border, as Mr. Trump did*](https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2022/09/trump-administration-family-separation-policy-immigration/670604/) in 2018 — and which the former president suggested this week he would reinstate if elected in 2024. Mr. Biden’s more humane message and policies, along with the waning of the Covid-19 pandemic, have led to a rise in the number of people trying to enter the country unlawfully, contributing to a [*large increase in border apprehensions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/08/briefing/migrants-southern-border-surge-title-42.html?searchResultPosition=2).

Now, with the end of Title 42, the administration has [*introduced*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/21/us/biden-asylum-rules.html) stricter asylum rules to turn back those crossing without permission and sent 1,500 active-duty troops to support the Border Patrol.

And while pressure along the border built earlier this week — on some days more than 11,000 people crossed the southern border unlawfully and were taken into custody — according to internal agency data obtained by The New York Times, that number dropped somewhat to fewer than 10,000 people on Thursday.

But even some Democrats aligned with Mr. Biden have criticized him for not doing more to control the border and for failing to highlight his policies more forcefully.

“All of us who work in Democratic politics have been dreading this moment for two years,” said Lanae Erickson, who runs the public opinion and social policy division at Third Way, a centrist Democratic think tank. “It is very evident that Republicans still have an upper hand on immigration and people don’t think that Democrats particularly care about securing the border.”

Progressives seem to agree. “They should have undone Title 42 on the first day in office. They didn’t,” said Chris Newman, the legal director of the National Day Laborer Organizing Network, a nonprofit advocacy group based in Los Angeles. “Now they have to do what they should have done in the first day of office, and they’re doing it poorly.”

Polls show broad dissatisfaction with the president’s handling of immigration. In [*an ABC News/Washington Post poll*](https://www.langerresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/1228a2Bidenand2024.pdf) earlier this year, just 28 percent of Americans approved of Mr. Biden’s handling of the southern border.

In a [*Fox News poll*](https://static.foxnews.com/foxnews.com/content/uploads/2023/04/Fox_April-21-24-2023_Cross-Tabs_April-26-Release.pdf) in April of registered voters, 66 percent of white voters without a college degree said that the White House was not tough enough on unlawful immigration. A majority of Hispanic voters, 55 percent, also said the president was not tough enough.

“Biden won the 2020 election not just because he got big shifts among white college voters, but he stopped the bleeding among white ***working class*** voters,’’ said Ruy Teixeira, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. “What happens with those voters now that he’s going into 2024 with approval ratings in the low 40s, and then you add to that an emerging immigration problem — a problem these voters very much think matters?”

Other polling is more favorable to the administration. In Mr. Barreto’s recent surveys, conducted in seven battleground states for Immigration Hub, a pro-immigration group, there was broad support for Mr. Biden’s policies, including reversing Trump-era child separation and developing pathways to citizenship for Dreamers.

Democrats point to recent electoral history as a counter to predictions that new scenes of disruption on the border will exact a political price. Republicans and their allies in the media have turned [*the prospect of caravans of migrants approaching the nation’s southern border*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/23/arts/television/fox-trump-midterms-caravan.html) into biennial programming designed to motivate a conservative base. But Democrats won convincing victories in 2018, Mr. Biden won the presidency in 2020 and the party over-performed expectations in last year’s midterm elections.

Part of the problem for Democrats is that their border policies tend to be more nuanced than Republicans’ blunt calls to get tough, such as Mr. Trump’s continued focus on building a wall. The Republican approach fires up the party’s base, while Democrats have focused more energy on issues like abortion rights and the economy, which can motivate theirs.

Mr. Biden is also cross-pressured in his own party, with centrist Democrats calling for tougher measures and progressives warning of [*the dangers faced by expelled migrants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/12/world/americas/migrants-deported-us-mexico.html) and insisting on due process rights for asylum seekers.

“The majority of the American people are with us on this,” said Maria Cardona, a longtime party strategist for the Democrats. “It would be easier to explain if they actually explain it, which is we are for strong border security and humane pathways to legalization.”

Jon Seaton, a Republican strategist who works in Arizona, said that the latest surge of migrants was severely straining government services in parts of the border state and that the issue could play a role in tipping Arizona away from Mr. Biden in 2024, after he defeated Mr. Trump there by the slimmest of margins.

Arizona’s large bloc of independent voters view immigration through a lens that is less ideological and more about government competency, Mr. Seaton said. “These images are not just on Fox News, they’re on local news, they’re fairly pervasive,” he said of scenes of people crossing the border and filling the streets of U.S. border cities.

“When they see things like what’s happening, it’s really a potential problem for President Biden and his re-election, and for Democrats up and down the ticket.”

Eileen Sullivan contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Migrants who turned themselves in Tuesday to U.S. Customs and Border Protection officers after crossing the border were loaded onto buses for processing in El Paso. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** May 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***He Was a Revolutionary at the Birth of a Nation. Does Anyone Care?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68FY-HD51-JBG3-62RD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 14, 2023 Wednesday 09:26 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1814 words

**Byline:** Alex Traub

**Highlight:** From freedom fighter to war hero to business leader to immigrant cabdriver, one man’s quest to keep his past alive in a new land.

**Body**

On a rainy night last month, down an alleyway in the Jackson Heights section of Queens, in a restaurant basement, sat about two dozen retirees. There was a onetime federal tax agent, a retired car salesman, a former pharmacy cashier and several taxi drivers who had shut off their meters for good.

One of these men, Golam Khan, a 72-year-old ex-cabby, was in charge. He put his arm around other gray-haired men and whispered instructions. He cleared the front row of seats for a few distinguished guests.

After some introductory speeches, Mr. Khan stood before the crowd at a lectern on a raised stage. He cast his mind to their faraway homeland, Bangladesh, and the time more than 50 years ago when they participated in the victorious but bloody war that led to the nation’s independence.

“We are fortunate people who fought in the War of Liberation,” he said. “In a nation’s life, freedom fighters come but once.”

The 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War might seem like an obscure bit of history, but it looms as an immense trauma for many New Yorkers — people like the men in that basement. The war provided their most honored accomplishments and their most terrifying memories.

Estimates of how many Bengalis were killed in 1971 [*range*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/06/opinion/the-politics-of-bangladeshs-genocide-debate.html) from the hundreds of thousands to the millions. A leading American scholar of the conflict, the Princeton international affairs professor Gary Bass, [*calls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/30/opinion/nixon-and-kissingers-forgotten-shame.html) it “a forgotten genocide.”

Finding men and women who lived through the war is not difficult in New York. From 2000 to 2015, Bangladeshis were the city’s [*fastest-growing*](https://www.nyc.gov/assets/planning/download/pdf/planning-level/housing-economy/nyc-foreign-born-info-brief.pdf?r=1) immigrant group. Revolutionaries of the 1970s today work humble jobs on the streets and sidewalks where New Yorkers spend their days.

Fakhrul Alam, a 69-year-old owner of newsstands in Manhattan, Queens and the Bronx, says that in 1971 he guarded what he calls a “famous tree” that from time immemorial both Hindus and Muslims had believed to possess magic healing powers — until he woke up one morning to find the whole tree somehow stolen, uprooted: a casualty of the war.

Jewel Mohammad Jamal, 69, a Midtown traffic policeman, says that during his time as a young soldier, he once saw hundreds of dead bodies floating in the Salda River, near Bangladesh’s eastern border with India. If he describes this moment in conversation, he said, he fears that nightmares will haunt his sleep.

That might seem like a reason to repress memories. Yet in interviews, dozens of Bangladeshi veterans grew expansive when given the chance to recount heroic and tragic episodes from the distant world of their youth.

“Nobody asked me,” said Shawkat Akbar, a 68-year-old retired seller of Fords and Toyotas, “but if somebody did ask me, I would explain very well our liberation war.”

Mr. Akbar is part of the organization that held last month’s event and that Mr. Khan founded and runs, Bangladesh Liberation War Veterans 1971 U.S.A. Inc. The group of about 60 veterans provides a forum for gossip, ennobles its ***working-class*** members with titles (Mr. Khan has appointed eight of them vice presidents) and stages events where poems are recited, war stories are recounted, old slogans are raised, manly tears are shed and an exalted status lost with immigration to the United States is recovered, briefly.

The occasion last month was honoring Ruhul Amin, a veteran who died in April and who, like Mr. Khan, was a retired taxi driver in his 70s.

“After five years, after 10 years, freedom fighters will not have ability to arrange these events,” Mr. Khan said in his speech. His voice broke, and his eyes grew red and watery. “We will not be around anymore.”

Mr. Khan discussed the meaning of this prospect in an interview a few days later.

“When the people came from Bangladesh, they have become crazy to make money,” he said. “They have forgot their culture, they have forgot their nationality.” But now, he continued, they have settled down. “We’re all retired people.”

This is the moment when a first generation of immigrants finally has time to reminisce.

Tazin Khan, 30, a cybersecurity specialist and one of Mr. Khan’s daughters, asked to join one of our interviews. “I hope you don’t mind if I ask questions,” she said. “I am trying to learn this history, too.”

Before 1971, Bangladesh was a region of Pakistan, which encompassed two halves separated by about 1,000 miles, with India in between. West Pakistan, populated largely by Punjabis who spoke Urdu, was militarily, politically and economically dominant, while East Pakistan consisted of Bengalis who felt marginalized.

East Pakistan was a poor, agrarian society with a popular, pipe-smoking, bespectacled and frequently imprisoned leader in [*Sheikh Mujibur Rahman*](https://www.nytimes.com/1971/03/15/archives/hero-of-the-east-pakistanis-mujibur-rahman.html), who fought for greater autonomy for Bengalis.

Even in casual conversation, Mr. Khan refers to him by his full name, preceded by his sobriquet, “Father of the Nation, Friend of Bengal.”

Mr. Khan and Mr. Rahman came from landowning families in the same rural district. As a teenager, Mr. Khan recalls, he found his way to a meeting at his idol’s home. He stood up and announced that he would like to recite a poem by the Bengali writer [*Kazi Nazrul Islam*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1976/08/30/75548497.html?pageNumber=25).

Mr. Khan still remembers the poem.

“The mosque, church, and Buddhist temple and Hindu temple — all crush it, break down it,” he declaimed in his living room. “Start a slogan by the name of Human Being — A Victory for the Human Being.”

Mr. Rahman won Pakistan’s 1970 general election, but was denied the prime ministership by the West’s military authorities, who feared that he would bring about the East’s secession. Bengali protest became the pretext for Mr. Rahman’s arrest and a military [*crackdown*](https://www.nytimes.com/1972/01/24/archives/bengalis-land-a-vast-cemetery-the-bengali-countryside-is-a-vast.html) on March 25, 1971.

Mr. Khan requested his parents’ blessing to join a Bengali guerrilla uprising.

“Fight for your country,” Mr. Khan recalled his father telling him. “I have another two sons.”

The decision represented a grave risk.

The Pakistani army used its firepower to brutal ends, Professor Bass said in a phone interview: “You’re seeing massive numbers of civilians being killed in a systematic campaign. That easily qualifies as crimes against humanity.”

Mr. Khan describes his experience of the war as an Odyssean saga.

He traversed his nation by foot, he says, to be armed and trained in India before returning to his homeland. His platoon scattered after it was ambushed. He shot a Pakistani captain at close range. Twice he watched a fellow soldier die right next to him. Twice he killed someone he did not intend to in the middle of a firefight. He was tricked by a group of Maoist insurgents, who gave his troop free food and then tried to steal their guns. He allied with another Bengali military unit, defected from it and allied with yet a third group. He narrowly escaped a deadly mortar blast.

With the war still raging, he returned home. It was nighttime. He stood outside. “Ma?” Mr. Khan called.

Soon he was inside, his family surrounding him. His father told him they had received a letter stating that he had died during the ambush. Mr. Khan’s family had already held his funeral.

The war ended in December 1971 with Pakistan’s defeat. Mr. Rahman became the leader of independent Bangladesh, but he suspended democracy in 1974 and was [*assassinated*](https://www.nytimes.com/1975/08/16/archives/mujib-led-long-fight-to-free-bengalis.html) in 1975. Bangladeshi politics [*lost the secular progressivism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/15/world/asia/15bangladesh-muslim-hindu-violence.html) of Mr. Khan’s poem and split into bitter divisions.

Mr. Khan became a rebel again, only to find himself imprisoned and tortured. After being released, he earned a master’s degree in Bengali literature and started a prosperous furniture business. Years passed, and Mr. Khan became a well-connected businessman with the reputation of a war hero.

In the early 1990s, the political winds in Bangladesh changed and he faced the threat of another detention. He gave up everything and moved to the United States in 1993. Now he was a poor immigrant from an obscure land.

He asked himself, Am I not meant to do something better than drive a taxi?

He did the job in two stints, in the 1990s and again in the 2010s, in addition to working as a cashier at McDonald’s and managing a grocery store.

His three children attended college in the United States and now have corporate or creative professions in New York City. In 2017, thanks to their financial support, Mr. Khan was able to retire. He lives with Rizia Khan, his wife since 1982, in New Hyde Park on Long Island.

Of all the occasions when Mr. Khan has spoken in America about his past, one stands out.

In September 2021, he found himself at an improbable scene: a packed hip-hop [*show*](https://vimeo.com/613597210/4f22471b28) at Manhattan’s Bowery Ballroom. At one point, the concert organizers summoned him backstage.

Shortly thereafter, the headliner, a Bangladeshi American [*rapper*](https://www.huckmag.com/article/anik-khan-approved-denied-interview) named Anik Khan, paused between songs. He announced a special guest: someone who had grown up in a village, recited poetry in front of thousands, started a successful business, enjoyed the services of a personal driver — and then left it all behind to become a driver for other people while living in a one-bedroom apartment with six people in Queens.

“If it’s OK,” Anik said, “I’d love to bring out my father to do one of his poems.”

To the sound of a blaring klaxon and shrieks from the crowd, Mr. Khan emerged. Anik was sporting cornrows and an unbuttoned short-sleeve shirt; his father wore pointed slippers, a white kurta and a green shawl with golden trim. Turning toward the hip-hop fans, Golam folded his hands in the traditional South Asian sign of respect.

He did not, however, recite his poem.

“I was a freedom fighter in the War of Liberation,” he said.

Many in the crowd could not have known what war, exactly, he was referring to, but they cheered in response.

Mr. Khan continued: “In 1971 …”

Anik reappeared. He whispered something into his father’s ear and made a straight-ahead gesture with his arm before backing away.

Mr. Khan continued his explanation.

“This poetry was very much encouragement the War of Liberation,” he went on. “I was very young that time.”

Anik returned. He leaned over his father’s shoulder, the microphone picking up his words. “I have to do a show, Baba,” Anik pleaded. “Can you do your poem? Right now. No more talking.”

For two minutes, gesticulating to the crowd and to his heart, Mr. Khan recited Bengali verse.

Finally, he finished. The D.J. shouted, “Make some noise for Golam!”

He might not have made himself understood, but in that moment, Mr. Khan found glory in America.

Silvia Saberin contributed reporting.

Silvia Saberin contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Top, Golam Khan, founder of Bangladesh Liberation War Veterans 1971 U.S.A. Inc., at his home on Long Island. Center, commando training in 1971. Above left, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, center, who won Pakistan’s 1970 general election but was denied the prime ministership. Above right, a recent meeting of the veterans group. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JONAH MARKOWITZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; DENNIS LEE ROYLE/ASSOCIATED PRESS; BETTMANN ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page MB10.

**Load-Date:** June 16, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Los Angeles Opera, Post-Plácido Domingo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6870-B0K1-JBG3-61VM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 12, 2023 Friday 12:36 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 1562 words

**Byline:** Adam Nagourney

**Highlight:** The star tenor played a central role at the company from the start. Since his ouster, it has worked to define itself on its own terms.

**Body**

LOS ANGELES — When the tenor [*Russell Thomas*](https://www.laopera.org/about-us/artists-2/cast-members/russel/) appeared at the Los Angeles Opera in 2017, Plácido Domingo, the company’s general director, asked him to return one day to sing the title role in Verdi’s “Otello.” It was a notable invitation coming from Domingo, the leading Otello of his day, who sang the role in 1986 at the [*very first performance of the Los Angeles company*](https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1986-10-09-ca-5383-story.html).

Six years later, Thomas is back in Los Angeles starring as Otello in [*a six-performance run*](https://www.laopera.org/performances/202223-season/otello/) that begins Saturday. But Domingo, who had initially contemplated singing opposite him as the opera’s villain, Iago, is gone, having [*resigned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/02/arts/music/placido-domingo-la-opera-sexual-harassment.html) in 2019 at the age of 78 amid allegations that he had sexually harassed multiple women over the course of his career.

So it is that the company’s season-ending production of “Otello” is at once a look back to its foundations and a glimpse into its future, as the Los Angeles Opera charts its course in a post-Domingo era at a moment when it faces the same challenges as other companies in recovering from the loss of audience members and revenues since the pandemic.

“It’s slow — it’s much slower than I would have desired,” [*Christopher Koelsch,*](https://www.laopera.org/about-us/artists-2/creative-team/christopher-koelsch/) the company’s president and chief executive officer, said of the audience’s return. But he noted that attendance was in line with what other opera houses across the country were seeing these days, and that there were signs that the company was overcoming its recent setbacks. “By most criteria, other than audience attendance, the company is in significantly better shape than it’s been in its 38-year history,” he said.

Attendance so far this season has averaged 64 percent of the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion’s 3,033-seat capacity — still short of the 83 percent the company logged in 2018-2019, but showing improvement since it first reopened after the shutdown. Two productions that sold well, and sometimes sold out, reflected the company’s efforts to balance new works with the classics: [*“Omar,”*](https://www.latimes.com/entertainment-arts/story/2022-10-23/omar-opera-los-angeles-rhiannon-giddens-michael-abels#:~:text=%E2%80%9COmar%E2%80%9D%20treads%20a%20line%20between%20staged%20concert%2C%20full-scale,the%20orchestra%20through%20African%2C%20Muslim%20and%20American%20styles.) the new Rhiannon Giddens and Michael Abels opera based on the autobiography of an enslaved Muslim scholar that won [*the Pulitzer Prize*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/08/arts/music/rhiannon-giddens-michael-abels-pulitzer-prize-for-music-omar.html) for music this week, and “The Marriage of Figaro,” the Mozart comedy.

In a season when the Metropolitan Opera in New York was forced to [*dip into its endowment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/26/arts/music/metropolitan-opera-endowment-contemporary.html) to make up for declining revenues, the Los Angeles Opera’s endowment is at a record high — $74.1 million, up from $28.8 million in 2012 — reflecting a continued influx of contributions, said Keith Leonard, the chairman of its board. It survived the downturn without running a deficit, relying on salary reductions, a handful of layoffs, a $5 million five-year loan against the endowment, and federal aid.

Domingo’s downfall stunned Los Angeles and its opera company, which had been so closely identified with the star tenor, who had been singing there since the 1960s and was instrumental in the creation of the company. An [*investigation by the Los Angeles Opera found*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/10/arts/music/placido-domingo-sexual-misconduct.html?timespastHighlight=Los,ANGELES,OPERA,AND,cooper,AND,domingo?timespastHighlight=placido,domingo,AND,cooper) accusations that he had engaged in “inappropriate conduct” with women “to be credible,” but did not find evidence that he had engaged in “a quid pro quo or retaliated against any woman by not casting or otherwise hiring her at L.A. Opera.” When he left, the company pledged to strengthen its measures for preventing misconduct.

It is difficult to say precisely whether attendance was affected by the departure of Domingo, given that the coronavirus shutdown followed so soon afterward. For many years his performances had drawn the biggest crowds, and his image was as integral to the company’s marketing as Gustavo Dudamel’s is for its neighbor, the Los Angeles Philharmonic. “It is unmistakably a loss because he’s such a titanic figure in the world,” Koelsch said. But, he added, “a scientific controlled experiment is impossible here.”

The opera never filled the general director position after Domingo left; those responsibilities were picked up by Koelsch, who already was running its day-to-day operations.

Domingo, in an email interview, said that in his view, the company had continued to thrive even after what he made clear was his unhappy departure from a position that had been a high point of his career.

“I saw it grow and I believe that I gave it my all, to the point that it became one of the leading opera houses in the U.S. and the world,” he said, adding: “I see the programming and the seasons appear to be very diverse, with a big focus on new works that can attract new audiences and I think this is a great added value for all the people of Los Angeles.”

With a $44 million operating budget, the Los Angeles Opera is the fifth largest company in the United States. Despite its (by opera standards) short existence, and with its modest roster of six productions a season (compared with 23 this season at the Met), it has been establishing itself as one of the more adventurous mainstream opera houses in the country: working to be more edgy than stuffy.

Even before Domingo left, the company — aware of his age, and that an institution should not be too closely tied to any one person — had been planning for its future, working to forge an identity that would combine war horses with more contemporary work.

For a decade it has been working with [*Beth Morrison Projects*](https://bethmorrisonprojects.org/), which has been at the vanguard of producing contemporary opera: they collaborated on the world premiere of [*Ellen Reid*](https://ellenreidmusic.com/)’s opera “p r i s m” in 2018 at Los Angeles’ smaller Roy and Edna Disney/CalArts Theater, or REDCAT, and the work won a Pulitzer Prize. And in 2020, “[*Eurydice,” by Matthew Aucoin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/arts/music/eurydice-opera-aucoin-ruhl.html), who was then the opera’s artist-in-residence, had its world premiere at the Dorothy Chandler before moving to the Metropolitan Opera.

“L.A. Opera is doing very, very well,” said Marc A. Scorca, the president of Opera America, a nonprofit service organization for opera companies. “Of all the major companies in the country, it is the youngest and is still discovering new audiences and new momentum as L.A. continues to build out its cultural infrastructure. I am very optimistic about the company.”

This spring, it collaborated with Beth Morrison Projects to present two operas by Emma O’Halloran, the Irish composer, at the 250-seat black box theater inside REDCAT.

One of them, a 70-minute, two-person work called “Trade,” explores an emotionally unsettling hotel room liaison in ***working-class*** Dublin between an older married man and a younger male prostitute, hardly the kind of story that has historically been presented on the opera stage.

“When we started this relationship, most opera companies were not doing new work,” Morrison said. “L.A. Opera, in terms of the big companies, was very much ahead of the curve on that. They believe in experimental work, and they believe we need to have these things to make sure that opera evolves into the future and brings in new audiences.”

Now other large companies, including the Met, are programming more new works in hopes of attracting new audiences.

If this is a recovery, it is still a tentative one; crucial questions about how audience behavior has changed remain to be answered. James Conlon, who has been the opera’s music director since 2006, after being recruited for the job by Domingo, said that the opera was “working very hard to regain that audience.”

“My own suspicion,” he said, “is that a lot of the competition is not going to be other venues but people who are sitting home who became used to making more use of their televisions.”

That is a particular issue in Los Angeles, considering the early evening traffic that can make trips downtown to the Music Center an exhausting, hourslong adventure.

When the company was first formed, there was much talk about whether Los Angeles had an appetite for grand opera. “Up until the early 80s the received opinion by many of the leading figures at the Music Center was that ‘L.A. is not an opera town’ and ‘L.A. can afford a great symphony or a great opera, but not both,’” said Don Franzen, an original member of the opera’s board of directors.

But 38 years after that opening night, that question appears to have been answered.

“Los Angeles is very much an opera town — I see the growth of the company and its success as a testimony to that,” Scorca, of Opera America, said.

Now Thomas, the company’s current artist-in-residence, is getting ready to take his place singing the demanding role that launched the company: Otello. He recalled that invitation from Domingo, who had floated the idea of appearing with him in the lower-lying baritone role of Iago, since he had stopped singing high tenor roles.

“He was very interested in my singing Otello, and he and I performing the show together,” Thomas said the other day. “I would have loved that to happen. I would have loved to be onstage with one of the legendary singers in opera. Things happen the way they do.”

PHOTOS: The Los Angeles Opera is balancing classics like “Otello,” starring, from left, Rachel Willis-Sørensen, Russell Thomas, Sarah Saturnino and Igor Golovatenko, with edgier fare. (C1); Russell Thomas, right, in rehearsal in the title role of Verdi’s “Otello” at the Los Angeles Opera. Above from top: James Conlon, the music director of the Los Angeles Opera; in the pit at the tech rehearsal for “Otello,” the work the company opened with in 1986; Christopher Koelsch, who is president and chief executive. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAMON CASAREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C4) This article appeared in print on page C1, C4.

**Load-Date:** May 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***New Target for New York’s Ascendant Left: Rep. Carolyn Maloney***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62F8-W4P1-JBG3-60MY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 14, 2021 Wednesday 13:42 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1402 words

**Byline:** Katie Glueck

**Highlight:** Justice Democrats, a left-wing group that fueled the rise of Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, is backing Rana Abdelhamid’s primary bid.

**Body**

Justice Democrats, a left-wing group that fueled the rise of Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, is backing Rana Abdelhamid’s primary bid.

Nearly three years ago, a little-known left-wing organization helped engineer [*Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-progressives-logo.html)’s shock victory over Representative Joseph Crowley in a House primary. Last year, the group, Justice Democrats, [*aided Jamaal Bowman’s ouster*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-progressives-logo.html) of Representative Eliot Engel in another House primary.

Now the group has found its next New York target: Representative Carolyn B. Maloney, 75, a Democrat first elected to Congress in 1992, who chairs the House Committee on Oversight and Reform.

Justice Democrats has thrown its support behind Rana Abdelhamid, a community organizer and nonprofit founder, in her bid against Ms. Maloney, laying the groundwork for a generational, ideological and insider-versus-outsider battle that will test the power and energy of the left with President Donald J. Trump now out of office.

Ms. Abdelhamid, a 27-year-old member of the Democratic Socialists of America who is keenly focused on matters of housing access and equity, officially announced her candidacy for the 2022 primary on Wednesday.

“We strongly believe in Rana’s leadership capabilities to build a coalition like we’ve been able to in some of our previous elections,” said Alexandra Rojas, the executive director of Justice Democrats, adding that she believed Ms. Abdelhamid could connect with younger voters, ***working-class*** voters of color, some older white liberals and those inspired by left-wing leaders like Senator Bernie Sanders and Ms. Ocasio-Cortez.

Ms. Maloney’s district, the 12th District of New York, is home to wealthy, business-minded moderates along the East Side of Manhattan. But it also includes deeply progressive pockets of the city in western Queens and a corner of Brooklyn with a well-organized left-wing activist scene.

There is great uncertainty around what the district will ultimately look like following an expected redistricting process, and Ms. Abdelhamid is not Ms. Maloney’s only likely challenger; Suraj Patel, who has [*unsuccessfully challenged*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-progressives-logo.html) Ms. Maloney twice, has indicated that he intends to run again.

But for now, Ms. Abdelhamid’s candidacy will measure whether New Yorkers reeling from the pandemic and navigating economic recovery are skeptical of elevating another political outsider to steer the city forward — or if vast inequalities, which only worsened over the last year, have put the electorate in an anti-establishment mood.

Ms. Abdelhamid, a daughter of Egyptian immigrants, is a 2015 graduate of Middlebury College and 2017 graduate of the Harvard Kennedy School, with a day job at Google. A first-degree black belt in karate, she founded a nonprofit called “Malikah” — “queen” in multiple languages — that offers [*self-defense training*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-progressives-logo.html) and other efforts to empower women, an initiative she launched after a man tried to yank off her hijab when she was a teenager.

She embraces her age as she casts herself as a change agent who keenly understands the challenges facing ***working-class*** and immigrant communities in the district: Her own family was priced out of the area.

“Congresswoman Maloney has been in office for 28 years, for longer than I’ve been alive,” she said in an interview this week, sitting outside a restaurant on a crowded street in the Little Egypt enclave of Astoria, Queens. “Under her leadership, rent has only skyrocketed, our public schools have only gotten more segregated and more underfunded.

“The progressive case against Carolyn Maloney,” she charged, “is that Carolyn Maloney is not a progressive.”

Ms. Maloney [*describes herself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-progressives-logo.html) as “a recognized progressive national leader,” and her allies say that she has a long record of delivering for constituents — indeed, [*a map on her congressional website*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-progressives-logo.html) offers a detailed guide to the funding she says she has procured for projects across the district.

“Carolyn is committed to running again regardless of who’s running against her, and she will wage an aggressive campaign as she always does,” said Jim Duffy, a partner at Putnam Partners, which works with Ms. Maloney’s campaigns. “She’s never lost a race before. She doesn’t intend to lose this one.”

She was not made available for an interview.

Ms. Abdelhamid unquestionably still faces an uphill battle against a seasoned, well-known congresswoman who is in a position to claim credit for tangible federal assistance for New York.

“She’s an extremely hard worker, she delivers for her district, she works very hard on individual cases,” said George Arzt, a veteran political consultant who has advised Ms. Maloney. “Everyone in her district knows her.”

And nationally, [*candidates backed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-progressives-logo.html) by Justice Democrats have far from a perfect record of success.

But the recent history of New York politics also shows why Ms. Abdelhamid’s entry into the race is likely to be taken very seriously.

In 2018, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, then 28, defeated Mr. Crowley, who at the time was the No. 4 Democrat in the House. Last summer, Mr. Bowman beat Mr. Engel, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Strategists who worked with those campaigns see another opportunity for significant grass-roots engagement in 12th district, given the leftward shift of New York politics. “This is a place where our base is active, and a lot of voters and folks that power a lot of the most recent local campaigns over the past few years are here,” Ms. Rojas said.

Ms. Maloney, a battle-tested candidate, won her primary contests in 2018 and 2020 — though last year, she only received [*43 percent of the vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-progressives-logo.html).

The race instantly became highly contentious. The chairman of the New York State Democratic Party, Jay S. Jacobs, [*released a blistering statement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-progressives-logo.html) declaring that “the argument that she and her ‘Justice Democrats’ and ‘Democratic Socialists of America’ allies put forth that Carolyn Maloney is not progressive enough is just pure nonsense.”

Ms. Abdelhamid called it an “[*unhinged statement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-progressives-logo.html)” that “could have been written by Donald Trump,” and said later Wednesday that she had raised more than $100,000 since announcing her campaign. Ms. Rojas said she had hit that metric “faster than any Justice Democrat challenger.”

Ms. Abdelhamid is running on a platform of housing affordability and a range of other left-wing priorities, including Medicare for All, the Green New Deal and a broadly anti-corporate message. She said she shared a number of goals and values with the Democratic Socialists, but that she was not especially active in a local chapter of the group.

She also supports defunding the police, describing experiences with family members who were the subject of stop-and-frisk tactics and raising the issue of police surveillance of Muslim communities. As a victim of assault herself in the hijab incident, she said, she believed in directing more funds to community services, and she speaks passionately about racial justice.

But she is likely to face intense scrutiny over her ability to navigate Washington. And she volunteered that she does not live in the district, living instead with her family, whom she says she is supporting financially, in a different part of Astoria — a fact that is almost certain to become an issue in the campaign.

She did live in the district until high school, her team says, but her family moved because the area became too expensive. She sought to frame her current living situation as a reflection of how unaffordable the area has become under Ms. Maloney’s leadership. Ms. Abdelhamid, who is getting married, indicated that she plans to move back to the district in about three months.

She still attends a mosque in the district and clearly has relationships there — a worker at Al-Sham Sweets &amp; Pastries greeted her warmly as she ordered kenafeh, a Middle Eastern dessert, there this week.

“My family is a ***working-class*** family that can’t afford to live in Little Egypt as an Egyptian family,” she said. “Because of gentrification. And this is a story that many ***working-class*** ethnic communities understand.”

PHOTOS: Rana Abdelhamid, a nonprofit founder, says she plans to challenge Representative Carolyn B. Maloney, far left, who has been in office since 1992. Ms. Abdelhamid, campaigning at near left, said her own family had been priced out of the district, which includes Astoria’s Little Egypt. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BENJAMIN NORMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 14, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Few More Songs Before He Goes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:686P-G0J1-DXY4-X0JX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 11, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1467 words

**Byline:** By Grayson Haver Currin

**Body**

At 81, the singer-songwriter admits his time could be short, especially after losing David Crosby. But in the meantime, he's got plenty to say and sing.

ALEXANDRIA, Va. -- Graham Nash was slow to smile on a recent Wednesday afternoon, sitting in early spring sunshine on the porch of a cafe near Washington, D.C.

The night before, the 81-year-old singer-songwriter had bounded onto the stage of the folk bastion the Birchmere, and wooed the sold-out crowd with his tunes that long ago became generational standards, like ''Teach Your Children'' and ''Military Madness.'' He shared the songs and candid stories of longtime pals like Paul McCartney and Joni Mitchell, landing expertly practiced punch lines.

But he'd awakened in the daze of emotional hangover. Exactly three months had passed since the January death of David Crosby, his best friend and closest collaborator since they first harmonized together in August 1968, at the Laurel Canyon cottage that Nash would soon share with Mitchell. ''It is like an earthquake,'' he said, his English accent softened by nearly 50 years in California and Hawaii. ''The shock was terrifying. Then I see his face, and it makes me really sad.''

The day's aftershock stemmed from a video tribute Nash recorded for Neil Young and Stephen Stills to use at an autism benefit. It was another unwelcome opportunity to contemplate all that Nash and Crosby left unsaid during the prior decade, as the pair traded barbs in the press, left an album with Rick Rubin unfinished and rarely spoke. In early January, Crosby emailed Nash to say he wanted to talk, then left a voice mail message telling him he wanted to apologize for, as Nash remembered, ''all the stupid things I said about you and, particularly, Neil.'' After Nash set a time, Crosby stood him up. Three days later, he was dead.

''David was a very interesting couple of people: He was generous, funny and the most unbelievably great musician. On the other hand, he could make an entire room feel bad with two words,'' Nash said, making his way through the first of three lunchtime lattes. ''I wanted to remember the good music we made and the great times we had, let that satisfy you. But he's gone.''

Nash is now a member of the rarest class of living rock legend -- old enough to have witnessed the genre's genesis and eager to talk about his wild days, but also inspired enough by his current work to rave about new songs. This year alone, he has reunited with a childhood chum, the Hollies co-founder Allan Clarke, for the sentimental and charming album ''I'll Never Forget,'' singing backup on most songs. And on May 19, Nash will release ''Now,'' 13 tracks about American unrest and the renewal inspired by his third marriage and a move to New York.

Still, several of his favorite former musical partners, like Crosby, the drummer Jim Gordon and the multi-instrumentalist David Lindley, have all died since January. He knows his life's work is increasingly a race against mortality.

''I tried to be the best husband, the best friend, the best musician, but I'll never make it,'' he said. ''I'm still healthy, but so was David. I could drop dead in the middle of this conversation.''

Nash's life story reads like a rock 'n' roll fantasy. He was raised ***working-class*** in Salford, near Manchester, and first heard hints of the stateside musical revolution by pressing his ear to his bedpost on Sunday nights. As his parents listened to Radio Luxembourg downstairs, the sound traveled through the wooden beams of their close quarters, sparking his imagination.

''My mother and father didn't tell me to get a real job because music's not going to last,'' he said by phone during an earlier conversation from his East Village recording and photography studio. ''My mother always said to me, 'Follow your heart, and you will always make the right choices. Life is just choices.'''

Already playing the proto-rock of skiffle, Nash skipped school to score tickets to see Bill Haley & His Comets with Clarke, days after his 15th birthday. The duo soon beat the Beatles (before they were the Beatles) in a talent show. Three years later, they stalked the Everly Brothers to their hotel, where they received the encouragement they needed to start the Hollies. (''Keep doing it,'' Phil Everly said in the rain. ''Things'll happen.'')

The Hollies' suave R&B covers and bittersweet originals made them pop sensations, part of the Beatles' global sea change. During their first U.S. appearance, they shared a bill with Little Richard and the young guitarist he scolded for upstaging him, Jimi Hendrix.

But soon after his father's 1966 death, Nash tired of the group's strict parameters. When he first sang with Stills and Nash in California, he knew his future lay in its libertine lifestyle. He fell in love with Mitchell. His mother didn't realize he had left the Hollies, his first marriage and England altogether until a copy of Crosby, Stills & Nash's debut LP arrived, a chart-topping postcard home. The split blindsided Clarke, especially because Nash refused to tell him directly.

''He was my brother, really, and he had gone and fallen in love with someone else,'' Clarke said, shrugging in a video interview. ''I had a family, and I was devastated. What was going to happen to me now?''

That ceaseless need for reinvention -- bordering perhaps on an obsession with relevance -- has threaded together Nash's career and life. He indulged drum machines and synths for his lampooned 1986 album ''Innocent Eyes'' (perhaps not coincidentally, his final solo album for 16 years). He used augmented reality for a prescient but lambasted high-tech concert series a decade later. A zealous photographer and art collector, Nash was an early adopter of fine-art digital prints, an enduring side enterprise.

He was a self-professed cad during his first marriage, ultimately leading him to Mitchell. He has always believed he should have proposed to her in the early '70s, but she worried he wanted her to play housekeeper to his rock star. (''Am I going to tell Joni Mitchell not to write?'' he scoffed, loudly, in the cafe. ''Get real here.'') In the half-century since they split, he's never forgotten to send her birthday flowers.

But for the final eight years of his 38-year marriage to the actress Susan Sennett, he was not in love, something he said they both acknowledged. In 2014, he met the artist Amy Grantham, four decades his junior, backstage at a Crosby, Stills & Nash show during one of their final tours. In that first moment, he realized happiness was again possible. He told Sennett about the attraction, and they split two years later. Sennett died soon after Nash and Grantham's 2019 Woodstock wedding.

In the acrimonious annals of Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young, Nash generally seemed the best-adjusted, least controversial member. He quit hard drugs relatively early and devoted decades to charity. For some, his divorce and remarriage represented a heel turn. But, he reiterated, it was worth it.

''I've never been upset with any major decision I have made,'' he said, noting that he did regret missing his parents' deaths. ''I have enjoyed my life and made some incredibly correct decisions for me. I hope to be going on for a few more years yet.''

After a lifetime of restlessness, ''Now'' feels remarkably content, as if Nash has slipped into a favorite old overcoat to find a cache of new tunes stuffed inside a pocket. There are political jeremiads that decry ''MAGA tourists,'' plus a next-generation hymn that echoes ''Teach Your Children.'' He wrote ''Buddy's Back,'' a glowing celebration of the Hollies forebear, for Clarke; they cut different takes for their respective albums, joyously closing a broken boyhood circle.

Love songs for Grantham shape nearly half the album, gentle and guileless tunes that glow. ''It Feels Like Home'' is ''Our House'' recast for the East Coast, Nash walking through the door to find ''the answer to a prayer.'' He apologizes for lashing out during ''Love of Mine,'' a true-to-life mea culpa after Grantham told him to stop clogging Manhattan sidewalks. ''Now'' unspools in hard-won tranquillity.

''I really believed, in my mid-70s, 'I'm coming to the end of my life. It's all finished,''' he said. ''In many ways, Amy saved my life. I wanted to wear my heart on my sleeve, as I try and always do.''

As Nash relaxed on that sunny porch, he pulled up the sleeves of his black T-shirt to reveal three tattoos. There was the Hindu god Ganesha below his left shoulder, his ex-wife below his right. He lingered longer on his left forearm, where the black ink of the vegvisir, often called the ''Viking compass,'' was fading.

''It's so I don't get lost,'' he said, lifting his gaze and grinning. ''But it might be upside down, so who knows?''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/10/arts/music/graham-nash-now.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/10/arts/music/graham-nash-now.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: On May 19, Graham Nash will release ''Now,'' an LP about American unrest and the renewal inspired by his third marriage and a move to New York. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DANIEL ARNOLD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1)

Top, Graham Nash, who lives in New York and has a recording and photography studio in the East Village. Above, John Sebastian, Nash, Joni Mitchell, David Crosby and Stephen Stills at the Big Sur Folk Festival in 1969. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL ARNOLD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ROBERT ALTMAN/MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES) (C6) This article appeared in print on page C1, C6.

**Load-Date:** May 11, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Why Can't Republicans Be Populists?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62B3-NSP1-DXY4-X10Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 30, 2021 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22

**Length:** 916 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

The establishment has been routed, but its economic orthodoxy rules.

President Biden's American Rescue Plan is incredibly popular, even among Republican voters. We don't have details yet on the next big Democratic initiative, but we can expect it to poll well, because we know that it will combine major infrastructure spending with tax hikes on corporations and the rich -- which are all popular things.

But like the rescue plan, the next plan probably won't get a single Republican vote in Congress. Why are elected Republicans still so committed to right-wing economic policies that help the rich while shortchanging the ***working class***?

Fair warning: I'm not going to offer a good answer to this question. The point of today's article is, instead, to argue for the question's importance.

I ask why Republicans are ''still'' committed to right-wing economics because in the past there wasn't any puzzle about their position.

Like many observers, I used to have a ''What's the matter with Kansas?'' model of the G.O.P. That is, like Thomas Frank, the author of the 2004 book with that title, I saw the Republican Party essentially as an enterprise run by and for plutocrats that managed to win elections by playing to the cultural grievances and racial hostility of ***working-class*** whites. Bigotry, however, was mainly a show put on for the rubes; the party would go back to its pro-rich priorities as soon as each election was over.

The classic example came when George W. Bush won re-election by posing as America's defender against gay married terrorists, then followed his victory by announcing that he had a mandate to privatize Social Security. (He didn't.)

But that feels like a long time ago.

Billionaires may have started the Republican Party on its march toward extremism, but they've clearly lost control of the forces they conjured up. The G.O.P. can no longer put intolerance back in the closet after each election so as to focus on the real business of tax cuts and deregulation. Instead, the extremists are in charge. Despite a lost election and a violent insurrection, what's left of the old Republican establishment has abased itself on the altar of Trumpism.

But while power in the Republican Party has shifted almost completely away from the conservative establishment, the party is still committed to an economic ideology of tax and spending cuts. And it's not obvious why.

When Donald Trump rolled over establishment candidates in 2016, it seemed possible that he would lead his party toward what some political scientists call ''Herrenvolk democracy,'' policies that are genuinely populist and even egalitarian -- but only for members of the right racial and ethnic groups.

South Africa under apartheid worked that way. There were limited gestures toward whites-only populism in the Jim Crow U.S. South. In Europe, France's National Front combines hostility to immigrants with calls for an expansion of the nation's already generous welfare state.

As a candidate, Trump often sounded as if he wanted to move in that direction, promising not to cut social benefits and to begin a large infrastructure program. If he had honored those promises, if he had shown any hint of genuine populism, he might still be president. In practice, however, his tax cut and his failed attempt to repeal Obamacare were right out of the standard conservative playbook.

The exception that proves the rule was Trump's farm policy, which involved huge subsidies to farmers hurt by his trade war, but managed to give almost all of those subsidies to whites. The point is that there was nothing like this on a broader level.

Was Trump's continuation of unpopular economic policies simply a reflection of his personal ignorance and lack of interest in substance? Events since the election suggest not.

I've already mentioned lock-step Republican opposition to Biden's relief package. Rejection of economic populism is also apparent at the state level. Consider Missouri. One of its senators, Josh Hawley, has declared that Republicans must be ''a ***working-class*** party, not a Wall Street party.'' Yet Republicans in the state's legislature just blocked funding for an expansion in Medicaid that would cost the state very little and has already been approved by a majority of voters.

Or consider West Virginia, where another unfulfilled Trump promise, to revive the coal industry, resonated with voters. Coal isn't coming back; so the state's Republican governor is proposing to boost the economy by ... eliminating income taxes. This echoes the failed Kansas tax cut experiment a few years ago. Why imagine it would work any better in Appalachia?

So what's going on? I suspect that the absence of true populism on the right has a lot to do with the closing of the right-wing mind: the conservative establishment may have lost power, but its apparatchiks are still the only people in the G.O.P. who know anything about policy. And big money may still buy influence even in a party whose energy comes mainly from intolerance and hate.

In any case, for now Republican politicians are doing Democrats a big favor, clinging to discredited economic ideas that even their own supporters dislike.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/29/opinion/republicans-populism.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/29/opinion/republicans-populism.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Daniel Acker for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 30, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Why Can’t Republicans Be Populists?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:629Y-MFN1-DXY4-X0P1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 29, 2021 Monday 09:57 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 921 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** The establishment has been routed, but its economic orthodoxy rules.

**Body**

The establishment has been routed, but its economic orthodoxy rules.

President Biden’s American Rescue Plan is incredibly popular, even among Republican voters. We don’t have details yet on the next big Democratic initiative, but we can expect it to poll well, because we know that it will combine major infrastructure spending with [*tax hikes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage) on corporations and the rich — which are all popular things.

But like the rescue plan, the next plan probably won’t get a single Republican vote in Congress. Why are elected Republicans still so committed to right-wing economic policies that help the rich while shortchanging the ***working class***?

Fair warning: I’m not going to offer a good answer to this question. The point of today’s article is, instead, to argue for the question’s importance.

I ask why Republicans are “still” committed to right-wing economics because in the past there wasn’t any puzzle about their position.

Like many observers, I used to have a “What’s the matter with Kansas?” model of the G.O.P. That is, like Thomas Frank, the author of the [*2004 book*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage) with that title, I saw the Republican Party essentially as an enterprise run by and for plutocrats that managed to win elections by playing to the cultural grievances and racial hostility of ***working-class*** whites. Bigotry, however, was mainly a show put on for the rubes; the party would go back to its pro-rich priorities as soon as each election was over.

The classic example came when George W. Bush won re-election by posing as America’s defender against gay married terrorists, then followed his victory by announcing that he had a mandate to privatize Social Security. (He didn’t.)

But that feels like a long time ago.

Billionaires may have started the Republican Party on its march toward extremism, but they’ve clearly lost control of the forces they conjured up. The G.O.P. can no longer put intolerance back in the closet after each election so as to focus on the real business of tax cuts and deregulation. Instead, the extremists are in charge. Despite a lost election and a violent insurrection, what’s left of the old Republican establishment has abased itself on the altar of Trumpism.

But while power in the Republican Party has shifted almost completely away from the conservative establishment, the party is still committed to an economic ideology of tax and spending cuts. And it’s not obvious why.

When Donald Trump rolled over establishment candidates in 2016, it seemed possible that he would lead his party toward what some political scientists call “[*Herrenvolk democracy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage),” policies that are genuinely populist and even egalitarian — but only for members of the right racial and ethnic groups.

South Africa under apartheid worked that way. There were limited gestures toward whites-only populism in the Jim Crow U.S. South. In Europe, France’s National Front [*combines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage) hostility to immigrants with calls for an expansion of the nation’s already generous welfare state.

As a candidate, Trump often sounded as if he wanted to move in that direction, promising [*not to cut social benefits*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage) and to begin a large [*infrastructure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage) program. If he had honored those promises, if he had shown any hint of genuine populism, he might still be president. In practice, however, his tax cut and his failed attempt to repeal Obamacare were right out of the standard conservative playbook.

The exception that proves the rule was Trump’s farm policy, which involved [*huge subsidies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage) to farmers hurt by his trade war, but managed to give almost all of those subsidies to whites. The point is that there was nothing like this on a broader level.

Was Trump’s continuation of unpopular economic policies simply a reflection of his personal ignorance and lack of interest in substance? Events since the election suggest not.

I’ve already mentioned lock-step Republican opposition to Biden’s relief package. Rejection of economic populism is also apparent at the state level. Consider Missouri. One of its senators, Josh Hawley, has [*declared*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage) that Republicans must be “a ***working-class*** party, not a Wall Street party.” Yet Republicans in the state’s legislature just [*blocked funding*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage) for an expansion in Medicaid that would cost the state very little and has already been approved by a majority of voters.

Or consider West Virginia, where another unfulfilled Trump promise, to revive the coal industry, resonated with voters. Coal isn’t coming back; so the state’s Republican governor is proposing to boost the economy by … eliminating [*income taxes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage). This echoes the failed Kansas [*tax cut experiment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage) a few years ago. Why imagine it would work any better in Appalachia?

So what’s going on? I suspect that the absence of true populism on the right has a lot to do with the closing of the right-wing mind: the conservative establishment may have lost power, but its apparatchiks are still the only people in the G.O.P. who know anything about policy. And big money may still buy influence even in a party whose energy comes mainly from intolerance and hate.

In any case, for now Republican politicians are doing Democrats a big favor, clinging to discredited economic ideas that even their own supporters dislike.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage) and [*Instagram*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/27/business/biden-taxes-business-rich.html?action=click&amp;module=Top%20Stories&amp;pgtype=Homepage).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Daniel Acker for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 30, 2021

**End of Document**



[***When Schwarzenegger Shows Up, You Know The Potholes Are Bad***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6827-31K1-DXY4-X341-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 20, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1373 words

**Byline:** By Shawn Hubler

**Body**

A torrent of winter storms left an overwhelming number of potholes across the state, and road crews are struggling to keep up with the backlog.

SACRAMENTO -- Spring has arrived with a jolt this year in California. Hammered for months by rain, snow, sleet and nearly every other conceivable meteorological permutation, the state has emerged from one of the harshest winters on record only to confront a fresh indignity.

''These potholes!'' Arnold Schwarzenegger complained last week in an interview from his backyard in the affluent Brentwood neighborhood of Los Angeles. Fed up with a stretch of lousy road that for more than a month had been a source of neighborhood consternation, he had just taken matters into his own hands, marching down to the offending street with a shovel and bucket of asphalt and posting the results on Twitter.

''The traffic is backing up, the trucks are almost getting into accidents, the bicycles are coming down the canyon and almost wiping out,'' he said. ''These potholes are overwhelming the city.''

Make that the entire state.

From the rural far north of California to the Mexico border, pocked pavement is rivaling the wildflower ''super bloom'' and the re-emergence of Tulare Lake as this spring's most talked-about remnant of its winter saturation. Crews at the state Transportation Department, or Caltrans, performed 85,883 pothole repairs in the first quarter of this year, more than two and a half times the number in the first quarter of 2022, according to Will Arnold, an agency spokesman.

Potholes occur when rain or snowmelt seeps into cracks in the pavement -- freezing, thawing and otherwise softening the underlying material and soil to the point that it cannot support the weight of traffic, according to public works experts. California has rarely seen the torrent of rain and snow it received from January to March.

Caltrans maintains about an eighth of the nearly 400,000 lane miles in California, and offers to compensate drivers for up to $10,000 in repairs stemming from road maintenance issues. The agency closed part of a state route last month for four days of road work after multiple drivers in eastern Los Angeles County reported flat tires and other pothole-related destruction to vehicles.

In San Jose, calls for pothole repairs have more than doubled since December to an average of about 20 per day, according to Colin Heyne, a city spokesman. In Fresno, repair requests have tripled to more than 3,600 in the first three months of this year compared with the first three months of 2022, city public works officials said.

Mayor Karen Bass of Los Angeles said this month that her city had received more than 19,000 requests for pothole repairs since the first storms hit in late December; so far, the city has fixed about 17,000.

In an interview, Ms. Bass attributed the lingering problem to the procession of winter storms that have battered the state since December. She also said the department that fills potholes needed more workers and had hundreds of job vacancies.

''The rain here in January alone was more than the entire year last year,'' Ms. Bass said. ''One month! And water is like kryptonite to asphalt, to quote our head of street services.''

The result has been an onslaught of wrecked springtime pavement more common in cities that see a lot of snow than in this car-centric state where smooth roads tend to be taken for granted.

''You have to drive like a drunken sailor if you want to avoid them,'' Jenni Potter, 58, a Rancho Santa Fe resident, said of the potholes on the way to her favorite coffeehouse in San Diego.

In Sacramento, Art Ballard, 61, a landscape contractor, said that some of the roads in Northern California reminded him of the bombed-out streets he saw while delivering humanitarian aid in a Ukrainian war zone.

''I hit one pothole the other day and dented a tire and then hit another and blew it out completely,'' he said. ''It's crazy out there. And this was just on a Friday, trying to drive back home from San Jose.''

In the Bay Area city of Vallejo, a ***working-class*** community of about 126,000 people with some of the most poorly maintained roads in the region, a crew of activists who call themselves the Vallejo Pothole Vigilantes is entering its second year of on-again, off-again guerrilla repair work. David Marsteller Jr., the group's founder, said the volunteers, including city employees and homeless people, relied on donations to fill about 350 potholes around the city last year.

California's vehicle code outlaws willful and negligent damage to highways, and most governments frown on bootleg repairs, which, if improperly done, can cause accidents, expose taxpayers to lawsuits and actually worsen a pothole. Caltrans requires an encroachment permit for any such construction activity on state highways. Members of the Vallejo group said that they were not cited, but did receive a cease-and-desist letter from the city last year.

''Some on the council were worried someone would get run over and the city would wind up getting sued,'' Robert McConnell, the mayor of Vallejo, said. But, he added, the city of about 50 square miles has a road maintenance budget of only about $1.5 million. While he could not publicly condone the ad hoc roadwork, he said that ''nothing bad happened'' and that the contribution made a dent in the city's public works backlog.

The Vigilantes -- who last year used the moniker ''Potholegate Vigilantes'' to distinguish themselves from another group that was fixing streets in nearby Oakland -- are partnering this year with a Vallejo motorcycle club. The hope, Mr. Marsteller said, is to inspire community members to similarly take matters into their own hands, or at least draw the city's attention to the urgent need for street maintenance.

''It's bad out there this year -- super bad,'' he said. He added that this year's group, roughly 10 of whom were out filling potholes on Friday, had found new inspiration in Mr. Schwarzenegger's post last week.

Less inspired were the local authorities in Los Angeles, who pointed out that one of the holes that Mr. Schwarzenegger filled was actually a service trench that had been intentionally dug so that the local gas company could repair a gas line. The utility work was completed in January, but rain delayed the trench repair, a spokesperson for the Southern California Gas Company said in an email.

Mr. Schwarzenegger said that he took action after weeks of listening to his neighbors complain about weaving into the oncoming lane to avoid the road damage. ''I didn't want to make a big deal,'' he said, ''but I always say to people who complain, 'What are you going to do about it?''' So he consulted a contractor friend, he explained, ''and showed people that you can go out and fix the hole.''

Many of Mr. Schwarzenegger's 5.1 million Twitter followers applauded the move, dubbing him the ''Tarminator,'' a reference to his best-known movie role, and playing on his most famous cinematic lines. ''Come with me if you want to pave,'' one respondent quipped. The video he posted on Twitter shows his neighbors stopping in their cars to offer thanks.

But Mayor Bass, who just days before had started a major road repair initiative and asked members of the public to apply to work in the Bureau of Street Services, said she was taken aback.

A colleague of Mr. Schwarzenegger in the State Capitol more than a decade ago -- she was a Democratic legislative leader when he was the Republican governor -- Ms. Bass said she understood his impulse ''to go out and terminate that pothole.''

''But I don't want the public to have to resort to covering their own potholes, for God's sake,'' she said.

The mayor said she called Mr. Schwarzenegger and apologized for the delay in his local repair work, and she asked him to call her first the next time the earth opened on one of his neighborhood byways.

Crews have since returned to inspect Mr. Schwarzenegger's work. The gas company spokesperson said workers had leveled the area with compaction equipment but had otherwise left his repairs intact.

Mr. Schwarzenegger said he had no regrets and, now, plenty of asphalt. If the patches don't hold, he said, ''I'll be back.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/19/us/california-potholes-arnold-schwarzenegger.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/19/us/california-potholes-arnold-schwarzenegger.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Members of the Vallejo Pothole Vigilantes and a Vallejo motorcycle club repaired a road last week in Vallejo, Calif. Storms that battered the state all winter have left a bumper crop of potholes.

David Marsteller Jr., the founder of the Vallejo Pothole Vigilantes, left. A sign calling for Arnold Schwarzenegger to join the group, which is entering its second year of intermittent repair work.

The Vigilantes hope to inspire their neighbors to take similar action, and draw the city's attention to the need for repairs. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY IAN C. BATES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** April 20, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Taking On Fast Fashion by Taking It Down; Visionaries | Fashion Industry***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65DF-GR71-JBG3-62XN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 9, 2022 Monday 18:59 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BUSINESS

**Length:** 1184 words

**Byline:** Chris Colin

**Highlight:** The organizer Hoda Katebi is tackling the global garment industry, not as a reformer but as an abolitionist.

**Body**

Visionaries is [*a limited series*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/visionaries-2022) that looks at figures who are trying to transform the way we live.

The bitter complexities of fashion found Hoda Katebi long before she found them.

“Growing up in Oklahoma, wearing the hijab, I had to come to terms with being visibly Muslim,” the Iranian American organizer and activist said. “People would call me a terrorist, or pretend to run me over.” And when policymakers held up the hijab and women’s rights as part of the rationale for military action in Afghanistan, or economic sanctions on Iran, she said, “that’s when I started really thinking about clothes.”

A decade and a half later, Ms. Katebi, 27, has become a leading critic of the global garment industry, particularly its fast-fashion sector. Where many of us might avoid peering too closely at our wardrobe’s iffy provenance, Ms. Katebi has devoted herself to that hidden world — and to ultimately tearing it down.

“Rather than just, say, campaigning to get garment workers paid a dollar more,” she said, “we’re calling for an end to the system that puts workers in these positions to begin with.”

The “we” there is [*Blue Tin Production*](https://bluetinproduction.com/), a small apparel manufacturing workers’ cooperative in Chicago run by ***working-class*** women of color, which Ms. Katebi founded in 2019. Blue Tin executes clothing contracts in ways that are antithetical to the contemporary sweatshop: full equity and transparency, no exploitation, abuse or [*greenwashing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/18/business/energy-environment/social-responsibility-that-rubs-right-off.html) (a term applied when a company exaggerates its eco-consciousness). The goal is to produce high-quality luxury apparel while shining a light on systemic issues stitched into fashion.

In addition to running Blue Tin, Ms. Katebi works as a community organizer, speaker and writer, all while attending law school at the University of California, Berkeley. “I run on saffron ice cream and colonizer tears,” she said. (The following interview has been condensed and edited.)

What does abolitionism mean in the context of your work?

Fast fashion is a very specific type of manufacturing, basically focused on speed and output. While the rest of the fashion industry usually works on a four-season year, fast fashion works on 52: There’s a new season every week. There’s no way that amount of product can be created in a way that’s ethical or sustainable. The system requires violence in order to function. Assaults on workers by managers [*are common*](https://globallaborjustice.org/gap/), on top of the general subjugation and enforced poverty that give people little choice but to do this work.

That violence can’t be reformed away. An easy analogy is slavery — you can ask slave owners to be nicer, but the institution is inherently violent. So Blue Tin is an abolitionist response to the fast-fashion industry.

How did fashion become your focus?

I discovered fashion blogs just before college. It was a fun outlet. But some of my favorite people were working with brands on the [*BDS list*](https://bdsmovement.net/what-is-bds), [a list of companies and individuals that support Israel]. They weren’t thinking about the politics behind the aesthetics. When I created my first website, it was to push people to think about their clothes in a more complex and nuanced way.

Everything relates to fashion. Fashion is one of the biggest contributors to climate change, for example — it contributes [*more greenhouse gases*](https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2019/09/23/costo-moda-medio-ambiente) than all of maritime shipping and air travel combined, [according to figures from the United Nations Environment Program and the Ellen MacArthur Foundation].

Then there’s the connection between sustainability and policing, which upholds the ability for cheap labor to exist. That, in turn, allows certain neighborhoods to be disproportionately impacted by, say, a coal power plant that pollutes the air, which in turn keeps the community there from thriving. Any issue that you care about, you can find in fashion.

On top of that, [*one in six people*](https://unece.org/DAM/RCM_Website/RFSD_2018_Side_event_sustainable_fashion.pdf) in the world works in the fashion industry. No one knows this because the majority of them are ***working-class*** women of color, and farmers.

Can you provide an example of how this system resists change?

In Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, factories will intentionally hire undocumented workers and then not pay them for months. When the workers get upset, management calls ICE and has a self-reported raid of their own factory. Some of our former Blue Tin members have gone through that process.

What are your biggest challenges at Blue Tin?

Abolition means putting an end to this industry, and it also means thinking about the world we want to create in its place. How can we create clothes in a way that’s not violent? That feels like a low bar, but it’s extremely complicated and stressful. I cry about once a week.

How does that play out on a day-to-day basis?

At Blue Tin we try to prioritize people who are “unhirable” by the labor industry’s standards. That means people who may not speak English, or who have child care needs, or maybe they need to sit and process the trauma that they’ve been through because they’re domestic violence survivors. People who our systems have harmed in different ways.

The year we started, one of our members got a call that her uncle and his eight-year-old son were killed in bombings in Damascus, Syria. We asked her, “what do you need in this moment?” We stopped production to go on a walk with her, and to build care around her. So we were very behind on our production and we lost that client. At the end of the day, we live in a capitalist world. We can’t create a utopia — so the question is, how can we create the best of what this can be, even if it’s flawed?

I’ve noticed that you tend not to use the word “refugees” when describing the Blue Tin team, though others do.

For me, the class part is more important than the identity part because I hate identity politics. And “immigrant” and “refugee” have become catchphrases in the fashion industry. People are like, “Aw, a cute sewing circle of immigrant women.”

The team didn’t want to be framed by their trauma. We’re trying to completely reimagine the fashion industry and build garment worker power, so brands should work with us because of these incredible skill sets and backgrounds, not because they feel bad. Oh, sure, go for the P.R., I don’t care. But really it’s the beautiful clothes, and them bringing art and craftsmanship back to fashion where it belongs.

What’s everyone working on now?

Right now they’re in “panty purgatory,” as they call it. They’ve been making underwear nonstop, for a big client. I think that’s finally done, but we’re basically panty entrepreneurs now.

How did your consciousness around these issues take shape?

A lot of my values come from Islamic values of divine compassion and divine mercy. Those don’t sound radical, but it actually is a radical demand that we instead live in a world of compassion and mercy.

So I’m all for an assault on empire and capitalism. But some nurturing is required, too. You have to hold both at the same time. I guess you throw your Molotov, but you also give someone a hug.

PHOTO: Hoda Katebi, 27, has become a leading critic of the global garment industry, particularly its fast fashion sector. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AUBREY TRINNAMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Graham Nash Has a Few More Songs Before He Goes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:686H-HJ61-DXY4-X050-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 10, 2023 Wednesday 14:04 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 1547 words

**Byline:** Grayson Haver Currin

**Highlight:** At 81, the singer-songwriter admits his time could be short, especially after losing David Crosby. But in the meantime, he’s got plenty to say and sing.

**Body**

At 81, the singer-songwriter admits his time could be short, especially after losing David Crosby. But in the meantime, he’s got plenty to say and sing.

ALEXANDRIA, Va. — Graham Nash was slow to smile on a recent Wednesday afternoon, sitting in early spring sunshine on the porch of a cafe near Washington, D.C.

The night before, the 81-year-old singer-songwriter had bounded onto the stage of the folk bastion the Birchmere, and wooed the sold-out crowd with his tunes that long ago became generational standards, like “Teach Your Children” and “Military Madness.” He shared the songs and candid stories of longtime pals like Paul McCartney and Joni Mitchell, landing expertly practiced punch lines.

But he’d awakened in the daze of emotional hangover. Exactly three months had passed since [*the January death of David Crosby*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/19/arts/music/david-crosby-dead.html), his best friend and closest collaborator since they first harmonized together in August 1968, at the Laurel Canyon cottage that Nash would soon share with Mitchell. “It is like an earthquake,” he said, his English accent softened by nearly 50 years in California and Hawaii. “The shock was terrifying. Then I see his face, and it makes me really sad.”

The day’s aftershock stemmed from a video tribute Nash recorded for Neil Young and Stephen Stills to use at an [*autism benefit*](https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-live-reviews/neil-young-stephen-stills-buffalo-springfield-light-up-the-blues-1234722055/). It was another unwelcome opportunity to contemplate all that Nash and Crosby left unsaid during the prior decade, as the pair [*traded*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/mar/08/graham-nash-csny-david-crosby-stills-young) barbs in the [*press*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/2021/sep/02/david-crosby-on-love-music-and-rancour-neil-young-is-probably-the-most-selfish-person-i-know), left an album [*with Rick Rubin*](https://www.musicradar.com/news/guitars/interview-graham-nash-on-rick-rubin-buddy-holly-the-hollies-and-csns-next-album-554330) unfinished and rarely spoke. In early January, Crosby emailed Nash to say he wanted to talk, then left a voice mail message telling him he wanted to apologize for, as Nash remembered, “all the stupid things I said about you and, particularly, Neil.” After Nash set a time, Crosby stood him up. Three days later, he was dead.

“David was a very interesting couple of people: He was generous, funny and the most unbelievably great musician. On the other hand, he could make an entire room feel bad with two words,” Nash said, making his way through the first of three lunchtime lattes. “I wanted to remember the good music we made and the great times we had, let that satisfy you. But he’s gone.”

Nash is now a member of the rarest class of living rock legend — old enough to have witnessed the genre’s genesis and eager to talk about his wild days, but also inspired enough by his current work to rave about new songs. This year alone, he has reunited with a childhood chum, the Hollies co-founder Allan Clarke, for the sentimental and charming album “[*I’ll Never Forget*](https://open.spotify.com/album/6OnHlqHcB8SmUSH8dmO5bf),” singing backup on most songs. And on May 19, Nash will release “Now,” 13 tracks about American unrest and the renewal inspired by his third marriage and a move to New York.

Still, several of his favorite former musical partners, like Crosby, the drummer [*Jim Gordon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/17/arts/music/jim-gordon-dead.html) and the multi-instrumentalist [*David Lindley*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/07/arts/music/david-lindley-dead.html), have all died since January. He knows his life’s work is increasingly a race against mortality.

“I tried to be the best husband, the best friend, the best musician, but I’ll never make it,” he said. “I’m still healthy, but so was David. I could drop dead in the middle of this conversation.”

Nash’s life story reads like a rock ’n’ roll fantasy. He was raised ***working-class*** in Salford, near Manchester, and first heard hints of the stateside musical revolution by pressing his ear to his bedpost on Sunday nights. As his parents listened to Radio Luxembourg downstairs, the sound traveled through the wooden beams of their close quarters, sparking his imagination.

“My mother and father didn’t tell me to get a real job because music’s not going to last,” he said by phone during an earlier conversation from his East Village recording and photography studio. “My mother always said to me, ‘Follow your heart, and you will always make the right choices. Life is just choices.’”

Already playing the [*proto-rock*](https://musicenthusiast.net/2016/11/05/skiffle-the-roots-of-british-rock-n-roll/) of skiffle, Nash skipped school to score tickets to see Bill Haley &amp; His Comets with Clarke, days after his 15th birthday. The duo soon beat the Beatles (before they were the Beatles) in a talent show. Three years later, they stalked the Everly Brothers to their hotel, where they received the encouragement they needed to start the Hollies. (“Keep doing it,” Phil Everly said in the rain. “Things’ll happen.”)

The Hollies’ suave R&amp;B covers and bittersweet originals made them pop sensations, part of the Beatles’ global sea change. During their first U.S. appearance, they shared a bill with Little Richard and the young guitarist he scolded for upstaging him, Jimi Hendrix.

But soon after his father’s 1966 death, Nash tired of the group’s strict parameters. When he first sang with Stills and Crosby in California, he knew his future lay in its libertine lifestyle. He fell in love with Mitchell. His mother didn’t realize he had left the Hollies, his first marriage and England altogether until a copy of Crosby, Stills &amp; Nash’s debut LP arrived, a chart-topping postcard home. The split blindsided Clarke, especially because Nash refused to tell him directly.

“He was my brother, really, and he had gone and fallen in love with someone else,” Clarke said, shrugging in a video interview. “I had a family, and I was devastated. What was going to happen to me now?”

That ceaseless need for reinvention — bordering perhaps on an obsession with relevance — has threaded together Nash’s career and life. He indulged drum machines and synths for his lampooned 1986 album “[*Innocent Eyes*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6EC1m7QJtn0)” (perhaps not coincidentally, his final solo album for 16 years). He used augmented reality for [*a prescient but lambasted high-tech concert series*](https://www.nytimes.com/1996/03/22/arts/pop-review-a-rocker-s-digital-trip-down-memory-lane.html) a decade later. A zealous photographer and art collector, Nash was an early adopter of fine-art digital prints, an [*enduring side enterprise*](https://www.nasheditions.com/).

He was a self-professed cad during his first marriage, ultimately leading him to Mitchell. He has always believed he should have proposed to her in the early ’70s, but she worried he wanted her to play housekeeper to his rock star. (“Am I going to tell Joni Mitchell not to write?” he scoffed, loudly, in the cafe. “Get real here.”) In the half-century since they split, he’s never forgotten to send her birthday flowers.

But for the final eight years of his 38-year marriage to the actress Susan Sennett, he was not in love, something he said they both acknowledged. In 2014, he met the artist Amy Grantham, four decades his junior, backstage at a Crosby, Stills &amp; Nash show during one of their final tours. In that first moment, he realized happiness was again possible. He told Sennett about the attraction, and they split two years later. Sennett died soon after Nash and Grantham’s 2019 Woodstock wedding.

In the acrimonious annals of Crosby, Stills, Nash &amp; Young, Nash generally seemed the best-adjusted, least controversial member. He quit hard drugs relatively early and devoted decades to charity. [*For some*](https://observer.com/2016/01/when-boomer-men-we-love-behave-badly/), his divorce and remarriage represented a heel turn. But, he reiterated, it was worth it.

“I’ve never been upset with any major decision I have made,” he said, noting that he did regret missing his parents’ deaths. “I have enjoyed my life and made some incredibly correct decisions for me. I hope to be going on for a few more years yet.”

After a lifetime of restlessness, “Now” feels remarkably content, as if Nash has slipped into a favorite old overcoat to find a cache of new tunes stuffed inside a pocket. There are political jeremiads that decry “MAGA tourists,” plus a next-generation hymn that echoes “Teach Your Children.” He wrote “Buddy’s Back,” a glowing celebration of the Hollies forebear, for Clarke; they cut different takes for their respective albums, joyously closing a broken boyhood circle.

Love songs for Grantham shape nearly half the album, gentle and guileless tunes that glow. “It Feels Like Home” is “Our House” recast for the East Coast, Nash walking through the door to find “the answer to a prayer.” He apologizes for lashing out during “Love of Mine,” a true-to-life mea culpa after Grantham told him to stop clogging Manhattan sidewalks. “Now” unspools in hard-won tranquillity.

“I really believed, in my mid-70s, ‘I’m coming to the end of my life. It’s all finished,’” he said. “In many ways, Amy saved my life. I wanted to wear my heart on my sleeve, as I try and always do.”

As Nash relaxed on that sunny porch, he pulled up the sleeves of his black T-shirt to reveal three tattoos. There was the Hindu god Ganesha [*below his left shoulder*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-fS58UB7kEk), his ex-wife below his right. He lingered longer on his left forearm, where the black ink of the vegvisir, often called the “Viking compass,” was fading.

“It’s so I don’t get lost,” he said, lifting his gaze and grinning. “But it might be upside down, so who knows?”

PHOTOS: On May 19, Graham Nash will release “Now,” an LP about American unrest and the renewal inspired by his third marriage and a move to New York. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DANIEL ARNOLD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1); Top, Graham Nash, who lives in New York and has a recording and photography studio in the East Village. Above, John Sebastian, Nash, Joni Mitchell, David Crosby and Stephen Stills at the Big Sur Folk Festival in 1969. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIEL ARNOLD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ROBERT ALTMAN/MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES) (C6) This article appeared in print on page C1, C6.

**Load-Date:** May 11, 2023

**End of Document**



[***California Has So Many Potholes, Arnold Schwarzenegger and Bikers Are Trying to Fill Them***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6821-G7G1-DXY4-X2R3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 19, 2023 Wednesday 11:22 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1460 words

**Byline:** Shawn Hubler

**Highlight:** A torrent of winter storms left an overwhelming number of potholes across the state, and road crews are struggling to keep up with the backlog.

**Body**

A torrent of winter storms left an overwhelming number of potholes across the state, and road crews are struggling to keep up with the backlog.

SACRAMENTO — Spring has arrived with a jolt this year in California. Hammered for months by rain, snow, sleet and nearly every other [*conceivable meteorological permutation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/us/california-rare-snow-hollywood.html), the state has emerged from one of the harshest winters on record only to confront a fresh indignity.

“These potholes!” Arnold Schwarzenegger complained last week in an interview from his backyard in the affluent Brentwood neighborhood of Los Angeles. Fed up with a stretch of lousy road that for more than a month had been a source of neighborhood consternation, he had just taken matters into his own hands, marching down to the offending street with a shovel and bucket of asphalt and [*posting the results on Twitter.*](https://twitter.com/Schwarzenegger/status/1645886847342743552)

“The traffic is backing up, the trucks are almost getting into accidents, the bicycles are coming down the canyon and almost wiping out,” he said. “These potholes are overwhelming the city.”

Make that the entire state.

From the rural far north of California to the Mexico border, pocked pavement is rivaling the [*wildflower “super bloom”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/16/us/superbloom-california.html) and the re-emergence of [*Tulare Lake*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/02/us/tulare-lake-california-storms.html) as this spring’s most talked-about remnant of its winter saturation. Crews at the state Transportation Department, or Caltrans, performed 85,883 pothole repairs in the first quarter of this year, more than two and a half times the number in the first quarter of 2022, according to Will Arnold, an agency spokesman.

Potholes occur when rain or snowmelt seeps into cracks in the pavement — freezing, thawing and otherwise softening the underlying material and soil to the point that it cannot support the weight of traffic, according to [*public works experts.*](https://mtc.ca.gov/sites/default/files/APWA_Pothole_Fact_Sheet.pdf) California has rarely seen the [*torrent of rain and snow*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/us/california-atmospheric-river-photos.html) it received from January to March.

Caltrans maintains about an eighth of the nearly 400,000 lane miles in California, and offers to compensate drivers for [*up to $10,000 in repairs*](https://dot.ca.gov/online-services/submit-damage-claim) stemming from road maintenance issues. The agency [*closed part of a state route*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-03-22/potholes-71-freeway-cars-damaged-california-storm) last month for four days of road work after multiple drivers in eastern Los Angeles County reported flat tires and other pothole-related destruction to vehicles.

In San Jose, calls for pothole repairs have more than doubled since December to an average of about 20 per day, according to Colin Heyne, a city spokesman. In Fresno, repair requests have tripled to more than 3,600 in the first three months of this year compared with the first three months of 2022, city public works officials said.

Mayor Karen Bass of Los Angeles [*said this month*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-onk8AdpFCM) that her city had received more than 19,000 requests for pothole repairs since the first storms hit in late December; so far, the city has fixed about 17,000.

In an interview, Ms. Bass attributed the lingering problem to the procession of winter storms that have battered the state since December. She also said the department that fills potholes needed more workers and had hundreds of job vacancies.

”The rain here in January alone was more than the entire year last year,” Ms. Bass said. “One month! And water is like kryptonite to asphalt, to quote our head of street services.”

The result has been an onslaught of wrecked springtime pavement more common in cities that see a lot of snow than in this car-centric state where smooth roads tend to be taken for granted.

“You have to drive like a drunken sailor if you want to avoid them,” Jenni Potter, 58, a Rancho Santa Fe resident, said of the [*potholes*](https://www.facebook.com/groups/6192311577493908/?hoisted_section_header_type=recently_seen&amp;multi_permalinks=6192325834159149) on the way to her favorite coffeehouse in San Diego.

In Sacramento, Art Ballard, 61, a landscape contractor, said that some of the [*roads in Northern California*](https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10225944168862304&amp;set=pcb.10225944186102735) reminded him of the bombed-out streets he saw while delivering humanitarian aid in a Ukrainian war zone.

“I hit one pothole the other day and dented a tire and then hit another and blew it out completely,” he said. “It’s crazy out there. And this was just on a Friday, trying to drive back home from San Jose.”

In the Bay Area city of Vallejo, a ***working-class*** community of about 126,000 people with some of the [*most poorly maintained roads in the region*](https://mtc.ca.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2022-10/PCI_table-2021_data.pdf), a crew of activists who call themselves the Vallejo Pothole Vigilantes is entering its second year of on-again, off-again guerrilla repair work. David Marsteller Jr., the group’s founder, said the volunteers, including city employees and homeless people, relied on donations to fill about 350 potholes around the city last year.

California’s vehicle code [*outlaws*](https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/codes_displayText.xhtml?lawCode=VEH&amp;division=9.&amp;title=&amp;part=&amp;chapter=1.&amp;article=3.) willful and negligent damage to highways, and most governments frown on bootleg repairs, which, if improperly done, can cause accidents, expose taxpayers to lawsuits and actually worsen a pothole. Caltrans requires an [*encroachment permit*](https://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/codes_displaySection.xhtml?lawCode=SHC&amp;sectionNum=670) for any such construction activity on state highways. Members of the Vallejo group said that they were not cited, but did receive a cease-and-desist letter from the city last year.

“Some on the council were worried someone would get run over and the city would wind up getting sued,” Robert McConnell, the mayor of Vallejo, said. But, he added, the city of about 50 square miles has a road maintenance budget of only about $1.5 million. While he could not publicly condone the ad hoc roadwork, he said that “nothing bad happened” and that the contribution made a dent in the city’s public works backlog.

The Vigilantes — who last year used the moniker “Potholegate Vigilantes” to distinguish themselves from [*another group*](https://www.potholevigilantes.com/) that was fixing streets in nearby Oakland — are partnering this year with a Vallejo motorcycle club. The hope, Mr. Marsteller said, is to inspire community members to similarly take matters into their own hands, or at least draw the city’s attention to the urgent need for street maintenance.

“It’s bad out there this year — super bad,” he said. He added that this year’s group, roughly 10 of whom were out filling potholes on Friday, had found new inspiration in Mr. Schwarzenegger’s post last week.

Less inspired were the local authorities in Los Angeles, who pointed out that one of the holes that Mr. Schwarzenegger filled was actually a service trench that had been intentionally dug so that the local gas company could repair a gas line. The utility work was completed in January, but rain delayed the trench repair, a spokesperson for the Southern California Gas Company said in an email.

Mr. Schwarzenegger said that he took action after weeks of listening to his neighbors complain about weaving into the oncoming lane to avoid the road damage. “I didn’t want to make a big deal,” he said, “but I always say to people who complain, ‘What are you going to do about it?’” So he consulted a contractor friend, he explained, “and showed people that you can go out and fix the hole.”

Many of Mr. Schwarzenegger’s 5.1 million Twitter followers applauded the move, dubbing him the “Tarminator,” a reference to his [*best-known movie role*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/27/movies/hes-back-arnold-schwarzenegger-on-terminator-genisys.html), and playing on his most famous cinematic lines. “Come with me if you want to pave,” one respondent quipped. The video he posted on Twitter shows his neighbors stopping in their cars to offer thanks.

But Mayor Bass, who just days before had started a major road repair initiative and asked members of the public to apply to work in the Bureau of Street Services, said she was taken aback.

A colleague of Mr. Schwarzenegger in the State Capitol more than a decade ago — she was a Democratic legislative leader when he was the Republican governor — Ms. Bass said she understood his impulse “to go out and terminate that pothole.”

“But I don’t want the public to have to resort to covering their own potholes, for God’s sake,” she said.

The mayor said she called Mr. Schwarzenegger and apologized for the delay in his local repair work, and she asked him to call her first the next time the earth opened on one of his neighborhood byways.

Crews have since returned to inspect Mr. Schwarzenegger’s work. The gas company spokesperson said workers had leveled the area with compaction equipment but had otherwise left his repairs intact.

Mr. Schwarzenegger said he had no regrets and, now, plenty of asphalt. If the patches don’t hold, he said, “I’ll be back.”

PHOTOS: Members of the Vallejo Pothole Vigilantes and a Vallejo motorcycle club repaired a road last week in Vallejo, Calif. Storms that battered the state all winter have left a bumper crop of potholes.; David Marsteller Jr., the founder of the Vallejo Pothole Vigilantes, left. A sign calling for Arnold Schwarzenegger to join the group, which is entering its second year of intermittent repair work.; The Vigilantes hope to inspire their neighbors to take similar action, and draw the city’s attention to the need for repairs. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY IAN C. BATES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** April 20, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A Former Hockey Enforcer Searches for Answers on C.T.E. Before It’s Too Late***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6978-XXJ1-JBG3-6220-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 22, 2023 Friday 09:30 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** SPORTS; hockey

**Length:** 3201 words

**Byline:** David Waldstein

**Highlight:** Chris Nilan fought more than 300 times during a pro hockey career, then had years of addiction and anger problems. A high-risk candidate for chronic traumatic encephalopathy, Nilan is being studied by Boston University.

**Body**

Page 68 of Boston University’s Hope Study questionnaire asks, “Have you ever injured your head or neck in a fight or been hit by someone?”

For Chris Nilan, a simple yes could never convey the whole story.

The answer stretches out over 300 bare-knuckle fights as a professional hockey player, and countless other brawls on the street corners of Boston beginning in his childhood. Most times, Nilan was the one dispensing the punishment. But [*hockey fights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/sports/hockey/nhl-fighting-rangers-capitals.html) almost always involve mutual, bone-crushing blows, fists jackhammering from powerful shoulders, sometimes fracturing bones, tearing tissue and rattling brains.

The Hope Study, run by B.U.’s Chronic Traumatic Encephalopathy Center, has been measuring the brain health of living subjects with Alzheimer’s disease and related dementias since 1996. Nilan, curious about the condition of his brain after years of furious on-ice battles and eager to help with the research, turned to B.U., where participants return each year to repeat extensive testing, and eventually donate their brains. C.T.E. can only be diagnosed posthumously, but the Hope Study’s testing can provide valuable clues while patients are alive.

One of the key elements of the research is the background questionnaire, where subjects detail any history of brain impacts.

Nilan had played only a few N.H.L. games when, one night in 1980 as a rugged rookie for Montreal, he dropped his gloves and fought Boston’s Stan Jonathan and Terry O’Reilly, two of the most feared pugilists in league history. The bouts came in consecutive periods — hockey’s equivalent of boxing Muhammad Ali and Mike Tyson within an hour of one another.

Nilan, who was labeled Knuckles before he even turned pro, survived that night, plus 12 more seasons of fighting and scoring goals (118, including the playoffs). He won a Stanley Cup in 1986 with Montreal and was named an All-Star in 1991. Over his 13 years in the league, he fought an astonishing 316 times, the third most in N.H.L. history, according to the N.H.L. Fight Card database.

All of it was followed, coincidentally or not, by years of agonizing drug addiction, alcohol abuse and anger issues before Nilan settled into a quiet life in a Montreal suburb. An engaging, humorous sort with a Boston accent thicker than Chahles Rivah sludge, Nilan now hosts the “Raw Knuckles” podcast, fishes, cooks, reads every day — mainly books on military history — runs addiction recovery groups and spends quiet time with his fiancée, Jaime Holtz.

But if there was ever a high-risk candidate for C.T.E., the degenerative neurological disease associated with repeated impacts to the head or a body blows harsh enough to rattle the skull, Nilan would seem to fit the category.

Researchers [*have long suggested*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/03/sports/study-bolsters-link-between-routine-hits-to-head-and-long-term-brain-disease.html) that the more hits to the head someone receives, including subconcussive ones, the more likely they are to develop cognitive and neurological problems later in life. A [*study earlier this year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/20/sports/football/cte-study-concussions-brain-tackle.html) of football players’ brains suggested that the cumulative impact of multiple hits can also play a role.

Thirty years after retiring from an uncompromising, violent and successful career, and with the encouragement of the widow of a fellow enforcer who had the disease, Nilan signed up for the Hope Study.

“I don’t worry about having C.T.E.,” Nilan said. “But sometimes you wonder.”

Ten years ago, there might have been more concern. Nilan’s past substance abuse and outbursts of rage mirror some of the behavior exhibited by other hockey enforcers following retirement, players like [*Bob Probert*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/03/sports/hockey/03fighter.html), [*Derek Boogaard*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/06/sports/hockey/derek-boogaard-a-brain-going-bad.html), [*Wade Belak*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/02/sports/hockey/deaths-of-three-nhl-players-raises-a-deadly-riddle.html), [*Todd Ewen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/30/sports/hockey/todd-ewen-cte-hockey.html) and [*Steve Montador*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/13/sports/hockey/steve-montador-had-brain-trauma-family-to-sue-nhl.html). All of them were diagnosed with C.T.E., which can only be detected after death.

More than a dozen hockey players have been diagnosed with C.T.E., and not all of them fighters. The [*most recent was Henri Richard*](https://www.cbc.ca/sports/hockey/nhl/henri-richard-cte-1.6876247#:~:text=The%20Foundation%20says%2016%20of,CTE%20still%20ravaged%20his%20brain.), a small, skillful center for the Canadiens who [*died in 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/06/sports/hockey/henri-richard-dead.html), the kind of player Nilan was paid to protect.

Nilan is 65 and sober now, still with a sharp wit and a vivid memory of a tumultuous and violent life that intersected closely with some of Boston’s most infamous figures, including [*James Bulger*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/interactive/us/bulger-timeline.html), the murderous crime boss, known as Whitey, who was Nilan’s father-in-law.

A Family History of Dementia

On April 17, Nilan entered the Hope Study. He and Holtz answered background questions from their home over a video conference call with researchers, who asked about Nilan’s family and behavioral history, his moods, his memory, his mother’s dementia and his career on the ice.

A few weeks later, he went to Boston for the cognitive and medical testing, and a month after that he received results that can give participants a snapshot of their brain health at that moment.

Nilan went into the study feeling healthy and robust, perhaps even a bit lucky. He empathizes with players who suffered from the same dangerous work that he did, but points no fingers.

In 2013, a [*group of former players sued the N.H.L.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/26/sports/hockey/retired-players-sue-nhl-over-head-injuries.html) for not doing enough to address head injuries. Nilan was asked to join but declined, believing the sport did not cause his past substance abuse issues, and he does not regularly suffer from depression.

But because of his nearly unmatched history of fighting in hockey, Nilan has emerged as an important subject for researchers studying the effects of repetitive brain impacts and ways to detect it before death.

Even if he does not have C.T.E. or show signs of cognitive impairment, researchers will want to know why not, and what can be learned from it.

“That’s huge,” said Dr. Michael Alosco, the co-director of clinical research at Boston University’s C.T.E. Center. “Why do some people get it, and some don’t? What is different about them? It could be very informative for treatment and prevention.”

‘A Window Into the Brain’

A year ago, Dani Probert was a guest on Nilan’s podcast. They discussed her husband’s career and the time he tangled with Nilan on the ice. They recalled how Nilan and Bob Probert had become good friends after hockey, Probert’s addictions and his death in 2010 from a heart attack, at 45 years old.

Dani Probert explained that when she donated her husband’s brain to B.U.’s C.T.E. research center, she had difficulty answering an accompanying questionnaire about her husband’s life and career. She knew Probert was considered hockey’s heavyweight champion. But she did not know the details of every brutal punch, every check into the boards or fall to the ice.

She urged Nilan to answer those questions now, while he still could. A year later, Nilan joined the Hope Study and pledged to donate his brain.

“It’s vital to get athletes like Chris to participate,” said Chris Nowinski, the co-founder of B.U.’s C.T.E. Center and of the Concussion Legacy Foundation.

Over a day and a half in Boston, Nilan underwent a battery of medical, cognitive and neurological exams designed to help researchers learn the causes and effects of repetitive head impacts that can lead to C.T.E., and perhaps one day design a test that will detect it in living patients.

Nilan had his blood and spinal fluids drawn and was scheduled for magnetic resonance imaging of his brain. He tackled cognitive and memory tests involving word games, number sequences, short stories and mazes. One of the key tests is a lumbar puncture to draw spinal fluids that Dr. Alosco calls “a window into the brain.”

There are more than 400 participants in the program now, and about one third have been exposed to repetitive head impacts. Originally it focused on Alzheimer’s disease, but in recent years its C.T.E. research has expanded.

During the first day of testing in Boston, the city of his youth, Nilan had lunch with Dr. Alosco, who was curious about Nilan’s career and upbringing. Dr. Alosco asked if Nilan fought in college hockey and in high school. Nilan did not, but he casually mentioned some street fights. Asked how many, Nilan replied, “Oh, gosh, I couldn’t even tell you.”

More Than an Enforcer

In some ways, Nilan’s contribution to the study was an opportunity to do in retirement what he loved most as a player, defending teammates.

“If what I do now can help them figure out ways to detect C.T.E. earlier,” Nilan said, “maybe guys in the future can be forewarned and saved from further damage.”

On the ice, if an opposing player dared jam a stick blade into Guy Lafleur’s ribs or throw an elbow at Guy Carbonneau, they or their own enforcer answered to Nilan. When the other team was stocked with notorious tough guys, Nilan was the one expected to drop the gloves, absorb the crunching pain, and then weld someone’s eyes shut with his infamous knuckles.

“You’d go into Philly or Boston and you could see there were guys before the game who were scared,” Nilan said. “But I couldn’t be scared. I was the one they looked to blow the bugle, carry the flag and charge in there.”

Nilan accumulated 3,584 penalty minutes over the regular season and playoffs, the fifth-most in league history, and he played almost 300 fewer games than the top four offenders. He twice set the Canadiens record for most penalty minutes in a season: 338 in the 1983-84 regular season, and 358 the following year.

“I was a menace,” he said.

He was also one of the Canadiens’ most popular players, as much for his energetic goal celebrations as his fists. More than just a fighter, Nilan could play. In opposing arenas, he was the target of hatred and boos, even in Boston. But those who played alongside Nilan adored him.

“Chris Nilan was one of the absolute best teammates I ever had,” said Tony Granato, who played 13 years in the N.H.L., including his first two with Nilan on the Rangers, from 1988 to 1990.

A goal scorer, Granato recalled a game against the Pittsburgh Penguins in 1988 when he almost engaged in his first fight. When he returned to the bench, Nilan slid over hard and lectured him never to drop his gloves again. If there was a problem — with anyone — he should tell Nilan, who would take care of it. Nilan did the same for Brian Leetch, the star Rangers defenseman.

“There is guilt on my part for all the punishment he and those guys had to take for us,” Granato said. “But that was their job, and they took pride in it. No one did it better than Knuckles.”

Memory, Now and Five Years Ago

Chris Nilan is a quintessential Bostonian of a certain time and demographic, the kind they make movies about: A tough, ***working-class*** hockey player of Irish descent, hundreds, if not thousands, of local kids yearned to be just like him. He was born on Feb. 9, 1958, at the Faulkner Hospital in West Roxbury, Mass., the son of Henry and Leslie Nilan, a hard-working, blue collar couple who raised their four children in a strict household. Chris still found his way into scraps as a kid, and soon discovered he was a capable and fearless fighter. Often, he said, it was in defense of others. Later, he mixed it up with groups of kids and young adults on the streets and in the bars of Boston.

He met Karen Stanley at Northeastern University and they fell in love. When people asked about Bulger, Nilan would point out that he married Karen, not her stepfather. He described their 1981 wedding, with Henry Nilan’s Green Beret buddies on one side, Bulger and his cohorts on another and Nilan’s hockey pals up the middle.

“We could have invaded a small country,” Nilan said with a laugh.

Several years later, Bulger was photographed with the Stanley Cup after Nilan’s Canadiens won it in 1986. Nilan stresses he was never aware of Bulger’s criminal activities, but described tension between Bulger and his own father, an honest, taxpaying working man who disapproved of the then-reputed gangster’s “lifestyle.”

Once, when both sets of parents were visiting Montreal, Bulger bought Nilan’s mother an expensive fur coat, which upset Nilan’s father. Bulger adored Nilan’s fearless and pugnacious demeanor.

Waking In The Night, Punching or Kicking

At 6 feet, 205 pounds, Nilan was shorter and lighter than many of his opponents, like the 6-foot-5, 225-pound [*Dave Brown, whom he fought six times*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k5QsUvDIly0). Nilan relied on his remarkable stamina and developed a kind of rope-a-dope technique, tucking his head into one shoulder to protect his face and head and pouncing when the other fighter tired or allowed an opening. He quickly emerged as one of the most courageous and terrifying players in the league, willing to trade blows with any heavyweight.

Fighting is far less common in today’s N.H.L. than it was in the 1980s and ‘90s, as the league has ushered in rules modifications and a faster style of play, even though Gary Bettman, the league commissioner, [*still denies a link between fighting and C.T.E.*](https://www.npr.org/2023/04/19/1170802375/nhl-hockey-cte-brain-disease) Nilan opposes a ban on fighting, but acknowledges being sickened when a player is knocked unconscious in a fight.

It never happened to him, but in his later seasons, after he was traded to the Rangers and the Bruins, the fighting secretly wore him down.

“I fought right to the end, but it was getting harder on me,” he said. “Fight one guy and then fight another guy the next period or next shift. I’d come back to the bench and tell myself, ‘I’m losing that little edge,’ which you can never own up to. So you hide it.”

In the years after his career ended, his hands, knees and back throbbed from 13 years of pounding and too many surgeries. Nilan began ingesting Percocet, a prescription pain killer, and then became addicted to Oxycodone and alcohol, a familiar combination for many retired enforcers.

He eventually found heroin and took it intravenously. In 2015 his mother had a stroke and Nilan went to visit her at Faulkner, the hospital where he was born. He asked a drug dealer to meet him there and he snorted up in a maintenance closet. The next thing he knew, he was on a gurney with a nurse calling his name, yet another overdose victim.

Had he gone outside to find the dealer that night, instead of insisting they meet at the hospital, Nilan likely would not have survived.

He does not hide from the harrowing memory, or others, like the time decades ago when he savagely beat a young man who had hit his teenage daughter and was arrested in the assault. He grapples with the anguish he has inflicted on others, on himself, his family and Holtz.

And yes, he still wakes up, perhaps three or four times a year, throwing punches at the air in reaction to a nightmare, usually that he is being carjacked.

Problems With Anger

Nilan met Holtz in rehab and she has been his stanchion, guiding him out of relapses and back to recovery. The researchers asked Holtz about Nilan’s memory and moods and if he displayed moments of rage. She explained that several years ago, she told Nilan that if he did not get his anger under control, she would leave him.

“He would lose his temper for the smallest things,” she said. “Chris acknowledged those issues in his life and is completely different now. All of that has changed. He faced some hard truths and emotions and dealt with them. Growing up, that is how he was raised.”

Nilan adored his father, who died in 2021, and is immensely proud of him. Henry Nilan was a Green Beret in the Army reserves and a draftsman at Draper Labs in Cambridge, Mass., and he worked hard to provide for his family. He also hit Chris as punishment, sometimes in the chest, sometimes a slap to the back of the head, sometimes a punch, until Chris was about 16 and finally threatened to run away.

Growing up in that environment, he says, led to much of his anger and propensity to violence, not his career as an enforcer.

Have You Had Any Concussions?

Concussions are a concern, but not a prerequisite for C.T.E. Rather, the condition is believed to result from repeated impacts to the head.

“With C.T.E., concussions have been overemphasized,” Nowinski said.

Nilan recalls four possible concussions. One was from an opponent’s shoulder during play that left him dazed. Another time, as a fight wound down, Nilan’s opponent fell on top of his head as it struck the ice. Nilan saw stars. A third time was during a street altercation in Boston when he was struck in the head with a full bottle of beer and was, “out on my feet.” Lastly, several years ago he rolled his car into a ditch and was ejected out the back window, unconscious.

“I never felt any long-term symptoms,” he said. “I never had problems with light, or noise, or sleeping.”

‘Are you ready to hear the results?’

Nilan and Holtz sat in Nilan’s podcast studio in their home on June 8 and listened to Dr. Alosco and Hannah Bruce, a fellow researcher, present the findings. Nilan was eager to hear the results, and was also looking forward to interviewing Jim Montgomery, the Bruins’ head coach, for the podcast before heading out for a round of golf.

Holtz was nervous.

The results cannot rule out C.T.E., but they were very good for Nilan. His cognitive, memory and motor tests showed he was well within the normal range for his age, gender and education. In most he was above average. Had there been any reason for concern, Dr. Alosco would have recommended clinical care for diagnosis and treatment, which he did not consider necessary at the time.

“I kind of thought,” Nilan began, then paused and shook his head. “Look, I’m a special case.”

Everyone on the call laughed, but it could be true. Dr. Alosco said Nilan is in a very high-risk group and urged him to remain vigilant with his sobriety and a healthy lifestyle. He also asked him to return for the yearly research follow-ups, and Nilan said he would.

At the end of the meeting, Dr. Alosco stressed that researchers want to know the factors that have made Nilan appear resistant so far to degenerative neurological disease, whether genetics, medical history, the types of head impacts, his lifestyle or other factors.

“That’s why your data might be so valuable to answer who is resilient to these long-term effects of repetitive head impacts,” Dr. Alosco told Nilan.

Nilan was upbeat afterward, as he prepared to head out of the house. But not because of the results.

“Either way,” he said with a clap of his hands, “I was going to play golf.”

Audio produced by Kate Winslett.

Audio produced by Kate Winslett.

PHOTOS: Chris Nilan, 65, at his home in Terrasse Vaudreuil, Quebec, top, and preparing for an M.R.I. at Boston University this spring. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NASUNA STUART-ULIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; KAYANA SZYMCZAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH VIA GETTY IMAGES) (D1); Chris Nilan earned the nickname Knuckles even before turning pro and was one of the most combative and most penalized players in N.H.L. history. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY UPI/BETTMANN, VIA GETTY IMAGES; GETTY IMAGES; NASUNA STUART-ULIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Nilan at Boston University with, left, Hannah Bruce, senior research assistant at the C.T.E. Center, and, below left, with Dr. Michael Alosco, its co-directer of clinical research. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KAYANA SZYMCZAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Nilan, a Boston area native whose father-in-law was the Boston gangster Whitey Bulger, at home in Quebec, above, and with his fiancée, Jaime Holtz, and their dog, Adele, outside the house. Now 65, Nilan likes to fish, cook, play golf and read, especially books on military history.; CHRIS NOWINSKI, Boston University’s C.T.E. Center. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NASUNA STUART-ULIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D4-D5) This article appeared in print on page D1, D4, D5.

**Load-Date:** October 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Luzzu***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63VH-5KY1-JBG3-61J8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 15, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 7

**Length:** 302 words

**Byline:** By Natalia Winkelman

**Body**

This subtle drama follows a young Maltese fisherman torn between fidelity to his trade and the demands of a modern world.

In the naturalistic drama ''Luzzu,'' Jesmark (Jesmark Scicluna) spends days bobbing and fishing in bright sea waters off the coast of Malta. Though fish are few and money is tight, Jesmark treasures his trade and the cheerfully painted luzzu -- or quaint wooden fishing boat -- that has been passed down through his paternal lineage for generations. But once he and his wife Denise (Michela Farrugia) learn that their infant son requires pricey medical care, Jesmark must negotiate between his fidelity to fishing and the demands of a modern world.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

As a character, Jesmark is familiar. He is strong, sullen and stubborn, a zealous laborer whose ***working-class*** upbringing left him with a sturdy moral code and a chip on his shoulder. Quarrels with Denise or his fishing buddy David (David Scicluna) often end in Jesmark storming off in a headstrong huff. Eventually, his stiff upper lip grows tiresome, and our hero's slow road to redemption grows less important than the people and settings that surround him. Here, Alex Camilleri, the Maltese American writer-director, excels.

In ''Luzzu,'' his first feature film, Camilleri demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of how small moments can build a sense of place: sandals on the salty floor of a fishery; a metal scraper peeling paint from a hull; a priest blessing boats for safe passage. Malta's views are arresting, but the images Camilleri chooses would never be found in a travel brochure. In his subtle, vérité approach, he captures something special -- not one man's crisis, but a community's culture.

LuzzuNot rated. In Maltese and English, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 34 minutes. In theaters.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/14/movies/luzzu-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/14/movies/luzzu-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Jesmark Scicluna in ''Luzzu.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kino Lorber FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 15, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Sanders makes his electability case.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y3Y-JJ91-JBG3-604R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 1, 2020 Saturday 15:32 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 459 words

**Byline:** Sydney Ember

**Highlight:** In the final weekend before the Iowa caucuses, Bernie Sanders made his most forceful case yet that he was the most electable candidate.

**Body**

In the final weekend before the Iowa caucuses, Bernie Sanders made his most forceful case yet that he was the most electable candidate.

INDIANOLA — On the final weekend before the Iowa caucuses, Bernie Sanders made his most forceful case yet that he was the most electable candidate, saying that he would defeat President Trump in the general election because he could excite voters, speak to the ***working class*** and expose Mr. Trump’s populist “hypocrisy.”

“I believe very strongly — and no disrespect to my Democratic colleagues who are competing for the nomination, they are friends of mine — but I believe that we are the strongest campaign to defeat Trump, and I’ll tell you why,” he said, vowing to express himself “bluntly.”

To beat Mr. Trump, he said, “We need to have the largest voter turnout in American history.”

“If it is a low-turnout election, Trump will win,” he said. “And I believe that our campaign is the campaign of energy, is the campaign of excitement, is the campaign that can bring millions of people into the political process who normally do not vote.”

He said his campaign was reaching out in particular to ***working-class*** people “to bring them into the political process” and young people — two groups of people who typically have lower voter turnout. He said he could beat Mr. Trump “because we are developing the strongest grass roots movement,” stating as proof that his campaign had knocked on hundreds of thousands of doors in the final weeks of the Iowa campaign.

And, he said, he could beat Mr. Trump because he would show ***working-class*** people that Mr. Trump was not lifting them up as he had promised in his 2016 campaign, but keeping them down.

“I know we are going to defeat Trump because we have the agenda that speaks to the needs of working families,” he said.

For much of his 2020 campaign, Mr. Sanders has been making a broad argument that he is the candidate who is best positioned to oust Mr. Trump. He went on a “Bernie Beats Trump” tour in Iowa in September, and his campaign frequently highlights polls showing him defeating Mr. Trump in a head-to-head match-up.

Mr. Trump, for his part, has increasingly targeted Mr. Sanders, and Republicans have attacked his self-described democratic socialism. But Mr. Sanders’s remarks on Saturday represented his most direct appeal yet.

Iowans have been extraordinarily focused on selecting a candidate who can win in November, and many remain undecided because they are wary of making a mistake that could elevate an ultimately weak nominee.

Mr. Sanders’s address cut to the core of this uncertainty, here in Iowa and elsewhere.

PHOTO: Senator Bernie Sanders spoke during a town hall event in Indianola. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hilary Swift for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 1, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The Party’s Over for Us. Where Do We Go Now?; The Conversation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6794-GWF1-DXY4-X2YD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 11, 2023 Wednesday 22:34 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3207 words

**Byline:** Bret Stephens and David Brooks

**Highlight:** Is the G.O.P. beyond hope for two conservatives?

**Body**

For decades, conservative values have been central to Bret Stephens’s and David Brooks’s political beliefs, and the Republican Party was the vehicle to extend those beliefs into policy. But in recent years, both the party and a radicalized conservative movement have left them feeling alienated in various ways. Now, with an extremist fringe seemingly in control of the House, the G.O.P. bears little resemblance to the party that was once their home. Bret and David got together to suss out what happened and where the party can go.

Bret Stephens: Lately I’ve been thinking about that classic Will Rogers line: “I am not a member of any organized political party. I am a Democrat.” A century or so later, it looks like the shoe is on the other foot. Is it even possible to call the Republican Party a “party” anymore?

David Brooks: My thinking about the G.O.P. goes back to a brunch I had with Laura Ingraham and Dinesh D’Souza in the ’80s that helps me see, in retrospect, that people in my circle were pro-conservative, while Ingraham and D’Souza and people in their circle were anti-left. We wanted to champion Edmund Burke and Adam Smith and a Reaganite foreign policy. They wanted to rock the establishment. That turned out to be a consequential difference because almost all the people in my circle back then — like David Frum and Robert Kagan — ended up, decades later, NeverTrumpers, and almost all the people in their circle became Trumpers or went bonkers.

Bret: Right, they weren’t conservatives. They were just illiberal.

David: Then in 1995 some friends and I created a magazine called The Weekly Standard. The goal was to help the G.O.P. become a mature governing party. Clearly we did an awesome job! I have a zillion thoughts about where the Republican Party went astray, but do you have a core theory?

Bret: I have multiple theories, but let me start with one: The mid-1990s was also the time that Newt Gingrich became speaker of the House and Fox News got started. Back then, those who were on the more intelligent end of the conservative spectrum thought a magazine such as The Weekly Standard, a channel such as Fox and a guy like Gingrich would be complementary: The Standard would provide innovative ideas for Republican leaders like Gingrich, and Fox would popularize those ideas for right-of-center voters. It didn’t work out as planned. The supposed popularizers turned into angry populists. And the populists turned on the intellectuals.

To borrow Warren Buffett’s take about investing, the conservative movement went from innovation to imitation to idiocy. It’s how the movement embraced Donald Trump as a standard-bearer and role model. All the rest, as they say, is Commentary.

Your theory?

David: I think I’d tell a similar story, but maybe less flattering to my circle. The people who led the Republican Party, either as president (Ronald Reagan through the Bushes), members of Congress (Jack Kemp, John McCain, Paul Ryan) or as administration officials and intellectuals (Richard Darman, Condi Rice) believed in promoting change through the institutions of established power. They generally wanted to shrink and reform the government but they venerated the Senate, the institution of the presidency, and they worked comfortably with people from the think tanks, the press and the universities. They were liberal internationalists, cosmopolitan, believers in the value of immigration.

Bret: I’d add that they also believed in the core values of old-fashioned liberalism: faith in the goodness of democracy, human rights, the rule of law, free speech, political compromise, the political process itself. They believed in building things up, not just tearing them down. I would count myself among them.

David: Then the establishment got discredited (Iraq War, financial crisis, the ossifying of the meritocracy, the widening values gap between metro elites and everybody else), and suddenly all the people I regarded as fringe and wackadoodle (Pat Buchanan, Donald Trump, anybody who ran CPAC) rose up on the wave of populist fury.

Everybody likes a story in which the little guy rises up to take on the establishment, but in this case the little guys rode in on a wave of know-nothingism, mendacity, an apocalyptic mind-set, and authoritarianism. Within a few short years, a somewhat Hamiltonian party became a Jacksonian one, with a truly nihilistic wing.

Bret: Slightly unfair to Jackson, who at least opposed nullification, but I take your overall point.

David: After many years of the G.O.P. decaying, the party’s institutional and moral collapse happened quickly, between 2013 and 2016. In the 2000 Republican primaries I enthusiastically supported John McCain. I believed in his approach to governance and I admired him enormously. But by 2008, when he got the nomination, the party had shifted and McCain had shifted along with it. I walked into the polling booth that November genuinely not knowing if I would vote for McCain or Barack Obama. Then an optical illusion flashed across my brain. McCain and Obama’s names appeared to be written on the ballot in 12-point type. But Sarah Palin’s name looked like it was written in red in 24-point type. I don’t think I’ve ever said this publicly before, but I voted for Obama.

Bret: I voted for McCain. If I were basing my presidential votes on the vice-presidential candidate, I’d have thought twice about voting for Biden.

On your point about populism: There have been previous Republican presidents who rode to office on waves of populist discontent, particularly Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan. But as presidents they channeled the discontent into serious programs and also turned their backs on the ugly fringes of the right. Nixon created the Environmental Protection Agency and expanded the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Reagan established a working relationship with Democratic House leaders to pass tax reform and gave amnesty to millions of illegal immigrants. What’s different this time is that populist feelings were never harnessed to pragmatic policies. As you say, it’s just populism in the service of nihilism.

David: So where does the G.O.P. go from here and where does the old core of the conservative movement go? Do they (we) become Democrats or a quiet left-wing fringe of what’s become Matt Gaetz’s clown show?

Bret: When people get on a bad path, whether it’s drinking or gambling or political or religious fanaticism, they tend to follow it all the way to the bottom, at which point they either die or have that proverbial moment of clarity. I’ve been waiting for Republicans to have a moment of clarity for a while now — after Joe Biden’s victory, or Jan. 6, the midterms, Trump’s dinner with Kanye West. I had a flicker of hope that the Kevin McCarthy debacle last week would open some eyes, but probably not. Part of the problem is that so many Republicans no longer get into politics to pass legislation. They do it to become celebrities. The more feverish they are, the better it sells.

On the other hand, some Republicans who conspicuously did well in the midterms were the “normies” — people like Gov. Brian Kemp in Georgia and Gov. Mike DeWine in Ohio. It gives me hope that the fever will eventually burn itself out, maybe after a few well-earned defeats. The solution here is some kind of Republican version of the old Democratic Leadership Council, which yanked left-wing Democrats back to the center after three consecutive presidential wipeouts and paved the way for the election of Bill Clinton.

Which raises another question for me, David: Where are the old brains and money trusts of the G.O.P., to give life and energy to that kind of effort?

David: Well, it’s not going to be me! Even in my red-hot youth, when I worked for Bill Buckley at National Review, I didn’t see myself as a Republican, just a conservative. I maintain a distance from political parties because I think it’s always wrong for a writer to align too closely to a party. That’s the path to predictability and propagandism. Furthermore, I belong in the American tradition that begins with Alexander Hamilton, runs through the Whig Party and Lincoln, and then modernized with Theodore Roosevelt, parts of Reagan and McCain. I wasted years writing essays on how Republicans could maintain this tradition. The party went the other way. Now I think the Democrats are a better Hamiltonian home.

Bret: I’m part of the same conservative tradition, though maybe with a heavier dose of Milton Friedman.

David: Our trajectories with the G.O.P. are fairly similar, and so are our lives. I’m older than you, but our lives have a number of parallels. We both grew up in secular Jewish families, went to the University of Chicago, worked at The Wall Street Journal, served in Brussels for The Journal, and wound up at The Times.

Bret: We also probably had many of the same professors at Chicago — wonderful teachers like Nathan Tarcov, Ralph Lerner, François Furet, and Leon and Amy Kass — who taught me that Lesson No. 1 was to not succumb to the idea that justice is the advantage of the stronger, and to always keep an open mind to a powerful counterargument. That’s not a mind-set I see with the current Republican leaders.

David: When people ask me whether they should end a relationship they’re in, I answer them with a question: Are the embers dead? Presumably when the relationship started there was a flame of love. Is some of that warmth still there, waiting to be revived, or is it just stone-cold ash? In my relationship with the G.O.P., the embers are dead. I look at the recent madness in the House with astonishment but detachment. Isaiah Berlin once declared he belonged to “the extreme right-wing edge of the left-wing movement,” and if that location is good enough for old Ike Berlin, it’s good enough for me.

Bret: I wouldn’t have had trouble calling myself a Republican till 2012, when I started to [*write pretty critically*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324894104578114791679213644) about the direction the party was taking on social issues, immigration and foreign policy. In 2016 I voted for a Democratic presidential candidate for the first time in my life, did it again in 2020, and I think of myself as a conservative-minded independent. If I haven’t finalized my divorce from the G.O.P., we’re definitely separated and living apart.

David: I suppose I went through stages of alienation. By the early 2000s, I came to believe that the free market policies that were right to combat stagnation and sclerosis a few decades earlier were not right for an age of inequality and social breakdown. Then the congressional Republicans began to oppose almost every positive federal good, even George W. Bush’s compassionate conservatism. Trump brought the three horsemen of the apocalypse — immorality, dishonesty and bigotry. The party, complicit in all that, is dead to me, even though, I have to say, a good chunk of my friends are Republicans.

Bret: I’m loath to give up completely on Republicans only because I believe a successful democracy needs a morally healthy conservative party — one that channels conservative psychological tendencies into policies to check heedless progressivism while engaging productively with an evolving world. I see no other plausible vehicle to advance those policies. Still, the party’s road to recovery is going to be long and hard. And it’s going to require some courageous and credible conservatives to speak up and denounce the current direction of the party.

David: As for who is going to lead a Republican revival, I guess I’d start in the states. One of Al From’s insights in leading the Democratic Leadership Council was that change was going to come from the young and ambitious state legislators and governors, like Bill Clinton — a new generation of politicians from moderate parts of the country. But the Democrats had a strong incentive to change because they lost a lot of elections between 1968 and 1992. The country is now so evenly divided, it takes only a slight shift to produce victory, and nobody has an incentive to rethink his or her party.

Bret: And, of course, when Republicans lose, they console themselves with the thought that it’s because the other side cheated.

David: If the Republican Party is to thrive, intellectually and politically, it will have to become a multiracial ***working-class*** party. A lot of people are already thinking along these lines. Oren Cass at American Compass has been pushing a ***working-class*** agenda. The Trumpish writers and activists who call themselves national conservatives are not my cup of tea, but they do speak in the tone of anti-coastal-elite protest that is going to be the melody of this party for a long time to come. To my mind, Yuval Levin is one of the brightest conservatives in America today. He runs a division at the American Enterprise Institute where the debates over the future of the right are already being held.

The party will either revive or crack up, the way the Whig Party did. But it’s going to take decades. If I’m still around to see it, I’ll be eating mush and listening to Led Zeppelin Muzak with the other fogeys at the Rockefeller Republican Home for the Aged.

Bret: You may well be right about how long it takes. But I don’t think it’s going to do so as a party of the ***working class***. The natural place for the G.O.P. is as the party of economic freedom, social aspiration and moral responsibility — a party of risers, if not always of winners. Its archetypal constituent is the small-business owner. It wants less regulation because it understands from experience how well-intended ideas from above translate into onerous and stupid rules at the ground level. It doesn’t mind big business per se but objects to moralizing C.E.O.s who try to use their size and incumbency to impose left-coast ideology. And it thinks there should be consequences, not excuses, for unlawful behavior, which means it looks askance at policies like bail reform and lax law enforcement at borders.

The problem is that Trump turned the party into a single-purpose vehicle for cultural resentments. It doesn’t help that coastal elites do so much on their own to feed those resentments.

David: We’ve reached a rare moment of disagreement! Your configuration for Republicans was a product of long debates in the 20th century. Size-of-government arguments are going to be less salient. Values, identity and social status issues will be more salient. I think the core driver of politics across the Western democracies is this: In society after society, highly educated professionals have formed a Brahmin class. The top of the ladder go to competitive colleges, marry each other, send their kids to elite schools and live in the same neighborhoods. This class dominates the media, the academy, Hollywood, tech and the corporate sector.

Many people on the middle and bottom have risen up to say, we don’t want to be ruled by those guys. To hell with their economic, cultural and political power. We’ll vote for anybody who can smash their machine. The Republican Party is the party of this protest movement.

Bret: Another way of thinking about the class/partisan divide you are describing is between people whose business is the production and distribution of words — academics, journalists, civil servants, lawyers, intellectuals — and people whose business is the production and distribution of things — manufacturers, drivers, contractors, distributors, and so on. The first group makes the rules for the administrative state. The latter lives under the weight of those rules, and will continue to be the base of the G.O.P.

By the way, since you mentioned earlier the need for new leaders to come from the states, is there anyone who particularly impresses you? And how do you feel about the quasi-nominee-in-waiting, Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida?

David: I’m slightly bearish about DeSantis. He does a good job of being Trumpy without Trump, but I wonder if a man who apparently has net negative social skills and empathy can really thrive during an intimately covered national campaign that will last two years. Trump was at least funny, and to his voters, charismatic. Do you have any other candidates on your radar screen?

Bret: Well, I don’t think it’ll be either of the Mikes — Pious Pence or Pompous Pompeo. I like Nikki Haley personally and think she has a good mind and a terrific personal story. But I don’t get the sense of much public enthusiasm for her beyond high-level donors.

Which brings me back to DeSantis. He seems to have figured out that the G.O.P. sits on a three-legged stool consisting of Trumpists, evangelicals and the business community. He’s earned the respect of the first with his pugilistic jabs at the media, of the second with his attacks on Disney and his parental rights legislation, and of the third with an open-for-business approach to governance that has brought hundreds of thousands of people to Florida. Next to all that, the personality defects seem pretty surmountable.

David: Sigh. I can’t rebut your logic here. Save us, Glenn Youngkin!

Bret: Final question, David: If you could rewind the tape to 1995, is there anything you or anyone in our circle could have done differently to save the Republican Party from the direction it ultimately took?

David: In 1996 Pat Buchanan’s sister, Kathleen, worked at The Standard as an executive assistant. A truly wonderful woman. We virulently opposed Pat in his presidential run that year. The day after he won the New Hampshire primary she smiled kindly at us and said something to the effect of: Don’t worry. I’ll protect you guys when the pitchforks come.

Bret: Given what happened to The Standard, it didn’t work out as promised.

David: I wish we had taken that Buchanan victory more seriously, since it was a precursor of what was to come. I wish we had pivoted our conservatism even faster away from (sorry) Wall Street Journal editorial page ideas and come up with conservative approaches to inequality, to deindustrialization, to racial disparities, etc. I wish, in other words, that our mentalities had shifted faster.

But in truth, I don’t believe it would have made any difference. Authoritarian populism is a global phenomenon. The Republicans were destined to turn more populist. The big question is, do they continue on the path to authoritarianism?

Bret: I look back at the world of conservative ideas I grew up in, professionally speaking, and I see a lot worth holding on to: [*George Kelling and James Q. Wilson*](https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1982/03/broken-windows/304465/) on crime, [*Nicholas Eberstadt*](https://www.commentary.org/articles/nicholas-eberstadt/our-miserable-21st-century/) on social breakdown, [*Linda Chavez*](https://www.commentary.org/articles/linda-chavez/the-realities-of-immigration/) on immigration, [*Shelby Steele*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB916441921791488000) on racial issues, [*Garry Kasparov*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB978557618543476506) on the threat of Vladimir Putin, and so on. I don’t think the ideas were the core problem, even if not every one of them stands the test of time. The problem was that, when the illiberal barbarians were at the conservative gates, the gatekeepers had a catastrophic loss of nerve. Whether it’s too late to regain that nerve is, to me, the ultimate question.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

**Load-Date:** January 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘The Pictures Are Miracles’: How Judith Joy Ross Finds Pain and Nobility in Portraits; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68B4-C6P1-DXY4-X4YB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 27, 2023 Saturday 13:57 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 1658 words

**Byline:** Arthur Lubow

**Highlight:** With a retrospective in Philadelphia, the artist is still seeking to capture a mysterious moment with a stranger.

**Body**

With a retrospective in Philadelphia, the artist is still seeking to capture a mysterious moment with a stranger.

In a room hung with empathetic black-and-white photographic portraits for her retrospective at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Judith Joy Ross, frail-looking and white-haired, was recently taking pictures for her next series. Posing a guard in front of her old-fashioned wooden view camera, she chattered on in an obscenity-laced monologue about her ineptitude.

Seemingly to herself, she said, “I have no idea what I’m doing. I’ve forgotten.” Then she looked up at the bald, bushy-bearded guard, who was standing compliantly where she had placed him. “That’s great,” she gushed. “Everybody can see that’s great. Fantastic. You are perfect.” He gazed ahead stolidly.

Ross turned to me and said, “People don’t like to be photographed, but photographers also don’t like to photograph. You have to get in the zone. You have to get rid of all the bull: ‘It’s not working, it’s not going to be right, it’s not as good as it was before.’ And then it might — it might — happen.”

The moment she seeks to capture is mysterious. At least as mysterious is how she has managed to find it so often. Portrait photographers are usually looking for a quality that can be described in a few words. Julia Margaret Cameron sought genius in men and beauty in women. August Sander revealed how Germans did and didn’t conform to their stations in life. Diane Arbus exposed the flaws in her subjects’ self-presentation. Ross assumes a more passive position. By downplaying her prowess, in a daffy, self-deprecating manner, and showering compliments, she allows her sitter to fill the space with a tentative individuality.

“The pictures are miracles,” said Joshua Chuang, the independent curator who organized the show, which originated at Fundación MAPFRE in Madrid and runs here until Aug. 6. “It’s not like she has command over the subject or the moment. With Judith, it is complete surrender to that moment, even to the point of forgetting the technique.”

The large-format Deardorff camera contributes to the magic. Technically, it allows Ross to avoid using an enlarger and instead make 8-by-10 inch contact prints that register fine detail. She also can release the shutter without an apparatus obscuring her face. Less obviously, the view camera adds a sense of occasion to the act of being photographed — the feeling, as she likes to say, that “the circus has come to town.” Her subjects hail mostly from humble backgrounds and find the unaccustomed attention gratifying.

“I don’t photograph people with money,” she said. “I don’t photograph people outside what I consider my class. I probably don’t like them. And I don’t know them. These are the people I know.”

Arguably her greatest achievement is the series of portraits she made in 1983 and 1984 at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, designed by [*Maya Lin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/20/travel/where-to-see-really-see-the-art-of-maya-lin.html), which had recently opened in Washington. “I was going to go out and ask people stupid questions — how do you deal with pain and suffering,” she said. “Then I heard about the Vietnam memorial. I knew I could ask that question without words.”

Most of the American toll of the war was borne by the ***working-class*** and lower-middle-class people Ross prefers to depict. Her portraits of solemn visitors caught up in silent emotion constitute a memorial as pared down and elegiacal as the monument they were visiting. In 1984, when she was briefly barred from photographing there, Ross continued the project back in Pennsylvania, outside a Pathmark store in Allentown. “I looked for pain and suffering in the local crap mall,” she said. “It exists everywhere. The pictures I made there are about Vietnam.”

Ross, 76, lives modestly in Bethlehem, Penn., near Hazleton, the depressed coal-mining town where she grew up, a middle child of three raised by a father who owned a small chain of five-and-dime stores and a mother who taught piano. From her parents, she acquired a lifelong love of classical music and the natural world.

As a student on scholarship at the Moore College of Art &amp; Design in Philadelphia, she was smitten with photography, and after receiving a degree in art education, she enrolled in a graduate course at the Institute of Design in Chicago. She felt so alienated in these early days that she was often unable to photograph people frontally. “I would spend all day at the movies and you would see people from behind,” she said, explaining how she trained her lens on the backs of people’s heads. In 1972, she secured a part-time job teaching photography at Moravian College in Bethlehem. When that ended, she supported herself for several years by cleaning houses.

The turning point in Ross’s career occurred after the death of her father in spring 1981. Profoundly depressed, she went that summer to a swimming hole in Eurana Park in Weatherly, Penn., a few miles from a creekside cabin in Rockport where the Ross family had spent summers in her childhood — and on memorable occasions visited the park.

Now she photographed teenagers there. “It was about connecting to life again,” said Susan Kismaric, a curator who has been friendly with Ross since meeting her in the mid-1980s while working at the Museum of Modern Art. “The pictures are fabulous, and it did help her understand something about life.”

Ross returned to Eurana Park the next summer with an 8-by-10-inch Deardorff view camera she had just acquired and took a series of photographs that established her artistic style. (She now uses a replacement for that camera, which broke after heavy use.)

The Eurana Park photographs convey the awkwardness and uncertainty of youth. The soon-to-melt Popsicles in the hands of three little girls in swimsuits — two gazing back at the camera, one looking away — accentuate the fleetingness of these years. In many portraits, teenagers seemingly lost in thought stare into the middle distance. Focusing her camera with a shallow depth of field, Ross rendered her subjects crisp and clear against backgrounds of trees or water that blur until only softly discernible. She suffused the images with a warm, archaic glow by making the prints on light-sensitive, gelatin silver chloride printing-out paper toned with gold. A photograph of first graders napping in a classroom taken in 1993 might have been produced by Lewis Hine nearly a century earlier.

Usually, she would place a print in a storage box and leave it there, not concerned with exhibition. “The prints are so important to her,” Chuang, the curator, said. “She has no kids. She can be charming, but she’s awkward with people, and there’s a side of her that means she can’t be around people too consistently. The prints became her connection with people.”

They commemorate the photographic encounter — always with a stranger. “I feel so intensely connected to someone I photograph that I can’t do it with someone I know,” she explained. “I’m too self-conscious.” Unlike her interactions with people, Ross usually experiences nature unmediated by a camera, taking walks daily by the Delaware River or Lehigh River. “I don’t think I’ve ever taken a picture of a plant,” she told me, with slight exaggeration. “I try and give up real fast.”

Ross likes to work in series. She has photographed students in her hometown, Hazleton; people at their various jobs in eastern Pennsylvania; young people (mostly African American) in northeast Philadelphia; adolescents in Easton, Penn.; political operatives working elections; and visitors to a New Jersey lookout point as they contemplate the mutilated New York skyline following the Sept. 11 attack. In a rare look at people with power, she received a commission to photograph U.S. senators and representatives, and their staff members, in 1986 and 1987. She assiduously avoided making the publicity shots that elected officials might typically send to their constituents. “I generally fall in love with people, even if I don’t like them,” she said. “We’re all vulnerable. That’s what these pictures are about.”

After the printing-out paper she favors became hard to obtain (popular in the 19th century, it allows the image to materialize in sunlight, not a darkroom), she experimented with color photography but gave it up because of the exorbitant expense of large-format color film. The few examples in the exhibition are intriguing, but most of this work — along with thousands of other prints in Ross’s archive — has yet to be shown.

Ross is no longer represented by an American gallery. “I think she’s embittered by not being able to sell her work,” Chuang said. “Her various dealers have had a problem with the fact that people don’t want pictures of ordinary people.”

In her self-belittling litany of complaints, Ross cites double vision, memory lapses and a tic that developed in middle age. At one point, I asked what I thought was an innocuous question, simply a follow-up to something she had previously told me: “Are all your photographs about how people deal with pain and suffering?” She was speechless. Her face froze up. After a few seconds, she spoke. “I have a tic,” she told me. “You must have said something.” I realized that I had done what she would never do — pinned her to the wall with a direct question. Confronting instead of receding, I had removed the space for her to tell me on her own who she was.

PHOTOS: From top: Judith Joy Ross, right, preparing to photograph a security guard, Naquyah Purdie, at the Philadelphia Museum of Art; Ross and her large-format Deardorff camera; and her “Untitled, Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington, D.C.,” 1984. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HANNAH YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JUDITH JOY ROSS AND GALERIE THOMAS ZANDER) (AR12); Two portraits by Judith Joy Ross, from left: “Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,” 1999; and “Untitled, Eurana Park, Weatherly, Pennsylvania,” 1982. (PHOTOGRAPHS VIA JUDITH JOY ROSS AND GALERIE THOMAS ZANDER, COLOGNE) (AR14) This article appeared in print on page AR12, AR14.

**Load-Date:** June 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Looming Rent Increase of Up to 9% Tests Adams's Housing Priorities***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65CK-8J91-DXY4-X0T0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 5, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 22

**Length:** 1252 words

**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Body**

Some Democrats are calling proposed increases for New York City's roughly one million rent-stabilized apartments ''unconscionable.'' Mayor Eric Adams says he wants to support small landlords.

When he ran for mayor, Eric Adams positioned himself as a champion for the ***working class*** -- a lifelong New Yorker who had grown up in poverty and won support from voters in the boroughs outside Manhattan.

But in his first months in office, he could oversee rent increases of up to 9 percent for the city's roughly one million rent-stabilized apartments.

The powerful Rent Guidelines Board, which the mayor effectively controls, will take a preliminary vote on Thursday on proposed rent increases of 2.7 to 4.5 percent on one-year leases and 4.3 to 9 percent on two-year leases. A final vote is expected in June.

Critics say those rates are too steep -- 9 percent would be the largest increase since 1990 -- and unfair when the state's eviction moratorium ended in January and market-rate rents across the city are rising.

More than 2,000 eviction cases are being filed each week, and rents have risen 33 percent, according to one real estate website.

The proposed rent increases present a challenge for Mr. Adams, a Democrat, who is facing criticism within his party for supporting any substantial increase when many New Yorkers are still struggling during the pandemic.

His predecessor, Bill de Blasio, backed rent freezes and modest increases during his eight years in office because he said they were crucial to fighting inequality.

Mr. Adams, who is himself a landlord and has rented out his Brooklyn property, which is not rent stabilized, has defended the need for rent increases, though he did not say how much they should rise.

He argued that higher rents were necessary for small property owners facing rising costs.

''We must be fair here -- allow tenants to be able to stay in their living arrangements, but we need to look after those small mom-and-pop owners,'' Mr. Adams said at a news conference last month. ''If you invested all your money into a 10-unit house, and you cannot pay the bills, you could lose that.''

Groups like the Working Families Party note that most rent-stabilized buildings are owned by large landlords, not small property owners. They point to a report by a tenant advocate and adjunct urban planning professor at New York University that found that only about one-third of rent-regulated buildings were owned by landlords who had five buildings or fewer.

The issue is part of a growing rift over housing between Mr. Adams and the City Council, where leaders have criticized the mayor's focus on removing homeless encampments at a time when affordable housing is scarce.

Adrienne Adams, the Council speaker, called the proposed rent increases ''unconscionable'' and said they would ''only exacerbate the housing and homelessness crises confronting our city.''

The politics of a rent increase are complicated for the mayor, said Basil Smikle, director of the public policy program at Hunter College. Mr. Adams could be viewed as insensitive to the concerns of New Yorkers who are struggling to pay rent, but his message about supporting small property owners could connect with his supporters, Mr. Smikle said.

''It's possible that a lot of the mom-and-pop owners came from areas where he got strong support in Queens and Brooklyn,'' he said.

A report by the Rent Guidelines Board found that costs have risen substantially for building owners since spring of last year, including a 19.6 percent increase in fuel costs. Insurance costs rose 10.9 percent and utilities like electricity rose 5.8 percent.

Shahana Hanif, a City Council member from Brooklyn and a chair of the progressive caucus, said the rent increases would be ''excruciatingly painful'' for tenants and urged the Adams administration to look for other solutions to support small landlords.

''I'm adamantly opposed to the rent hike and find it really disgraceful that the mayor isn't showing the compassion and empathy that we need for tenants,'' she said.

The annual decision by the Rent Guidelines Board, which affects more than two million residents who live in buildings built before 1974 that have six or more units, always ignites passionate debate and an intense lobbying effort from tenants and landlords.

For decades, the board approved sizable increases almost every year -- often from 3 percent on one-year leases to 8 percent on two-year leases -- but that came to an end under Mr. de Blasio. As he left office, Mr. de Blasio named the board's rent freezes and modest increases during his tenure as one of his greatest achievements.

Landlords have pushed for substantial rent increases at the higher end of the proposed range. They argue that new state rent laws approved in 2019 favoring tenants already made conditions more difficult for landlords.

''This is a starting point for owners to recover from eight years of rent freezes and inadequate guidelines, and the draconian changes to the state's rent laws,'' said Vito Signorile, a vice president at the Rent Stabilization Association, which represents about 25,000 owners.

The rent board has nine members, all appointed by the mayor: five representatives of the public, two of owners and two of tenants. Mr. Adams has named three appointees since taking office.

His choice in March of Arpit Gupta, a finance professor at N.Y.U. and an adjunct fellow at the right-leaning Manhattan Institute, as a representative of the public raised concern among tenant advocates.

Mr. Gupta told Vox last year that he was a ''little skeptical of rent control.'' He declined a request for an interview on Wednesday.

Brad Lander, the city comptroller, said that appointing someone ''who has expressed skepticism about the entire system of rent regulation is deeply troubling.'' He urged the board to reconsider its proposed increases.

''While a modest rent increase may be merited this year, Mayor Adams's appointed board must not return to the days of Giuliani and Bloomberg's unreasonably high increases,'' Mr. Lander said.

Mr. Adams also appointed Christina Smyth, a lawyer who says on LinkedIn that she represents ''multifamily building owners,'' as the landlords' representative, and Adán Soltren, a staff attorney at the Legal Aid Society, a nonprofit that provides legal services to poor New Yorkers, as a representative of tenants.

Mr. Adams won a competitive Democratic primary last year with support from Black and Latino voters and ***working-class*** neighborhoods, but he is also close to business leaders and real estate developers.

Members of the Real Estate Board of New York, the real estate industry's main lobbying arm, donated to Mr. Adams's campaign or to a PAC that supported him.

Aby Rosen, a co-founder of RFR Realty, gave $100,000 to the PAC, called ''Strong Leadership NYC,'' and Gary Barnett, the founder of Extell Development Company, gave it $250,000. Other real estate executives like Richard LeFrak, chief executive of the LeFrak Organization, donated to Mr. Adams's campaign.

Mr. Adams said last month that small landlords had been ''decimated'' by the pandemic and could lose their buildings to landlords who own thousands of units.

''What happens if they lose their buildings?'' Mr. Adams said. ''The megaguys come in and buy the buildings, and now we see the gentrification that we all say we fear.''

Dana Rubinstein and Mihir Zaveri contributed reporting.Dana Rubinstein and Mihir Zaveri contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/04/nyregion/eric-adams-rent-increase-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/04/nyregion/eric-adams-rent-increase-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams is facing criticism within his party for supporting rent increases when many New Yorkers are struggling. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 5, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A ‘Sir’ With Blue-Collar Roots: Britain’s Labour Race Has an Unlikely Leader***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5XWN-TN11-DXY4-X2G8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 2, 2020 Thursday 08:39 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 873 words

**Byline:** Mark Landler

**Highlight:** A party that lost many of its ***working-class*** voters in last month’s election may turn, unexpectedly, to a London lawyer to be its next leader, an early poll shows.

**Body**

A party that lost many of its ***working-class*** voters in last month’s election may turn, unexpectedly, to a London lawyer to be its next leader, an early poll shows.

LONDON — After Britain’s Labour Party [*suffered its worst defeat since 1935*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/12/world/europe/uk-election-boris-johnson.html) in last month’s election, a chorus of critics faulted the party for losing touch with its ***working-class*** roots in the industrial north and becoming too closely identified with the left-wing, London-centered politics of its leader, Jeremy Corbyn.

Yet as the race to succeed Mr. Corbyn begins, and Labour seeks a path out of the wilderness, the early betting is on another Londoner, [*Keir Starmer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/26/world/europe/keir-starmer.html), who not only has a knighthood from Queen Elizabeth II for his “services to law and criminal justice,” but also holds an advanced law degree from Oxford.

Mr. Starmer, who is expected to declare his candidacy in the coming weeks, is the clear favorite in a recent poll of party members conducted by the research group YouGov. He leads the field of declared and likely candidates among men and women, with voters of every age group and social class, and in all regions of the country, according to the survey of 1,059 members taken in late December.

Though it is early in the race — Mr. Corbyn will stay on until March — the findings cast doubt on the conventional wisdom that Labour’s rank and file will turn to a leader from the Midlands or the north, where Prime Minister Boris Johnson’s Conservative Party made damaging inroads among once-loyal Labour voters.

Instead, in backing Mr. Starmer, 57, the party’s members appear to be putting a premium on management experience and electability, after a landslide victory for Mr. Johnson that many blamed on Mr. Corbyn’s unpopularity and perceived unfitness for office.

A human-rights lawyer who served as head of the Crown Prosecution Service, Mr. Starmer has been Labour’s Brexit policy leader under Mr. Corbyn. In that role, he challenged Mr. Johnson’s threats to pursue a “no-deal Brexit” if Parliament did not approve his withdrawal agreement with the European Union.

But Mr. Starmer, who voted to remain in the European Union in 2016, also pushed his own party, which had been bitterly split over Brexit, to be open to a second referendum — something he now acknowledges will never happen in the wake of Mr. Johnson’s winning campaign to “get Brexit done.”

The Labour Party kept Mr. Starmer under wraps during the campaign, in part because of his heavy identification with the Brexit debate, which the party’s leaders did not want to highlight in the election.

In the poll, Mr. Starmer was favored by 36 percent of those who responded. The next most popular candidate, with 23 percent, was Rebecca Long-Bailey, a Manchester-born member of Parliament who is viewed as representing continuity with Mr. Corbyn’s leftist leadership.

“There’s been a lot of talk about Labour needing a leader from the north or a candidate who is identifiably ***working class***, but that doesn’t seem to be the case,” said Tim Bale, a professor of politics at Queen Mary University who directed the poll for YouGov, along with the University of Sussex.

“All the things that might disadvantage a white, middle-class, middle-aged man from London don’t seem to be hurting Keir Starmer,” Mr. Bale added. “He seems to be beating the Corbyn continuity candidate quite easily.”

While Mr. Starmer has a “sir” in his name and is a well-compensated lawyer who lives in North London, like Mr. Corbyn’s, his roots are ***working-class***: He is the son of a toolmaker and a nurse. Mr. Starmer [*prefers not to use*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/24/world/europe/starmer-britain-brexit.html) the honorific, and in a stroke of fortune for an aspiring leader, he was named after the first leader of the Labour Party, Keir Hardie.

Mr. Starmer has taken pains not to disavow Mr. Corbyn’s left-wing agenda, which is still popular with the party’s grass roots. “It’s important not to oversteer,” he said in [*a post-mortem interview with The Guardian*](https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/mar/24/keir-starmer-labour-brexit-interview). “The case for a bold and radical Labour government is as strong now as it was last Thursday.”

But Mr. Starmer criticized the party’s failure to confront allegations of deep-rooted anti-Semitism in the party, which dogged Mr. Corbyn during the campaign, particularly when he declined to apologize for it.

Though tarnished by the defeat, Mr. Corbyn still commands a potent faction within the party, and could shape the outcome by endorsing a candidate. The party’s selection process is also lengthy and byzantine, which could open the door to a lesser-known candidate. Most of the candidates are women, which could hurt Mr. Starmer if the race comes to be defined by whether Labour should have a female leader.

Still, political analysts say the poll’s results align with their own private soundings of the party faithful.

“It would be highly surprising, given YouGov’s record in predicting these contests, if their polls turn out to be off this time,” [*wrote Stephen Bush, the political editor of the New Statesman,*](https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2020/01/keir-starmer-ahead-first-poll-labour-members-lot-could-change) who is plugged into the Labour Party. Mr. Starmer’s positioning, he said, “was pretty much perfect.”

PHOTO: Keir Starmer, a human-rights lawyer, is not disavowing Jeremy Corbyn’s left-wing agenda. In a survey of Labour Party members, a plurality favored Mr. Starmer for election as party leader. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF OVERS/BBC, VIA REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** September 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***6 Paris Bistros to Try Now***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68MN-6K91-JBG3-6438-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 6, 2023 Thursday 08:04 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** TRAVEL

**Length:** 2028 words

**Byline:** Alexander Lobrano

**Highlight:** The city’s restaurant scene is back in full force, and a half-dozen bistro-style eateries showcase the best of what’s new, including a refreshingly simple style of cooking.

**Body**

The city’s restaurant scene is back in full force, and a half-dozen bistro-style eateries showcase the best of what’s new, including a refreshingly simple style of cooking.

Paris has recovered its scents, and the city is suddenly ravenous. The whiffs of shallots sautéing in butter, bread baking, meat roasting and bouillon simmering that invisibly punctuate any stroll in this food-loving city are back. In fact, the French capital is in the midst of a restaurant boom.

“I think it’s a carpe diem thing,” said Ezéchiel Zérah, the Paris-based editor of two popular French food publications. “After Covid, everyone has a keen appetite and wants a good time.”

Encouraged by pent-up local demand and a dramatic revival of the city’s tourist trade, young chefs and restaurateurs are hanging out their first shingles in Paris, and the most popular idiom is the beloved Parisian bistro. Some of them are pointedly traditional — the delightful Bistrot des Tournelles in the Marais, for example — while others offer a refined contemporary take on bistro cooking, notably the just opened Géosmine in the 11th Arrondissement.

What all of them have in common is chefs with a refreshingly simple culinary style. “No one wants tweezer cooking anymore,” said Thibault Sizun, the owner of Janine, an excellent new modern bistro in [*Les Batignolles*](https://hipparis.com/les-batignolles-a-hidden-hip-and-authentic-paris-neighborhood/), a neighborhood in the 17th Arrondissement.

Here, six restaurants to try in Paris now (prices are approximate).

Bistrot des Tournelles

When you arrive at the long, narrow dining room of the [*Bistrot des Tournelles*](http://www.bistrotdestournelles.com) for the second seating (from 9:15 p.m. onward; you don’t want to have dinner with an invisible hourglass on your table), odds are you’ll politely be informed that it’ll be another 10 to 15 minutes. It’ll be longer than that, so go across the street for a drink at the Le Vanart cocktail bar instead of milling around on the sidewalk and getting cranky.

This noisy bistro is absolutely worth the wait for the charm of its friendly grace-under-pressure staff, the contagiousness of its high-spirits atmosphere and the deliciousness of a menu that reads like a primer of French bistro cooking. It also looks like a place that the famed French photographer Robert Doisneau might have photographed many years ago, with a marble-topped oak bar just inside the front door, flea-market bric-a-brac on the walls, a stenciled tile floor, bentwood chairs at bare tables and moleskin banquettes.

The porcine richness of the rillettes (potted pork) from the Perche region of Normandy accompanied by glasses of a brilliantly flinty Alsatian Riesling is reason alone to fall in love, and then the sautéed oyster mushrooms in a veil of finely chopped garlic and parsley and the plump ivory asparagus in an Xeres-vinegar-spiked dressing deliver the simple pleasure of impeccably cooked and perfectly seasoned produce.

For main dishes, the juicy chicken with morel mushrooms in cream sauce embodies the gastronomic riches of Paris, or try the andouillette, a bulging sausage made from pig intestines, pepper, wine, onions and seasonings. These dishes are served with a heaping platter of hot homemade frites and spinach that is a sink of butter. Dessert might seem improbable, but go ahead and share a dark chocolate mousse with a bracing shadow of bitterness (6 Rue des Tournelles, Fourth Arrondissement, tel. (33) 01-57-40-99-96; starters from 7 euros, or about $7.50, entrees from 27 euros).

Janine

Once a country village where Édouard Manet painted, Les Batignolles is now a lively younger district of the 17th Arrondissement that’s little known to tourists. “I chose this neighborhood, because it’s happy, inclusive and without hipster pretensions,” said the Breton restaurateur Thibault Sizun, who named [*Janine,*](http://www.restaurantjanine.fr) his first restaurant, after his adored grandmother.

The restaurant has a great-looking dining room with a zinc-topped service bar, bare wood tables, tile floors, and oil paintings, mirrors and flea-market finds on the walls. The superb slice of pâté de campagne du Grand-Père Jean with pickled red onions, cauliflower sprigs, carrots and celery pairs perfectly with glasses of chardonnay from the Jura region. From the expertly seasoned mixture of ground meat bound in caul fat, you might expect an old-fashioned French chef in the kitchen.

But the chef at Janine is Soda Thiam, a talented young Senegalese woman who grew up in Italy and whose cooking is an inventive mixture of traditional French bistro and Italian trattoria dishes updated with shrewd garnishes and seasonings and a sparing use of dairy.

First courses include an excellent celery rémoulade garnished with mussels, squid and grilled leeks, and a luscious vitello tonnato that might be unexpected if you didn’t know Ms. Thiam’s background.

The menu here evolves regularly, but if the braised pig cheek with creamy polenta and Treviso or roasted cockerel with an herbal pesto sauce and baby vegetables in a shallow bath of ruddy bouillon are on the menu, don’t miss them. Desserts are excellent, too, especially the buckwheat brownie with bread ice cream (90 Rue des Dames, 17th Arrondissement, tel. (33) 01-42-93-33-94; starters from 11 euros, entrees from 28 euros).

Les Parisiens

[*Les Parisiens*](http://www.pavillon-faubourg-saint-germain.com) is a beautifully low-lit bistro with globe lamps, plump banquettes and a slate-and-gray Art Deco-style mosaic floor in the Pavillon Faubourg St.-Germain hotel in the heart of St.-Germain-des-Prés, one of the city’s most fashionable neighborhoods.

The chef Thibault Sombardier trained with several three-Michelin-starred chefs, which explains the steely haute-cuisine technique he brings to contemporary French bistro cooking. His langoustines quenelles are featherweight but fully flavored dumplings, and they come to the table in a luscious ivory-colored puddle of velvety cauliflower velouté. The ris de veau (veal sweetbreads) are beautifully browned but still custardy inside and come with a bright Provençal sauce of tomatoes, capers and onions sautéed in olive oil.

For those who aren’t keen on offal, the menu offers many other options, including saddle of lamb in pastry with a tangy mustard-and-tarragon condiment and a whole sea bream for two with voluptuous Hollandaise sabayon. For dessert, it’s your call between the vanilla soufflé and the warm chocolate mousse with buckwheat ice cream (1 Rue du Pré aux Clercs, Seventh Arrondissement, tel. (33) 01-42-96-65-43; starters from 12 euros, entrees from 22 euros).

Parcelles

One of the best trends at the new Paris bistros is their really excellent wine lists, because many bistros of yore were pretty much content to pour cheerful plonk. [*Parcelles,*](http://www.parcelles-paris.fr) a popular bistrot à vins, or wine-oriented bistro, near the Pompidou Center in the Upper Marais is an on-point example.

In French wine terminology a parcelle is a small plot of land with distinctive geographical and geological characteristics that explain the quality and character of the grapes grown on it. Here, it refers to the seriousness of the restaurant’s wine list and the way the menu is designed to create memorable food and wine pairings.

The exigent and very knowledgeable young sommelier Bastien Fidelin works with the chef Julien Chevallier and the owner, Sarah Michielsen, to sync his mostly organic and natural wines to the regularly changing menu. The bistro itself dates to 1936. This team took it over a year ago and wisely left the décor almost untouched, since it has an effortless Gallic chic that comes from the copper-clad bar, cracked tile floor and lace curtains in the front windows.

Expect dishes like earthy homemade headcheese with the punctuation of puckery pickles and a bracing herbal slash of peppery mustard greens and scallops in a parsley-garlic butter with guanciale to start. That might be followed by mains like pan-roasted brill in a sauce of baby clams with spinach and veal sweetbreads with fried sage leaves and potato purée. The chocolate tart with caramelized pecans and whipped cream is excellent, but keep your fingers crossed that the crème caramel, maybe the best in Paris, will be on the menu when you come for a meal (13 Rue Chapon, Third Arrondissement, tel. (33) 01-43-37-91-64; starters from 12 euros, entrees from 25 euros).

Géosmine

Bistros can also be chic and their cooking intense, precise and refined. A perfect example is the young chef Maxime Bouttier’s just-opened restaurant [*Géosmine*](http://geosmine.com) in the Oberkampf quarter of the 11th Arrondissement in eastern Paris.

In French, the word géosmine means “odor of the soil,” as in a freshly plowed field. Mr. Bouttier’s cooking at this stylish two-story restaurant with recycled wood tables and white cement floors in a former textile factory seduces by being earthy but elegant.

Starters of green asparagus with a sauce of pistachios and ramps and morel mushrooms stuffed with ground veal and garnished with baby peas are vivid with freshness, contrasts of texture and unexpected flavors. A main course of sirloin with a tangy mahogany puddle of homemade barbecue sauce and wilted radicchio and turbot with friar’s beard, a wild herb, further display the chef’s well-honed culinary skills. Proof Mr. Bouttier likes to provoke is a dish very rarely seen on Paris menus: cow’s udder with caviar, cream and seaweed. With his sinewy talent and lyrical gastronomic creativity, Mr. Bouttier is one of the most impressive young chefs in Paris right now (71 Rue de la Folie Méricourt, 11th Arrondissement, tel. (33) 09-78-80-48-59; à la carte lunch, dishes from 11 euros to 49 euros; dinner, prix fixe 109 euros or 139 euros).

Des Terres

Being on a budget in Paris doesn’t mean you can’t go for a meal at one of the city’s best new restaurants. [*Des Terres,*](https://www.instagram.com/desterres.paris/?hl=fr) a corner bistro in Belleville, a formerly ***working-class*** but now rapidly gentrifying district of the 20th Arrondissement in northeastern Paris, is an amiable neighborhood place with an avid following of local regulars. They love sampling the latest wine finds of the hugely knowledgeable Matthieu Hernandez and other oenophile staff members and chatting about the highlights of the chalkboard menu, which changes daily and is vegetarian-friendly.

With its exposed red brick walls and bare wood tables, Des Terres could just as easily be in Astoria or Ridgewood, Queens, as in Paris were it not for the big Formica-clad bar just inside the front door crowded with natural and organic wines from small producers all over France and obscure Gallic liqueurs and tinctures.

Starters of a terrine of veal sweetbreads and morel mushrooms and a ruddy lentil soup garnished with toasted pumpkin seeds and freshly grated horseradish are so beautifully made they could easily grace the table of some wallet-busting Michelin-anointed place incentral Paris. Main courses are outstanding, too, including pan-roasted cod with fresh white coco beans from Paimpol in Brittany and golden domed pithiviers (short-crust pastry) filled with layered celeriac, mushrooms and potatoes. The latter, a resonantly earthy dish, was deeply satisfying, as was the intriguing dessert, a fluffy chestnut mousse with quince slices stewed in lemon verbena with crushed pecan praline.

Complimented on his recommendation of a Patrimonio wine from Corsica and also on the inventiveness and precision of the kitchen, Mr. Hernandez grinned and said, “It’s the pleasure that counts.”

That phrase could equally be the motto and motivation of the chefs at all of these excellent new Paris spots (82 Rue Alexandre Dumas, 20th Arrondissement, tel. (33) 01-43-48-42-49; starters from 12 euros; entrees from 24 euros, lunch menu, 18 euros or 21 euros).

Alexander Lobrano is a food and travel writer who’s lived in France for more than 35 years. His latest book is “My Place at the Table: A Recipe for a Delicious Life in Paris.”

Follow New York Times Travel on [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytimestravel/) and [*sign up for our weekly Travel Dispatch newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/traveldispatch) to get expert tips on traveling smarter and inspiration for your next vacation. Dreaming up a future getaway or just armchair traveling? Check out our [*52 Places to Go in 2023*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/travel/52-places-travel-2023.html).

PHOTO: Parcelles is a popular bistrot à vins, or wine-oriented bistro, near the Pompidou Center in the Upper Marais. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Joann Pai for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Tim Ryan will be the Democrats’ nominee for Senate in Ohio.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65CB-5GX1-JBG3-61FW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 3, 2022 Tuesday 21:12 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 475 words

**Byline:** Jazmine Ulloa

**Highlight:** Staying within a moderate lane focused on jobs, manufacturing and China, the congressman beat a progressive lawyer who had criticized his record and campaign donations.

**Body**

Staying within a moderate lane focused on jobs, manufacturing and China, the congressman beat a progressive lawyer who had criticized his record and campaign donations.

Representative Tim Ryan cruised to victory in the Democratic primary election for Senate in his state, running in a moderate lane focused on tackling jobs, manufacturing and taking on China.

Mr. Ryan’s victory, [*called by The Associated Press*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/05/03/us/elections/results-ohio-us-senate.html), came as little surprise. He had long been considered the clear front-runner in the contest for the seat of Senator Rob Portman, an establishment Republican who is retiring.

But Mr. Ryan faced a challenger to his left in Morgan Harper, a progressive lawyer. She attacked him over his donations from energy companies and championed policies like “Medicare for All” and an overhaul of the conservative-dominated Supreme Court.

Mr. Ryan, a onetime presidential candidate who has long sought to appeal to blue-collar workers in northeastern Ohio, visited all 88 counties in the state in a bet that voters of all leanings were tired of far-right and far-left positions in American politics. He sought to appeal to the “exhausted majority,” [*a phrase coined by researchers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/17/sunday-review/elections-partisanship-exhausted-majority.html) to describe the estimated two-thirds of voters who are less polarized and who feel overlooked.

He has been waiting in the wings, as a crowded Republican campaign [*has at times turned ugly*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/30/us/politics/ohio-senate-primary-vance-trump.html). The candidates aggressively pursued Donald J. Trump’s endorsement before the former president [*threw his support to J.D. Vance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/15/us/politics/ohio-jd-vance-trump-endorsement.html), and they took aim at undocumented immigrants, transgender youths’ participation in sports and teachings on race and gender in schools.

Yet Mr. Ryan also drew criticism for fear-mongering in some of his messaging, including in his first television commercial. It centered on the nation’s fight to beat China on manufacturing, but some Asian advocacy groups and elected officials described the ad as racist and called on him to take it down.

Mr. Ryan condemned anti-Asian violence but did not back down, saying that he had been speaking specifically about government policies under the Chinese Communist Party that have hurt Ohio workers.

His chances of success in the general election in the fall are considered relatively low, given a national political environment that is unfriendly to [*his party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/02/us/politics/democrats-midterms-ohio.html) and the increasingly conservative tilt of Ohio, which voted for Mr. Trump in the last two presidential elections.

But an upset victory by Mr. Ryan could carry lessons for national Democrats in the Midwest on how to counter the appeal of Trumpism and win back white ***working-class*** voters who used to form a large part of the Democratic base in the industrial [*heart of the country*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/06/us/politics/tim-ryan-ohio-voters.html).

PHOTO: An upset victory by Representative Tim Ryan in the fall could carry lessons for national Democrats in the Midwest. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Dustin Franz for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 3, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In Israel, Netanyahu Delays Firing Minister***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67C1-W4K1-DXY4-X3VV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 20, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1054 words

**Byline:** By Patrick Kingsley

**Body**

The Israeli prime minister has yet to uphold a decision by the Supreme Court that a key government minister convicted of tax fraud should be dismissed.

The new right-wing Israeli government and the country's judiciary were locked in a standoff Thursday, after Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu delayed upholding a Supreme Court ruling that called for the dismissal of a key government minister.

Mr. Netanyahu had taken no apparent action Thursday on removing his interior minister, Aryeh Deri, a day after the country's highest court ruled that the minister should be fired, principally because he had recently been convicted of tax fraud and received a suspended prison sentence.

If Mr. Deri does not resign in the coming days or Mr. Netanyahu does not fire him, the legal dispute will compound a wider clash between the government and the judiciary that analysts consider one of the most profound in Israeli history.

Mr. Netanyahu faces an almost existential dilemma: Legal experts say there is no direct precedent for an Israeli leader failing to heed the ruling of the Supreme Court and would constitute a broadside against the rule of law, but removing a top official from his coalition could bring the government crashing down.

Coalition leaders spent Thursday locked in tense private discussions about how to respond, amid speculation in the Israeli news media that Mr. Netanyahu would ultimately acquiesce to the court's decision, to avoid exacerbating an already febrile mood in the country. The attorney general, Gali Baharav-Miara, advised Mr. Netanyahu that he had no other legal option, according to a letter published by Kan, Israel's national broadcaster.

The standoff with the judiciary comes just days after Mr. Netanyahu's government set out plans to significantly reduce the Supreme Court's power over politicians and increase political influence over the selection of the court's judges.

The proposed overhaul prompted large protests across Israel in recent days, amid furious disagreement within Israeli society about whether politicians or the judiciary should hold primacy in a liberal democracy.

Opposition leaders and several former prime ministers have warned that the judicial overhaul would damage the democratic process, while the government and its supporters argue it would strengthen it -- by giving greater power to parties representing a majority of voters.

These tensions are set against the backdrop of Mr. Netanyahu's own corruption trial, which his allies portray as a case of overreach by an unelected judiciary against an elected political leader, but which his critics cite as an example of the need for strong judicial independence from the political executive.

Mr. Deri's predicament also threatens to resurface longstanding grievances from Jewish Israelis of Middle Eastern and North African origin, or Mizrahim, who form Mr. Deri's political base. After Israel's founding, Mizrahi Israelis suffered discrimination from Israelis of European descent, or Ashkenazim, a group that dominated Israeli society for decades and still form a majority on the Supreme Court.

It was not clear Thursday whether Mr. Netanyahu would ignore the court's decision, setting off a constitutional crisis, or find a way of upholding it without collapsing his government.

Following the court's announcement, the leaders of Mr. Netanyahu's coalition issued an ambiguous statement, promising to ''correct the injustice'' of the ruling but leaving open the possibility that Mr. Deri might still resign.

The disagreement stems from Mr. Deri's decision to re-enter frontline politics in a general election last November. Mr. Deri is a political veteran, first serving in cabinet in the 1980s. But he had promised a court in 2021 that he would retire from political life in exchange for sparing him from jail time for tax fraud.

In the election, Mr. Deri's party, Shas, a group popular with ***working-class*** ultra-Orthodox Mizrahi Jews, won 11 seats. Shas became the second-largest party in Mr. Netanyahu's victorious right-wing coalition, giving it the balance of power in Parliament.

To secure Mr. Deri's support, Mr. Netanyahu appointed him to lead two powerful ministries -- health and interior. In doing so, he set up the clash with the Supreme Court, which was forced to rule on Mr. Deri's suitability for office.

Though members of Shas threatened earlier this week to bring down the coalition if Mr. Deri was forced to leave office, they scaled back that rhetoric after the court announcement.

Asked for comment on the party's intentions, a spokesman for Shas sent a statement underscoring its support for Mr. Deri and his continued leadership, but avoiding any mention of his ministerial future.

Analysts speculated that he might resign in favor of allies in Shas. Some also suggested that the government's lawmakers might vote for its own dissolution, and then immediately form a new administration in which Mr. Deri would be made an ''alternate'' prime minister -- an appointment that experts say would be harder for judges to block.

The lack of clarity reflects how the new government has struggled to end the political instability that has roiled Israel over the past four years, leading to five elections since 2019.

The turbulence began when Mr. Netanyahu declined to leave office despite being investigated and later tried for corruption. His decision split the Israeli public almost evenly, between supporters who felt he was the victim of a judicial stitch-up, and critics who felt he should leave office until at least the trial ended.

That divide led to four inconclusive elections between 2019 and 2021, in which neither Mr. Netanyahu nor his opponents could win a large enough majority to stay in power for long.

Mr. Netanyahu's opponents briefly won power in 2021, but were defeated again in November as Mr. Netanyahu returned to office at the helm of the most right-wing coalition in Israeli history.

Despite the government's ideological cohesion, its initial weeks in office have been rocky, amid opposition fury at the plans for judicial change, tensions over Mr. Deri, and concerns within the security services about Mr. Netanyahu's decision to give key security roles to far-right politicians.

Myra Noveck contributed reporting.Myra Noveck contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/19/world/middleeast/israel-netanyahu-minister-deri.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/19/world/middleeast/israel-netanyahu-minister-deri.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Israel's high court ruled that the interior minister, Aryeh Deri, should be dismissed. PHOTOGRAPH BY NIR ELIAS/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** January 20, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Primaries in Indiana And Ohio Will Point To Direction of G.O.P.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65C5-B731-DXY4-X2B4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 3, 2022 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1229 words

**Byline:** By Jazmine Ulloa

**Body**

The second election night of the 2022 midterms has some national implications for Republicans. Here's a breakdown.

Ohio's primary elections almost weren't going to happen Tuesday. A heated and confusing legal battle over the redrawing of congressional districts kept voters waiting for a final map. And in last-hour negotiations, elections officials took all of the statehouse races off the May 3 primary ballot, leaving them to be decided at a later date.

But all eyes remain on the state, with one marquee matchup at the top of the list: the crowded, heated and expensive Republican Senate primary.

More so than many other contests across the nation, the Ohio Senate race to replace Rob Portman, an establishment Republican who is retiring, will test former President Donald J. Trump's influence on his party, and whether Republican voters have an appetite for hard-right, anti-establishment figures in his mold -- or only for those with his seal of approval. The results could also give Democrats a better idea of their chances to secure the open seat in November.

Once considered a national bellwether in the industrial heart of the country, Ohio has tilted Republican in the last two presidential elections, and Republicans control all levels of government. Senate candidates from both parties have been aggressively courting the white ***working-class*** voters who have left the Democratic Party in droves since Mr. Trump was first on the ballot in 2016.

The campaign has been at times contentious and ugly. It has also been high-priced. Cash has poured into the race -- from major super PACs and from candidates' personal coffers -- making it one of the most expensive of this election cycle. Major donors include the Protect Ohio Values PAC, largely funded by the billionaire Peter Thiel, who is supporting Mr. Vance, and the Buckeye Leadership Fund, which is backing Matt Dolan, a former Ohio state senator whose family owns the Cleveland Guardians baseball team.

Indiana's primary also features some notable elections with implications for the direction of the Republican Party. This year, more incumbents at the state level are facing primary challengers from the right than in at least a decade, according to a review by The Indianapolis Star, potentially resulting in an even more conservative legislative supermajority.

North of Indianapolis, in Hamilton County, the re-election campaign of the prosecutor D. Lee Buckingham against Greg Garrison, a conservative talk-show host, is garnering outsize attention: Mr. Buckingham has the support of former Vice President Mike Pence.

Trump's role as kingmaker

Mr. Trump rocked the Senate race landscape in Ohio last month when he threw his highly coveted endorsement behind J.D. Vance. A venture capitalist and the author of the best-selling 2016 memoir ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' Mr. Vance has been heavily backed by Mr. Thiel, the Fox News host Tucker Carlson and Donald Trump Jr.

On the campaign trail, Mr. Vance has sought to atone for his past negative comments about Mr. Trump. Polls have shown a significant bump for Mr. Vance, but no clear front-runner has emerged.

David McIntosh's anti-tax Club for Growth, which had first opposed Mr. Trump's 2016 before supporting him, is pitching for a battle. The G.O.P. group has put its support behind Josh Mandel, a former Ohio state treasurer, who went from reluctant Trump supporter in 2016 to one of the nation's most ardent backers of Trumpism.

Other Republican Senate hopefuls include Jane Timken, a former chairwoman of the Ohio Republican Party, who has been endorsed by Mr. Portman and has campaigned with the former Trump aide Kellyanne Conway, and Mike Gibbons, a financier who has outspent all of the candidates in the race. He has at times been at the top of the polls with a sales pitch similar to Mr. Trump's, reminding audiences he is not a politician but a businessman.

Still, Ohio voters might decide they do not want a Trump-centered candidate at all. The only Republican running in this lonely lane has been Mr. Dolan, who says he supports Mr. Trump but has made him less of a focus in the campaign. Unlike the top candidates in the race, he recognizes President Biden as the nation's legitimate leader.

Is there an 'exhausted majority'?

On the Democratic side of the Senate race, Representative Tim Ryan is considered the front-runner. He faces a challenge from the left by Morgan Harper, a progressive lawyer and a senior adviser at the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau under former President Barack Obama.

Mr. Ryan has been visiting with voters across the state in a bet that they have had enough of the extremism in American politics and might be willing to elect a Democrat to a seat formerly held by a Republican. He is seeking to appeal to the ''exhausted majority,'' a phrase coined by researchers to describe the estimated two-thirds of voters who are less polarized and who feel overlooked.

It will be interesting to see if such an electorate manifests itself in Ohio -- and if it goes for Mr. Ryan or for Mr. Dolan on the other side of the aisle.

Success for Mr. Ryan in the fall could carry lessons for Democrats across the Midwest on how to counter the appeal of Trumpism and the erosion of support for the party among the white ***working-class*** -- voters who once formed a loyal part of the Democratic base.

The rematch between Nina Turner and Shontel Brown

Representative Shontel Brown narrowly defeated Nina Turner, a former state senator and a top surrogate for Bernie Sanders, in a Democratic primary last year that was seen as somewhat of a proxy battle between the party's progressive and establishment wings.

The two were vying for a seat vacated by Marcia L. Fudge after President Biden appointed her as the secretary of housing and urban development. The race attracted big Democratic names and millions of dollars, with Ms. Brown, then a Cuyahoga County councilwoman, drawing support from Hillary Clinton and the highest-ranking Black member of the House, James E. Clyburn of South Carolina.

This year, major establishment figures have once more endorsed Ms. Brown, including President Biden and Mr. Clyburn. She now also has the backing of the Congressional Progressive Caucus PAC.

Ms. Turner previously was attacked for taking anti-Israel positions -- and for using language that some said echoed anti-Semitic tropes -- as well as for a crass denunciation of President Biden. This time around, she has aggressively courted Jewish voters. She has the ground-game support of Our Revolution, a progressive political action organization that emerged from Mr. Sanders's 2016 presidential campaign. The group's 150 volunteers have centered on building support for Ms. Turner through one-on-one conversations with voters.

Will Ohio have a shot at a female governor?

The former congressman Jim Renacci is one of several Republican candidates who are trying to seize on their party's internal divisions to unseat G.O.P. governors. But Mr. Renacci seems to be gaining little traction against Gov. Mike DeWine, a longtime Ohio politician who has been working to attract the support of Mr. Trump's most loyal supporters.

In the Democratic primary, two former mayors -- John Cranley of Cincinnati and Nan Whaley of Dayton -- are facing off, with Ms. Whaley seeking to become the first woman elected governor in the state.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/03/us/politics/ohio-indiana-primary-elections.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/03/us/politics/ohio-indiana-primary-elections.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: An Ohio primary voter cast an early ballot last month in Columbus. The top contest is the race to replace Senator Rob Portman. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** May 3, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Israel’s Judicial Standoff Deepens as Netanyahu Delays Firing Minister***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67BV-JB21-JBG3-64BP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 19, 2023 Thursday 22:22 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; middleeast

**Length:** 1073 words

**Byline:** Patrick Kingsley

**Highlight:** The Israeli prime minister has yet to uphold a decision by the Supreme Court that a key government minister convicted of tax fraud should be dismissed.

**Body**

The Israeli prime minister has yet to uphold a decision by the Supreme Court that a key government minister convicted of tax fraud should be dismissed.

The new right-wing Israeli government and the country’s judiciary were locked in a standoff Thursday, after Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu delayed upholding [*a Supreme Court ruling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/18/world/middleeast/israel-aryeh-deri-netanyahu.html) that called for the dismissal of a key government minister.

Mr. Netanyahu had taken no apparent action Thursday on removing his interior minister, Aryeh Deri, a day after the country’s highest court ruled that the minister should be fired, principally because he had recently been [*convicted of tax fraud*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/09/world/middleeast/netanyahu-isreal-cabinet-government.html) and received a suspended prison sentence.

If Mr. Deri does not resign in the coming days or Mr. Netanyahu does not fire him, the legal dispute will compound [*a wider clash between the government and the judiciary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/12/world/middleeast/netanyahu-israel-judicial-reform.html) that analysts consider one of the most profound in Israeli history.

Mr. Netanyahu faces an almost existential dilemma: Legal experts say there is no direct precedent for an Israeli leader failing to heed the ruling of the Supreme Court and would constitute a broadside against the rule of law, but removing a top official from his coalition could bring the government crashing down.

Coalition leaders spent Thursday locked in tense private discussions about how to respond, amid speculation in the Israeli news media that Mr. Netanyahu would ultimately acquiesce to the court’s decision, to avoid exacerbating an already febrile mood in the country. The attorney general, Gali Baharav-Miara, advised Mr. Netanyahu that he had no other legal option, according to a letter published by Kan, Israel’s national broadcaster.

The standoff with the judiciary comes just days after Mr. Netanyahu’s government set out plans to significantly reduce the Supreme Court’s power over politicians and increase political influence over the selection of the court’s judges.

The proposed overhaul prompted [*large protests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/14/world/middleeast/israel-protests-netanyahu.html?searchResultPosition=1) across Israel in recent days, amid furious disagreement within Israeli society about whether politicians or the judiciary should hold primacy in a liberal democracy.

Opposition leaders and several former prime ministers have warned that the judicial overhaul would damage the democratic process, while the government and its supporters argue it would strengthen it — by giving greater power to parties representing a majority of voters.

These tensions are set against the backdrop of [*Mr. Netanyahu’s own corruption trial*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/world/middleeast/netanyahu-corruption-charges-israel.html), which his allies portray as a case of overreach by an unelected judiciary against an elected political leader, but which his critics cite as an example of the need for strong judicial independence from the political executive.

Mr. Deri’s predicament also threatens to resurface longstanding grievances from Jewish Israelis of Middle Eastern and North African origin, or Mizrahim, who [*form Mr. Deri’s political base*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/09/04/world/divided-israel-thousands-rally-for-ex-shas-party-leader-he-goes-jail.html). After Israel’s founding, Mizrahi Israelis suffered discrimination from Israelis of European descent, or Ashkenazim, a group that dominated Israeli society for decades and still form a majority on the Supreme Court.

It was not clear Thursday whether Mr. Netanyahu would ignore the court’s decision, setting off a constitutional crisis, or find a way of upholding it without collapsing his government.

Following the court’s announcement, the leaders of Mr. Netanyahu’s coalition issued an ambiguous statement, promising to “correct the injustice” of the ruling but leaving open the possibility that Mr. Deri might still resign.

The disagreement stems from Mr. Deri’s decision to re-enter frontline politics in a general election last November. Mr. Deri is a [*political veteran*](https://www.nytimes.com/2000/09/04/world/divided-israel-thousands-rally-for-ex-shas-party-leader-he-goes-jail.html), first serving in cabinet in the 1980s. But he had promised a court in 2021 that he would retire from political life in exchange for sparing him from jail time for tax fraud.

In the election, Mr. Deri’s party, Shas, a group popular with ***working-class*** ultra-Orthodox Mizrahi Jews, won 11 seats. Shas became the second-largest party in Mr. Netanyahu’s victorious right-wing coalition, giving it the balance of power in Parliament.

To secure Mr. Deri’s support, Mr. Netanyahu appointed him to lead two powerful ministries — health and interior. In doing so, he set up the clash with the Supreme Court, which was forced to rule on Mr. Deri’s suitability for office.

Though members of Shas threatened earlier this week to bring down the coalition if Mr. Deri was forced to leave office, they scaled back that rhetoric after the court announcement.

Asked for comment on the party’s intentions, a spokesman for Shas sent a statement underscoring its support for Mr. Deri and his continued leadership, but avoiding any mention of his ministerial future.

Analysts speculated that he might resign in favor of allies in Shas. Some also suggested that the government’s lawmakers might vote for its own dissolution, and then immediately form a new administration in which Mr. Deri would be made an “alternate” prime minister — an appointment that experts say would be harder for judges to block.

The lack of clarity reflects how the new government has struggled to end the political instability that has roiled Israel over the past four years, leading to five elections since 2019.

The turbulence began when Mr. Netanyahu declined to leave office despite being investigated and later tried for corruption. His decision split the Israeli public almost evenly, between supporters who felt he was the victim of a judicial stitch-up, and critics who felt he should leave office until at least the trial ended.

That divide led to four inconclusive elections between 2019 and 2021, in which neither Mr. Netanyahu nor his opponents could win a large enough majority to stay in power for long.

Mr. Netanyahu’s opponents briefly won power in 2021, but were defeated again in November as Mr. Netanyahu returned to office at the helm of the most right-wing coalition in Israeli history.

Despite the government’s ideological cohesion, its initial weeks in office have been rocky, amid opposition fury at the plans for judicial change, tensions over Mr. Deri, and [*concerns within the security services*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/13/world/middleeast/netanyahu-israel-military.html) about Mr. Netanyahu’s decision to give key security roles to far-right politicians.

Myra Noveck contributed reporting.

Myra Noveck contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Israel’s high court ruled that the interior minister, Aryeh Deri, should be dismissed. PHOTOGRAPH BY NIR ELIAS/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** January 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Mystery That Haunts A World Cup***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68M6-WYC1-JBG3-60V2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 4, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 2021 words

**Byline:** By Tariq Panja

**Body**

An assault case that rattled one of France's best soccer teams remains unresolved despite a series of arrests. Its main characters have paid a heavy price.

Aminata Diallo was being escorted from her foul-smelling holding cell to an interview room inside the Hôtel de Police in Versailles the first time she heard the name Tonya Harding.

Harding's name is infamous in sports, of course. A decorated American figure skater, she was a central figure in the notorious case involving the assault of her biggest rival only weeks before the 1994 Winter Olympics. The scandal -- a sudden and violent attack by a mystery man; accusations and denials; tabloid headlines -- led to worldwide attention and, years later, a feature-length movie about Harding. But to Diallo, a 28-year-old French soccer player being led up a police station stairwell, the mention of her name -- ''Have you heard of Tonya Harding?'' -- produced only a blank stare.

Diallo would quickly learn, however, that the police had reason to ask.

Harding's rival, Nancy Kerrigan, had been attacked by a man who beat her on the legs in an attempt to keep her from competing. Now, in France, a generation later, the police suspected a similar motive in an attack on Kheira Hamraoui, Diallo's teammate at the French club Paris St.-Germain. Hamraoui had been dragged out of Diallo's car on a cold November night in 2021 and, like Kerrigan, beaten on her legs in a clear attempt to injure her.

It would take almost a year, and another spell in detention for Diallo, before the police officer's offhand question became a formal accusation. Prosecutors last September charged Diallo with aggravated assault in the attack on Hamraoui. Documents in the case and leaks to the French news media have accused Diallo of masterminding a premeditated attack. The goal, that theory goes, was to eliminate a rival of Diallo's for a spot in the lineup at P.S.G., one of the best teams in women's soccer, and on the roster of the French national team, which will be among the favorites at the Women's World Cup, which begins July 20.

''Lots of people would like it to be me, but that's not the reality,'' Diallo said in an interview in Spain, where she had been trying to resurrect her career. ''Tonya Harding, she did it. I didn't.''

Doubts, and Questions

With its parallels to a decades-old scandal; its themes of race and professional rivalry; and its unlikely cast of elite women's athletes and shadowy characters, it is no surprise that the case continues to draw interest, or that it has spawned competing documentary projects.

Diallo's guilt or innocence is no clearer today than it was that morning in the police station in Versailles. A trial date is yet to be announced. But the consequences continue to ripple outward.

Friendships have ended, as has at least one marriage. Two locker rooms were divided. Diallo was exiled from Paris. Hamraoui, too, became an exile in her own way, ostracized by some of her teammates and eventually forced out of her club.

The police's case apparently rests on text messages sent by Diallo, some suspicious web searches and a claim by at least one of the men charged in the assault that he had been acting on behalf of Diallo, even though he admitted the order had not come directly from her.

Diallo and her legal team insist the charges are the actions of a desperate police force looking to secure convictions in a high-profile case, of a case built on flimsy connections and untrustworthy sources.

Diallo said she views the documentary offers as a sort of compensation for everything that she has lost, like the privacy and anonymity she once enjoyed as a stalwart, if unspectacular, soccer professional, but, more materially, for the new contract with P.S.G. that she insists was all but certain before the attack changed the direction of her career and life.

''I think for them it's interesting whether I am guilty or not,'' Diallo said of the filmmakers who have approached her.

The charges she faces -- three counts of aggravated assault and criminal assault -- came after her second stay in custody and were accompanied by an order not to enter Paris or engage with her former teammates on P.S.G. That was how she found herself in Spain this spring, nibbling patatas bravas and garlic shrimp at a beachside restaurant in Valencia, her career saved only by a short-term deal to play for Levante, which has now ended.

Hamraoui has left P.S.G., too; she was released at the end of the season after not being offered a new deal. Her departure was not a quiet one: On her way out, she accused the club of ostracizing her by treating her differently from her teammates, of victimizing her again.

''In addition to the trauma I suffered that night, I would face this indifference, this cruelty, not to say a form of abuse toward me,'' Hamraoui wrote in a book published recently that has been serialized in the French sports newspaper L'Equipe.

''The squad no longer speaks to me, and P.S.G. has only one objective: that I leave as quickly as possible,'' Hamraoui said. ''They treat me like a plague victim.''

In Spain, Diallo's life became a stripped-down version of what went before. Apart from training sessions, she spent most of her time alone at a rented apartment. (Qatar-owned P.S.G. had provided a home and a car, the one involved in the attack.) She was not a standout for her new team, and was often deployed as a substitute, a role she was grateful for, and accepted.

''I've found it difficult to find the top, top level,'' she said as the now finished season meandered toward its conclusion. ''I've lost the pleasure to play. I'm playing with injustice.''

Diallo contends that she has been wronged, that she is also a victim in the Hamraoui affair. Investigators in France contend she is at the heart of the conspiracy.

Details of their case, leaked to the French news media, paint Diallo as the driving force of the attack on Hamraoui. The men who have been charged with the assault itself are said to have told the police that they believed they were acting on behalf of Diallo, who was driving the car when it was stopped and when Hamraoui was yanked out and beaten on her legs with an iron bar. Text messages from Diallo disparaging Hamraoui were discovered after the police seized her cellphone and computer, as were online searches for phrases like ''breaking a kneecap'' and ''deadly cocktail of drugs.''

In an interview last November at the offices of her lawyers in Paris, shortly after she was formally charged, Diallo offered explanations. The police had ignored all the positive comments about Hamraoui she had made to friends and associates, she said. The online searches were not unusual, she contended, for an athlete concerned with injuries and health.

But she also contends that her race and background -- she is a Black woman from a ***working-class*** neighborhood in Grenoble -- had not only led the police to jump to conclusions about her, but others as well.

''In France, when there's a case like that, the media are quick to assume that you're guilty,'' she said. ''They are going to bring up where you're from right away, which is an argument to show that you are capable of doing that.''

Now, in Valencia, Diallo produced her phone and brandished a screenshot of a diagram published by the French daily Le Parisien that used arrows and boxes to purportedly show links between the men involved in the attack, Diallo and unknown intermediaries. The fact that after all the investigations, the phone taps and the listening devices placed in Diallo's home, the police still had not found any direct link between her and the arrested men highlighted the weakness of the case against her, Diallo said. She has, she added, ''more hate'' toward the investigators than Hamraoui, who fell out with Diallo and other teammates after they suggested she, and others at P.S.G., could have been involved in the attack.

''It's not her trying to find a case against me,'' Diallo said of Hamraoui. ''I don't give a damn about her.''

Choosing Sides

Among her protestations of innocence, Diallo pointed to messages sent by her former agent, Sonia Souid, who also represents Hamraoui. Diallo argued that those messages undermine the police's belief that she orchestrated the attack out of professional jealousy.

In one, a voice note sent about two weeks before the attack and played for a New York Times reporter, Souid told Diallo that she had met with P.S.G.'s sporting director. The club was pleased with Diallo's performances, Souid reported, and was eager to make an offer to extend her contract, which was about to expire, for two seasons.

Souid, who is one of the most influential agents in women's soccer in France, said in an interview that while negotiations had not started, the club had made its intentions clear.

But weeks after the November 2021 attack, Souid's relationship with Diallo ended in a tearful meeting. The player informed the agent that she could no longer be represented by her because of her ties to Hamraoui. In March 2022, Souid said she met with police investigators. She declined to reveal what she was asked, but said the meeting had left her shaken.

''The questions they asked me made me think something very wrong has happened,'' Souid said.

She suggested the police had covertly listened not only to Diallo's conversations but also hers and those of others in the course of their investigation. ''They knew everything,'' Souid said. ''They knew the exact moment calls were made and what was being said, and not just by me.''

Souid said she had always found Diallo to be polite, respectful and serious in their interactions. But as details of the case filtered out, and as she processed the questions she had been asked by the police, she said she began to wonder whether Diallo had ''another side.''

Left Out

As the investigation continues, and as Diallo and Hamraoui -- now both out of contract -- await the next developments, the soccer world rumbles on toward what will be the biggest event in women's soccer this year, the Women's World Cup.

Diallo will not be there; she had been a fringe player on France's national team at the time of the attack, and the notoriety of her case and her long layoff -- not to mention the court orders to stay away from her former P.S.G. teammates -- effectively ended her international career.

Hamraoui, who appeared for France as recently as February, had held out hope of playing her way onto the French team headed to Australia and New Zealand, even though her presence on the squad would not be universally welcomed by some, including a group of P.S.G. players close to Diallo and still furious at Hamraoui's early insinuations that other players from the club might have been involved in her assault.

Souid, Hamraoui's agent, had harbored similar optimism. ''The Americans are several times World Cup champions and all the players don't like each other,'' she said this spring.

But when France's new coach, Hervé Renard, announced his preliminary roster for the tournament, Hamraoui's name was not on it. The decision prompted one French newspaper to run a poll asking whether the decision to omit her was ''really a sporting choice.'' Hamraoui suggested in a radio interview with France Inter soon after the announcement that it was not: She called her omission ''an injustice.''

The story, though, is not over. That is why, Souid said, filmmakers were interested in telling Hamraoui's side of it. ''It's not easy to understand what happened to her,'' she said.

Diallo, adrift and impatient, might say the same.

For now, both players wait for clarity on who bears the ultimate responsibility for what happened on that dark night in the narrow street, for the end of their association with the case, and with Tonya Harding. Until then, Hamraoui will continue to pursue her soccer career. And Diallo will continue to defend her name.

''I'm not hiding,'' Diallo said before departing for another evening in her silent apartment, alone with her thoughts, and her furies.

Tom Nouvian contributed reporting in Paris.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/01/sports/soccer/psg-attack-diallo-hamraoui.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/01/sports/soccer/psg-attack-diallo-hamraoui.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Aminata Diallo, left, denies involvement in the 2021 attack on Kheira Hamraoui, far right, who was her teammate on the French club Paris St.-Germain. Diallo is charged with aggravated assault. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JEAN-FRANCOIS MONIER/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) (A10) This article appeared in print on page A1, A10.

**Load-Date:** July 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Jam or Cream First? Notes From One Woman’s Decade of Eating Scones.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67TV-HM91-DXY4-X52G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 21, 2023 Tuesday 05:59 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1241 words

**Byline:** Mike Ives

**Highlight:** A Londoner spent 10 years sampling scones at hundreds of historic sites across the U.K. Here’s why her story made headlines — and which essential topping she says should come before the other.

**Body**

A Londoner spent 10 years sampling scones at hundreds of historic sites across the U.K. Here’s why her story made headlines — and which essential topping she says should come before the other.

When Sarah Merker sat down one day in 2013 to snack on a scone at one of Britain’s many, many historic sites, she had no idea that she was embarking upon a quest that would take her a decade to complete and transform her into a kind of national celebrity.

She and her husband had just become dues-paying members of the National Trust, a conservation society that manages historic properties like castles and country manors across England, Wales and Northern Ireland (Scotland’s are managed separately). The idea was to reward herself with scones for visiting and learning about the sites, and to write a blog that rated the history, and the baking, each on a five-point scale.

Her blog posts eventually formed the basis of “[*The National Trust Book of Scones*](https://shop.nationaltrust.org.uk/national-trust-book-of-scones.html),” a blend of recipes and her irreverent historical insights, published in 2017 just after Ms. Merker had eaten about 150 scones on location. And when Ms. Merker, 49, visited her 244th and final National Trust property this month, she made [*national*](https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2023/mar/02/woman-completes-10-year-national-trust-scone-tasting-mission) [*headlines*](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-64822669) in a country that takes both its scones and its history quite seriously.

But there was a poignancy to the attention, too: She had lost her husband, Peter Merker, to cancer in 2018, leaving her to finish the quest without the partner she called her “Scone Sidekick.”

Lately, as she has been in the spotlight, she said it has felt as though he was back by her side.

“As anyone who has lost anyone will attest, you just want them back, even for a short time, and that’s what the media coverage and this project have given me,” she said. “That has been the most beautiful thing.”

Where scones are an ‘irrational obsession’

Scones have deep roots in Britain. Recipes for them were printed as early as 1669 and the word scone appears in customs paperwork from 1480, according to “[*A History of British Baking*](https://www.pen-and-sword.co.uk/A-History-of-British-Baking-Kindle/p/19550'),” by the historian and archaeologist Emma Kay.

It wasn’t until the early 19th century that the country’s “slight irrational obsession” with them developed in earnest, Ms. Kay wrote in an email. They eventually came to be associated with the custom of taking “afternoon tea,” a light, late-afternoon meal often featuring tea, scones, cakes and sandwiches.

In the late 19th century, afternoon tea became “codified and mythologized” as British motor tourism and vacationing became more popular, said Annie Gray, a food historian. So did the modern take on a scone, which is leavened with baking soda or baking powder, rather than with yeast, as early versions were.

“They were cheap and cheerful, easy to produce in quantity, and therefore good for turning a profit for tearooms and cafes catering to the ***working class***,” Dr. Gray said.

The National Trust was [*founded in 1895*](https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/who-we-are/about-us/the-history-of-the-national-trust) and still embraces that tradition of accessible, rural tourism. Many of its stately estates have tearooms, and they collectively serve visitors more than three million scones a year, according to the trust.

“There’s something delightfully indulgent about piling on jam and cream, after a bracing walk or a delve into the historical treasures in our care,” said Clive Goudercourt, the National Trust’s head recipe development chef. “It’s such a quick and simple treat that is relatively inexpensive and is therefore something everyone can enjoy.”

Ms. Merker said her favorite part of writing her blog, [*National Trust Scones*](https://www.nationaltrustscones.com/), was that it gave her an excuse to visit beautiful places and drive along winding country roads. Many of her wry observations about history, and the people she met at National Trust properties, were pretty funny.

At [*Melford Hall in Southeast England*](https://www.nationaltrustscones.com/2016/10/melford-hall.html), she reflected on how National Trust guides interact with the public. At one extreme were those who sat in the dark without speaking (“And none of the visitors ask them anything, because we’re British,” she wrote). At the other were guides who talked breathlessly out of fear that an “Expert Visitor” would interrupt:

“We’ve all seen them — the architectural expert or professional historian that knows more than the guide and spends the whole time tutting and saying, ‘Well, that’s not EXACTLY right — the horse that threw him in 1532 was actually called Archibald, because his other horse, Geoffrey, was lame that day,’ until everybody just wants to shove Expert Visitor out of a top floor window.”

The question that divides a nation

Ms. Kay, the food historian, described the custom of eating scones and taking afternoon tea as a “culinary religion to many across Britain.”

Like other religions, it has theological disputes. One relates to pronunciation: [*skon or skohn*](https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/great-british-bake-off-scone-debate-gbbo-pronunciation-twitter-paul-hollywood-prue-leith-a8255271.html)? Another concerns whether it is acceptable to serve fruit scones at a cream tea, or only plain ones.

But for many, the most contentious question is which indispensable scone topping — jam or clotted cream — should be applied first.

“It rages,” Ms. Merker said of that debate with a laugh. “People are really very firm about which way they eat their scone. It’s kind of mad, in a way, because at the end of the day, it tastes the same whether you put cream or jam first. But it matters.”

The jam-first position is generally associated with Cornwall and the cream-first one with Devon, a neighboring region of Southwest England where the clotted cream tends to be easier to spread as a base layer. “We definitely don’t have a position” on the debate, said Claire Beale, a public relations officer for the National Trust.

But the trust has occasionally weighed in — with brutal repercussions. In 2018, one of its Cornwall properties apologized for the “appalling error” of [*posting an image of a cream-first scone*](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cornwall-43363435). And the trust’s communications director, Celia Richardson, apologized last year for a similar faux pas.

“What sort of fool decides to end a fractious month at the National Trust by posting a picture of a cream tea?” Ms. Richardson [*wrote on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/CeliaRichards0n/status/1590424694758731777). “According to my timeline I now need to apologize to Cornwall and possibly half of Great Britain.”

For Ms. Merker’s part, she said that because the jam-first-cream-first debate is so sensitive, she spent her decade blogging about scones without ever saying how she preferred them. She [*dodged the question*](https://www.nationaltrustscones.com/search?q=jam+first) in one post, and posted pictures of “undressed” scones in others, so that she would not alienate the faithful on either side.

This month, though, Ms. Merker revealed to journalists that she had always been jam-first — for practical reasons. Because the Cornish clotted cream that she normally eats tends to be gloopy, she said, applying it first would create a “right mess.”

Her husband, who worked in construction, agreed, of course.

“He was a builder,” she said of her Scone Sidekick. “He definitely wasn’t going to do anything that was going to make a mess.”

Ms. Merker chose her final stop, Giant’s Causeway in Northern Ireland, with her husband in mind. The couple had visited the site together in 2006, long before the scone quest officially began. “So although I knew he couldn’t be physically present for this last mission,” [*she wrote last week*](https://www.nationaltrustscones.com/2023/03/giants-causeway.html), “I knew he’d been there and seen it and loved it.”

The scone, she wrote, was so good that she went back the next day for another.

PHOTO: Sarah Merker, center, on the “BBC Breakfast” TV program this month, shortly after she visited her 244th historic site to sample its baked goods. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Sarah Merker FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Unbowed, Macron Appears Ready to Tough Out Pension Crisis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67TX-7XB1-DXY4-X01M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 21, 2023 Tuesday 10:30 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1245 words

**Byline:** Roger Cohen

**Highlight:** Amid protests in the streets and in Parliament, the French leader shows no sign of scrapping a law that raises the retirement age.

**Body**

Amid protests in the streets and in Parliament, the French leader shows no sign of scrapping a law that raises the retirement age.

PARIS — President Emmanuel Macron’s re-election program last year was short on detail. His mind seemed elsewhere, chiefly on the war in Ukraine. But on one thing he was clear: He would raise the retirement age in France to 65 from 62.

“You will have to work progressively more,” he said during a debate in April 2022 with the extreme-right candidate, Marine Le Pen. She attacked the idea as “an absolutely unbearable injustice” that would condemn French people to retirement “when they are no longer able to enjoy it.”

France heard both candidates. Soon after, Mr. Macron was re-elected with 58.55 percent of the vote to Ms. Le Pen’s 41.45 percent. It was a clear victory, and it was clear what Mr. Macron would do on the question of pensions.

Yet his ramming the overhaul through Parliament last week without a full vote on the bill itself culminated in turmoil, mayhem on the streets and [*two failed no-confidence votes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/20/world/europe/france-no-confidence-macron-retirement.html) against his government on Monday, even as polls have consistently shown about 65 percent of French people are opposed to raising the retirement age.

Had they not heard him? Had they changed their minds? Had circumstances changed? Perhaps the answer lies, above all, in the nature of Mr. Macron’s victory, as he himself acknowledged on election night last year.

Looking somber, speaking in an uncharacteristically flat monotone, Mr. Macron told a crowd of supporters in Paris: “I also know that a number of our compatriots voted for me today not to support the ideas that I uphold, but to block the extreme right. I want to thank them and say that I am aware that I have obligations toward them in the years to come.”

“Those ‘obligations’ could only be a promise to negotiate on major reforms,” Nicole Bacharan, a social scientist, said on Tuesday. “He did not negotiate, even with moderate union leaders. What I see now is Macron’s complete disconnection from the country.”

Opposition parties on both the left and the right have vowed to file challenges against the pension law before the Constitutional Council, which reviews legislation to ensure it complies with the French Constitution.

“The goal,” said Thomas Ménagé of Ms. Le Pen’s National Rally party, “is to ensure that this text falls into the dustbin of history.”

But the chances of that appear remote.

After a long silence, Mr. Macron is set to address the turmoil on Wednesday. He will try to conciliate; he will, according to officials close to him, portray the current standoff as a battle between democratic institutions and the chaos of the street, orchestrated by the extreme left and slyly encouraged by the extreme right. He has decided to stick with his current government, led by Élisabeth Borne, the prime minister, and he will not dissolve Parliament or call new elections, they say.

In short, it seems Mr. Macron has decided to tough out the crisis, perhaps offering some blandishments on improving vocational high schools and broader on-the-job training. But certainly no apology appears to be forthcoming for using a legal tool, [*Article 49.3 of the Constitution*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/16/world/europe/france-constitution-article-49-3.html), to avoid a full parliamentary vote on a change that has split the country. (Only the Senate, the upper house, voted to pass the bill this month.)

This approach appears consistent with Mr. Macron’s chosen tactics on the pension overhaul. Since the debate with Ms. Le Pen 11 months ago, inflation has risen, energy prices have gone up, and the pressures, particularly on the poorer sectors of French society, have grown.

Yet, while he has made some concessions, including setting the new retirement age at 64 rather than 65, Mr. Macron has remained remote from the rolling anger. Most conspicuously, and to many inexplicably, after the government consulted extensively with unions in the run-up to January, Mr. Macron has refused to negotiate with the powerful moderate union leader Laurent Berger, who had supported Mr. Macron’s earlier attempt at pension changes in 2019 but opposes him now.

“Macron knows the economy better than he knows political psychology,” said Alain Duhamel, a political scientist. “And today, what you have is a generalized fury.”

A large number of Macron voters, it is now clear, never wanted the retirement age raised. They heard Mr. Macron during the debate with Ms. Le Pen. They just did not loathe his idea enough to vote for a nationalist, anti-immigrant ideologue whose party was financed in part by [*Russian loans.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/22/world/europe/le-pen-putin-france-election.html?searchResultPosition=2)

Mr. Macron is adept at playing on such contradictions and divisions. Because his presidential term is limited, he is freer to do as he pleases. He knows three things: He will not be a candidate for re-election in 2027 because a third consecutive term is not permitted; the opposition in Parliament is strong but irreconcilably divided between the far left and extreme right; and there is a large, silent slice of French society that supports his pension overhaul.

All this gives him room to maneuver even in his current difficult situation.

When Mr. Macron opted last week for the 49.3 and the avoidance of a parliamentary vote, he explained his decision this way: “I consider that in the current state of affairs the financial and economic risks are too great.”

On the face of it, speaking about risks to financial markets while pushing through an overhaul deeply resented by blue-collar and ***working-class*** French people seemed politically gauche. It appeared especially so at a moment when Mr. Macron was turning away from the full parliamentary vote his government had unanimously said it wanted.

“Saying what he said about finance at that moment, in that context, was just dynamite,” said Ms. Bacharan.

It was also an unmistakable wink to the powerful French private sector — with its world-class companies like LVMH Moët Hennessy Louis Vuitton — and to the many affluent and middle-class French people who do not like the growing piles of uncollected garbage or the protests in the streets, and who view retirement at 62 as an unsustainable anomaly in a Europe where the retirement age has generally risen to 65 or higher.

If Mr. Macron has cards to play, and perhaps broader support than is evident as protesters hurl insults at him day after day, his very disconnection may make it hard for him to judge the country’s mood.

Last week, Aurore Bergé, the leader of Mr. Macron’s Renaissance party in Parliament, wrote to Gérald Darmanin, the interior minister, to request police protection for lawmakers.

“I refuse to see representatives from my group, or any national lawmaker, afraid to express themselves, or to vote freely, because they are afraid of reprisals,” she said.

It was a measure of the violent mood in France.

“If we have had 15 Constitutions over the past two centuries, that means there have been 14 revolutions of various kinds,” Mr. Duhamel said. “There is an eruptive side to France that one should not ignore.”

Aurelien Breeden and Tom Nouvian contributed reporting.

Aurelien Breeden and Tom Nouvian contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Protesters on Tuesday in Nantes, France. A bill raising the retirement age to 64 from 62 has prompted nationwide demonstrations for weeks. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LOIC VENANCE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES); President Emmanuel Macron has been silent since he advanced the bill, but will address the nation Wednesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** March 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Good Night, Sweet Prince; An Appraisal***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6893-RRP1-DXY4-X3TD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 22, 2023 Monday 23:58 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1633 words

**Byline:** A.O. Scott

**Highlight:** Our critic assesses the achievement of Martin Amis, Britain’s most famous literary son.

**Body**

Our critic assesses the achievement of Martin Amis, Britain’s most famous literary son.

On May 6, at the age of 74, Charles III was crowned king of England. A few weeks later, at 73, [*Martin Amis died*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/20/books/martin-amis-dead.html) at his home in Florida. One event seemed almost comically belated, the other tragically premature. Charles took over the family business well past normal retirement age, while Amis was denied the illustrious dotage that great writers deserve.

It’s hard to accept either one of them as old. The point of princes is that they’re young; Amis, much like the former Prince of Wales, had enjoyed (or endured) a decades-long career as a dauphin. These near-contemporaries, who once argued at a dinner party about the persecution of Salman Rushdie, shared a curious generational destiny. They were forever sons, defined and sometimes overshadowed by famous parents, dynastic heirs trying to figure out how to be self-made men.

Amis, whose father, [*Kingsley*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/10/23/obituaries/kingsley-amis-novelist-is-dead-at-73-angry-young-man-turned-moral-satirist.html) (1922-95), was a very famous novelist, once described himself as “the only hereditary novelist in the Anglophone literary corpus.” We all know about Charles’s family. He and Martin were the leading nepo babies of the British baby boom.

There are writers who disdain the idea that generations matter. Amis was not one of them. From first to last — from “[*The Rachel Papers*](https://www.nytimes.com/1974/04/19/archives/a-mixture-of-angst-and-acne-books-of-the-times-frye-until-donne-the.html?searchResultPosition=14)” to “[*Inside Story*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/20/books/review-martin-amis-inside-story.html?searchResultPosition=9)” — [*his novels*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/20/books/best-martin-amis-books.html) bristle with characters who not only live (and sometime drown) in the flow of history, but who relentlessly historicize their own experience. Their libidos unfurl like banners in the sexual revolution and soldier on in its aftermath. Their political views and social attitudes follow the left-right zigzagging and centrist muddle of the Reagan/Thatcher and Clinton/Blair eras. Their economic prospects wane and wax with the cycles of global hypercapitalism.

The closer these characters come to Amis himself — most recently in the retrospection of [*“The Pregnant Widow”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/23/books/review/Carter-t.html) and [*“Inside Story”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/20/books/review-martin-amis-inside-story.html) — the more overt this generational mapping becomes. But it’s also evident in his “State of England” fictions, including the 1996 story of that name and the 2012 novel “[*Lionel Asbo,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/19/books/review/lionel-asbo-by-martin-amis.html?searchResultPosition=5)” which recycles the phrase as a subtitle. There, the ***working-class*** protagonists situate their own frustrations and satisfactions, their aging and their coming-of-age, within an ambient dialectical narrative of progress and decline. In the shorter “State of England,” an upwardly mobile, almost-divorced bouncer named Mal reflects that

class and race and gender were supposedly gone (and other things were supposedly going, like age and beauty and even education): all the really automatic ways people had of telling who was better or worse — they were gone. Right-thinkers everywhere were claiming that they were clean of prejudice, that in them the inherited formulations had at last been purged. This they had decided. But for those on the pointed end of the operation — the ignorant, say, or the ugly — it wasn’t just a decision. Some of them had no new clothes. Some were still dressed in the uniform of their deficiencies. Some were still wearing the same old shit.

Even when Amis’s fictional attention veered toward other histories, notably and controversially the Holocaust and Stalin’s terror, a reader couldn’t help hearing the voice and sensibility of a worldly and well-placed citizen of post-imperial literary London.

By all accounts — certainly by Amis’s accounts — to be young in that twilight was, if not quite heaven, then an awful lot of fun. The 1970s, when Amis, still in his 20s, served as back-of-the-book editor of The New Statesman and published his early, funny novels, were a swirl of deadlines, love affairs, literary quarrels and long, boozy lunches with brilliant friends. Such friends! Amis’s cohort of male British writers included Ian McEwan, James Fenton, Salman Rushdie and Christopher Hitchens, all of whom (especially Hitch) pop up frequently in his pages.

In his criticism, though, Amis’s gaze was more frequently cast backward over his shoulder, toward his father’s peers — Philip Larkin, Iris Murdoch, John Bayley, Robert Conquest — and across the Atlantic. There (which is to say here, in the United States) is where he found the surrogate dads, dashing uncles and swaggering older brothers who spurred and challenged his aspirations: John Updike, Philip Roth, Joseph Heller and above all his “twin peaks,” Vladimir Nabokov and Saul Bellow.

Even as he ascended to trans-Atlantic fame and best-selling fortune, Amis was happy to embrace his junior status, to cast himself as an admiring, critical, sometimes rebellious acolyte. This isn’t to suggest that he was modest or diffident. On the contrary: He reveled in precocity, cheekiness, iconoclasm and snark. He tapped at the clay feet of his idols with the chisel of his irreverent wit, even as he clambered onto their shoulders to see farther, and more clearly, than they ever could.

If I accept the mightiness of Bellow and Nabokov, it’s partly because Amis persuaded me, both by the precepts of his criticism and the example of his fiction, which grapples with and overcomes their influence. What I mean is that I liked him better, and trusted him more.

The best way I can find to pay tribute, to conduct an honest appraisal — no small challenge with a writer who was singularly gifted at self-appraisal — is to lay my own generational cards on the table. I’m a member of what Amis called “the Crap Generation”: “I mean the one that came after the baby boomers — those born around 1970 (the Generation Xers).” He once proposed a “polemical work” about how crappy we were, which is especially hurtful, though not necessarily surprising. We were his biggest fans.

To come of reading age in the last three decades of the 20th century — from the oil embargo through the fall of the Berlin Wall, all the way to 9/11 — was to live, it now seems clear, in the Amis Era. He cut, for guys around my age (and not only guys, as Zadie Smith might agree), a figure not unlike the ones that Bellow and the other Americans represented for him. A giant, yes, but also a familiar, provoking, somehow approachable writer. Someone you could envy as well as admire, resent as well as respect.

It was easy enough to point out the lapses, blind spots and missteps: the alternately sentimental and slobbery view of women; the taste for cruel, downward-punching humor; the occasional slippage of liberal common sense into reactionary bluster. But it was also easy to imagine arguing about all that over drinks and cigarettes, thanks to Amis’s inexhaustible intellectual brio and his undentable good humor.

That quality, even more than his satirical flair or the buoyant elegance of his prose, marks his greatest feat of self-invention. [*The first time I wrote about Amis in these pages*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/99/01/31/reviews/990131.31scottt.html), I too cleverly called him “the best American writer England has ever produced.” What I was responding to was not just his evident Americanophilia, or the scale and audacity of his ambition, but also his optimism, his open-mindedness, his energy.

Whether these are still — or ever were — defining characteristics of American culture is an argument for another day. The point is that they were decidedly not attitudes associated with English writers up until then, especially not those of Kingsley Amis’s generation.

Those guys made art out of their grudges, resentments and prejudices, none better than Larkin, Kingsley’s difficult pal from their undergraduate days at Oxford. Larkin, who detested children and had none of his own, was a spectral presence in Martin’s boyhood and the subject of some of his most searching and productive mature criticism.

Larkin, who Amis called “the novelist’s poet,” is his crucial precursor. “Inside Story,” Amis’s avowedly autobiographical last novel, broaches the idea that he may have been Martin’s actual father as well. That’s the claim made by Phoebe Phelps, Martin’s lover in the late 1970s, who tells Martin, many years later, that she heard it from Kingsley himself, who was trying to get her to go to bed with him.

All it takes to debunk this revelation is a glance at a few book jacket photos. Martin’s resemblance to Kingsley is impossible to miss. And at least superficially, the apple landed very close to the tree. Martin grew up into a comic novelist and a prolific periodical scribbler, just like dad. He was gregarious and well traveled, which Larkin was decidedly not.

But the fantasy of Larkin’s secret paternity in some ways improves on the actual literary succession. What Martin Amis inherited from Larkin, genetically or otherwise, was a streak of kindness, a tenderness that Kingsley in his writing almost entirely lacked.

Larkin, a gloomy bachelor with a wretched romantic life, a proud provincial decidedly not clean of prejudice, was a great love poet. His meanest appraisals of the human condition admit a glimmer of affection, which sometimes deepens into a glow. You find that in Amis too, sometimes where you least expect it: amid the apocalyptic tremors of “[*London Fields*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/98/02/01/home/amis-fields.html?oref=login),” the fratricidal savagery of “The Information,” the decadence and thuggery of “Lionel Asbo.” And in everything he wrote about the writers he revered.

In his poem “Posterity,” Larkin imagines how he might look to a future biographer, a fictional academic named Jake Balokowsky. “One of those old-type natural fouled-up guys,” is how he sees Jake seeing him. It’s possible to think of Amis along similar lines, as a man of his time, even if it was a very different time. Much as it’s impossible to picture Larkin young, it’s hard to think of Amis as anything but. And now, all of a sudden, he’s no longer young. He’s permanent.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

PHOTO: Martin Amis in 2007. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID LEVENSON/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page 23.

**Load-Date:** June 8, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Eric Adams, Once a Political Outsider, Conquers the Inside Game***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:633B-YRC1-JBG3-6163-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 7, 2021 Wednesday 17:38 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1847 words

**Byline:** Katie Glueck, Dana Rubinstein and Jeffery C. Mays

**Highlight:** Mr. Adams won the Democratic primary for mayor of New York City by portraying himself as a ***working-class*** politician who understood the concerns of average New Yorkers.

**Body**

Mr. Adams won the Democratic primary for mayor of New York City by portraying himself as a ***working-class*** politician who understood the concerns of average New Yorkers.

[Follow our live [*N.Y.C. mayoral debate*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/10/26/nyregion/eric-adams-sliwa-nyc-mayor-debate) coverage.]

The morning after winning the Democratic nomination for mayor of New York City, [*Eric L. Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/eric-adams-mayor-nyc) on Wednesday asserted that he had won a mandate to address the urgent struggles of America’s urban ***working class***.

As he appeared at a parade celebrating essential workers and toured morning television news shows, Mr. [*Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/10/nyregion/eric-adams-issues-mayor.html), a former police captain who would be the city’s second Black mayor, sought to cement his image as a man who understands what it is to fear both gun violence and police misconduct. It was one thing to theorize about solving problems of injustice and inequality, he suggested. It was another to experience them as a ***working-class*** person of color in New York.

“Finally one of your own is going to understand,” Mr. [*Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/13/nyregion/eric-adams-public-schedule.html) said to a throng of health care workers at [*a parade*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/NYC-parade-essential-workers.html).

If Mr. [*Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/13/nyregion/gowanus-redevelopment-eric-adams.html) sounded, in that moment, like a political outsider, it is because for many years, he was more iconoclast than institutionalist.

Mr. Adams was the [*rebel police officer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/19/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-police-mayor.html) who agitated against police misconduct from within the force, eventually rising to captain. He was the borough president who attracted more attention for quirky stunts — displaying drowned rats at a [*news conference*](https://www.politico.com/states/new-york/city-hall/story/2019/09/05/brooklyn-borough-president-and-mayoral-contender-claims-hes-found-a-better-rat-trap-1172353v) to draw attention to a vermin problem, for instance — than for his record on land use policy. And he was the Brooklyn mayoral candidate who lost out on first-place endorsements from prominent Brooklyn-area members of the New York congressional delegation.

But in other ways, Mr. Adams emerged in the mayoral contest as something of an establishment figure, earning the support of leading labor unions, locking down key party officials including two fellow borough presidents, and building an [*old-school Democratic coalition*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor.html) that attracted ***working-class*** Black, Latino and some moderate white voters.

He was among the most message-disciplined candidates in the race, repeatedly declaring that public safety was the “prerequisite” to prosperity, a pitch that became increasingly resonant amid a spike in violent crime. And he used his personal story of overcoming poverty and police violence to emerge as a credible messenger on urgent issues of safety, justice and inequality.

“We don’t live in theory,” said the Rev. Al Sharpton, a civil rights leader who has known Mr. Adams for decades, pointing to the rise in shootings in cities across the country. “This is not an ivory tower exercise and that’s what worked for Eric.”

Despite all of that institutional support and his ultimate victory, Mr. Adams defeated his nearest rival, Kathryn Garcia, by [*just one percentage point*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/nyregion/eric-adams-wins.html), according to the latest tally of ballots on Tuesday. Ms. Garcia conceded to Mr. Adams on Wednesday, as did the third-place finisher, Maya Wiley, the most left-leaning candidate in the field among the top tier of contenders.

He still faces a general election campaign against Curtis Sliwa, the Republican nominee, but is expected to win easily because of the city’s overwhelming Democratic tilt — allowing him to already talk of an [*early transition*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-transition.html) as he moves toward assembling a government, and to contemplate the significant policy and political challenges that await.

Mr. Adams’s victory was, in some ways, a repudiation of the most left-wing forces in the city, even as deeply progressive candidates [*scored other victories elsewhere*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/nyregion/brad-lander-wins-comptroller.html) on the ballot.

A year after the rise of a powerful defund-the-police movement in New York, Mr. Adams won on a message that put public safety at the center of his platform, and he explicitly called for more police in certain scenarios: He [*supported adding*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/13/nyregion/nyc-mayor-debate.html) more police to patrol the subways, for example, and backs reconstituting a [*reformed plainclothes anti-crime*](https://www.thecity.nyc/2021/4/27/22404899/eric-adams-bring-back-anti-crime-unit) squad, even as he has been a vocal critic, for decades, of police abuse.

He ran as a business-friendly candidate who did not demonize real estate; on the contrary, Mr. Adams, who owns property himself, once declared, “[*I am real estate*](https://www.politico.com/states/new-york/albany/story/2020/10/13/new-york-city-mayors-race-heats-up-with-first-candidate-forum-1324276).” And he is [*supportive of*](https://www.politico.com/states/new-york/albany/story/2021/06/02/a-charter-school-comeback-top-nyc-candidates-support-the-alternative-schools-1384871)charter schools in some circumstances.

But he is not especially ideological and on some social safety net issues, he has taken a much more liberal approach. For instance, [*he supports*](https://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/new-york-elections-government/ny-eric-adams-mayoral-race-tax-credit-plan-20210301-uijpy5hbbrbkhhbif6ww4f4go4-story.html) an ambitious expansion of the earned-income tax credit.

Mr. Adams faces skepticism from the left over his politics, but as he assumes the nomination, he also faces doubts from some Democrats across the ideological spectrum over questions of transparency and ethics.

In 2010, when he was a state senator and the chairman of the Senate Racing, Gaming and Wagering Committee, a [*state inspector general report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html) suggested that Mr. Adams had given the “appearance of impropriety” by getting close to a group seeking a casino contract at Aqueduct Racetrack.

A review of his fund-raising practices by The New York Times earlier this year showed that he has [*pushed the boundaries of campaign-finance and ethics laws*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/16/nyregion/eric-adams-fund-raising.html), though he has not been formally accused of wrongdoing. And the last month of the campaign saw controversies over transparency issues play out concerning his [*tax*](https://www.thecity.nyc/2021/6/17/22539214/eric-adams-dodges-gift-tax-questions-on-brooklyn-co-op-he-gave-friend) and [*real estate*](https://www.thecity.nyc/2021/6/16/22536241/eric-adams-failed-to-disclose-brooklyn-coop-ownership) disclosures and even questions of residency, culminating in an extraordinary moment in which Mr. Adams offered [*journalists a tour*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/09/nyregion/eric-adams-maya-wiley-endorsement-jumaane.html) of the apartment where he said he lived.

Mr. Adams’s formative years in the public eye were spent in the Police Department, where he helped found an organization called 100 Blacks in Law Enforcement Who Care. His efforts inspired some and rankled other colleagues on the force [*who describe a career trajectory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/19/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-police-mayor.html) that was more complex than Mr. Adams sometimes suggests.

But to this day, some voters remember Mr. Adams from those efforts, which helped him dispatch arguments from opponents that he was overly inclined to embrace policing as an answer to the city’s challenges.

“My admiration for him really started when he was a policeman talking about police brutality, and a captain talking about police officers not fulfilling their oath,” said Charles B. Rangel, the former New York congressman, who endorsed Mr. Adams.

As an outspoken police officer, Mr. Adams had his share of controversies, too, [*aligning himself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html) at various times with Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader who has repeatedly [*promoted anti-Semitism*](https://www.adl.org/education/resources/reports/nation-of-islam-farrakhan-in-his-own-words), and the ex-boxer Mike Tyson after his 1992 rape conviction. Mr. Adams lost a 1994 congressional run, and he was also a registered Republican for a period of time in the 1990s.

In 2006, he was elected to the State Senate as a Democrat, part of a wave of [*Central Brooklyn politicians*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/24/nyregion/24brooklyn.html) who came up from outside the party, and in 2013, won an election to be Brooklyn borough president.

Mr. Adams, who became an evangelist for veganism after he says he [*reversed his diabetes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/02/well/an-inspiring-story-of-weight-loss-and-its-aftermath.html) by reforming his diet and exercise routines, became known for [*preparing vegan meals*](https://www.ediblebrooklyn.com/2017/in-the-kitchen-with-brooklyn-borough-president-eric-adams/) at Borough Hall, and he developed a reputation as a splashy New York character prone to making unexpected remarks and appearances. There was the gruesome rat-related news conference, for instance, or Mr. Adams’s announcement that he, as a former law enforcement officer, would [*begin bringing a gun*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/28/nyregion/eric-adams-brooklyn-guns.html) to houses of worship after a massacre in a Pittsburgh synagogue.

“In order to get a message across in New York City, first you have to get people’s attention,” said Evan Thies, an Adams spokesman. “People might look at the spectacle of dead rats at a press conference and be turned off by that, but they’re paying attention, and they’re paying attention to a critical health issue to lower-income people. Why was it on the news? Because Eric forced people to look at something they didn’t want to look at.”

There is no question that Mr. Adams has an idiosyncratic streak. But his decades in public life suggest that the likely next mayor of the nation’s largest city also has shrewd instincts and an ability to navigate a politically eclectic set of relationships.

Mr. Sharpton noted that Mr. Adams was “literally a founding member” of the National Action Network, Mr. Sharpton’s organization.

“At the same time, he was a policeman, able to be friendly with more conservative elements that were not supportive of me,” Mr. Sharpton continued. “He has a way of working with people who don’t work with each other.”

In his current role, Mr. Adams has been an enthusiastic promoter of his borough, building deep relationships there with diverse constituencies including Black voters and Orthodox Jewish leaders.

But Representative Nydia Velázquez, who backed two of Mr. Adams’s rivals under the city’s ranked-choice voting system, noted that he was not the first choice of the members of Congress who represent much of Brooklyn (though Representative Hakeem Jeffries, the highest-ranking House member in the New York delegation, backed Mr. Adams as his second choice).

“He will have a honeymoon with voters, but then people want to know how his administration — what does it mean for them, the ascension of Eric Adams to City Hall?” said Ms. Velázquez, who said she hoped Mr. Adams could have a “more productive” relationship with the delegation moving forward. “That will be measured by the agenda he will be able to tackle.”

Mr. Adams’s team is especially focused on ways to use newly available state and federal resources to combat gun violence, and his campaign plans to offer more details on dealing with violence tied to handguns in coming weeks.

Mr. Adams said on “Good Day New York” that Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo made it easier to fight crime with his [*recent emergency declaration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/06/nyregion/new-york-gun-violence-emergency.html) concerning gun violence.

“We have to look at the feeders of crime,” he said. “My team is going to sit down and look at the common denominators of those who are committing crimes. If you don’t start targeting what’s feeding crime then we are going to throw good money into a bad scenario.”

Mr. Adams said he would go after gang violence in the city, but that he also wants to help crisis management teams and youth organizations trying to prevent violence.

He is aware of the skepticism he faces from some on the left. Mr. Adams reached for conciliatory notes on Wednesday, urging New Yorkers to “get over the philosophical differences we have.”

“Let’s decide that we must live in a safe city where we educate our children and make sure everyone has an opportunity to prosper in this great city,” he added.

Plus, he said, the ride could be fun.

“You all would be bored if those other candidates were mayor,” he said. “You guys are going to have so much fun over the next four years.”

Almost as to offer proof, Mr. Adams ended his day by fulfilling a rather unorthodox campaign promise he had made to a group of young New Yorkers: He had [*his left ear pierced*](https://twitter.com/ericadamsfornyc/status/1412893451444756480?s=20).

PHOTOS: Eric L. Adams said at a parade for essential workers in Manhattan on Wednesday, “Finally one of your own is going to understand.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABRIELA BHASKAR/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); Eric L. Adams, the Democratic nominee for mayor, during a parade in Manhattan on Wednesday to celebrate essential workers. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A12)

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***‘He Is Seriously Not Going to Be President.’ Our Columnists and Writers Discuss Mike Pence.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68D8-31P1-DXY4-X3V7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 6, 2023 Tuesday 06:52 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1694 words

**Byline:** New York Times Opinion

**Highlight:** Everyone agrees: He has great hair.

**Body**

As Republican candidates enter the race for their party’s 2024 presidential nomination, Times columnists, Opinion writers and others will assess their strengths and weaknesses with a scorecard. We rate the candidates on a scale of 1 to 10: 1 means the candidate will probably drop out before any caucus or primary voting; 10 means the candidate has a very strong chance of receiving the party’s nomination next summer. This entry assesses Mike Pence, the former vice president.

Candidate strength averages

* [*Ron DeSantis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/25/opinion/ron-desantis-scorecard.html): 6.1

1. [*Tim Scott*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/23/opinion/tim-scott-scorecard.html): 4.6
2. [*Nikki Haley*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/15/opinion/nikki-haley-president.html): 3.5
3. Mike Pence: 3.0
4. [*Asa Hutchinson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/opinion/asa-hutchinson-president.html): 2.3

How seriously should we take Mike Pence’s candidacy?

Frank Bruni At least a bit more seriously than the fly that colonized his coiffure during his 2020 debate with Kamala Harris did. He is polling well enough to be part of the Republican primary debates. Let’s hope that Chris Licht at CNN has an entomologist at the ready for the post-debate panel.

Jane Coaston Not very.

Michelle Cottle As seriously as the wet dishrag he impersonated for most of his term as V.P.

Ross Douthat On paper, a former vice president known for his evangelical faith sounds like a plausible Republican candidate for president. But in practice, because of Pence’s role on Jan. 6 and his break with Donald Trump thereafter, to vote for Trump’s vice president is to actively repudiate Trump himself. So until there’s evidence the G.O.P. voters are ready for such an overt repudiation (as opposed to just moving on to another candidate), there isn’t good reason to take Pence’s chances seriously.

David French Nothing signals G.O.P. loyalty to Trump more than G.O.P. anger at Mike Pence. And what sin has he committed in Republican eyes? After years of faithful service to Trump, he refused to violate the law and risk the unity of the Republic by wrongly overturning an American election. We can’t take Pence seriously until Republicans stop taking Trump seriously.

Michelle Goldberg One clue to Mike Pence’s standing among Republican base voters is that many of them have made heroes out of a mob chanting “hang Mike Pence.”

Nicole Hemmer On the one hand, he’s the former vice president, which has to count for something. On the other hand, a mob whipped up by the former president wanted to hang him in front of Congress, so his candidacy is a high-risk proposition.

Katherine Mangu-Ward Mike Pence is a serious person. He is seriously not going to be president.

Daniel McCarthy As things stand, his candidacy isn’t very serious. If calamity befalls Donald Trump, however, the former vice president could gain favor as the G.O.P. old guard’s alternative to Ron DeSantis.

What matters most about him as a presidential candidate?

Bruni He was Trump’s No. 2, so the fact of his candidacy is a rebuke of Trump’s presidency. He has a warm history with evangelical voters, whom he will assiduously court. And if squaring off against Trump somehow prods Pence to be more candid about what he saw at the fair, his words could theoretically wound.

Coaston It is a candidacy no one wants.

Cottle He’s a uniter: Everyone [*dislikes him*](https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2023/03/gop-voters-mike-pence-2024-presidential-bid/673448/).

Douthat As long as he’s polling in the single digits, he matters only as a condensed symbol of the Republican electorate’s resilient loyalty to Trump. What could matter, come the debates, is that he’s the Republican with the strongest incentive to attack his former boss on character and fitness rather than just on issues — because his history with Trump sets him apart from the other non-Trump candidates, and his only possible path to the nomination involves persuading primary voters that he was right on Jan. 6 and Trump was wrong. If he sees it this way, his clashes with Trump could be interesting theater, and they might even help someone beat the former president; that someone, however, is still unlikely to be Pence himself.

French Pence’s stand on Jan. 6 is defining him. In a healthy party, his integrity at that moment would be an asset. In the modern G.O.P., it’s a crippling liability.

Goldberg It’s notable that Trump’s former vice president, the man chosen, in part, to reassure the Christian right, is now running against him. If Pence were willing to call out the treachery and mayhem he saw up close, it would be a useful intervention into our politics. But so far, he still seems cowed by his former boss.

Hemmer In a rational world, he’d be a plausible candidate because of his strong connection to white evangelicals and time as V.P. But in this world, he’s the scapegoat for Trump’s failed effort to overthrow the 2020 election.

Mangu-Ward Pence is an old-school Republican. The likely failure of his campaign will demonstrate how dead that version of the party really is. There was lots to hate about that party — including the punitive social conservatism demonstrated in his positions on abortion and gay rights — but I will confess to some nostalgia for the rhetoric of limited government and fiscal conservatism that still sometimes crosses Pence’s lips, seemingly in earnest.

McCarthy His experience and calm demeanor give him a gravitas most rivals lack. He puts Governor DeSantis at risk of seeming too young to be president, even as the 44-year-old governor suggests Trump is too old.

What do you find most inspiring — or unsettling — about his vision for America?

Bruni I’m unsettled by how strongly Pence has always let his deeply conservative version of Christianity inform his policy positions. I respect people of faith, very much, but in a country with no official church and enormous diversity, he makes inadequate distinction between personal theology and public governance.

Coaston He might be the most uninspiring candidate currently running.

Cottle He wants to ram his conservative religious views down the nation’s throat.

Douthat To the extent that Pence has a distinctive vision, it overlaps with both Nikki Haley’s and Tim Scott’s, albeit with a bit more piety worked in. Like them, he’s selling an upbeat Reaganism that seems out of step with both the concerns of G.O.P. voters and the challenges of the moment. The fact that Pence wants to revive George W. Bush’s push for private Social Security accounts is neither inspiring nor unsettling; it’s just quixotic, which so far feels like the spirit of his entire presidential run.

French It’s plain that Pence wants to turn from Trumpism in both tone and in key elements of substance. He’s far more of a Reagan conservative than Trump ever was. Yet his accommodations to Trump remain unsettling even after Jan. 6. One can appreciate his stand for the Constitution while also recognizing that it’s a bit like applauding an arsonist for putting out a fire he helped start.

Goldberg Pence would like to impose his religious absolutism on the entire country. As [*he said*](https://twitter.com/Mike_Pence/status/1540337832505614337) last year, after Roe v. Wade was overturned, “We must not rest and must not relent until the sanctity of life is restored to the center of American law in every state in the land.”

Hemmer Pence doesn’t stir up culture wars to win elections — he earnestly believes in a strictly patriarchal, overtly Christian version of the United States. (He was [*bashing Disney*](https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/andrewkaczynski/mister-ill-make-a-man-out-of-you) for suggesting women could serve in combat back when DeSantis was still in college.)

Mangu-Ward Pence’s vision for America includes the peaceful transfer of power. He was willing to say these words: “President Trump is wrong. I had no right to overturn the election.” This shouldn’t be inspiring; it should be the bare minimum for a viable political career. But here we are.

McCarthy What’s unsettling about Pence’s vision is how similar it is to George W. Bush’s. It’s a vision that substitutes moralism for realism in foreign policy and is too deferential to the Chamber of Commerce at home — to the detriment of religious liberty as well as ***working-class*** families.

Imagine you’re a G.O.P. operative or campaign manager. What’s your elevator pitch for a Pence candidacy?

Bruni He was loyal to Trump until that would have been disloyal to democracy. No porn stars or hush money here. He has presidential hair. Even flies think so.

Coaston The former governor of Indiana has some thoughts he’d like to share.

Cottle He has high name recognition — and great hair.

Douthat There are lots of Republicans who claimed they liked Trump’s conservative policies but didn’t like all the feuds, tweets and drama. Well, a vote for Pence is a vote for his administration’s second term, but this time drama-free.

French G.O.P. voters, if you’re proud of the Trump administration’s accomplishments yet tired of Trump’s drama, Pence is your man.

Goldberg Honestly, it’s not easy to come up with one, but I guess he’s qualified and he looks the part.

Hemmer No one is better prepared to face down the woke mob than the candidate who survived an actual mob two years ago.

Mangu-Ward Mike Pence: If he loses, he’ll admit that he lost!

McCarthy Mike Pence means no drama and no disruption — a return to business as usual. Doesn’t that sound good right now?

Ross Douthat, David French and Michelle Goldberg are Times columnists.

Frank Bruni is a professor of journalism and public policy at Duke University, the author of the book “The Beauty of Dusk” and a contributing Opinion writer.

Michelle Cottle ([*@mcottle*](https://twitter.com/mcottle)) is a member of The Times’s editorial board.

Jane Coaston is a Times Opinion writer.

Nicole Hemmer ([*@pastpunditry*](https://twitter.com/pastpunditry?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor)) is an associate professor of history and director of the Rogers Center for the American Presidency at Vanderbilt University and the author of “[*Partisans*](https://www.basicbooks.com/titles/nicole-hemmer/partisans/9781541646872/): The Conservative Revolutionaries Who Remade American Politics in the 1990s” and “[*Messengers of the Right*](https://www.pennpress.org/9780812224306/messengers-of-the-right/): Conservative Media and the Transformation of American Politics.”

Katherine Mangu-Ward ([*@kmanguward*](https://twitter.com/kmanguward)) is the editor in chief of Reason magazine.

Daniel McCarthy is the editor of “Modern Age: A Conservative Review.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; photograph by John Lamparski/Getty FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 7, 2023

**End of Document**



[***On ‘Yellowstone’ and in Montana, the Same Question: Who Owns the West?; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6619-7CD1-DXY4-X2BP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 27, 2022 Wednesday 23:46 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1390 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** More Americans should live in the West, and more Americans will. But which ones?

**Body**

In the [*most popular show*](https://variety.com/2022/tv/news/most-popular-tv-shows-highest-rated-2021-2022-season-yellowstone-1235275680/) on American television, “Yellowstone,” the heroes are the rich owners of a vast, gorgeous spread of Montana real estate. The villains are anyone else who wants to live there.

I exaggerate; the show is a little more complicated than this. There are times when the Duttons, the ranch-owning family patriarched by Kevin Costner’s John Dutton, play more like HBO-style antiheroes than sympathetic protagonists (when they commit the occasional murder, for instance), and their rivals for Montanan power include a nearby Native American tribe whose aspiration to reclaim their ancestral lands is treated with respect.

But fundamentally “Yellowstone” is about the preservation of a particular vision of the West (cowboys, ranches, open spaces, families that understand stewardship and that aren’t just there for the views), and its sympathies are with the preservationists, no matter what their sins. Indeed, the Duttons’ main Native American rival is himself a sympathetic figure precisely because he, too, wants to protect the West from its coastal new-money invaders — by using casino money to rewind the Dutton ranch even farther back in time and letting his people live there in some kind of harmony with nature once again.

“Yellowstone” is a big hit because it makes this vision of pastoral stewardship so seductive. I recommend reading Kathryn VanArendonk’s [*New York magazine essay*](https://www.vulture.com/article/yellowstone-most-american-show-analysis.html) on the show for a case study in how the most red-state show on television can reel in even a blue-state TV critic. I also recommend watching the show in tandem with the structurally similar but radically different “Succession.” Both are about what you might call family capitalism, the portion of American business that remains right wing even as corporate power centers like Wall Street and Silicon Valley tilt to the cultural left. But “Succession,” the HBO show, is a savage jeremiad, inspiring sympathy for its characters only insofar as they’re prisoners of familial pathology. Whereas the central theme of “Yellowstone” is that family capitalism is flawed and sinful but corporate capitalism is worse and it’s better to be ruled by a patriarchy than a private-equity raider or a faceless board.

Finally, if you watch the show from outside the Mountain West, as clearly most of its fans do, I recommend experiencing firsthand the territory in which “Yellowstone” is set — as my family just did on a road trip that took us through the region — and seeing how it changes your responses to the show.

My own shift was complicated. On the one hand, as an Easterner accustomed to big cities and dense suburbs, to experience the West’s mixture of majesty and emptiness is to feel more intensely what John Dutton’s various foils and rivals feel — that something extraordinary is being effectively hoarded here, with whatever admirable intentions, and that more Americans should be able to live in the shadow of such beauty, even if they are just there for the views.

At every semiurban stop along the way, from Rapid City, S.D., to Missoula, Mont., to Coeur d’Alene, Idaho, I laughed at what passes for density and congestion west of the Mississippi. Yes, there are conservationist reasons to keep the human footprint light, and yes, the water in the High Plains would probably never support the sprawl outside, say, Atlanta. I’m not suggesting that we should build an American version of Saudi Arabia’s planned desert [*supercity*](https://www.google.com/url?q=https://twitter.com/Spa_Eng/status/1551627809973485573&amp;source=gmail-html&amp;ust=1658973760186000&amp;usg=AOvVaw0EC7GLv9DG5r4uTT83swWT) just east of the Bighorn Range. (Let’s see how the Saudi version goes first.)

A bigger Rapid City, though, or a more bustling Great Falls, Mont.? A Wyoming with, say, three inhabitants for every hundred-odd acres instead of just one? That all sounds like a reasonable and desirable future. And not just because the landscapes are so ridiculously beautiful or even because people may be healthier and thinner at higher altitudes. More population growth out West might also be good for the American republic, giving regions that often feel neglected more representation in the House and giving liberal coast dwellers less reason to complain about rural-state power in the Senate.

Just when these kind of thoughts had me ready to hand the Dutton Ranch over to its development-minded enemies, though, I would hit a place where significant population growth is already happening — a boomtown like Bozeman, Mont., or one of the Californian outposts that have sprung up across Idaho — and suddenly see the world from the Dutton family’s perspective once again.

That’s because growth in these places doesn’t feel like some kind of upwardly mobile Laura Ingalls-type westward migration; it feels as if an alien starship had beamed little chunks of coastal supergentrification down into the West. The median single-family home price in Bozeman costs around $900,000; the main street in a place like Sandpoint, Idaho, is a festival of liberal haute-bourgeois taste with Western flourishes. At least where I encountered it, the growing diaspora in the Mountain West isn’t bringing the mountains to the middle-class masses; it’s red-state colonization by the blue-state rich.

Not that there’s anything wrong with coastal rich people (perish the thought!). But in any city or region, whether it’s Whitefish, Mont., or Washington, D.C., the case for development and pro-growth zoning, for a yes-in-my-backyard spirit, depends, to a large extent, on the benefits to potential newcomers and migrants. That always makes YIMBYism a [*relatively hard sell*](https://gideons.substack.com/p/empathy-for-the-nimby-devil) to incumbents — and when all the newcomers seem privileged, when they make developers rich but start pricing normal people out, when they make your relatively egalitarian state a [*case study in zooming inequality*](https://montanabudget.org/post/montanas-income-inequality-is-growing-faster-than-any-other-state-2), you can see why a politics of preservation would be as popular as a hit like “Yellowstone.”

But the problem is that preservationism in this context is likely to be self-defeating. If the rich really like your state or region, the rich will always find a way to come. What zoning limits and housing regulations really affect is whether anyone except the rich can afford your state’s nicest precincts. If they can’t, then the attractiveness of purple-mountain-majesty to coastal elites will just recreate coastal inequalities and fuel ***working-class*** resentments, in a dynamic that’s [*already visible*](https://thecarousel.substack.com/p/theres-gonna-be-a-war-in-montana) in the Mountain States wherever the posh colonies give way to the alienation of Trump country.

If you look at zoning rules in Montana’s most attractive cities, they point to this kind of Western future. For instance: According to the [*Frontier Institute*](https://www.google.com/url?q=https://frontierinstitute.org/frontier-institute-publishes-montana-zoning-atlas-report/&amp;source=gmail-html&amp;ust=1658973760186000&amp;usg=AOvVaw1AQOTZkQb1SIMhi00-yiNN), a Montana-based libertarian think tank, a city like Missoula, which is still more middle class and affordable than Bozeman, has exclusionary zoning — restrictions on town homes and multifamily units, minimum lot requirements — that make it difficult for young families and ***working-class*** newcomers to get a foothold in the city. That suggests that Missoula’s relative middle-class-ness won’t last: If I were a Silicon Valley or Seattle exile, I would already be looking there rather than Bozeman. If I were a property speculator, I’d be buying there right now. And if I didn’t have much money to spend, I’d be drifting into the hinterlands or looking in a different state.

Part of the appeal of the Dutton family drama is the knowledge that the “Yellowstone” patriarch can’t ultimately win — that you’re watching and appreciating something familiar in Western lore, the doomed last stand. But in reality, when regions are experiencing growth they can’t and shouldn’t stop, they still have important choices to make: not whether change and new inhabitants will come but in what form, with what consequences for the society that takes shape next.

More Americans should live in the West, and more Americans assuredly will. The question for Mountain State incumbents — the real ones, not the Costner facsimile — is whether that more will include everybody or whether their glorious share of the American inheritance will pass on mostly to the rich.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTOpinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: Bozeman, Mont. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Stephen Simpson/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***La Soga: Salvation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64MX-8F01-JBG3-630K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 28, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 377 words

**Byline:** By Beatrice Loayza

**Body**

The sequel to the 2010 thriller ''La Soga'' trades the original's pointed commentary on crime and corruption for something more generic.

Arriving more than a decade after ''La Soga,'' a strikingly violent 2010 thriller about a hit man, Luisito (code name: La Soga), that was a rare thing -- a film from the Dominican Republic that received distribution in the United States -- ''La Soga Salvation'' is the quintessential sequel-nobody-asked-for. It's a significant downgrade from the cliché-ridden but visually bracing first installment, transporting Luisito from the streets of his home country (much of the first film was shot in slum areas and ***working-class*** neighborhoods in and around Santiago and Baitoa) to a sterile New England town. The sequel does away with the original movie's pointed commentary on crime and corruption in the Dominican Republic, opting for a more generic revenge-movie approach.

''Salvation'' was presumably a kind of passion project for Manny Perez, the writer and star of the original movie: for the sequel, Perez takes on directing duties, too, making this his feature directorial debut. The story picks up years after the events of the first film. Luisito and his girlfriend, Lía (Sarah Jorge León), live in domestic bliss, in hiding from the big baddies of the Dominican underworld -- until, naturally, they're found.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

A cartoonishly sinister white guy, Jimmy (Chris McGarry), shows up at the couple's church demanding Luisito's services to take out a cartel leader. Our hero refuses, prompting mayhem: Lía is kidnapped, and Luisito is forced to return to the way of the gun. Back on the job, he contends with miscellaneous crooks including Dani (Hada Vanessa), a leather-clad, sniper-rifle-equipped dame with a score to settle.

But Perez is a flimsy leading man, and the film around him -- a modest production that doesn't exactly hide its budgetary shortcomings -- is at best a borderline campy B-movie with bursts of bloody action. At worst, it's a completely self-serious slog.

La Soga SalvationNot rated. In Spanish and English, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour and 32 minutes. In theaters and available to rent or buy on Google Play, Vudu and other streaming platforms and pay TV operators.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/27/movies/la-soga-salvation-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/27/movies/la-soga-salvation-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Manny Perez, left, and Chris McGarry in ''La Soga Salvation.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY Screen Media FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Poor in Texas, And Helpless Against Heat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6618-W0W1-JBG3-63CC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 27, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1338 words

**Byline:** By Edgar Sandoval

**Body**

Texas has been hit with an unrelenting heat wave. Nowhere is it more miserable than in low-income areas that have less access to shade and air-conditioning.

SAN ANTONIO -- One day last week, Juanita Cruz-Perez poked her head out the back door of her two-bedroom home in San Antonio and shook her head no. It wasn't quite noon yet, and the heat was already unbearable. She opened the front and back doors, praying for any kind of breeze, and turned on a plastic fan that sputtered hot air. She resisted the temptation to turn on the power-guzzling air-conditioner.

''The A.C. only goes on at night, no matter how hot it gets,'' she said.

Ms. Cruz-Perez suffers from a slew of health problems that are exacerbated by the stifling heat, including diabetes and high blood pressure, but her $800-a-month budget leaves little room for what she would consider a luxury.

In San Antonio, weathering the second week of a heat wave that has been ferocious even by Texas standards, lower-income residents like Ms. Cruz-Perez are sometimes left with few options to relieve the misery. Not only can she not afford air-conditioning during the hottest part of the day, she lives in the Westside, one of several parts of San Antonio -- nearly all of them ***working-class*** or poor neighborhoods -- where there are few trees to provide shade.

Simple things like venturing into the backyard, walking to the store or waiting for a bus can be perilous.

''When you are poor, the sun finds you faster,'' Ms. Cruz-Perez said.

San Antonio has seen at least 46 days of 100-plus-degree weather so far this year, according to the National Weather Service. Through July 25, measurements taken at the city's airport have detected that all but one day in July has surpassed the 100-degree mark.

The heat wave has been blamed for a series of wildfires, including a blaze that damaged more than 20 homes on Monday evening in Balch Springs, a suburb of Dallas. The heat has also tested the state's beleaguered power grid. The Electric Reliability Council of Texas, or ERCOT, which runs the power grid, has pleaded for power conservation from those who can afford air-conditioning to avoid rolling blackouts.

High temperatures have afflicted much of the southern and eastern parts of the United States over the past two weeks, and have reached this week into the normally temperate Pacific Northwest. The oppressive impact is particularly visible in places like the San Antonio metropolitan area, a Latino-majority region where nearly 18 percent of the population lives in poverty.

The heat is inescapable in the city's historic Westside, where the high ratio of asphalt to green space -- along with old structures, freight trains and an abundance of concrete -- creates the kind of ''heat island effect'' that is known to lead to higher energy consumption, more pollution and a greater risk of related health problems.

''It is the poor who usually end up suffering through these heat spells, because they lack the resources,'' said Kayla Miranda, who heads the Coalition for Tenant Justice, an advocacy group that is pushing for more green spaces in San Antonio. ''We feel forgotten by those in power. The wealthier neighborhoods have more green spaces, shade.''

Ms. Miranda knows this personally. She and her four children live in public housing, at the Alazan-Apache Courts, where her door opens onto a landscape of dry lawns and blistering sidewalks. She often struggles to pay the nearly $350-a-month electric bill to keep her children cool.

The heat is a lot more tolerable in San Antonio's best-known area, the River Walk, where tourists drink margaritas from colorful plastic cups and ride boats under the shade trees that trace the placid river. The city's wealthier neighborhoods, a few miles north of downtown San Antonio, are often adorned with soap opera-style mansions, manicured lawns and lush green foliage.

The Westside, by contrast, is dotted with taquerias, small stores known as tienditas, and murals of the Virgin of Guadalupe and of folkloric singers that honor the neighborhood's Mexican American history. A little more than a mile from the city center, the neighborhood lies next to Interstate 35.

San Antonio as a whole is no stranger to scorching temperatures. When the temperature hit 107 degrees on July 11, that was only the sixth hottest day since 1885, according to the National Weather Service; the hottest day on record, reaching a blistering 111 degrees, was 22 years ago.

Even so, scientists are increasingly finding that as the climate warms across the globe, heat in urban areas is not distributed equitably. The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration is joining other agencies this year in mapping the distribution of heat in 14 cities around the country. Urban heat islands, often located in the neighborhoods occupied by lower-income residents and people of color, can be up to 20 degrees hotter than adjacent areas on summer days, researchers already have found.

In Austin, Texas, about 80 miles northeast of San Antonio, the University of Texas is using a grant from NOAA's climate office to research the city's hot spots and strategies for cooling them down.

These can include planting more trees, installing vegetation-covered or reflective roofs and canopies, and using ''cool'' pavement that absorbs more water than concrete or asphalt, according to the Environmental Protection Agency.

San Antonio officials said the city had created a campaign known as ''Beat the Heat'' to offer some temporary relief. Cooling centers are open during the hottest days, and residents are reminded through various media to stay indoors as much as possible, drink plenty of fluids and take frequent cool baths if air-conditioning is not an option.

But some residents in the Westside have to take a bus to get to the cooling centers. And with little shade, waiting for a bus can often be an excruciating experience.

On a recent day, Amelia Castillo, 67, walked slowly behind her husband, Antonio Castillo, 66, struggling with a walker, to reach a bus stop with no roof along Guadalupe Avenue in the Westside. Mr. Castillo settled onto an old wooden bench and winced as the sun baked his skin. His wife tilted a blue umbrella above their heads.

''It feels like the sun is getting hotter every day,'' Ms. Castillo said. ''And we are still in July.''

Minutes later, a bus arrived, and Ms. Castillo shared a surprised smile. ''Sometimes we have to wait for 40 to 50 minutes,'' she said.

Not far from the bus stop, Jessica Vasquez fanned herself with her hands as her three children and their Great Pyrenees puppy Simba took turns sipping warm water from the water fountain at Cassiano Park.

The pool at the park was closed, with a sign indicating that it would reopen on Saturday and Sunday from 1 p.m. to 7 p.m. ''I wish it was open,'' Ms. Vasquez said. ''That would have been great. I don't know why they close it during the week when the kids are out of school.''

Another pool less than a mile away is open during the week, a city pool worker said.

Susana Segura, who volunteers with a group called Bread and Blankets Mutual Aid, was spending the hottest parts of the week driving around poor neighborhoods to deliver water, mainly to homeless people, many of whom have disabilities. The homeless are especially vulnerable because they have nowhere to escape the arid streets and hot concrete, she said.

Ms. Segura stopped on a corner where there were signs of life -- discarded cups and plastic chairs -- and called out.

''Tenemos agua!'' she said. We have water!

Elpidio Palacios, 56, rolled his wheelchair in her direction. He said he had lost both of his legs years ago when he fell off a train and landed on the tracks. He took a bottle of cold water from Ms. Segura and took a sip. He then showed off a straw hat that Ms. Segura had given him the day before -- his version of shade.

''If it wasn't for her, I don't know what I would do in this heat,'' Mr. Palacios said. ''You can't outrun the sun.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/us/texas-heat-poverty-islands-san-antonio.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/26/us/texas-heat-poverty-islands-san-antonio.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Amelia and Antonio Castillo at a bus stop with no roof in San Antonio, where ***working-class*** and poor areas have fewer trees. (A1)

Juanita Cruz-Perez is on a tight budget, so despite having health issues made worse by stifling heat, ''the A.C. only goes on at night.''

A homeless person received aid from Susana Segura of Bread and Blankets Mutual Aid, which provides water in poor areas. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JORDAN VONDERHAAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16)

**Load-Date:** July 27, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Seething Campaign Rally Not Unlike Trump's, but This Time in France***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:648X-J2T1-DXY4-X0SY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 12, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1471 words

**Byline:** By Constant Méheut

**Body**

Éric Zemmour, the polarizing far-right polemicist, launched his presidential campaign last week with a frenzied rally that was disrupted by a violent brawl.

VILLEPINTE, France -- The speech, riddled with attacks on the news media, elites and immigrants, with a fiery orator whipping up thousands of flag-waving supporters, was reminiscent of a Donald J. Trump campaign stop from years past.

But the scene was in France, last weekend, where Éric Zemmour, the polarizing far-right polemicist who has scrambled French politics, launched his presidential campaign with a rally in front of thousands of ardent supporters.

''On est chez nous!'' -- ''This is our home!'' -- they chanted in a cavernous convention center filled with spotlights, speakers and giant screens in Villepinte, a suburb northeast of Paris.

At one point during the rally, antiracism activists were attacked in the sort of brawl rarely seen at French political events. Earlier in the day, fans booed a television news crew, forcing it to be temporarily evacuated, and several journalists reported being insulted and beaten.

The outcome of Mr. Zemmour's campaign remains unclear four months ahead of France's presidential election, with President Emmanuel Macron still ahead in the polls, and fierce competition emerging from the right. But the rally offered a glimpse of where the election could head, and which Trumpian tones it could take.

Unlike Marine Le Pen, the candidate of the traditional far right, who has long sought success by softening her party's far-right views, Mr. Zemmour has bet that a full-on promotion of his reactionary ideas can fuel his rise.

He has done so by mastering the codes of social and news media, and by appealing to a somewhat wealthier and more educated base than the traditional far right. Recent polls suggest this approach has worked; about 15 percent of French voters say they intend to vote for him in the first round of voting.

''He's the one who breaks a dam,'' said Vincent Martigny, a professor of political science at the University of Nice. Voters who once balked at supporting Ms. Le Pen have now embraced his more extremist ideas, he said.

But this quest to stake out a position on the extreme right may also backfire, as shown at Sunday's rally, when dozens of his supporters attacked antiracism activists. The violent brawl could stain his image and undermine his attempts to broaden his electoral base, according to political analysts.

Still, as with Mr. Trump, no scandal to date has done any lasting damage to Mr. Zemmour's political ambitions as he taps into widespread fears that French identity is being whittled away by immigration. Those fears have been heightened by a number of terrorist attacks in recent years, some committed by the children of immigrants.

The crowd, of about 12,000 people that gathered in the Villepinte convention center, reflected some of the forces that have fueled the candidate's meteoric rise -- upper middle-class voters and some segments of an educated, affluent youth.

Men close to retirement age in hunting jackets and loafers waved French flags and cheered alongside young people dressed in crisp polo shirts; many displayed Roman Catholic crosses around their necks.

''Zemmour is someone who can actually make our ideas triumph and save France,'' said Marc Perreti, a 19-year-old student from Neuilly-sur-Seine, a wealthy suburb of Paris.

In contrast with the affluent voters seen at Mr. Zemmour's rally, Ms. Le Pen's support comes mainly from the ***working class***. A recent study showed Mr. Zemmour scoring well among the upper middle class, at 16 percent compared to 6 percent for Ms. Le Pen.

There was widespread nodding at the rally when Mr. Zemmour talked of France's ''great downgrading, with the impoverishment of the French, the decline of our power and the collapse of our school.'' And there were loud cheers when he mentioned ''the great replacement, with the Islamization of France, mass immigration and constant insecurity.''

The so-called great replacement, a contentious theory that claims the West's population is being replaced by immigrants, has been cited by white supremacists in mass shootings in Christchurch, New Zealand, and El Paso, Tex.

But Sophie Michel, a former history teacher and a mother of nine, said she believed the theory, pointing to the growing number of immigrant families living in her apartment building in western Paris.

''We're the last white people there,'' she said, ''this is for real.''

The name of Mr. Zemmour's new party, ''Reconquest,'' evokes the centuries-long period known as the Reconquista, when Christian forces drove Muslim rulers from the Iberian Peninsula.

Two of Ms. Michel's children also attended the rally, along with hundreds of young people. Hortense Bergerault, 17, said she followed Mr. Zemmour on Instagram, where he has nearly 150,000 followers, ranking only behind Mr. Macron and Ms. Le Pen among the presidential candidates. ''I have many friends who are really into it,'' she said.

Mr. Martigny, the political scientist, said that Mr. Zemmour was the product of ''culture wars'' that had gradually spread far-right ideas across society, especially through Fox-style news networks, clearing ''a space for a Trumpian player in the French political life.''

''They have understood that there is no lasting political victory without a prior cultural victory,'' Mr. Martigny said of Mr. Zemmour's team.

This cultural win was evident in Villepinte, where many supporters referred to Mr. Zemmour's books and TV appearances as eye-opening experiences. Some wore baseball caps reading ''Ben voyons!'' -- a rejoinder that Mr. Zemmour often uses to dismiss criticism, and which roughly translates to ''Oh, come on!'' The crowd even chanted the phrase when Mr. Zemmour, speaking from his lectern, mocked those accusing him of being a fascist.

Antoine Diers, a spokesman for Mr. Zemmour's campaign, said that although France and the United States were two different countries, they had ''obviously'' looked at Mr. Trump's 2016 presidential run ''because it was a success.''

Raphaël Llorca, a French communication expert and member of the Fondation Jean-Jaurès research institute, said Mr. Zemmour had successfully waged a ''battle of the cool'' designed to popularize his extreme ideas and ''reduce the cost of adherence'' to the far right.

His YouTube campaign-launching video, riddled with cultural references, has drawn nearly 3 million viewers -- evidence of his command of pop culture codes, Mr. Llorca said.

''The cool is a way to defuse and neutralize otherwise extremely violent'' ideas, he added.

In October, Mr. Zemmour said his success would depend on his ability to appeal to both the conservative, bourgeois electorate and that of the Yellow Vests, the mostly ***working-class*** movement that protested against economic injustice that Ms. Le Pen has long courted.

Whether he can achieve that balancing act is far from clear, as shown by the attendance at the rally. The main economic proposal he outlined last weekend -- slashing business taxes -- is unlikely to speak to ***working-class*** voters.

Mr. Zemmour's theatrical entrance into the convention center, to the sound of dramatic music, also did little to eclipse the fact that he has so far failed to garner support from any major political figure, or party. This remains a major difference from Mr. Trump, who could count on the powerful Republican Party and solid financial backing.

Mr. Zemmour said he was the target of the media and the elites. He praised the crowd before him for standing up to these attacks. ''The political phenomenon of these rallies, it's not me, it's you!'' he shouted.

But some of his supporters might also prove to be his greatest liability.

Midway through his speech, dozens of sturdy militants threw punches at several activists from SOS Racisme, an antiracism organization, who had stood on chairs at the rally and revealed T-shirts spelling out the phrase ''NO TO RACISM.''

Prosecutors have opened investigations into the violence, including one against a man who lunged at and grabbed Mr. Zemmour as he walked toward the stage.

Mr. Diers, the spokesman, said the antiracism activists had acted provocatively and that he had called on supporters ''not to use force unreasonably.''

Mr. Llorca, the communications expert, said that with such a polarizing campaign, Mr. Zemmour risked ''being overwhelmed'' by the extremism of his own supporters.

The French news media later reported that some of those who had attacked the antiracism activists were neo-Nazi militants. As they chased down the activists toward the entrance hall, wearing black mufflers that hid their faces, they were stopped by a security staff member.

''Thank you for being there,'' he told them. ''You did the job!''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/11/world/europe/eric-zemmour-rally-france.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/11/world/europe/eric-zemmour-rally-france.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Éric Zemmour at a rally last week in Villepinte, outside Paris. The event -- marked by flag-waving supporters, attacks on perceived enemies and a brawl -- could offer a glimpse of the race ahead. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTIAN HARTMANN/REUTERS

JULIEN DE ROSA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** December 12, 2021

**End of Document**



[***‘La Soga Salvation’ Review: A Very Inferior Set of Thrills***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64MP-YW21-DXY4-X1KS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 27, 2022 Thursday 01:04 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 393 words

**Byline:** Beatrice Loayza

**Highlight:** The sequel to the 2010 thriller “La Soga” trades the original’s pointed commentary on crime and corruption for something more generic.

**Body**

The sequel to the 2010 thriller “La Soga” trades the original’s pointed commentary on crime and corruption for something more generic.

Arriving more than a decade after [*“La Soga,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/13/movies/13soga.html) a strikingly violent 2010 thriller about a hit man, Luisito (code name: La Soga), that was a rare thing — a film from the Dominican Republic that received distribution in the United States — “La Soga Salvation” is the quintessential sequel-nobody-asked-for. It’s a significant downgrade from the cliché-ridden but visually bracing first installment, transporting Luisito from the streets of his home country (much of the first film was shot in slum areas and ***working-class*** neighborhoods in and around Santiago and Baitoa) to a sterile New England town. The sequel does away with the original movie’s pointed commentary on crime and corruption in the Dominican Republic, opting for a more generic revenge-movie approach.

“Salvation” was presumably a kind of passion project for Manny Perez, the writer and star of the original movie: for the sequel, Perez takes on directing duties, too, making this his feature directorial debut. The story picks up years after the events of the first film. Luisito and his girlfriend, Lía (Sarah Jorge León), live in domestic bliss, in hiding from the big baddies of the Dominican underworld — until, naturally, they’re found.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/_U2MIgnZq6Q)]

A cartoonishly sinister white guy, Jimmy (Chris McGarry), shows up at the couple’s church demanding Luisito’s services to take out a cartel leader. Our hero refuses, prompting mayhem: Lía is kidnapped, and Luisito is forced to return to the way of the gun. Back on the job, he contends with miscellaneous crooks including Dani (Hada Vanessa), a leather-clad, sniper-rifle-equipped dame with a score to settle.

But Perez is a flimsy leading man, and the film around him — a modest production that doesn’t exactly hide its budgetary shortcomings — is at best a borderline campy B-movie with bursts of bloody action. At worst, it’s a completely self-serious slog.

La Soga Salvation

Not rated. In Spanish and English, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour and 32 minutes. In theaters and available to rent or buy on [*Google Play*](https://play.google.com/store/movies/details/La_Soga_Salvation?id=9AC1B24ABAD60333MV&amp;hl=en_US&amp;gl=US), [*Vudu*](https://www.vudu.com/content/movies/details/La-Soga-Salvation/1962362) and other streaming platforms and pay TV operators.

PHOTO: Manny Perez, left, and Chris McGarry in “La Soga Salvation.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Screen Media FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In San Antonio, the Poor Live on Their Own Islands of Heat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6614-GNG1-JBG3-6359-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 26, 2022 Tuesday 10:08 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1398 words

**Byline:** Edgar Sandoval

**Highlight:** Texas has been hit with an unrelenting heat wave. Nowhere is it more miserable than in low-income areas that have less access to shade and air-conditioning.

**Body**

Texas has been hit with an unrelenting heat wave. Nowhere is it more miserable than in low-income areas that have less access to shade and air-conditioning.

SAN ANTONIO — One day last week, Juanita Cruz-Perez poked her head out the back door of her two-bedroom home in San Antonio and shook her head no. It wasn’t quite noon yet, and the heat was already unbearable. She opened the front and back doors, praying for any kind of breeze, and turned on a plastic fan that sputtered hot air. She resisted the temptation to turn on the power-guzzling air-conditioner.

“The A.C. only goes on at night, no matter how hot it gets,” she said.

Ms. Cruz-Perez suffers from a slew of health problems that are exacerbated by the stifling heat, including diabetes and high blood pressure, but her $800-a-month budget leaves little room for what she would consider a luxury.

In San Antonio, weathering the second week of a heat wave that has been ferocious even by Texas standards, lower-income residents like Ms. Cruz-Perez are sometimes left with few options to relieve the misery. Not only can she not afford air-conditioning during the hottest part of the day, she lives in the Westside, one of several parts of San Antonio — nearly all of them ***working-class*** or poor neighborhoods — where there are few trees to provide shade.

Simple things like venturing into the backyard, walking to the store or waiting for a bus can be perilous.

“When you are poor, the sun finds you faster,” Ms. Cruz-Perez said.

San Antonio has seen at least 46 days of 100-plus-degree weather so far this year, according to the National Weather Service. Through July 25, measurements taken at the city’s airport have detected that all but one day in July has surpassed the 100-degree mark.

The heat wave has been blamed for a series of wildfires, including a blaze that damaged more than 20 homes [*on Monday evening in Balch Springs*](https://www.wfaa.com/article/news/local/balch-springs-grass-fire-spreading-to-homes/287-133500fc-e00d-402d-a0d3-f602404974c7), a suburb of Dallas. The heat has also tested the state’s beleaguered power grid. The Electric Reliability Council of Texas, or ERCOT, [*which runs the power grid,*](https://www.texastribune.org/2022/07/13/texas-power-grid-ercot-conservation/) has pleaded for power conservation from those who can afford air-conditioning to avoid rolling blackouts.

High temperatures have afflicted much of the southern and eastern parts of the United States over the past two weeks, and have reached this week into the normally temperate Pacific Northwest. The oppressive impact is particularly visible in places like the San Antonio metropolitan area, a Latino-majority region where nearly [*18 percent of the population lives in poverty*](https://www.expressnews.com/news/local/article/San-Antonio-annual-household-income-lags-17007777.php).

The heat is inescapable in the city’s historic Westside, where the high ratio of asphalt to green space — along with old structures, freight trains and an abundance of concrete — creates the kind of “[*heat island effect*](https://www.epa.gov/heatislands/heat-island-impacts)” that is known to lead to higher energy consumption, more pollution and a greater risk of related health problems.

“It is the poor who usually end up suffering through these heat spells, because they lack the resources,” said Kayla Miranda, who heads the Coalition for Tenant Justice, an advocacy group that is pushing for more green spaces in San Antonio. “We feel forgotten by those in power. The wealthier neighborhoods have more green spaces, shade.”

Ms. Miranda knows this personally. She and her four children live in public housing, at the Alazan-Apache Courts, where her door opens onto a landscape of dry lawns and blistering sidewalks. She often struggles to pay the nearly $350-a-month electric bill to keep her children cool.

The heat is a lot more tolerable in San Antonio’s best-known area, the River Walk, where tourists drink margaritas from colorful plastic cups and ride boats under the shade trees that trace the placid river. The city’s wealthier neighborhoods, a few miles north of downtown San Antonio, are often adorned with soap opera-style mansions, manicured lawns and lush green foliage.

The Westside, by contrast, is dotted with taquerias, small stores known as tienditas, and murals of the Virgin of Guadalupe and of folkloric singers that honor the neighborhood’s Mexican American history. A little more than a mile from the city center, the neighborhood lies next to Interstate 35.

San Antonio as a whole is no stranger to scorching temperatures. When the temperature hit 107 degrees on July 11, that was only the sixth hottest day since 1885, according to the National Weather Service; the hottest day on record, reaching a blistering 111 degrees, was 22 years ago.

Even so, scientists are increasingly finding that as the climate warms across the globe, heat in urban areas is not distributed equitably. The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration is joining other agencies this year in [*mapping the distribution of heat*](https://www.noaa.gov/media-advisory/noaa-summer-urban-heat-mapping) in 14 cities around the country. Urban heat islands, often located in the neighborhoods occupied by lower-income residents and people of color, can be up to 20 degrees hotter than adjacent areas on summer days, researchers already have found.

In Austin, Texas, about 80 miles northeast of San Antonio, the University of Texas is using a grant from NOAA’s climate office to research the city’s hot spots and [*strategies for cooling them down*](https://www.jsg.utexas.edu/news/2021/06/ut-austin-teams-up-with-city-and-community-to-fight-extreme-heat-in-austin/).

These can include planting more trees, installing vegetation-covered or reflective roofs and canopies, and using “cool” pavement that absorbs more water than concrete or asphalt, [*according to the Environmental Protection Agency*](https://www.epa.gov/sites/default/files/2017-05/documents/reducing_urban_heat_islands_ch_5.pdf).

San Antonio officials said the city had created a campaign known as “Beat the Heat” to offer some temporary relief. Cooling centers are open during the hottest days, and residents are reminded through various media to stay indoors as much as possible, drink plenty of fluids and take frequent cool baths if air-conditioning is not an option.

But some residents in the Westside have to take a bus to get to the cooling centers. And with little shade, waiting for a bus can often be an excruciating experience.

On a recent day, Amelia Castillo, 67, walked slowly behind her husband, Antonio Castillo, 66, struggling with a walker, to reach a bus stop with no roof along Guadalupe Avenue in the Westside. Mr. Castillo settled onto an old wooden bench and winced as the sun baked his skin. His wife tilted a blue umbrella above their heads.

“It feels like the sun is getting hotter every day,” Ms. Castillo said. “And we are still in July.”

Minutes later, a bus arrived, and Ms. Castillo shared a surprised smile. “Sometimes we have to wait for 40 to 50 minutes,” she said.

Not far from the bus stop, Jessica Vasquez fanned herself with her hands as her three children and their Great Pyrenees puppy Simba took turns sipping warm water from the water fountain at Cassiano Park.

The pool at the park was closed, with a sign indicating that it would reopen on Saturday and Sunday from 1 p.m. to 7 p.m. “I wish it was open,” Ms. Vasquez said. “That would have been great. I don’t know why they close it during the week when the kids are out of school.”

Another pool less than a mile away is open during the week, a city pool worker said.

Susana Segura, who volunteers with a group called Bread and Blankets Mutual Aid, was spending the hottest parts of the week driving around poor neighborhoods to deliver water, mainly to homeless people, many of whom have disabilities. The homeless are especially vulnerable because they have nowhere to escape the arid streets and hot concrete, she said.

Ms. Segura stopped on a corner where there were signs of life — discarded cups and plastic chairs — and called out.

“Tenemos agua!” she said. We have water!

Elpidio Palacios, 56, rolled his wheelchair in her direction. He said he had lost both of his legs years ago when he fell off a train and landed on the tracks. He took a bottle of cold water from Ms. Segura and took a sip. He then showed off a straw hat that Ms. Segura had given him the day before — his version of shade.

“If it wasn’t for her, I don’t know what I would do in this heat,” Mr. Palacios said. “You can’t outrun the sun.”

PHOTOS: Amelia and Antonio Castillo at a bus stop with no roof in San Antonio, where ***working-class*** and poor areas have fewer trees. (A1); Juanita Cruz-Perez is on a tight budget, so despite having health issues made worse by stifling heat, “the A.C. only goes on at night.”; A homeless person received aid from Susana Segura of Bread and Blankets Mutual Aid, which provides water in poor areas. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JORDAN VONDERHAAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16)

**Load-Date:** July 27, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Echoes of Trump at a Rally for France’s Far-Right Upstart***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:648R-1MH1-JBG3-64TK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 11, 2021 Saturday 13:51 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1498 words

**Byline:** Constant Méheut

**Highlight:** Éric Zemmour, the polarizing far-right polemicist, launched his presidential campaign last week with a frenzied rally that was disrupted by a violent brawl.

**Body**

Éric Zemmour, the polarizing far-right polemicist, launched his presidential campaign last week with a frenzied rally that was disrupted by a violent brawl.

VILLEPINTE, France — The speech, riddled with attacks on the news media, elites and immigrants, with a fiery orator whipping up thousands of flag-waving supporters, was reminiscent of a Donald J. Trump campaign stop from years past.

But the scene was in France, last weekend, where [*Éric Zemmour*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/04/world/europe/eric-zemmour-france.html), the polarizing far-right polemicist who has [*scrambled French politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/12/world/europe/eric-zemmour-macron-france-election.html), launched his presidential campaign with a rally in front of thousands of ardent supporters.

“On est chez nous!” — “This is our home!” — they chanted in a cavernous convention center filled with spotlights, speakers and giant screens in Villepinte, a suburb northeast of Paris.

At one point during the rally, antiracism activists were attacked in the sort of [*brawl*](https://twitter.com/LeHuffPost/media) rarely seen at French political events. Earlier in the day, fans booed a television news crew, forcing it to be temporarily evacuated, and several journalists reported being insulted and beaten.

The outcome of Mr. Zemmour’s campaign remains unclear four months ahead of France’s presidential election, with President [*Emmanuel Macron*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/05/world/europe/france-emmanuel-macron.html) still ahead in the polls, and fierce competition emerging from the right. But the rally offered a glimpse of where the election could head, and which Trumpian tones it could take.

Unlike [*Marine Le Pen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/16/world/europe/france-le-pen-election.html), the candidate of the traditional far right, who has long sought success by [*softening her party’s far-right views*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/world/europe/france-far-right-national-rally-le-pen-macron.html), Mr. Zemmour has bet that a full-on promotion of his reactionary ideas can fuel his rise.

He has done so by mastering the codes of social and news media, and by appealing to a somewhat wealthier and more educated base than the traditional far right. Recent polls suggest this approach has worked; [*about 15 percent of French voters*](https://www.politico.eu/europe-poll-of-polls/france/) say they intend to vote for him in the first round of voting.

“He’s the one who breaks a dam,” said Vincent Martigny, a professor of political science at the University of Nice. Voters who once balked at supporting Ms. Le Pen have now embraced his more extremist ideas, he said.

But this quest to stake out a position on the extreme right may also backfire, as shown at Sunday’s rally, when dozens of his supporters attacked antiracism activists. The violent brawl could stain his image and undermine his attempts to broaden his electoral base, according to political analysts.

Still, as with Mr. Trump, no scandal to date has done any lasting damage to Mr. Zemmour’s political ambitions as he taps into widespread fears that French identity is being whittled away by immigration. Those fears have been heightened by a number of terrorist attacks in recent years, some committed by the children of immigrants.

The crowd, of about 12,000 people that gathered in the Villepinte convention center, reflected some of the forces that have fueled the candidate’s meteoric rise — upper middle-class voters and some segments of an educated, affluent youth.

Men close to retirement age in hunting jackets and loafers waved French flags and cheered alongside young people dressed in crisp polo shirts; many displayed Roman Catholic crosses around their necks.

“Zemmour is someone who can actually make our ideas triumph and save France,” said Marc Perreti, a 19-year-old student from Neuilly-sur-Seine, a wealthy suburb of Paris.

In contrast with the affluent voters seen at Mr. Zemmour’s rally, Ms. Le Pen’s support comes mainly from the ***working class***. A recent [*study*](https://www.ifop.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Rapport_Ifop_LICRA-Volet-A_2021.10.20.pdf) showed Mr. Zemmour scoring well among the upper middle class, at 16 percent compared to 6 percent for Ms. Le Pen.

There was widespread nodding at the rally when Mr. Zemmour talked of France’s “great downgrading, with the impoverishment of the French, the decline of our power and the collapse of our school.” And there were loud cheers when he mentioned “the great replacement, with the Islamization of France, mass immigration and constant insecurity.”

The so-called [*great replacement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/20/world/europe/renaud-camus-great-replacement.html), a contentious theory that claims the West’s population is being replaced by immigrants, has been cited by white supremacists in [*mass shootings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/18/technology/replacement-theory.html) in Christchurch, New Zealand, and El Paso, Tex.

But Sophie Michel, a former history teacher and a mother of nine, said she believed the theory, pointing to the growing number of immigrant families living in her apartment building in western Paris.

“We’re the last white people there,” she said, “this is for real.”

The name of Mr. Zemmour’s new party, “Reconquest,” evokes the centuries-long period known as the Reconquista, when Christian forces drove Muslim rulers from the Iberian Peninsula.

Two of Ms. Michel’s children also attended the rally, along with hundreds of young people. Hortense Bergerault, 17, said she followed Mr. Zemmour on Instagram, where he has nearly 150,000 followers, ranking only behind Mr. Macron and Ms. Le Pen among the presidential candidates. “I have many friends who are really into it,” she said.

Mr. Martigny, the political scientist, said that Mr. Zemmour was the product of “culture wars” that had gradually spread far-right ideas across society, especially through [*Fox-style news networks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/world/europe/france-cnews-fox-far-right.html), clearing “a space for a Trumpian player in the French political life.”

“They have understood that there is no lasting political victory without a prior cultural victory,” Mr. Martigny said of Mr. Zemmour’s team.

This cultural win was evident in Villepinte, where many supporters referred to Mr. Zemmour’s books and TV appearances as eye-opening experiences. Some wore baseball caps reading “Ben voyons!” — a rejoinder that Mr. Zemmour often uses to dismiss criticism, and which roughly translates to “Oh, come on!” The crowd even [*chanted the phrase*](https://www.bfmtv.com/politique/elections/presidentielle/moi-fasciste-ben-voyons-eric-zemmour-se-dit-etre-le-seul-a-defendre-la-liberte-de-penser_VN-202112050255.html) when Mr. Zemmour, speaking from his lectern, mocked those accusing him of being a fascist.

Antoine Diers, a spokesman for Mr. Zemmour’s campaign, said that although France and the United States were two different countries, they had “obviously” looked at Mr. Trump’s 2016 presidential run “because it was a success.”

Raphaël Llorca, a French communication expert and member of the Fondation Jean-Jaurès research institute, said Mr. Zemmour had successfully waged a “battle of the cool” designed to popularize his extreme ideas and “reduce the cost of adherence” to the far right.

His YouTube [*campaign-launching video,*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k8IGBDK1BH8&amp;t=10s&amp;ab_channel=%C3%89ricZemmour) riddled with cultural references, has drawn nearly 3 million viewers — evidence of his command of pop culture codes, Mr. Llorca said.

“The cool is a way to defuse and neutralize otherwise extremely violent” ideas, he added.

In October, Mr. Zemmour said his success would depend on his ability to appeal to both the conservative, bourgeois electorate and that of the [*Yellow Vests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/03/world/europe/france-yellow-vest-protests.html), the mostly ***working-class*** movement that protested against economic injustice that [*Ms. Le Pen has long courted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/16/world/europe/france-national-front-yellow-vests.html).

Whether he can achieve that balancing act is far from clear, as shown by the attendance at the rally. The main economic proposal he outlined last weekend — slashing business taxes — is unlikely to speak to ***working-class*** voters.

Mr. Zemmour’s theatrical entrance into the convention center, to the sound of dramatic music, also did little to eclipse the fact that he has so far failed to garner support from any major political figure, or party. This remains a major difference from Mr. Trump, who could count on the powerful Republican Party and solid financial backing.

Mr. Zemmour said he was the target of the media and the elites. He praised the crowd before him for standing up to these attacks. “The political phenomenon of these rallies, it’s not me, it’s you!” he shouted.

But some of his supporters might also prove to be his greatest liability.

Midway through his speech, dozens of sturdy militants threw punches at several activists from SOS Racisme, an antiracism organization, who had stood on chairs at the rally and revealed T-shirts spelling out the phrase “NO TO RACISM.”

Prosecutors have opened investigations into the violence, including one against a man who lunged at and grabbed Mr. Zemmour as he walked toward the stage.

Mr. Diers, the spokesman, said the antiracism activists had acted provocatively and that he had called on supporters “not to use force unreasonably.”

Mr. Llorca, the communications expert, said that with such a polarizing campaign, Mr. Zemmour risked “being overwhelmed” by the extremism of his own supporters.

The [*French*](https://www.lemonde.fr/election-presidentielle-2022/article/2021/12/07/derriere-eric-zemmour-des-supporteurs-issus-de-l-extreme-droite-violente_6105080_6059010.html) news [*media*](https://www.mediapart.fr/journal/france/061221/meeting-de-zemmour-les-zouaves-paris-derriere-les-violences) later reported that some of those who had attacked the antiracism activists were neo-Nazi militants. As they chased down the activists toward the entrance hall, wearing black mufflers that hid their faces, they were stopped by a security staff member.

“Thank you for being there,” he told them. “You did the job!”

PHOTOS: Éric Zemmour at a rally last week in Villepinte, outside Paris. The event — marked by flag-waving supporters, attacks on perceived enemies and a brawl — could offer a glimpse of the race ahead. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTIAN HARTMANN/REUTERS; JULIEN DE ROSA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** December 12, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Anthony Albanese, the challenger, pitches ‘safe change.’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65GY-T1C1-DXY4-X0D3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 20, 2022 Friday 03:39 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; australia

**Length:** 550 words

**Byline:** Yan Zhuang

**Highlight:** The opposition leader has emphasized the good that effective government can do.

**Body**

The opposition leader has emphasized the good that effective government can do.

Anthony Albanese likes to talk about his modest upbringing: He grew up in public housing in Sydney’s inner suburbs, raised by a single mother on a disability pension, and was the first in his family to go to college.

Mr. Albanese, the leader of the opposition Labor Party and the man polling says is likely to become the next prime minister, has credited good government for keeping a roof over his head during his childhood.

It’s this kind of government — one that “holds no one back, and leaves no one behind,” in his words — that he has evoked as he has sought to connect with ***working-class*** voters.

The question, though, is whether this oft-told story has registered with voters. Although Mr. Albanese is one of Australia’s longest-serving politicians, many voters still say they know little about him or what he stands for.

Part of this is because Labor has run what has been called a “small target” campaign. Mr. Albanese took over as opposition leader after Labor’s upset loss in the 2019 election, which the party has attributed to a too-ambitious policy platform that left it vulnerable to a scare campaign by the conservative Liberal Party.

This time, Labor has sought to minimize differences with the government on several issues like national security and border protection, and it has proposed incremental changes on other issues like climate change.

As Mr. Albanese puts it, he is seeking “renewal, not revolution.”

“There’s a slight element of Joe Biden about Albanese — he’s an alternative which people are hoping for because they don’t like the incumbent,” said John Warhurst, an emeritus professor of politics at the Australian National University.

“There’s not an enthusiasm there,” he added.

A career politician, Mr. Albanese joined the Labor Party as a teenager. He got his start through student politics at the University of Sydney, after which he worked for Labor politicians and in party roles. He built up a status as a back-room power broker before being elected to Parliament in 1996.

When Labor won the 2007 election under the leadership of Kevin Rudd, Mr. Albanese became the minister for infrastructure. He weathered the subsequent years of internal party chaos in which Julia Gillard took over as prime minister before Mr. Rudd wrenched the post back. As one of Mr. Rudd’s key backers in the leadership fight, Mr. Albanese became deputy prime minister for two months before Labor was defeated in the 2013 election.

As a member of the Labor Party’s more progressive “socialist left” faction, Mr. Albanese spoke in favor of euthanasia, was a strong supporter of same-sex marriage and opposed his party’s support of policies that bar refugees from seeking asylum after reaching Australia by boat.

But in recent years, he has shifted to a more moderate stance, including falling in line with his party’s position on asylum seekers. During the campaign, he has sought to assure voters that he is a centrist, including with a front-page profile in a Murdoch-owned paper with the headline “[*I am not woke*](https://twitter.com/JoshButler/status/1506358200706117635?s=20&amp;t=kRugqPNjdQ7lEOpWxcRkKw).”

PHOTO: Anthony Albanese on Saturday with his partner, Jodie Haydon, left, and his dog. He has sought to assure voters that he is a centrist. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Rick Rycroft/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 21, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Anthony Albanese, the challenger, pitches 'safe change.'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65H0-X6K1-DXY4-X17K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 20, 2022 Friday

The New York Times on the Web

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section ; Column 0; Foreign Desk

**Length:** 522 words

**Byline:** By Yan Zhuang

**Body**

The opposition leader has emphasized the good that effective government can do.

Anthony Albanese likes to talk about his modest upbringing: He grew up in public housing in Sydney's inner suburbs, raised by a single mother on a disability pension, and was the first in his family to go to college.

Mr. Albanese, the leader of the opposition Labor Party and the man polling says is likely to become the next prime minister, has credited good government for keeping a roof over his head during his childhood.

It's this kind of government -- one that ''holds no one back, and leaves no one behind,'' in his words -- that he has evoked as he has sought to connect with ***working-class*** voters.

The question, though, is whether this oft-told story has registered with voters. Although Mr. Albanese is one of Australia's longest-serving politicians, many voters still say they know little about him or what he stands for.

Part of this is because Labor has run what has been called a ''small target'' campaign. Mr. Albanese took over as opposition leader after Labor's upset loss in the 2019 election, which the party has attributed to a too-ambitious policy platform that left it vulnerable to a scare campaign by the conservative Liberal Party.

This time, Labor has sought to minimize differences with the government on several issues like national security and border protection, and it has proposed incremental changes on other issues like climate change.

As Mr. Albanese puts it, he is seeking ''renewal, not revolution.''

''There's a slight element of Joe Biden about Albanese -- he's an alternative which people are hoping for because they don't like the incumbent,'' said John Warhurst, an emeritus professor of politics at the Australian National University.

''There's not an enthusiasm there,'' he added.

A career politician, Mr. Albanese joined the Labor Party as a teenager. He got his start through student politics at the University of Sydney, after which he worked for Labor politicians and in party roles. He built up a status as a back-room power broker before being elected to Parliament in 1996.

When Labor won the 2007 election under the leadership of Kevin Rudd, Mr. Albanese became the minister for infrastructure. He weathered the subsequent years of internal party chaos in which Julia Gillard took over as prime minister before Mr. Rudd wrenched the post back. As one of Mr. Rudd's key backers in the leadership fight, Mr. Albanese became deputy prime minister for two months before Labor was defeated in the 2013 election.

As a member of the Labor Party's more progressive ''socialist left'' faction, Mr. Albanese spoke in favor of euthanasia, was a strong supporter of same-sex marriage and opposed his party's support of policies that bar refugees from seeking asylum after reaching Australia by boat.

But in recent years, he has shifted to a more moderate stance, including falling in line with his party's position on asylum seekers. During the campaign, he has sought to assure voters that he is a centrist, including with a front-page profile in a Murdoch-owned paper with the headline ''I am not woke.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/australia/anthony-albanese-australia-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/australia/anthony-albanese-australia-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Anthony Albanese on Saturday with his partner, Jodie Haydon, left, and his dog. He has sought to assure voters that he is a centrist. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Rick Rycroft/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 21, 2022

**End of Document**



[***India’s Economy Is Growing Quickly. Why Can’t It Produce Enough Jobs?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65NX-52H1-DXY4-X1KR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 13, 2022 Monday 13:53 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 1333 words

**Byline:** Emily Schmall and Sameer Yasir

**Highlight:** The disconnect is a result of India’s uneven growth, powered and enjoyed by the country’s upper strata.

**Body**

The disconnect is a result of India’s uneven growth, powered and enjoyed by the country’s upper strata.

NEW DELHI — On paper, India’s economy has had a banner year. [*Exports are at record highs*](https://pib.gov.in/PressReleseDetail.aspx?PRID=1830606). Profits of [*publicly traded companies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/11/business/india-stock-market.html) have doubled. A vibrant middle class, built over the past few decades, is now shelling out so much on movie tickets, cars, real estate and vacations that economists call it post-pandemic “revenge spending.”

Yet even as India is projected to have the [*fastest growth*](https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/Issues/2022/04/19/world-economic-outlook-april-2022) of any major economy this year, the rosy headline figures do not reflect reality for hundreds of millions of Indians. The growth is still not translating into enough jobs for the waves of educated young people who enter the labor force each year. A far larger number of Indians eke out a living in the informal sector, and they have been battered in recent months by high inflation, especially in food prices.

The disconnect is a result of India’s uneven growth, which is powered by the voracious consumption of the country’s upper strata but whose benefits often do not extend beyond the urban middle class. The pandemic has magnified the divide, throwing tens of millions of Indians into extreme poverty while the number of Indian billionaires has surged, according to [*Oxfam*](https://www.oxfamindia.org/press-release/inequality-kills-india-supplement-2022).

The concentration of wealth is in part a product of the growth-at-all-costs ambitions of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who promised [*when he was re-elected in 2019*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/20/world/asia/india-modi-economy.html) to double the size of India’s economy by 2024, lifting the country into the $5 trillion-or-more club alongside the United States, China and Japan.

The government reported late last month that the economy had expanded 8.7 percent in the last year, to $3.3 trillion. But with domestic investment lackluster, and government hiring slowing, India has turned to subsidized fuel, food and housing for the poorest to address the widespread joblessness. Free grains now reach two-thirds of the country’s more than 1.3 billion people.

Those handouts, by some calculations, have pushed inequality in India to its lowest level in decades. Still, critics of the Indian government say that subsidies cannot be used forever to paper over inadequate job creation. This is especially true as tens of millions of Indians — new college graduates, farmers looking to leave the fields and women taking on work — are expected to seek to flood the nonfarm work force in the coming years.

“There is a historical disconnect in the Indian growth story, where growth essentially happens without a corresponding increase in employment,” said Mahesh Vyas, the chief executive of the Center for Monitoring Indian Economy, a data research firm.

Among the job seekers despairing over the lack of opportunities is Sweety Sinha, who lives in Haryana, a northern state where [*unemployment was a staggering 34.5 percent in April*](https://unemploymentinindia.cmie.com/kommon/bin/sr.php?kall=wsttimeseries&amp;index_code=050050000000&amp;dtype=total).

As a child, Ms. Sinha liked to pretend to be a teacher, standing in front of her village classroom with fake eyeglasses and a wooden baton, to fellow students’ great amusement.

Her ambition came true years later when she got a job teaching math at a private school. But the [*coronavirus*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/world/india-covid-cases.html) upended her dreams, as the Indian economy contracted 7.3 percent in the 2020-21 fiscal year. Within months of starting, she and several other teachers were laid off because [*so many students had dropped out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/27/world/asia/india-schools.html).

Ms. Sinha, 30, is again in the market for a job. In November, she joined thousands of applicants vying for much-coveted work in the government. She has also traveled across Haryana seeking jobs, but turned them down because of the meager pay — less than $400 a month.

“Sometimes, during nights, I really get scared: What if I am not able to get anything?” she said. “All of my friends are suffering because of unemployment.”

But for Indian politicians, a high unemployment rate “is not a showstopper,” said Mr. Vyas, the economist, adding that they were far more concerned with inflation, which affects all voters.

India’s reserve bank and finance ministry have tried to tackle inflation, which is battering many countries because of pandemic-related supply chain problems and the war in Ukraine, by restricting exports of wheat and sugar, raising interest rates and cutting taxes on fuel.

The bank, after raising borrowing rates in May for the first time in two years, increased them again on Wednesday, to 4.9 percent. As it did so, it forecast that inflation would reach 6.7 percent over the next three quarters.

Reserve bank officials have also employed an array of fiscal and monetary tactics to continue supporting growth, which cooled in the first quarter of 2022, falling to 4.1 percent. Household consumption, a major driver of India’s economy, has dropped in the last few months.

“We are committed to containing inflation,” said the bank’s governor, Shaktikanta Das. “At the same time, we have to keep in mind the requirements of growth. It can’t be a situation where the operation is successful and the patient is dead.”

While the Bank of England and the Federal Reserve in the United States have said their countries need to accept lower growth rates because of high commodity prices, India’s reserve bank is not in that camp, said Priyanka Kishore, an analyst at Oxford Economics. “Growth matters a lot for India,” she said. “There’s a political agenda.”

The ban on food exports is a sharp turnabout for Mr. Modi. In response to Russia’s blockade on Ukrainian ports, which has led to a global shortage of grains, he had said in April [*that Indian farmers could help feed the world*](https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/can-feed-world-if-wto-allows-modi/articleshow/90810693.cms). Instead, with the global wheat shortfalls driving up prices, the Indian government imposed an export ban to keep domestic prices low.

Temporary interventions like these are easier than addressing the fundamental problem of large-scale unemployment.

“You have wheat in your godowns and you can ship it out to households and get instant gratification,” Mr. Vyas said, referring to storage facilities, “whereas trying certain policies for employment is far more protracted and intangible.”

Those policies, analysts say, could include greater efforts to build up India’s underdeveloped manufacturing sector. They also say that India should ease regulations that often make it difficult to do business, as well as reducing tariffs so manufacturers have an easier time securing components not made in India.

Exports have been a source of strength for the Indian economy, and the rupee has depreciated by about 4 percent against the U.S. dollar since the beginning of the year, which would normally boost exports.

But inflation in the United States and war in Europe have started to affect sales for Indian-made clothes, said Raja M. Shanmugam, the president of a trade association in Tiruppur, a textile hub in the state of Tamil Nadu.

“All the input cost is increasing. Even earlier this industry worked on wafer-thin margins, but now we are working on loss,” he said. “So a situation which is normally a happy situation for the exporters is not so anymore.”

The struggles of ***working-class*** Indians, and the millions of unemployed, may eventually cause a drag on growth, economists say.

Zia Ullah, who drives an auto-rickshaw in Tumakuru, an industrial city in the southern Indian state of Karnataka, said his income was still only about a quarter of what it was before the pandemic.

The $20 he used to earn daily was enough to cover household expenses for his family of five, and school fees for his three children.

“Customers are preferring to walk,” he said. “No one seems to have money these days to take an auto.”

Mr. Ullah, 55, said the cost of food had climbed so much that he had to cut down on meals and take two of his children out of school.

“Only one, the elder daughter, goes to school now,” Mr. Ullah said. “The rest look around for work in the area.”

Hari Kumar contributed reporting.

PHOTO: A job fair in Chennai in May. The struggles of ***working-class*** Indians, and the millions of jobless, may eventually cause a drag on growth, economists say. (PHOTOGRAPH BY IDREES MOHAMMED/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) (B3)

**Load-Date:** June 13, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Mystery That Ended Two Women’s World Cup Dreams***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68KK-BNY1-DXY4-X0K6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 1, 2023 Saturday 23:15 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** SPORTS; soccer

**Length:** 2057 words

**Byline:** Tariq Panja

**Highlight:** An assault case that rattled one of France’s best soccer teams remains unresolved despite a series of arrests. Its main characters have paid a heavy price.

**Body**

An assault case that rattled one of France’s best soccer teams remains unresolved despite a series of arrests. Its main characters have paid a heavy price.

Aminata Diallo was being escorted from her foul-smelling holding cell to an interview room inside the Hôtel de Police in Versailles the first time she heard the name Tonya Harding.

Harding’s name is infamous in sports, of course. A decorated American figure skater, she was a central figure in the notorious case involving the assault of her biggest rival only weeks before the 1994 Winter Olympics. The scandal — a sudden and violent attack by a mystery man; accusations and denials; tabloid headlines — led to worldwide attention and, years later, a feature-length movie about Harding. But to Diallo, a 28-year-old French soccer player being led up a police station stairwell, the mention of her name — “Have you heard of Tonya Harding?” — produced only a blank stare.

Diallo would quickly learn, however, that the police had reason to ask.

Harding’s rival, Nancy Kerrigan, had been attacked by a man who beat her on the legs in an attempt to keep her from competing. Now, in France, a generation later, the police suspected a similar motive in an attack on Kheira Hamraoui, Diallo’s teammate at the French club Paris St.-Germain. Hamraoui had been [*dragged out of Diallo’s car on a cold November night*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/07/sports/soccer/psg-attack-diallo-hamraoui.html) in 2021 and, like Kerrigan, beaten on her legs in a clear attempt to injure her.

It would take almost a year, and another spell in detention for Diallo, before the police officer’s offhand question became a formal accusation. Prosecutors last September [*charged Diallo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/sports/soccer/psg-attack-diallo-hamraoui.html) with aggravated assault in the attack on Hamraoui. Documents in the case and leaks to the French news media have accused Diallo of masterminding a premeditated attack. The goal, that theory goes, was to eliminate a rival of Diallo’s for a spot in the lineup at P.S.G., one of the best teams in women’s soccer, and on the roster of the French national team, which will be among the favorites at the Women’s World Cup, which begins July 20.

“Lots of people would like it to be me, but that’s not the reality,” Diallo said in an interview in Spain, where she had been trying to resurrect her career. “Tonya Harding, she did it. I didn&#39;t.”

Doubts, and Questions

With its parallels to a decades-old scandal; its themes of race and professional rivalry; and its unlikely cast of elite women’s athletes and shadowy characters, it is no surprise that the case continues to draw interest, or that it has spawned competing documentary projects.

Diallo’s guilt or innocence is no clearer today than it was that morning in the police station in Versailles. A trial date is yet to be announced. But the consequences continue to ripple outward.

Friendships have ended, as has [*at least one marriage*](https://rmcsport.bfmtv.com/football/feminin/affaire-hamraoui-l-epouse-d-abidal-demande-le-divorce-apres-sa-liaison-avec-hamraoui_AD-202111190274.html). Two locker rooms were divided. Diallo was exiled from Paris. Hamraoui, too, became an exile in her own way, ostracized by some of her teammates and eventually forced out of her club.

The police’s case apparently rests on text messages sent by Diallo, some suspicious web searches and a claim by at least one of the men charged in the assault that he had been [*acting on behalf of Diallo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/sports/soccer/psg-attack-diallo-hamraoui.html), even though he admitted the order had not come directly from her.

Diallo and her legal team insist the charges are the actions of a desperate police force looking to secure convictions in a high-profile case, of a case built on flimsy connections and untrustworthy sources.

Diallo said she views the documentary offers as a sort of compensation for everything that she has lost, like the privacy and anonymity she once enjoyed as a stalwart, if unspectacular, soccer professional, but, more materially, for the new contract with P.S.G. that she insists was all but certain before the attack changed the direction of her career and life.

“I think for them it’s interesting whether I am guilty or not,” Diallo said of the filmmakers who have approached her.

The charges she faces — three counts of aggravated assault and criminal assault — came after her second stay in custody and were accompanied by an order not to enter Paris or engage with her former teammates on P.S.G. That was how she found herself in Spain this spring, nibbling patatas bravas and garlic shrimp at a beachside restaurant in Valencia, her career saved only by a short-term deal to play for Levante, which has now ended.

Hamraoui has left P.S.G., too; she was released at the end of the season after not being offered a new deal. Her departure was not a quiet one: On her way out, she accused the club of ostracizing her by treating her differently from her teammates, of victimizing her again.

“In addition to the trauma I suffered that night, I would face this indifference, this cruelty, not to say a form of abuse toward me,” Hamraoui wrote in a book published recently that has been serialized in the French sports newspaper L’Equipe.

“The squad no longer speaks to me, and P.S.G. has only one objective: that I leave as quickly as possible,” Hamraoui said. “They treat me like a plague victim.”

In Spain, Diallo’s life became a stripped-down version of what went before. Apart from training sessions, she spent most of her time alone at a rented apartment. (Qatar-owned P.S.G. had provided a home and a car, the one involved in the attack.) She was not a standout for her new team, and was often deployed as a substitute, a role she was grateful for, and accepted.

“I’ve found it difficult to find the top, top level,” she said as the now finished season meandered toward its conclusion. “I’ve lost the pleasure to play. I’m playing with injustice.”

Diallo contends that she has been wronged, that she is also a victim in the Hamraoui affair. Investigators in France contend she is at the heart of the conspiracy.

Details of their case, leaked to the French news media, paint Diallo as the driving force of the attack on Hamraoui. The men who have been charged with the assault itself are said to have told the police that they believed they were [*acting on behalf of Diallo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/sports/soccer/psg-attack-diallo-hamraoui.html), who was driving the car when it was stopped and when Hamraoui was yanked out and beaten on her legs with an iron bar. Text messages from Diallo disparaging Hamraoui were discovered after the police seized her cellphone and computer, as were online searches for phrases like “breaking a kneecap” and “deadly cocktail of drugs.”

In an interview last November at the offices of her lawyers in Paris, shortly after she was formally charged, Diallo offered explanations. The police had ignored all the positive comments about Hamraoui she had made to friends and associates, she said. The online searches were not unusual, she contended, for an athlete concerned with injuries and health.

But she also contends that her race and background — she is a Black woman from a ***working-class*** neighborhood in Grenoble — had not only led the police to jump to conclusions about her, but others as well.

“In France, when there’s a case like that, the media are quick to assume that you’re guilty,” she said. “They are going to bring up where you’re from right away, which is an argument to show that you are capable of doing that.”

Now, in Valencia, Diallo produced her phone and brandished a screenshot of a diagram published by the French daily Le Parisien that used arrows and boxes to purportedly show links between the men involved in the attack, Diallo and unknown intermediaries. The fact that after all the investigations, the phone taps and the listening devices placed in Diallo’s home, the police still had not found any direct link between her and the arrested men highlighted the weakness of the case against her, Diallo said. She has, she added, “more hate” toward the investigators than Hamraoui, who fell out with Diallo and other teammates after they suggested she, and others at P.S.G., could have been involved in the attack.

“It’s not her trying to find a case against me,” Diallo said of Hamraoui. “I don’t give a damn about her.”

Choosing Sides

Among her protestations of innocence, Diallo pointed to messages sent by her former agent, Sonia Souid, who also represents Hamraoui. Diallo argued that those messages undermine the police’s belief that she orchestrated the attack out of professional jealousy.

In one, a voice note sent about two weeks before the attack and played for a New York Times reporter, Souid told Diallo that she had met with P.S.G.’s sporting director. The club was pleased with Diallo’s performances, Souid reported, and was eager to make an offer to extend her contract, which was about to expire, for two seasons.

Souid, who is one of the most influential agents in women’s soccer in France, said in an interview that while negotiations had not started, the club had made its intentions clear.

But weeks after the November 2021 attack, Souid’s relationship with Diallo ended in a tearful meeting. The player informed the agent that she could no longer be represented by her because of her ties to Hamraoui. In March 2022, Souid said she met with police investigators. She declined to reveal what she was asked, but said the meeting had left her shaken.

“The questions they asked me made me think something very wrong has happened,” Souid said.

She suggested the police had covertly listened not only to Diallo’s conversations but also hers and those of others in the course of their investigation. “They knew everything,” Souid said. “They knew the exact moment calls were made and what was being said, and not just by me.”

Souid said she had always found Diallo to be polite, respectful and serious in their interactions. But as details of the case filtered out, and as she processed the questions she had been asked by the police, she said she began to wonder whether Diallo had “another side.”

Left Out

As the investigation continues, and as Diallo and Hamraoui — now both out of contract — await the next developments, the soccer world rumbles on toward what will be the biggest event in women’s soccer this year, [*the Women’s World Cup*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/world-cup-womens.html).

Diallo will not be there; she had been a fringe player on France’s national team at the time of the attack, and the notoriety of her case and her long layoff — not to mention the court orders to stay away from her former P.S.G. teammates — effectively ended her international career.

Hamraoui, who appeared for France as recently as February, had held out hope of playing her way onto the French team headed to Australia and New Zealand, even though her presence on the squad would not be universally welcomed by some, including a group of P.S.G. players close to Diallo and still furious at Hamraoui’s early insinuations that other players from the club might have been involved in her assault.

Souid, Hamraoui’s agent, had harbored similar optimism. “The Americans are several times World Cup champions and all the players don’t like each other,” she said this spring.

But when France’s new coach, Hervé Renard, announced his preliminary roster for the tournament, Hamraoui’s name was not on it. The decision prompted one French newspaper to run a poll asking whether the decision to omit her was “really a sporting choice.” Hamraoui suggested [*in a radio interview with France Inter*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TBRS2O2cJWY&amp;ab_channel=FranceInter) soon after the announcement that it was not: She called her omission “an injustice.”

The story, though, is not over. That is why, Souid said, filmmakers were interested in telling Hamraoui’s side of it. “It’s not easy to understand what happened to her,” she said.

Diallo, adrift and impatient, might say the same.

For now, both players wait for clarity on who bears the ultimate responsibility for what happened on that dark night in the narrow street, for the end of their association with the case, and with Tonya Harding. Until then, Hamraoui will continue to pursue her soccer career. And Diallo will continue to defend her name.

“I’m not hiding,” Diallo said before departing for another evening in her silent apartment, alone with her thoughts, and her furies.

Tom Nouvian contributed reporting in Paris.

PHOTOS: Aminata Diallo, left, denies involvement in the 2021 attack on Kheira Hamraoui, far right, who was her teammate on the French club Paris St.-Germain. Diallo is charged with aggravated assault. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JEAN-FRANCOIS MONIER/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES) (A10) This article appeared in print on page A1, A10.

**Load-Date:** July 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***India's Robust Economy Isn't Churning Out Jobs***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65NX-4SS1-DXY4-X129-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 13, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1313 words

**Byline:** By Emily Schmall and Sameer Yasir

**Body**

The disconnect is a result of India's uneven growth, powered and enjoyed by the country's upper strata.

NEW DELHI -- On paper, India's economy has had a banner year. Exports are at record highs. Profits of publicly traded companies have doubled. A vibrant middle class, built over the past few decades, is now shelling out so much on movie tickets, cars, real estate and vacations that economists call it post-pandemic ''revenge spending.''

Yet even as India is projected to have the fastest growth of any major economy this year, the rosy headline figures do not reflect reality for hundreds of millions of Indians. The growth is still not translating into enough jobs for the waves of educated young people who enter the labor force each year. A far larger number of Indians eke out a living in the informal sector, and they have been battered in recent months by high inflation, especially in food prices.

The disconnect is a result of India's uneven growth, which is powered by the voracious consumption of the country's upper strata but whose benefits often do not extend beyond the urban middle class. The pandemic has magnified the divide, throwing tens of millions of Indians into extreme poverty while the number of Indian billionaires has surged, according to Oxfam.

The concentration of wealth is in part a product of the growth-at-all-costs ambitions of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who promised when he was re-elected in 2019 to double the size of India's economy by 2024, lifting the country into the $5 trillion-or-more club alongside the United States, China and Japan.

The government reported late last month that the economy had expanded 8.7 percent in the last year, to $3.3 trillion. But with domestic investment lackluster, and government hiring slowing, India has turned to subsidized fuel, food and housing for the poorest to address the widespread joblessness. Free grains now reach two-thirds of the country's more than 1.3 billion people.

Those handouts, by some calculations, have pushed inequality in India to its lowest level in decades. Still, critics of the Indian government say that subsidies cannot be used forever to paper over inadequate job creation. This is especially true as tens of millions of Indians -- new college graduates, farmers looking to leave the fields and women taking on work -- are expected to seek to flood the nonfarm work force in the coming years.

''There is a historical disconnect in the Indian growth story, where growth essentially happens without a corresponding increase in employment,'' said Mahesh Vyas, the chief executive of the Center for Monitoring Indian Economy, a data research firm.

Among the job seekers despairing over the lack of opportunities is Sweety Sinha, who lives in Haryana, a northern state where unemployment was a staggering 34.5 percent in April.

As a child, Ms. Sinha liked to pretend to be a teacher, standing in front of her village classroom with fake eyeglasses and a wooden baton, to fellow students' great amusement.

Her ambition came true years later when she got a job teaching math at a private school. But the coronavirus upended her dreams, as the Indian economy contracted 7.3 percent in the 2020-21 fiscal year. Within months of starting, she and several other teachers were laid off because so many students had dropped out.

Ms. Sinha, 30, is again in the market for a job. In November, she joined thousands of applicants vying for much-coveted work in the government. She has also traveled across Haryana seeking jobs, but turned them down because of the meager pay -- less than $400 a month.

''Sometimes, during nights, I really get scared: What if I am not able to get anything?'' she said. ''All of my friends are suffering because of unemployment.''

But for Indian politicians, a high unemployment rate ''is not a showstopper,'' said Mr. Vyas, the economist, adding that they were far more concerned with inflation, which affects all voters.

India's reserve bank and finance ministry have tried to tackle inflation, which is battering many countries because of pandemic-related supply chain problems and the war in Ukraine, by restricting exports of wheat and sugar, raising interest rates and cutting taxes on fuel.

The bank, after raising borrowing rates in May for the first time in two years, increased them again on Wednesday, to 4.9 percent. As it did so, it forecast that inflation would reach 6.7 percent over the next three quarters.

Reserve bank officials have also employed an array of fiscal and monetary tactics to continue supporting growth, which cooled in the first quarter of 2022, falling to 4.1 percent. Household consumption, a major driver of India's economy, has dropped in the last few months.

''We are committed to containing inflation,'' said the bank's governor, Shaktikanta Das. ''At the same time, we have to keep in mind the requirements of growth. It can't be a situation where the operation is successful and the patient is dead.''

While the Bank of England and the Federal Reserve in the United States have said their countries need to accept lower growth rates because of high commodity prices, India's reserve bank is not in that camp, said Priyanka Kishore, an analyst at Oxford Economics. ''Growth matters a lot for India,'' she said. ''There's a political agenda.''

The ban on food exports is a sharp turnabout for Mr. Modi. In response to Russia's blockade on Ukrainian ports, which has led to a global shortage of grains, he had said in April that Indian farmers could help feed the world. Instead, with the global wheat shortfalls driving up prices, the Indian government imposed an export ban to keep domestic prices low.

Temporary interventions like these are easier than addressing the fundamental problem of large-scale unemployment.

''You have wheat in your godowns and you can ship it out to households and get instant gratification,'' Mr. Vyas said, referring to storage facilities, ''whereas trying certain policies for employment is far more protracted and intangible.''

Those policies, analysts say, could include greater efforts to build up India's underdeveloped manufacturing sector. They also say that India should ease regulations that often make it difficult to do business, as well as reducing tariffs so manufacturers have an easier time securing components not made in India.

Exports have been a source of strength for the Indian economy, and the rupee has depreciated by about 4 percent against the U.S. dollar since the beginning of the year, which would normally boost exports.

But inflation in the United States and war in Europe have started to affect sales for Indian-made clothes, said Raja M. Shanmugam, the president of a trade association in Tiruppur, a textile hub in the state of Tamil Nadu.

''All the input cost is increasing. Even earlier this industry worked on wafer-thin margins, but now we are working on loss,'' he said. ''So a situation which is normally a happy situation for the exporters is not so anymore.''

The struggles of ***working-class*** Indians, and the millions of unemployed, may eventually cause a drag on growth, economists say.

Zia Ullah, who drives an auto-rickshaw in Tumakuru, an industrial city in the southern Indian state of Karnataka, said his income was still only about a quarter of what it was before the pandemic.

The $20 he used to earn daily was enough to cover household expenses for his family of five, and school fees for his three children.

''Customers are preferring to walk,'' he said. ''No one seems to have money these days to take an auto.''

Mr. Ullah, 55, said the cost of food had climbed so much that he had to cut down on meals and take two of his children out of school.

''Only one, the elder daughter, goes to school now,'' Mr. Ullah said. ''The rest look around for work in the area.''

Hari Kumar contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/12/business/economy/india-economy-jobs.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/12/business/economy/india-economy-jobs.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A job fair in Chennai in May. The struggles of ***working-class*** Indians, and the millions of jobless, may eventually cause a drag on growth, economists say. (PHOTOGRAPH BY IDREES MOHAMMED/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) (B3)

**Load-Date:** June 13, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Trying to Finish a Journey From Brazil's Presidency to Prison and Back***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66H4-YVX1-JBG3-653B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 30, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1633 words

**Byline:** By Jack Nicas and Flávia Milhorance

**Body**

RIO DE JANEIRO -- In 2019, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva was spending 23 hours a day in an isolated cell with a treadmill in a federal penitentiary.

The former president of Brazil was sentenced to 22 years on corruption charges, a conviction that appeared to end the storied career of the man who had once been the lion of the Latin American left.

Now, freed from prison, Mr. da Silva is on the brink of becoming Brazil's president once again, an incredible political resurrection that at one time seemed unthinkable.

On Sunday, Brazilians will vote for their next leader, with most choosing between President Jair Bolsonaro, 67, the right-wing nationalist incumbent, and Mr. da Silva, 76, a zealous leftist known simply as ''Lula,'' whose corruption convictions were annulled last year after Brazil's Supreme Court ruled that the judge in his cases was biased.

For more than a year, polls have shown Mr. da Silva with a commanding lead. Now a surge in his numbers suggest he could win outright on Sunday with more than 50 percent of the vote, avoiding a runoff with Mr. Bolsonaro.

A victory would complete a remarkable journey for Mr. da Silva, whom former President Barack Obama once called ''the most popular politician on Earth.'' When he left office in 2011 after two terms, Mr. da Silva's approval rating topped 80 percent. But then he became the centerpiece of a sprawling investigation into government bribes that led to nearly 300 arrests, landing him in prison and seemingly destined for obscurity.

Today, the former union leader is back in the spotlight, this time poised to retake the wheel of Latin America's largest nation, at 217 million people, with a mandate to undo Mr. Bolsonaro's legacy.

''How did they try to destroy Lula? I spent 580 days in jail because they didn't want me to run,'' Mr. da Silva told a crowd of supporters last week, his famously gravelly voice even hoarser with age and a grueling campaign. ''And I stayed calm there, preparing myself like Mandela prepared for 27 years.''

On the campaign trail, Mr. da Silva has taken to comparing himself to Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr., political prisoners who expanded their movements after they were freed. ''I am convinced the same thing will happen here in Brazil,'' he said at a separate rally this month.

Mr. da Silva's return to the president's office would cement his status as the most influential figure in Brazil's modern democracy. A former metalworker with a fifth-grade education and the son of illiterate farm workers, he has been a political force for decades, leading a transformational shift in Brazilian politics away from conservative principles and toward leftist ideals and ***working-class*** interests.

The leftist Workers' Party he co-founded in 1980 has won four of the eight presidential elections since the end of Brazil's military dictatorship in 1988, while finishing as the runner-up in the rest.

As president from 2003 through 2010, Mr. da Silva's administration helped lift 20 million Brazilians out of poverty, revitalized the nation's oil industry and elevated Brazil on the world stage, including by hosting the World Cup and Summer Olympics.

But it also allowed a vast kickback scheme to fester throughout the government, with many of his Workers' Party allies convicted of accepting bribes. While the courts threw out Mr. da Silva's two convictions of accepting a condo and renovations from construction companies bidding on government contracts, they did not affirm his innocence.

Mr. da Silva has long maintained that the charges were false.

If Mr. da Silva wins the presidency, it will be in part thanks to an old-school campaign. He has toured the vast country holding in-person rallies. He has played it safe, skipping a debate last Saturday, offering few specifics in his proposals and declining most interview requests, including with The New York Times.

And he has built a broad coalition, from communists to businessmen, selecting a former center-right governor as his running mate, Geraldo Alckmin, who had been his opponent in the 2006 presidential election.

Mr. da Silva has also benefited from a matchup with a deeply unpopular incumbent. Polls show that about half of Brazilians say they would never support Mr. Bolsonaro, who has upset many voters with a torrent of false statements, destructive environmental policies, an embrace of unproven drugs over Covid-19 vaccines and harsh attacks against political rivals, journalists, judges and health professionals.

On the campaign trail, Mr. Bolsonaro has called Mr. da Silva a crook and a communist, while Mr. da Silva describes the president as authoritarian and inhumane.

If elected, Mr. da Silva would be the most significant example yet of Latin America's recent shift to the left. Since 2018, leftists have ridden an anti-incumbent wave into office in Mexico, Colombia, Argentina, Chile and Peru.

Overall, Mr. da Silva's campaign has been built around the promise he has been pitching for decades: He will make life better for Brazil's poor. The pandemic battered Brazil's economy, with inflation reaching double digits and the number of people facing hunger doubling to 33 million. He has pledged to widen the safety net, increase the minimum wage, lower inflation, feed and house more people and create jobs through big new infrastructure projects.

''He was the anti-poverty president, and that's the legacy he wants to keep if he wins,'' said Celso Rocha de Barros, a sociologist who wrote a book about the Workers' Party.

Yet, like most successful politicians, Mr. da Silva's speeches are often short on details and long on promises. He frequently builds his rhetoric around a clash between ''they,'' the elites, and ''we,'' the people. He wears his ***working-class*** credentials on his left hand; he lost his pinkie at 19 in an auto-parts factory. And he carries his message with his Everyman image, complete with plenty of references to beer, cachaça and picanha, Brazil's most famous cut of meat.

''They think that the poor don't have rights,'' he told a crowd of supporters in one of São Paulo's poorest neighborhoods last week. But he would fight for their rights, he said. ''The right to barbecue with family on the weekend, to buy a little picanha, to that piece of picanha with the fat dipped in flour, and to a glass of cold beer,'' he shouted to cheers.

''He's the candidate of the people, of the poor,'' said Vivian Casentino, 44, a cook draped in the red of the Workers' Party, at a rally this week in Rio de Janeiro. ''He's like us. He's a fighter.''

In his first stint as president, Mr. da Silva used a commodities boom to pay for his expansion of government. This time around, Brazil's economy is in rougher shape, and he is proposing higher taxes on the rich to fund more benefits for the poor. Some voters are uneasy with his plans after his handpicked successor's economic policies helped lead Brazil into a recession.

While his political style has not changed in his sixth presidential campaign, he has tried to modernize his image. He has included more references to women, Black people, Indigenous groups and the environment in his speeches and proposals, and even promised to advocate for ''organic salads.''

At a recent meeting with social-media influencers, including the nation's most popular YouTuber, a sharp-witted comedian and a rapper with face tattoos, Mr. da Silva urged them to counter suggestions that he was corrupt.

''Globo spent five years calling me a thief,'' he said, referring to Brazil's biggest TV network. He said he wished the channel's lead anchor would open the newscast one night by saying sorry. ''Apologies are hard,'' he added.

Mr. da Silva has never fully acknowledged the role of his Workers' Party in the government corruption scheme that persisted for much of the 13 years it was in power. The investigation, called Operation Carwash, revealed how companies paid hundreds of millions of dollars in bribes to government officials in exchange for public contracts.

Mr. da Silva says that political enemies framed him to eliminate the Workers' Party from Brazilian politics. He has also accused the U.S. government of helping to drive the investigation.

The Carwash investigation was eventually engulfed in its own scandal, as it became clear that it had been used as a political tool. Prosecutors focused on the crimes of the Workers' Party over other parties, and investigators leaked Mr. da Silva's taped conversations. Sergio Moro, the federal judge overseeing the case, was later revealed to be colluding with prosecutors, while also acting as the sole arbiter in many of the trials.

In 2019, Mr. da Silva was released from prison after the Supreme Court ruled he could be free while pursuing appeals. Then, last year, the Supreme Court threw out his convictions, ruling that they were tried in the wrong court and that Mr. Moro was biased.

Mr. da Silva is carried by a cult of personality, built over more than four decades in the public eye, and he is far more popular than the political party he built.

Creomar de Souza, a Brazilian political analyst, said immature democracies can often revolve around a single personality rather than a movement or set of ideas. ''Some young democracies struggle to take a step forward,'' he said. ''An individual becomes a crucial part of the game.''

At a rally for Mr. da Silva in Rio this week, Vinicius Rodrigues, 28, a history student, was handing out fliers for a communist party. ''We support Lula specifically,'' he said, but not the Workers' Party.

Nearby, Luiz Claudio Costa, 55, was selling ''I'm with Lula'' headbands for 50 cents. He had always voted for Mr. da Silva, but in 2018, he chose Mr. Bolsonaro. ''I got it wrong,'' he said. ''We need Lula back.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/29/world/americas/lula-bolsonaro-brazil-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/29/world/americas/lula-bolsonaro-brazil-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A leftist former president, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, above with his wife, Rosangela, is favored over the right-wing incumbent, Jair Bolsonaro, right, in Brazil's presidential election Sunday (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DADO GALDIERI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 30, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Brazil’s Favorite Leftist Is Back From Prison and Trying to Defeat Bolsonaro***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66GY-C561-DXY4-X4K4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 29, 2022 Thursday 15:19 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1678 words

**Byline:** Jack Nicas and Flávia Milhorance

**Highlight:** Former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva is trying to cap a stunning political comeback by defeating the incumbent Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil’s elections on Sunday.

**Body**

Follow our live coverage of the [*election protests at Brazil’s National Congress*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/01/08/world/brazil-congress-protests-bolsonaro).

RIO DE JANEIRO — In 2019, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva was spending 23 hours a day in an isolated cell with a treadmill in [*a federal penitentiary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/09/world/americas/brazil-lula-jail.html).

The former president of Brazil was sentenced to 22 years on [*corruption charges*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/07/world/americas/brazil-lula-surrenders-luiz-inacio-lula-da-silva-.html), a conviction that appeared to end the storied career of the man who had once been the lion of the Latin American left.

Now, freed from prison, Mr. da Silva is on the brink of becoming Brazil’s president once again, [*an incredible political resurrection*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/27/world/americas/brazil-president-lula.html) that at one time seemed unthinkable.

On Sunday, Brazilians will [*vote for their next leader*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/22/world/americas/brazil-election-bolsonaro-coup.html), with most choosing between President Jair Bolsonaro, 67, the right-wing nationalist incumbent, and Mr. da Silva, 76, a zealous leftist known simply as “Lula,” whose corruption convictions were annulled last year after Brazil’s Supreme Court ruled that the judge in his cases was biased.

For more than a year, polls have shown Mr. da Silva with a commanding lead. Now a surge in his numbers suggest he could win outright on Sunday with more than 50 percent of the vote, avoiding a runoff with Mr. Bolsonaro.

A victory would complete a remarkable journey for Mr. da Silva, whom former President Barack Obama once called “the most popular politician on Earth.” When he left office in 2011 after two terms, Mr. da Silva’s approval rating topped 80 percent. But then he became the centerpiece of [*a sprawling investigation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/11/world/americas/brazil-corruption-dilma-rousseff-operation-car-wash.html) into government bribes that led to nearly 300 arrests, landing him in prison and seemingly destined for obscurity.

Today, the former union leader is back in the spotlight, this time poised to retake the wheel of Latin America’s largest nation, at 217 million people, with a mandate to undo Mr. Bolsonaro’s legacy.

“How did they try to destroy Lula? I spent 580 days in jail because they didn’t want me to run,” Mr. da Silva told a crowd of supporters last week, his famously gravelly voice even hoarser with age and a grueling campaign. “And I stayed calm there, preparing myself like Mandela prepared for 27 years.”

On the campaign trail, Mr. da Silva has taken to comparing himself to Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr., political prisoners who expanded their movements after they were freed. “I am convinced the same thing will happen here in Brazil,” [*he said at a separate rally*](https://youtu.be/JAvv8LWe-hc) this month.

Mr. da Silva’s return to the president’s office would cement his status as the most influential figure in Brazil’s modern democracy. A former metalworker with a fifth-grade education and the son of illiterate farm workers, he has been a political force for decades, leading a transformational shift in Brazilian politics away from conservative principles and toward leftist ideals and ***working-class*** interests.

The leftist Workers’ Party he co-founded in 1980 has won four of the eight presidential elections since the end of Brazil’s military dictatorship in 1988, while finishing as the runner-up in the rest.

As president from 2003 through 2010, Mr. da Silva’s administration helped lift 20 million Brazilians out of poverty, revitalized the nation&#39;s oil industry and elevated Brazil on the world stage, including by hosting the World Cup and Summer Olympics.

But it also allowed [*a vast kickback scheme*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/21/business/dealbook/odebrecht-brazil-company-bribe-kickback-braskem.html) to fester throughout the government, with many of his Workers’ Party allies convicted of accepting bribes. While the courts threw out Mr. da Silva’s two convictions of accepting a condo and renovations from construction companies bidding on government contracts, they did not affirm his innocence.

Mr. da Silva has long [*maintained that the charges were false*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/24/world/americas/brazil-presidential-electionluiz-inacio-lula-da-silva.html).

If Mr. da Silva wins the presidency, it will be in part thanks to an old-school campaign. He has toured the vast country holding in-person rallies. He has played it safe, skipping a debate last Saturday, offering few specifics in his proposals and declining most interview requests, including with The New York Times.

And he has built a broad coalition, from communists to businessmen, selecting a former center-right governor as his running mate, Geraldo Alckmin, who had been his opponent in the 2006 presidential election.

Mr. da Silva has also benefited from a matchup with [*a deeply unpopular incumbent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/world/americas/bolsonaro-covid-19-brazil.html). Polls show that about half of Brazilians say they would never support Mr. Bolsonaro, who has upset many voters with a torrent of false statements, destructive environmental policies, an embrace of unproven drugs over Covid-19 vaccines and harsh attacks against political rivals, journalists, judges and health professionals.

On the campaign trail, Mr. Bolsonaro has called Mr. da Silva a crook and a communist, while Mr. da Silva describes the president as authoritarian and inhumane.

If elected, Mr. da Silva would be the most significant example yet of [*Latin America’s recent shift to the left*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/31/world/americas/latin-america-leftist-leaders.html). Since 2018, leftists have ridden an anti-incumbent wave into office in Mexico, Colombia, Argentina, Chile and Peru.

Overall, Mr. da Silva’s campaign has been built around the promise he has been pitching for decades: He will make life better for Brazil’s poor. The pandemic battered Brazil’s economy, with inflation reaching double digits and the number of people facing hunger doubling to 33 million. He has pledged to widen the safety net, increase the minimum wage, lower inflation, feed and house more people and create jobs through big new infrastructure projects.

“He was the anti-poverty president, and that’s the legacy he wants to keep if he wins,” said Celso Rocha de Barros, a sociologist who wrote a book about the Workers’ Party.

Yet, like most successful politicians, Mr. da Silva’s speeches are often short on details and long on promises. He frequently builds his rhetoric around a clash between “they,” the elites, and “we,” the people. He wears his ***working-class*** credentials on his left hand; he lost his pinkie at 19 in an auto-parts factory. And he carries his message with his Everyman image, complete with plenty of references to beer, cachaça and picanha, Brazil’s most famous cut of meat.

“They think that the poor don’t have rights,” he told a crowd of supporters in one of São Paulo’s poorest neighborhoods last week. But he would fight for their rights, he said. “The right to barbecue with family on the weekend, to buy a little picanha, to that piece of picanha with the fat dipped in flour, and to a glass of cold beer,” [*he shouted to cheers.*](https://youtu.be/k1j0SVsDpuA?t=3934)

“He’s the candidate of the people, of the poor,” said Vivian Casentino, 44, a cook draped in the red of the Workers’ Party, at a rally this week in Rio de Janeiro. “He’s like us. He’s a fighter.”

In his first stint as president, Mr. da Silva used a commodities boom to pay for his expansion of government. This time around, Brazil’s economy is in rougher shape, and he is proposing higher taxes on the rich to fund more benefits for the poor. Some voters are uneasy with his plans after his handpicked successor’s economic policies [*helped lead Brazil into a recession*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/11/world/americas/brazils-economic-crisis-intensifies-raising-pressure-on-president.html).

While his political style has not changed in his sixth presidential campaign, he has tried to modernize his image. He has included more references to women, Black people, Indigenous groups and the environment in his speeches and proposals, and even promised to advocate for “[*organic salads*](https://twitter.com/LulaOficial/status/1494331706932793352).”

At a recent meeting with social-media influencers, including [*the nation’s most popular YouTuber*](https://www.nytimes.com/video/opinion/100000007227771/coronavirus-covid-brazil-bolsonaro.html), [*a sharp-witted comedian*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/03/opinion/bolsonaro-duvivier-brazil.html) and [*a rapper with face tattoos*](https://www.instagram.com/ticostacruz/), Mr. da Silva urged them to counter suggestions that he was corrupt.

“Globo spent five years calling me a thief,” he said, referring to Brazil’s biggest TV network. He said he wished the channel’s lead anchor would open the newscast one night by saying sorry. “Apologies are hard,” he added.

Mr. da Silva has never fully acknowledged the role of his Workers’ Party in the government corruption scheme that persisted for much of the 13 years it was in power. The investigation, called Operation Carwash, revealed how companies paid hundreds of millions of dollars in bribes to government officials in exchange for public contracts.

Mr. da Silva says that political enemies framed him to eliminate the Workers’ Party from Brazilian politics. He has also accused the U.S. government of helping to drive the investigation.

The Carwash investigation was eventually [*engulfed in its own scandal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/10/world/americas/brazil-car-wash-lava-jato.html), as it became clear that it had been [*used as a political tool*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/26/opinion/international-world/car-wash-operation-brazil-bolsonaro.html). Prosecutors focused on the crimes of the Workers’ Party over other parties, and investigators leaked Mr. da Silva’s taped conversations. Sergio Moro, the federal judge overseeing the case, was later [*revealed to be*](https://theintercept.com/2019/06/09/chat-moro-deltan-telegram-lava-jato/) colluding with prosecutors, while also acting as the sole arbiter in many of the trials.

In 2019, Mr. da Silva was released from prison after the Supreme Court ruled he could be free while pursuing appeals. Then, last year, the Supreme Court threw out his convictions, ruling that they were tried in the wrong court and that Mr. Moro was biased.

Mr. da Silva is carried by a cult of personality, built over more than four decades in the public eye, and he is far more popular than the political party he built.

Creomar de Souza, a Brazilian political analyst, said immature democracies can often revolve around a single personality rather than a movement or set of ideas. “Some young democracies struggle to take a step forward,” he said. “An individual becomes a crucial part of the game.”

At a rally for Mr. da Silva in Rio this week, Vinicius Rodrigues, 28, a history student, was handing out fliers for a communist party. “We support Lula specifically,” he said, but not the Workers’ Party.

Nearby, Luiz Claudio Costa, 55, was selling “I’m with Lula” headbands for 50 cents. He had always voted for Mr. da Silva, but in 2018, he chose Mr. Bolsonaro. “I got it wrong,” he said. “We need Lula back.”

PHOTOS: A leftist former president, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, above with his wife, Rosangela, is favored over the right-wing incumbent, Jair Bolsonaro, right, in Brazil’s presidential election Sunday (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DADO GALDIERI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 8, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Royal Treatment***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64KD-G251-JBG3-63TV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 21, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 385 words

**Byline:** By Amy Nicholson

**Body**

Laura Marano and Mena Massoud star in a romantic comedy that tweaks a familiar formula but still feels inane.

Cinderella stories don't die, they mutate.

In ''The Royal Treatment,'' Izzy (Laura Marano), a New York hairdresser with major attitude, gets a happily-ever-after story that justifies itself by offering two tweaks to the familiar formula. First, the screenwriter Holly Hester swaps the fairy godmother for a smartphone -- one that mistakenly directs the valet of a dimpled royal, Prince Thomas (Mena Massoud), to Izzy's salon. Second, this candy-floss flick embraces today's trend toward populism by having the girl initially reject the prince because his kingdom, a Euro-spritzed fantasyland called Lavania where folk-dancing peasants speak fluent English, has perpetrated human rights abuses.

Here, the prince -- not his ***working-class*** crush -- must be made over. This is because of ignominies including his ignorance of the number of gardeners on the royal estate (18, for the record) and his failure to question why his parents have betrothed him to the daughter of a Texas real estate tycoon. (Let's just say that the reason is not good for the poorest Lavanians, who live in a gray warren called Über die Gleise, or ''Over the Tracks.'')

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

The movie comes across as a deliberately, almost defensively, inane trifle; a cupcake whose icing reads, ''Enjoy the tooth decay.'' Not only can't the Lavanians agree on an accent, but the structures that make up the king's castle can't agree on an architecture style, settling on a bizarre mix of mildewed gargoyles and modernist solariums. Given the director Rick Jacobson's sheer insouciance, it feels petty to sniff that the couple has the chemistry of tap water. The lovebirds chatter and smile -- Massoud with a graham-cracker blandness, Marano with a roiling, unfiltered and eventually exhausting extroversion -- as time ticks by until a climactic kiss. There's no swooning, but at least there's a fun subplot where Izzy's salon co-workers (played by Grace Bentley-Tsibuah and Chelsie Preston Crayford) suffer a royal re-education camp that trains the brassy glamour girls to put down their nail glitter. Sobs one, ''I'm losing my pizazz!''

The Royal TreatmentNot rated. Running time: 1 hour 36 minutes. Watch on Netflix.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/movies/the-royal-treatment-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/20/movies/the-royal-treatment-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Mena Massoud and Laura Marano in ''The Royal Treatment.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kirsty Griffin/Netflix FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 21, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In Relentless Storms, California's Aging Levees Are Failing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67SJ-4J51-DXY4-X107-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 15, 2023 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 19

**Length:** 1297 words

**Byline:** By Tim Arango and Shawn Hubler

**Body**

PAJARO, Calif. -- It began as a trickle, seeping through a 74-year-old earthen levee in Northern California, dribs and drabs of the Pajaro River, swollen with rain yet again on Friday night. Then pools bubbled up on beyond the levee walls, spreading toward darkened fields of strawberries and lettuce. Four miles downstream, the farmworker community of Pajaro slept.

Within half an hour, according to Mark Strudley, the Pajaro Regional Flood Management Agency's executive director, sandbag crews were swarming the scene in ''full flood fight.'' But in the latest example of how California's vast and aging infrastructure is being tested by this year's onslaught of extreme winter weather, the crews could not keep up.

As they backed away, the river burst with a mighty roar through the worn-down levee, flooding freeways and farms, submerging the entire town of Pajaro and forcing thousands of residents in Santa Cruz and Monterey Counties to flee.

''I have to start from zero,'' Antonio Arroyo, a 58-year-old farmworker, said on Tuesday as he sat in an evacuation center at the Santa Cruz County Fairgrounds with about 300 displaced residents from the same community, known for harvesting strawberries. He had been sleeping in a Honda minivan when firefighters rescued him from the rising floodwaters in Pajaro; the donated red sneakers, blue jeans, sweater and plaid shirt he was wearing were ''all I have,'' he said.

As a fresh atmospheric river ravaged California on Tuesday, causing high winds and flooding from Southern California to the Oregon border, water experts warned that the recent storms could be just a prelude to an even more challenging spring.

Already, the landscape is beyond saturated after a winter that has set or approached records for precipitation. By Tuesday afternoon, heavy rain reached the Los Angeles Basin, where officials warned residents to avoid driving through flooded roadways and fire authorities said they rescued eight people and eight dogs from the San Gabriel River in Azusa late Monday.

In the Bay Area and Central Coast, strong winds downed power lines and tall trees. More than 350,000 utility customers were without power at one point on Tuesday, most of them customers of Pacific Gas and Electric in hard-hit Northern California, according to Poweroutage.us, which tracks blackouts. Gusts of up to 74 miles per hour were recorded at San Francisco International Airport, where operations were paused briefly after the F.A.A. issued a ground stop.

Water from the Pajaro River breached a levee on Tuesday, forcing the closure of a portion of Highway 1 until the safety of bridges could be assessed.

More than 1,500 dams and some 14,000 miles of levees help control California's waterways, according to federal statistics. And this year's storms are capping the driest three years on record, noted Gary Lippner, deputy director of dam safety and flood management with the state's Department of Water Resources.

''California,'' he said, ''has experienced true climate whiplash this year.''

Jeffrey Mount, a senior fellow specializing in water at the Public Policy Institute of California, a research organization, said that the cumulative effect of this winter's back-to-back storms had left California in ''uncharted territory,'' particularly in the southern Sierra Nevada, where the water content of the snowpack was the largest ever recorded.

As the snowpack melts, he said, and dam managers are forced to release water from fast-filling reservoirs to make room for incoming rain, flood-prone communities could become overwhelmed.

''It is worth remembering that almost all of our flood management infrastructure is more than a half-century old and designed around the climate of the past,'' Mr. Mount said on Tuesday in an email.

''While we have had many discussions about adapting to droughts of the future -- and are making progress -- we are still in the most nascent stages of thinking about how to adapt to larger floods.''

Statewide, the winter storms have stressed the state's infrastructure since January, particularly in low-lying, inland areas crisscrossed by rivers. Along the Cosumnes River near Sacramento, where more than a dozen levee breaches flooded roads and inundated homes during storms around New Year's Day, communities are still recovering.

To the north of the State Capitol, the authorities who maintain the watershed that encompasses the Sacramento International Airport said that when one of their pumps exploded this year during a powerful storm system, they discovered that their equipment was so old that the manufacturer no longer carried the parts they needed to fix it.

''We managed to get it back online with a $600 part we found on eBay,'' said Kevin L. King, the general manager of Reclamation District No. 1000, an agency formed to maintain levees and protect acreage from flooding. ''We were within 12 to 24 hours of telling the airport to reroute flights because there would have been water flooding the runways.''

Mr. Strudley said that federal, state and local officials had talked since the 1960s about the need to shore up the water infrastructure around the Pajaro River, but the property values in the area were so low that they did not meet the threshold for repair under the cost-benefit formula that the federal government and the Army Corps of Engineers were using.

That approach, which systemically disadvantaged poorer communities, has begun to change, he said. A major project to upgrade and strengthen the local levees at an estimated cost of more than $500 million was underway when the storm hit, and the flood has prompted local officials to begin talks with the federal government about expediting its planned 2025 groundbreaking, Mr. Strudley said.

Even so, he added, the project is expected to take eight to 10 years.

In Watsonville, across the river from their community of Pajaro, displaced farmworkers said it was unclear how long they could hold out with both their homes and the fields they depend on for paychecks underwater. Some said they had been living in their cars for days, not knowing where to go.

The ***working-class*** agricultural region is tucked between the beaches of Santa Cruz that are popular with surfers, and the wealthy Monterey Peninsula known for its world-class Pebble Beach Golf Links. Often cloaked in fog near the coastline of the Pacific Ocean, workers in the Pajaro Valley pick strawberries and harvest lettuce and artichokes savored by the rest of the nation.

Marina Hernandez, 31, said she received a knock on the door just after midnight on Saturday from a county worker saying her family had an hour to evacuate. She called her husband, who was working an overnight shift about 20 miles away at a garlic packing plant in Gilroy, and then quickly collected important documents, like birth certificates and Social Security cards.

But she said county officials did not tell her where to find shelter, so she and her family were living for a few days in their pickup truck. ''All they said was: 'Get out! Get out!' But they didn't tell us where to go. Nothing.''

Finally, after being sent away from the Santa Cruz County Fairgrounds because the evacuation center was over capacity, she found her way on Tuesday afternoon to a small shelter set up in the gymnasium of a veterans hall in Watsonville.

Sitting on a cot with her 14-month-old daughter as her 5-year-old son lay playing with his phone on another cot, Ms. Hernandez said she was sad and frustrated and had no idea the condition of her home.

Weeks might pass, she said, before she and her family could go back. Until then, she said, ''I'm not able to do anything.''

Jill Cowan contributed reporting from Los Angeles.Jill Cowan contributed reporting from Los Angeles.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/14/us/california-storm-pajaro-levee.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/14/us/california-storm-pajaro-levee.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A front yard in Watsonville, Calif., on Tuesday. A local levee that was breached on Friday was made of earth and nearly 75 years old. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NIC COURY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** March 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Read Your Way Through Los Angeles***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6880-NBH1-DXY4-X202-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 17, 2023 Wednesday 01:06 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1684 words

**Byline:** Héctor Tobar

**Highlight:** Héctor Tobar is a son of Los Angeles, a city of “perpetual cultural mixing.” Here, he guides readers through the books and writers that cut through the city’s layers.

**Body**

Héctor Tobar is a son of Los Angeles, a city of “perpetual cultural mixing.” Here, he guides readers through the books and writers that cut through the city’s layers.

[*Read Your Way Around the World*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/literary-guides) is a series exploring the globe through books.

On Sunset Boulevard in Bel Air, street vendors offer “Maps to the Stars’ Homes.” The vendors don’t sell “Maps to the Authors’ Homes,” which is a shame, because [*F. Scott Fitzgerald*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2009/11/16/slow-fade-arthur-krystal), Tennessee Williams and Truman Capote all lived nearby. A map to the homes of Angeleno authors might also guide you to the bungalow where Bertolt Brecht penned one of his greatest plays, “The Caucasian Chalk Circle.” And to the mansion where a teenager named Susan Sontag [*visited one of her literary heroes*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1987/12/21/pilgrimage-susan-sontag), the German exile and Nobel laureate Thomas Mann.

Outsiders often think of Los Angeles as an anti-intellectual place, all Hollywood glitz and no substance, but writers have always been drawn to my hometown. In David L. Ulin’s “Writing Los Angeles: A Literary Anthology,” I read about Simone de Beauvoir’s 1947 journey to L.A.’s Eastside, where she learned about the city’s anti-Mexican prejudice and admired Dia de los Muertos skulls. She ate spicy chili con carne on Olvera Street, the same tourist trap where I entertained visiting authors half a century later. “I sit down to drink the tequila, and I am utterly dazed with pleasure,” she wrote.

Los Angeles gave those authors the same thing it’s given me: a vision of a metropolis filled with natural delights and stark injustices, an Eden where people from around the world invent new versions of themselves — and a hellish stage of social unrest. It’s no accident that two very different, canonical works of L.A. literature climax with riots, even though they were written more than a half century apart: Nathanael West’s 1939 novel “The Day of the Locust,” and Anna Deavere Smith’s play “[*Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/theater/twilight-los-angeles-1992-rodney-king.html).”

Is there a book, or a writer, who captures the essence of Los Angeles?

When East Coast literati ask themselves this question, they often answer: Joan Didion. With her iconic 1960s and ‘70s essays about [*Los Angeles and the West*](https://www.nytimes.com/1979/06/10/books/didion-calif.html), in collections such as “Slouching Towards Bethlehem,” Didion helped invent New Journalism. But I would pair Didion with a writer from a community on the opposite side of the metaphorical tracks.

At about the same time Didion was settling into a home in Malibu and writing about our notorious Santa Ana winds, Luis J. Rodriguez was joining a street gang. Rodriguez’s memoir “Always Running: La Vida Loca, Gang Days in L.A.” is set in the gritty suburban sprawl of the San Gabriel Valley. It is an epic tale of family, brotherly love, prejudice, drive-by shootings and the everyday pleasures of a neighborhood where there are still open fields, swimming holes and other reminders of a recent rural past. Rodriguez gives us something we rarely see in movies set in Los Angeles: the richness and drama of its ***working-class*** life.

So does another San Gabriel Valley work: “Curse of the Starving Class,” the 1977 play by Sam Shepard about a family living on an avocado farm, with a freeway nearby. A few literary decades later, you’ll find the same landscape filling in with food stands selling [*menudo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/08/magazine/menudo-soup-recipe.html) in Salvador Plascencia’s experimental 2005 novel, “[*The People of Paper*](https://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/10/books/review/music-of-the-mill-and-the-people-of-paper-calmex.html).” And finally, the San Gabriel Valley becomes the surreal stage of the stories in Carribean Fragoza’s excellent 2021 collection, “[*Eat the Mouth That Feeds You*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/23/books/review/eat-the-mouth-that-feeds-you-carribean-fragoza.html).”

Where can I get out of my car and walk through some of L.A.’s literary history?

Begin at downtown’s Grand Central Market, at its western entrance. To your left, you’ll see the funicular Angels Flight, which gives its name to a [*detective novel*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/99/01/24/reviews/990124.24crimet.html) by the immensely popular Michael Connelly. Angels Flight will take you up to Bunker Hill, the setting of many an L.A. novel from the mid-20th century. “Bunker Hill is old town, lost town, shabby town, crook town,” the noir master Raymond Chandler [*wrote*](https://la.curbed.com/maps/raymond-chandler-quotes-square-books-los-angeles), long before the neighborhood’s old rooming houses were demolished.

I love this spot because it’s the closest I can get to [*John Fante’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/02/28/books/books-of-the-times-a-truly-famous-unknown-writer.html) “Ask the Dust,” my favorite Los Angeles novel. Fante set most of “Ask the Dust” on Bunker Hill and in the downtown streets below, where his protagonist, Arturo Bandini, meets his love interest, the Mexican waitress Camilla. And here, in the office building above the market, Bandini buys a marijuana cigarette from a friend who hides his stash in a compartment inside his wooden leg.

Didn’t William Faulkner live in Los Angeles?

Faulkner came to Los Angeles to [*write screenplays*](https://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/william-faulkners-hollywood-84560082/). He famously called it (and I paraphrase here) the plastic anus of the world. One of his favorite hangouts can be found just two blocks from Grand Central Market: the stunning (and decidedly non-plastic) Gallery Bar at the Biltmore Hotel. Continuing on my walking tour, you’ll find a park facing the Biltmore: Pershing Square, which features in John Rechy’s pioneering novel about gay life “City of Night.”

A few blocks to the north lies the former site of the all-night doughnut shop where Rechy and other gay and trans patrons [*fought back against police harassment*](https://qvoicenews.com/2018/05/03/queer-history-was-made-at-coopers-donuts-in-los-angeles/), and the cafeteria where Jack Kerouac’s alter-ego, Sal Paradise, dines with his Mexican American girlfriend in “On the Road.”

A bit further north you’ll come upon the [*Hall of Justice*](https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-02-23-me-401-story.html), where Charles Manson was jailed and went on trial, as reported in the 1974 true crime best seller “Helter Skelter” — and where Chandler’s fictional detective Philip Marlowe is locked up in “The Long Goodbye.”

Finally, you’ll reach Union Station. The parking lot and the small, sloping lawn across Alameda Street are the site of the city’s original Chinatown. Lisa See’s great-grandfather owned a shop here, as we learn in her beautiful family memoir “[*On Gold Mountain*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/08/27/books/chinese-roots.html).” And a Mexican nanny on an odyssey with the two boys in her care passes through Union Station itself in my novel “[*The Barbarian Nurseries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/06/books/review/the-barbarian-nurseries-by-hector-tobar-book-review.html).”

Is there an audiobook I can listen to while I’m stuck in L.A. traffic?

Los Angeles helped pioneer noir fiction, so let’s go with a good detective yarn. My favorite: “Devil in a Blue Dress,” by Walter Mosley, with the audiobook read by the wonderful, multivoiced Michael Boatman. The novel tells the story of a Texas-born working man unwittingly becoming a detective as he untangles a mystery that takes him to L.A.’s Black, white and Latino neighborhoods. Mosley’s Black protagonist is drawn into a world of glamour, corruption and deep, Jim Crow-era racism. He longs for the simplest of L.A.’s pleasures — the one that keeps so many of us here: a home with a garden of his own.

What’s a good bookstore to visit while I’m in town?

My first bookstore was the long-ago vanquished Pickwick Books on Hollywood Boulevard, the same locale where a young Susan Sontag was caught shoplifting a copy of “Doctor Faustus.” These days I consider the venerable [*Vroman’s*](https://www.vromansbookstore.com/), in Pasadena, my neighborhood bookstore. And I love wandering through the huge stacks and book tunnels of downtown’s [*The Last Bookstore*](https://www.lastbookstorela.com/) — the location, by the way, of a steamy sex scene in the film adaptation of “Gone Girl.”

Is there a book of poetry you would recommend?

Charles Bukowski made his name in Los Angeles, as did many other poets, including Eloise Klein Healy, Douglas Kearney, Amy Uyematsu and Sesshu Foster. Many observers of our literary scene called [*Wanda Coleman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/29/magazine/poem-american-sonnet-18.html), who died in 2013, the “unofficial poet laureate of Los Angeles.” [*Her poems*](https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/wanda-coleman) tell of coming-of-age in the Watts neighborhood, her childhood victories over racist librarians and the joys and tribulations of single motherhood. I’d start with her 2001 collection, “Mercurochrome.”

What book would give me an insight into the city’s hidden history?

Back in 1990, Mike Davis caused a sensation with his “City of Quartz,” which recounts stories about forgotten socialist communes, brush fires, the birth of L.A. noir and the scandals of L.A.’s old money and its nouveau riche. Kelly Lytle Hernández’s “City of Inmates” shows Los Angeles as being, from its founding, a place of mass incarceration and popular resistance to policing.

And finally, in William D. Estrada’s “The Los Angeles Plaza,” we see three centuries of the city’s history unfold in the handful of blocks surrounding its original town square. Estrada spins a tale with an incredibly varied cast of characters, from the [*Tongva people*](https://nahc.ca.gov/cp/tribal-atlas-pages/gabrielino-tongva-nation/) who built the city’s first Spanish church to the anarchist Emma Goldman and the Japanese American merchants who were hauled off to concentration camps during World War II. This book, like so many others about my hometown, paints a picture of Los Angeles that is entirely familiar to me: a city of perpetual cultural mixing, where each day brings new encounters and struggles.

Héctor Tobar’s Los Angeles Reading List

* “Writing Los Angeles: A Literary Anthology,” David L. Ulin

1. “The Day of the Locust,” Nathanael West
2. “Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992,” Anna Deavere Smith
3. “Slouching Towards Bethlehem,” Joan Didion
4. “Always Running: La Vida Loca, Gang Days in L.A.,” Luis J. Rodriguez
5. “Curse of the Starving Class,” Sam Shepard
6. “The People of Paper,” Salvador Plascencia
7. “Eat the Mouth that Feeds You,” Carribean Fragoza
8. “Angels Flight,” Michael Connelly
9. “Ask the Dust,” John Fante
10. “City of Night,” John Rechy
11. “On the Road,” Jack Kerouac
12. “Helter Skelter,” Vincent Bugliosi and Curt Gentry
13. “The Long Goodbye,” Raymond Chandler
14. “On Gold Mountain,” Lisa See
15. “Devil in a Blue Dress,” Walter Mosley
16. “Mercurochrome,” Wanda Coleman
17. “City of Quartz,” Mike Davis
18. “City of Inmates,” Kelly Lytle Hernández
19. “The Los Angeles Plaza,” William D. Estrada

Héctor Tobar’s books include the novels “[*The Tattooed Soldier*](https://www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/hector-tobar/the-tattooed-soldier/),” “[*The Barbarian Nurseries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/06/books/review/the-barbarian-nurseries-by-hector-tobar-book-review.html)” and “[*The Last Great Road Bum*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/25/books/review/hector-tobar-last-great-road-bum.html).” His most recent book, “[*Our Migrant Souls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/09/books/review/our-migrant-souls-hector-tobar.html),” is nonfiction and personal, touching on his parents’ migration from Guatemala and his upbringing in Los Angeles.

PHOTOS: Valerie Hanley, owner of Casa California souvenir shop. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AE C. HONG/ASSOCIATED PRESS); Takeaway food stalls at Grand Central Market in Los Angeles. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ETIENNE LAURENT/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) This article appeared in print on page BR14.

**Load-Date:** July 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Racism as Narrative, Not an Issue, for G.O.P. Candidates of Color***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68CC-VW71-JBG3-64VC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 2, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1801 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman and Trip Gabriel

**Body**

As candidates like Tim Scott and Nikki Haley bolster their biographies with stories of discrimination, they have often denied the existence of systemic racism in America while describing situations that sound just like it.

Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina opened his presidential candidacy with a story of the nation's bitter, racist past. It is one that he tells often, of a grandfather forced from school in the third grade to pick cotton in the Jim Crow South.

A rival for the Republican nomination, Nikki Haley, speaks of the loneliness and isolation of growing up in small-town South Carolina as the child of immigrants and part of the only Indian family around. Larry Elder, a conservative commentator and long-shot presidential candidate, talks to all-white audiences about his father, a Pullman porter in the segregated South, who carried tinned fish and crackers in his pockets ''because he never knew whether he'd be able to get a meal.''

Such biographical details are useful reminders of how far the G.O.P.'s candidates of color have come to reach the pinnacle of national politics, a run for the presidency. But in bolstering their own bootstrap biographies with stories of discrimination, they have put forth views about race that at times appear at odds with their view of the country -- often denying the existence of a system of racism in America while describing situations that sound just like it.

''I'm living proof that America is the land of opportunity and not a land of oppression,'' Mr. Scott says in a new campaign advertisement running in Iowa, though he has spoken of his grandfather's forced illiteracy and his own experiences being pulled over by the police seven times in one year ''for driving a new car.''

The clashing views of the role that race plays in America are a major theme of the 2024 election, underpinning cultural battles over ''wokeness.''

Yet behind the debate over structural racism -- a codified program of segregation and subjugation that suppressed minority achievement long ago and, many scholars say, has left people of color still struggling -- is a secondary debate over the meaning of the stories politicians tell about themselves.

That has sometimes made the discussion of race in this presidential primary awkward but also revealing, and has underscored a central difference between the two parties. Republican candidates of color don't see their pasts in their present, even if the two front-runners in the race for the Republican nomination, Donald J. Trump and Ron DeSantis, are elevating racial grievance to the center of conservative politics, through overt or covert appeals to white anger.

''I know Nikki and Tim -- both are brilliant -- but for them not to be able to make the logical jump is troubling: Systemic racism is the issue,'' said Bakari Sellers, a Democratic political commentator who served with Mr. Scott and Ms. Haley in the South Carolina legislature. ''For them to recount their own experiences but close their eyes to the bigger picture, it's troubling.''

Mr. Elder, at an April gathering of evangelical Christians in West Des Moines, Iowa, spoke of his father, the Pullman porter who later became a cook in a segregated Marine Corps unit. When he returned from World War II, his father found he could not get a job in the whites-only restaurants of Chattanooga, Tenn., and struggled to find work in Los Angeles because he had no references from Tennessee.

Mr. Elder's father even asked to cook in Los Angeles restaurants for free, just to get references, and again was refused. He ended up with two jobs scrubbing toilets.

''There was something called slavery, the K.K.K., Jim Crow -- that was codified,'' Mr. Elder said in an interview. ''Of course there was systemic racism.''

But now?

No, he replied, recalling the election and re-election of a Black president, Barack Obama.

In the early years of the Obama presidency, talk of a post-racial society -- where the color of one's skin has no bearing on stature or success -- was common. But later, an upsurge of white supremacist violence, including the massacre of Black parishioners at a Charleston church in 2015 during Mr. Obama's second term, along with the murder of George Floyd in 2020, shattered that idealized post-racial notion for many people of color from all political persuasions.

''That's part of the problem with Scott and Haley declaring there's no racism,'' said Andra Gillespie, a political scientist at Emory University and the author of a book on Mr. Obama's symbolism as a Black president. ''You could have argued in 2006 and 2007 that racism was waning. That's a lot less credible today.''

Candidates of color are not the only ones who rely on bootstrap biographies to bolster their appeal. Stories of struggle, impoverished childhoods, ***working-class*** roots or ethnic identity are staples for candidates in both parties, from Abraham Lincoln to Joseph R. Biden Jr. to Mr. DeSantis and his ''family of steelworkers.'' But tales of racism and discrimination lend political biographies an added element of authenticity. Mr. Scott's family story -- ''from cotton to Congress'' -- was the subject of his first campaign ad, unveiled last week.

For Republican candidates of color, whose audiences are often almost entirely white, there is another factor, according to strategists: Placing racism safely in the past and trumpeting the racial progress of their own lifetimes relieves today's G.O.P. voters from having to confront any racial animosity in their party. That can be a soothing message to Republicans who feel defensive about the party's racial makeup and policies.

''They're saying this to make an overwhelmingly white Republican audience feel better about themselves,'' said Stuart Stevens, a former Republican consultant who guided the party's 2012 presidential nominee, Mitt Romney. ''It's a variation, oddly enough, of victim politics. People accuse you of being racist? 'That's unfair. Vote for me, therefore you'll prove you're not racist.'''

Under Mr. Trump, the Republican Party accommodated white nationalists in its ranks and embraced once-taboo ideas like replacement theory.

A Haley campaign spokeswoman, Chaney Denton, said: ''In Nikki Haley's experience, America is not a racist country, and she's proud to say it. That's fact, not strategy.'' She added that ''the only people who seem bothered by that'' are ''liberal race baiters.''

At an event on Wednesday morning sponsored by the news site Axios, Mr. Scott was pressed to describe racism that he had recently experienced, to which he had a ready response: being pulled over by police officers more than 20 times for ''driving while Black,'' which he said ''weighs heavy on the shoulders.''

''You find yourself in a position where you've done nothing wrong, but you are assumed guilty before proven innocent,'' Mr. Scott said on Wednesday. But he added, ''Racism is embedded in the hearts of individuals.''

Many white Republicans also reject the idea that America is systemically racist.

At a Haley event in February in Iowa, Charles Strange, a retired construction worker from North Liberty, Iowa, was more apt to see systemic issues impeding white people such as himself. ''Structural barriers, let's see,'' Mr. Strange said. ''Here's a structural barrier: You got quotas for Blacks for education -- a structural barrier for a white person.''

The downplaying of systemic racism by candidates of color fits with the party's push to stop the influence of ''critical race theory'' in how American history is taught and to defund programs that advance diversity in public colleges.

Mr. DeSantis, who joined the presidential race last week, recently signed a law eliminating diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives in higher education and paring back what he called ''woke'' academic programs. The Florida Department of Education blocked high schools in January from teaching an advanced placement course on African American studies, part of what the governor called an effort to combat ''indoctrination'' by the left. Elsewhere, Republican-led state and local governments are rewriting textbooks and ridding public libraries of stark racial lessons from the nation's past.

''Of all the threats, there is this national loathing that has taken over our country, where people are saying America is bad or it's rotten or it's racist,'' Ms. Haley told an Iowa crowd earlier this year. ''I was the first minority female governor in the country. I am telling you America is not a racist country. It's a blessed country.''

Many Republican voters and local officials agree.

''I'm not more racist than any Democrat, but they like to label and push that against us,'' Gloria Mazza, the Republican chairwoman in Polk County, Iowa, said at a Scott event in West Des Moines.

But Black audiences, even Republican ones, are far less receptive. Such difficulties for the party were on display recently for another Republican candidate of color, the entrepreneur and author Vivek Ramaswamy.

Mr. Ramaswamy held a town-hall meeting on May 19 on the South Side of Chicago, ostensibly to discuss the migrant crisis that has divided the city. He often talks of his feelings of isolation as the son of Indian immigrants growing up in suburban Cincinnati, but says that the experience made him stronger, not a victim. He has also made eliminating affirmative action a central plank of a candidacy that centers on a critique of identity politics.

But Black voters made clear they believed strongly that systemic issues, past and present, were holding them back. The discussion kept shifting from immigration to reparations for Black Americans, mass incarceration, disinvestment in Black neighborhoods and easily accessible, high-powered weaponry promoted by the firearms industry.

''There's all the money in the world to incarcerate us, and nothing to integrate us back into society,'' Tyrone F. Muhammad, founder of the group Ex-Cons for Community and Social Change, said while looking straight at Mr. Ramaswamy, a fabulously wealthy investor. Mr. Muhammad added, ''There are too many billionaires and millionaires in this country for it to look the way it looks.''

Then Cornel Darden Jr. of the Southland Black Chamber of Commerce & Industry stood to confront Mr. Ramaswamy on affirmative action. ''Those laws have been in place for 70 years,'' Dr. Darden said, ''and we're going to defend them.''

After months of telling largely white audiences America is not a racist society, Mr. Ramaswamy acknowledged bigotry and said race-based preferences were exacerbating it.

''I do think anti-Black racism is on the rise in America today,'' Mr. Ramaswamy said. ''I don't want to throw kerosene on that.''

Maya King contributed reporting.Maya King contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/01/us/politics/republicans-race-scott-haley.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/01/us/politics/republicans-race-scott-haley.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top, Larry Elder, Nikki Haley and Tim Scott are all seeking the Republican nomination for president. Their cultural backgrounds have featured heavily in their campaigns, but less so in their policies. They deny that systemic racism still exists today. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RACHEL MUMMEY/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES

CHARLIE NEIBERGALL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ALLISON JOYCE/GETTY IMAGES) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** June 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Low Turnout of Black Voters in Midterms Raises Questions for Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:670C-B151-JBG3-60R0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 1, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 928 words

**Byline:** By Nate Cohn

**Body**

But the effects of the decrease wound up being muted.

There was a lot of good news -- or at least news that felt good -- for Democrats this election cycle, from holding the Senate to remaining stubbornly competitive in the House.

But as more data becomes final, it's clear that Black turnout is not one of those feel-good stories for the party.

We won't get conclusive numbers for months, but the evidence so far raises the distinct possibility that the Black share of the electorate sank to its lowest level since 2006. It certainly did in states like Georgia and North Carolina, where authoritative data is already available.

The relatively low turnout numbers aren't necessarily a surprise. After all, this was not supposed to be a good year for Democrats. Perhaps this is one of the things that went about as expected, with no reason to think it portends catastrophe for Democrats in the years ahead.

Still, relatively low Black turnout is becoming an unmistakable trend in the post-Obama era, raising important -- if yet unanswered -- questions about how Democrats can revitalize the enthusiasm of their strongest group of supporters.

Is it simply a return to the pre-Obama norm? Is it yet another symptom of eroding Democratic strength among ***working-class*** voters of all races and ethnicities? Or is it a byproduct of something more specific to Black voters, like the rise of a more progressive, activist -- and pessimistic -- Black left that doubts whether the Democratic Party can combat white supremacy?

Whatever the answer, it is clear that the relatively low Black turnout was not exactly disastrous electorally for Democrats in 2022. With the possible exception of the Wisconsin Senate race, it's hard to identify a high-profile election where Democrats might have prevailed if the Black share of the electorate had stayed at 2014 or 2018 levels.

But it does help make sense of one of the stranger features of this election: how Republicans fared so well in the national vote, but routinely underperformed in critical states and districts. With the important exceptions of Georgia and North Carolina, the Black population share was below the national average in virtually all of the key districts and Senate contests.

Georgia and North Carolina are two of the states where voters indicate their race when they register to vote, offering an unusually clear look at the racial composition of the electorate. In both states -- along with Louisiana -- the Black share of the electorate fell to its lowest levels since 2006.

In all three states, the turnout rate among Black voters was far lower than among white voters. In North Carolina, for example, 43 percent of Black registered voters turned out, compared with 59 percent of white registered voters -- roughly doubling the difference from 2018 and tripling the racial turnout gap from 2014.

While similarly conclusive data is not available elsewhere so far, the turnout by county suggests that a relatively weak Black turnout was a national phenomenon.

In Philadelphia, Milwaukee and Detroit, turnout fell 10 percent to 12 percent beneath 2018 levels. At the same time, turnout increased in the rest of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan. Obviously, there are plenty of voters of other races and ethnicities in Philadelphia, Milwaukee and Detroit, but the relatively lower Black turnout in these places is part of a broader nationwide pattern: In areas where Black voters represented a larger share of the population, the turnout sank by more.

The decline looms especially large in Wisconsin, where the Democrat Mandela Barnes fell 26,718 votes short of victory (one percentage point short), even as the Democratic margin in the City of Milwaukee fell by a nearly identical 27,612 votes compared with 2018.

Mr. Barnes, who was born in Milwaukee and represented part of the city in the State Assembly, did well enough outside Milwaukee to have had a very good chance to win the state. But the city did not represent the share of the state's electorate that it did two or four years ago.

The lower Black share of the electorate was not quite decisive in North Carolina, where the Democrat Cheri Beasley probably needed Black turnout to match or exceed white turnout share to win her Senate race (she lost by three points). It probably wasn't decisive in the Georgia governor's race either; Stacey Abrams lost by almost eight points. No realistic Black turnout would have been enough.

Perhaps more remarkable is that Raphael Warnock, the Democratic senator from Georgia, and Ms. Beasley fared so well, even with Black voters representing such a low share of the electorate. Mr. Warnock and Ms. Beasley appear to have fared better among non-Black voters than any Democrats in recent memory in either state.

For Mr. Warnock, the relatively low Black turnout in the general election may offer some upside in the runoff Dec. 6 against Herschel Walker.

In the 2021 runoff, the Black share of the electorate rose by enough for Mr. Warnock and Jon Ossoff to prevail, even though Republicans won the most votes in the general election two months before.

A similar increase this time, though certainly not guaranteed, might give Mr. Warnock a fairly comfortable victory.

Indeed, there are a few positive signs for Democrats already. So far, Black voters represent 38 percent of the early vote. It's tough to read too much into this, given the shortened early voting window (and the fact that many blue-leaning counties allowed early voting over the weekend). We'll see whether it holds up Election Day.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/30/upshot/midterms-election-black-turnout.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/30/upshot/midterms-election-black-turnout.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** December 1, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Ascension of Bernie Sanders; Maureen Dowd***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:633W-50W1-JBG3-6128-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 10, 2021 Saturday 09:57 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1446 words

**Byline:** Maureen Dowd

**Highlight:** The senator is willing to break a few eggs, over easy, to get Democrats back on track to their ***working-class*** roots.

**Body**

BURLINGTON, Vt. — I want to talk to Bernie about Balenciaga. And Britney. And Dua Lipa, Sha’Carri Richardson and Joe Manchin’s [*houseboat*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/). And whether he prefers red or white horseradish on his gefilte fish. And the state of capitalism, and the absurd price of a Birkin bag.

We settle into a retro yellow booth at Henry’s Diner and I pull out a thick sheaf of questions. Eyeing it suspiciously, he asks with that booming Brooklyn accent, “You givin’ a speech?”

He reaches into his shirt pocket and pulls out his own piece of paper, a list of items written in his loopy scrawl. These are the only things he’s here to talk about.

At 79, Bernie Sanders is a man on a mission, laser-focused on a list that represents trillions of dollars in government spending that he deems essential. When I stray into other subjects, the senator jabs his finger at his piece of paper or waves it in my face, like Van Helsing warding off Dracula with a cross.

“Maureen, let me just tell you what we’re trying to do here,” he says. “We’re working on what I think is the most consequential piece of legislation for working families since the 1930s.”

Sanders, long a wilderness prophet in Washington, a man who wrote a [*memoir*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/) bragging about being an outsider, admits that it is strange to be a key member of The Establishment. As the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, the [*democratic socialist*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/) is now pulling the levers in the control room.

He has changed the whole debate in the nation’s capital. He is the guy trying to yank his party back to its ***working-class*** roots and steer President Biden in a bolder, more progressive direction.

Mirabile dictu: A president and senator who are both pushing 80, men who were underestimated and dismissed for years in Democratic circles, are now teaming up to transform the country. It’s the Bernie and Joe show.

Sanders passionately believes that the only way to undo the damage done by Donald Trump and Trumpism is by showing that government can deliver, that good policy can overcome dangerous conspiracy theories and lies.

“I would have loved to run against him, to tell you the truth,” he says of Trump. “He’s a fraud and he’s a phony. That’s what he is, and he has to be exposed for that.”

Even with Trump out of office, Sanders feels we are still on the precipice. Democrats need to speak to the struggles of the white ***working class***, he says, something that “sometimes part of the Democratic elite does not fully appreciate.” He adds: “We’ve got to take it to them. I intend, as soon as I have three minutes, to start going into Trumpworld and start talking to people.”

“It’s absolutely imperative if democracy is to survive that we do everything that we can to say, ‘Yes, we hear your pain and we are going to respond to your needs.’ That’s really what this is about. If we don’t do that, I fear very much that conspiracy theories and big lies and the drift toward authoritarianism is going to continue. You got all these folks out there who are saying, ‘Does anybody pay attention to me?’”

Sanders is a purist who doesn’t like to acknowledge how intertwined the personal and political can be. Yet he and Biden have a bond that could have a profound effect on the lives of Americans.

While the two men disagree on a lot of things, the former Senate colleagues and 2020 rivals share a [*mutual respect*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/). Sanders has easy access to the White House. It is a big difference from the way he was treated in 2016 by Clinton, Inc. Not only did Hillary’s henchmen run a [*nasty*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/) campaign and [*try to rig the primaries*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/); Hillary herself [*would later say*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/) about him in a 2020 documentary: “Nobody likes him. Nobody wants to work with him.”

Sanders says he gives the president a lot of credit for looking at the budget not just as numbers on a spreadsheet but as a chance to reshape the American identity.

“Who denies the realities of what he is taking on?” Sanders says, digging into some eggs over easy and white toast. “Does anyone deny that our child care system, for example, is a disaster? Does anyone deny that pre-K, similarly, is totally inadequate? Does anyone deny that there’s something absurd that our young people can’t afford to go to college or are leaving school deeply in debt? Does anybody deny that our physical infrastructure is collapsing? Does anybody except anti-science people deny that climate change is real? Does anyone deny that we have a major health care crisis? Does anyone deny that we pay the highest prices in the world for prescription drugs? Does anyone deny we have a housing crisis? Does anyone deny that half the people live paycheck to paycheck?”

Sanders, who has talked about spending [*up to $6 trillion*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/) on the reconciliation package, says he will not support a two- or three-trillion-dollar bill. “That’s much too low.”

What about grumbling coming from members of the progressive wing that they want Sanders to stay a hell-raiser, not be a bridge-builder who gives Biden and the center-left cover?

“You know politics,” he answers with a shrug. “You can’t please all of the people all of the time.” He adds that he sees this moment as a chance to “address concerns progressives have had for decades.”

Sanders was a lonely voice on democratic socialism for decades; now he has a squad to keep him company.

He lights up talking about “Alexandria, Rashida, Ilhan, Pramila, Ayanna from Massachusetts,” noting that “they really came from very much the same place that I was coming from, and they all came from different parts of the world.”

Still, Sanders is not in lock step with the most progressive members of his party on everything. He says, for example, that he prefers “fundamental reform” to defunding the police.

“A cop’s life is a difficult life,” he says, sounding like the mayor he once was. “Schedules are terrible. Salaries, in many cases, are inadequate. It’s a dangerous job. It’s a job with a lot of pressure. We need to significantly improve training for the police. In certain communities, what is going on is absolutely unacceptable. It must be changed, period. We cannot have racism in policing. If you go to Black communities or Latino communities, they want this protection.”

When I ask Sanders if he thinks A.O.C. could be president someday, out comes the list.

“That’s not what I want to get into,” he barks. “I want to get into what this legislation is about.”

“You don’t want to discuss ‘Free Britney’?” I ask.

“No.”

But I get him on the American sprinter Sha’Carri Richardson [*being suspended from the U.S. Olympics team*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/) because of marijuana use.

“I think it speaks to the problems of the so-called war on drugs,” he says. “So I have a problem with that.”

Sitting across from Sanders in this little diner in this little town, it’s wild to contemplate that the 79-year-old has become an icon of popular culture, beloved by people under 30, featured in this month’s Vanity Fair [*cover story*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/) as a friend of pop star Dua Lipa, and that he was [*an inspiration*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/) for a Balenciaga show in Paris in 2017.

He rolls his eyes at fashion. “I’m not chic,” he says. “I’m the least chic person in the world. Trust me.”

He’s also unimpressed by billionaires and their toys.

“You have the richest guys in the world who are not particularly worried about Earth anymore,” he says. “They’re off in outer space.” People are sleeping on the streets, but “Mr. Bezos is worth $200 billion and now he wants to get a spaceship. That’s very nice. That’s what this legislation is about, Maureen. I want to talk about this legislation.”

But wait, what does he think of Marjorie Taylor Greene’s lurking around A.O.C.’s office and calling her “[*a little communist*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/)”?

“You’re getting off the subject here,” Sanders chides, before relenting: “Look, she is the future of a segment of the Republican Party which is delusional, which tends toward violence.” He adds: “It’s not just Jan. 6. It’s taking place at state capitols. There’s people walking around with guns.”

If he were not a senator, he says, he might want to do something in media, helping journalists relate to the ***working class*** and correctly define political terms like “liberal”: “Liberals want to do nice things. And progressives understand that you have to take on powerful special interests to make it happen.”

Before the senator leaves to work the phones, he returns to his list with one last directive: “Tell people what we are trying to accomplish.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/) and [*Instagram*](https://www.washingtonian.com/2021/02/22/joe-manchins-houseboat-5-things/).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY IAN THOMAS JANSEN-LONNQUIST FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 12, 2021

**End of Document**



[***California Levee Failures Mount as Storms Continue Relentless Drive***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67SH-1M91-DXY4-X06C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 14, 2023 Tuesday 11:09 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1323 words

**Byline:** Tim Arango and Shawn Hubler

**Highlight:** Pajaro is the latest community to suffer from a levee break in California. Intense atmospheric rivers and snowmelt will keep testing the river walls that protect millions of residents.

**Body**

PAJARO, Calif. — It began as a trickle, seeping through a 74-year-old earthen levee in Northern California, dribs and drabs of the Pajaro River, swollen with rain yet again on Friday night. Then pools bubbled up on beyond the levee walls, spreading toward darkened fields of strawberries and lettuce. Four miles downstream, the farmworker community of Pajaro slept.

Within half an hour, according to Mark Strudley, the Pajaro Regional Flood Management Agency’s executive director, sandbag crews were swarming the scene in “full flood fight.” But in the latest example of how California’s vast and aging infrastructure is being tested by this year’s onslaught of extreme winter weather, the crews could not keep up.

As they backed away, the river burst with a mighty roar through the worn-down levee, flooding freeways and farms, submerging the entire town of Pajaro and forcing thousands of residents in Santa Cruz and Monterey Counties to flee.

“I have to start from zero,” Antonio Arroyo, a 58-year-old farmworker, said on Tuesday as he sat in an evacuation center at the Santa Cruz County Fairgrounds with about 300 displaced residents from the same community, known for harvesting strawberries. He had been sleeping in a Honda minivan when firefighters rescued him from the rising floodwaters in Pajaro; the donated red sneakers, blue jeans, sweater and plaid shirt he was wearing were “all I have,” he said.

As a fresh atmospheric river ravaged California on Tuesday, [*causing high winds and flooding*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/14/us/california-storm-flood-atmospheric-river-snow.html) from Southern California to the Oregon border, water experts warned that the recent storms could be just a prelude to an even more challenging spring.

Already, the landscape is beyond saturated after a winter that has set or approached records for precipitation. By Tuesday afternoon, heavy rain reached the Los Angeles Basin, where officials warned residents to avoid driving through flooded roadways and fire authorities said they rescued eight people and eight dogs from the San Gabriel River in Azusa late Monday.

In the Bay Area and Central Coast, strong winds downed power lines and tall trees. More than 350,000 utility customers were without power at one point on Tuesday, most of them customers of Pacific Gas and Electric in hard-hit Northern California, according to [*Poweroutage.us*](https://poweroutage.us/area/state/california), which tracks blackouts. Gusts of up to 74 miles per hour were recorded at San Francisco International Airport, where operations were paused briefly after the F.A.A. [*issued a ground stop*](https://nasstatus.faa.gov/).

Water from the Pajaro River breached a levee on Tuesday, forcing the closure of a portion of Highway 1 until the safety of bridges could be assessed.

More than 1,500 dams and some 14,000 miles of levees help control California’s waterways, according to federal statistics. And this year’s storms are capping the driest three years on record, noted Gary Lippner, deputy director of dam safety and flood management with the state’s Department of Water Resources.

“California,” he said, “has experienced true climate whiplash this year.”

Jeffrey Mount, a senior fellow specializing in water at the Public Policy Institute of California, a research organization, said that the cumulative effect of this winter’s back-to-back storms had left California in “uncharted territory,” particularly in the southern Sierra Nevada, where the water content of the snowpack was the largest ever recorded.

As the snowpack melts, he said, and dam managers are forced to release water from fast-filling reservoirs to make room for incoming rain, flood-prone communities could become overwhelmed.

“It is worth remembering that almost all of our flood management infrastructure is more than a half-century old and designed around the climate of the past,” Mr. Mount said on Tuesday in an email.

“While we have had many discussions about adapting to droughts of the future — and are making progress — we are still in the most nascent stages of thinking about how to adapt to larger floods.”

Statewide, the winter storms have stressed the state’s infrastructure since January, particularly in low-lying, inland areas crisscrossed by rivers. Along the Cosumnes River near Sacramento, where more than a dozen levee breaches flooded roads and inundated homes during storms around New Year’s Day, communities are still recovering.

To the north of the State Capitol, the authorities who maintain the watershed that encompasses the Sacramento International Airport said that when one of their pumps exploded this year during a powerful storm system, they discovered that their equipment was so old that the manufacturer no longer carried the parts they needed to fix it.

“We managed to get it back online with a $600 part we found on eBay,” said Kevin L. King, the general manager of Reclamation District No. 1000, an agency formed to maintain levees and protect acreage from flooding. “We were within 12 to 24 hours of telling the airport to reroute flights because there would have been water flooding the runways.”

Mr. Strudley said that federal, state and local officials had talked since the 1960s about the need to shore up the water infrastructure around the Pajaro River, but the property values in the area were so low that they did not meet the threshold for repair under the cost-benefit formula that the federal government and the Army Corps of Engineers were using.

That approach, which systemically disadvantaged poorer communities, has begun to change, he said. A major project to upgrade and strengthen the local levees at an estimated cost of more than $500 million was underway when the storm hit, and the flood has prompted local officials to begin talks with the federal government about expediting its planned 2025 groundbreaking, Mr. Strudley said.

Even so, he added, the project is expected to take eight to 10 years.

In Watsonville, across the river from their community of Pajaro, displaced farmworkers said it was unclear how long they could hold out with both their homes and the fields they depend on for paychecks underwater. Some said they had been living in their cars for days, not knowing where to go.

The ***working-class*** agricultural region is tucked between the beaches of Santa Cruz that are popular with surfers, and the wealthy Monterey Peninsula known for its world-class Pebble Beach Golf Links. Often cloaked in fog near the coastline of the Pacific Ocean, workers in the Pajaro Valley pick strawberries and harvest lettuce and artichokes savored by the rest of the nation.

Marina Hernandez, 31, said she received a knock on the door just after midnight on Saturday from a county worker saying her family had an hour to evacuate. She called her husband, who was working an overnight shift about 20 miles away at a garlic packing plant in Gilroy, and then quickly collected important documents, like birth certificates and Social Security cards.

But she said county officials did not tell her where to find shelter, so she and her family were living for a few days in their pickup truck. “All they said was: ‘Get out! Get out!’ But they didn’t tell us where to go. Nothing.”

Finally, after being sent away from the Santa Cruz County Fairgrounds because the evacuation center was over capacity, she found her way on Tuesday afternoon to a small shelter set up in the gymnasium of a veterans hall in Watsonville.

Sitting on a cot with her 14-month-old daughter as her 5-year-old son lay playing with his phone on another cot, Ms. Hernandez said she was sad and frustrated and had no idea the condition of her home.

Weeks might pass, she said, before she and her family could go back. Until then, she said, “I’m not able to do anything.”

Jill Cowan contributed reporting from Los Angeles.

Jill Cowan contributed reporting from Los Angeles.

PHOTO: A front yard in Watsonville, Calif., on Tuesday. A local levee that was breached on Friday was made of earth and nearly 75 years old. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NIC COURY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** March 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Talk of Racism Proves Thorny for G.O.P. Candidates of Color***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68C6-75J1-JBG3-6495-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 1, 2023 Thursday 12:12 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1853 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman and Trip Gabriel

**Highlight:** As candidates like Tim Scott and Nikki Haley bolster their biographies with stories of discrimination, they have often denied the existence of systemic racism in America while describing situations that sound just like it.

**Body**

As candidates like Tim Scott and Nikki Haley bolster their biographies with stories of discrimination, they have often denied the existence of systemic racism in America while describing situations that sound just like it.

Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina opened his presidential candidacy with a story of the nation’s bitter, racist past. It is one that he tells often, of a grandfather forced from school in the third grade to pick cotton in the Jim Crow South.

A rival for the Republican nomination, Nikki Haley, speaks of the loneliness and isolation of growing up in small-town South Carolina as the child of immigrants and part of the only Indian family around. Larry Elder, a conservative commentator and long-shot presidential candidate, talks to all-white audiences about his father, a Pullman porter in the segregated South, who carried tinned fish and crackers in his pockets “because he never knew whether he’d be able to get a meal.”

Such biographical details are useful reminders of how far the G.O.P.’s candidates of color have come to reach the pinnacle of national politics, a run for the presidency. But in bolstering their own bootstrap biographies with stories of discrimination, they have put forth views about race that at times appear at odds with their view of the country — often denying the existence of a system of racism in America while describing situations that sound just like it.

“I’m living proof that America is the land of opportunity and not a land of oppression,” Mr. Scott says in a new campaign advertisement running in Iowa, though he has spoken of his grandfather’s forced illiteracy and his own experiences being pulled over by the police seven times in one year [*“for driving a new car.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/16/us/politics/tim-scott-police-protests.html)

The clashing views of the role that race plays in America are a major theme of the 2024 election, underpinning cultural battles over “wokeness.”

Yet behind the debate over structural racism — a codified program of segregation and subjugation that suppressed minority achievement long ago and, many scholars say, has left people of color still struggling — is a secondary debate over the meaning of the stories politicians tell about themselves.

That has sometimes made the discussion of race in this presidential primary awkward but also revealing, and has underscored a central difference between the two parties. Republican candidates of color don’t see their pasts in their present, even if the two front-runners in the race for the Republican nomination, Donald J. Trump and Ron DeSantis, are elevating racial grievance to the center of conservative politics, through overt or covert appeals to white anger.

“I know Nikki and Tim — both are brilliant — but for them not to be able to make the logical jump is troubling: Systemic racism is the issue,” said Bakari Sellers, a Democratic political commentator who served with Mr. Scott and Ms. Haley in the South Carolina legislature. “For them to recount their own experiences but close their eyes to the bigger picture, it’s troubling.”

Mr. Elder, at [*an April gathering of evangelical Christians*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/23/us/politics/iowa-faith-freedom-coalition-trump-pence.html) in West Des Moines, Iowa, spoke of his father, the Pullman porter who later became a cook in a segregated Marine Corps unit. When he returned from World War II, his father found he could not get a job in the whites-only restaurants of Chattanooga, Tenn., and struggled to find work in Los Angeles because he had no references from Tennessee.

Mr. Elder’s father even asked to cook in Los Angeles restaurants for free, just to get references, and again was refused. He ended up with two jobs scrubbing toilets.

“There was something called slavery, the K.K.K., Jim Crow — that was codified,” Mr. Elder said in an interview. “Of course there was systemic racism.”

But now?

No, he replied, recalling the election and re-election of a Black president, Barack Obama.

In the early years of the Obama presidency, talk of a post-racial society — where the color of one’s skin has no bearing on stature or success — was common. But later, an upsurge of white supremacist violence, including the massacre of Black parishioners at a Charleston church in 2015 during Mr. Obama’s second term, along with the murder of George Floyd in 2020, shattered that idealized post-racial notion for many people of color from all political persuasions.

“That’s part of the problem with Scott and Haley declaring there’s no racism,” said Andra Gillespie, a political scientist at Emory University and the author of [*a book*](https://www.amazon.com/Race-Obama-administration-Substance-symbols/dp/1526105020) on Mr. Obama’s symbolism as a Black president. “You could have argued in 2006 and 2007 that racism was waning. That’s a lot less credible today.”

Candidates of color are not the only ones who rely on bootstrap biographies to bolster their appeal. Stories of struggle, impoverished childhoods, ***working-class*** roots or ethnic identity are staples for candidates in both parties, from Abraham Lincoln to Joseph R. Biden Jr. to [*Mr. DeSantis and his “family of steelworkers*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p2nGYqO0nQk).” But tales of racism and discrimination lend political biographies an added element of authenticity. Mr. Scott’s family story — “from cotton to Congress” — was the subject of [*his first campaign ad,*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFnUqUUVA1o) unveiled last week.

For Republican candidates of color, whose audiences are often almost entirely white, there is another factor, according to strategists: Placing racism safely in the past and trumpeting the racial progress of their own lifetimes relieves today’s G.O.P. voters from having to confront any racial animosity in their party. That can be a soothing message to Republicans who feel defensive about the party’s racial makeup and policies.

“They’re saying this to make an overwhelmingly white Republican audience feel better about themselves,” said Stuart Stevens, a former Republican consultant who guided the party’s 2012 presidential nominee, Mitt Romney. “It’s a variation, oddly enough, of victim politics. People accuse you of being racist? ‘That’s unfair. Vote for me, therefore you’ll prove you’re not racist.’”

Under Mr. Trump, the Republican Party accommodated [*white nationalists in its ranks*](https://www.al.com/politics/2023/05/tuberville-a-white-nationalist-is-a-trump-republican.html) and embraced once-taboo ideas like [*replacement theory.*](https://www.npr.org/2022/05/17/1099223012/how-the-replacement-theory-went-mainstream-on-the-political-right)

A Haley campaign spokeswoman, Chaney Denton, said: “In Nikki Haley’s experience, America is not a racist country, and she’s proud to say it. That’s fact, not strategy.” She added that “the only people who seem bothered by that” are “liberal race baiters.”

At an event on Wednesday morning sponsored by the news site Axios, Mr. Scott was pressed to describe racism that he had recently experienced, to which he had a ready response: being pulled over by police officers more than 20 times for “driving while Black,” which he said “weighs heavy on the shoulders.”

“You find yourself in a position where you’ve done nothing wrong, but you are assumed guilty before proven innocent,” Mr. Scott said on Wednesday. But he added, “Racism is embedded in the hearts of individuals.”

Many white Republicans also reject the idea that America is systemically racist.

At a Haley event in February in Iowa, Charles Strange, a retired construction worker from North Liberty, Iowa, was more apt to see systemic issues impeding white people such as himself. “Structural barriers, let’s see,” Mr. Strange said. “Here’s a structural barrier: You got quotas for Blacks for education — a structural barrier for a white person.”

The downplaying of systemic racism by candidates of color fits with the party’s push to stop the influence of “critical race theory” in how American history is taught and [*to defund programs*](https://www.texastribune.org/2023/05/27/texas-university-diversity-equity-inclusion-dei-bill-conference/) that advance diversity in public colleges.

Mr. DeSantis, who joined the presidential race last week, recently signed [*a law eliminating diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/15/us/politics/ron-desantis-dei-bill.html) in higher education and paring back what he called “woke” academic programs. The Florida Department of Education blocked high schools in January from teaching an [*advanced placement course on African American studies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/19/us/desantis-florida-ap-african-american-studies.html), part of what the governor called an effort to combat “indoctrination” by the left. Elsewhere, Republican-led state and local governments are [*rewriting textbooks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/16/us/florida-textbooks-african-american-history.html) and [*ridding public libraries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/30/books/book-ban-us-schools.html) of stark racial lessons from the nation’s past.

“Of all the threats, there is this national loathing that has taken over our country, where people are saying America is bad or it’s rotten or it’s racist,” Ms. Haley told an Iowa crowd earlier this year. “I was the first minority female governor in the country. I am telling you America is not a racist country. It’s a blessed country.”

Many Republican voters and local officials agree.

“I’m not more racist than any Democrat, but they like to label and push that against us,” Gloria Mazza, the Republican chairwoman in Polk County, Iowa, said at a Scott event in West Des Moines.

But Black audiences, even Republican ones, are far less receptive. Such difficulties for the party were on display recently for another Republican candidate of color, the entrepreneur and author Vivek Ramaswamy.

Mr. Ramaswamy held a town-hall meeting on May 19 on the South Side of Chicago, ostensibly to discuss the migrant crisis that has divided the city. He often talks of his feelings of isolation as the son of Indian immigrants growing up in suburban Cincinnati, but says that the experience made him stronger, not a victim. He has also made eliminating affirmative action a central plank of a candidacy that centers on a critique of identity politics.

But Black voters made clear they believed strongly that systemic issues, past and present, were holding them back. The discussion kept shifting from immigration to reparations for Black Americans, mass incarceration, disinvestment in Black neighborhoods and easily accessible, high-powered weaponry promoted by the firearms industry.

“There’s all the money in the world to incarcerate us, and nothing to integrate us back into society,” [*Tyrone F. Muhammad*](https://www.eccsc.org/founder), founder of the group Ex-Cons for Community and Social Change, said while looking straight at Mr. Ramaswamy, a fabulously wealthy investor. Mr. Muhammad added, “There are too many billionaires and millionaires in this country for it to look the way it looks.”

Then Cornel Darden Jr. of the Southland Black Chamber of Commerce &amp; Industry stood to confront Mr. Ramaswamy on affirmative action. “Those laws have been in place for 70 years,” Dr. Darden said, “and we’re going to defend them.”

After months of telling largely white audiences America is not a racist society, Mr. Ramaswamy acknowledged bigotry and said race-based preferences were exacerbating it.

“I do think anti-Black racism is on the rise in America today,” Mr. Ramaswamy said. “I don’t want to throw kerosene on that.”

Maya King contributed reporting.

Maya King contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top, Larry Elder, Nikki Haley and Tim Scott are all seeking the Republican nomination for president. Their cultural backgrounds have featured heavily in their campaigns, but less so in their policies. They deny that systemic racism still exists today. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RACHEL MUMMEY/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES; CHARLIE NEIBERGALL/ASSOCIATED PRESS; ALLISON JOYCE/GETTY IMAGES) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** June 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Galleries***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67YF-FPV1-DXY4-X2KB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 7, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1410 words

**Body**

Che Lovelace

Through April 22. Nicola Vassell Gallery, 138 10th Avenue, Manhattan; 212-463-5160, nicolavassell.com.

Before, after, during, long ago -- it's hard to determine when things are happening for Che Lovelace's figures in his show ''Bathers'' at Nicola Vassell. Not all of the framed paintings, rendered here in acrylic on board, suggest a narrative, but many do, such as ''Shallow Pools'' (2022), so I want to see temporal progression in it. Are the two embracing women in the foreground at the bottom of the painting the same women seen separately in the composition's receding distance, perhaps at another time that day, or in an imagined future? Adding to this fey lyricism are Lovelace's formal choices, including the quasi-Cubist fracturing of each scene into four equal squares that don't quite align. Hues so bright they are almost garish hum through prismatic washes. Linear time stops, then staggers dazedly.

Born and based in Trinidad, Lovelace portrays people who dwell in the waters of the Caribbean, but more, they bend and stretch, squat or sit, pose with an arm akimbo, or flung over a head, while the other arm supports a languorous torso arcing like a crescent moon. The water is a transformative, poetic medium -- through Lovelace's attentive gaze -- the otherwise prosaic routines of his fellow Trinidadians become lyrical. Even our inherited classical mythology can be transmuted. In ''The Gun'' (2022), a figure peers intently into a pool, but the scene isn't a version of Narcissus falling in love with himself. Rather it's an act of seeking in those depths something bygone, antiquated that may be rescued and made anew. SEPH RODNEY

Shellyne Rodriguez

Through April 22. P·P·O·W Gallery, 392 Broadway, Manhattan; 212-647-1044, ppowgallery.com.

Shellyne Rodriguez's terrific debut exhibition at P·P·O·W is forthrightly political art warmed by tender personal detail. The artist was born in the Bronx in 1977. That's the terrain she focuses in her photographically precise color pencil drawings on black paper. And a wide terrain it is, global in population, rich in cultural history.

Rodriquez broadly charts it in three big word-and-image pieces generically titled ''BX Third World Liberation Mixtape.'' Stylistically, they're modeled on early 1980s hip-hop event fliers designed by the Bronx-based handbill artist Buddy Esquire. Compositionally, they're action-packed interlaces of figures and words: lyrics, rap group names, magical numbers, and place names spelled in Arabic, Chinese, English, Hindi, Spanish and Twi.

Each ''Mixtape'' functions as a nodal point for a gathering of large portraits. Several are of Rodriquez's neighbors -- bodega owners, barbers, playground kids. Others are of activist friends and mentors: the abolitionist scholar Ruth Wilson Gilmore; the queer theorist Jasbir K. Puar; the former gang matriarch, now community leader Lorine Padilla. As in Baroque paintings of saints, each is depicted with symbolic attributes: Gilmore and Puar with books; Padilla with a compact Santeria altar.

Just as art and life meet in the paintings, so they do in the gallery. A real altar sits on the floor near Padilla's portrait. And Rodriguez has turned the space into a study center, a reading room, with a table holding revolutionary literature, and pens and paper for taking notes. Pull up a chair. You're in awesome company. HOLLAND COTTER

Rudolf Maeglin

Through April 15. Meredith Rosen Gallery, 11 East 78th Street, Manhattan; 212-655-9791, meredithrosengallery.com.

The painter Rudolf Maeglin (1892-1971) grew up upper-middle class in Basel, Switzerland, and studied medicine after high school. He worked as a doctor for only a year, though, before making a radical break: He decided to become an artist. Maeglin spent the next eight years traveling around Europe and studying art. Then he returned to Basel, where he worked in chemical factories and building sites. Those places, and the people who labored there, became his subjects.

Maeglin didn't work in solitude; in 1933, he helped found the antifascist Gruppe 33 and exhibited publicly. But his art hasn't been seen much beyond Switzerland. This exhibition is its first outing in the United States.

The show consists entirely of portraits, to mixed effect. On one hand, the larger context of how these painted people relate to Maeglin's architectural scenes, and thus his project of rendering the city, is missing. On the other hand, seeing just the portraits -- small, colorful oil paintings on board -- emphasizes how beguiling and modern they are. Almost all depict flat, frontal, full-body figures, almost all of them men. Maeglin was gay, and there's more than a hint of homoeroticism in his subjects' pursed lips and cocked hips. Especially in paintings like ''Controllore'' (1960) and ''Junge'' (1961), I got a sense of gender as a performance -- not necessarily on the sitters' part, but on Maeglin's. These aren't romantic renderings of the ***working class*** or faithful likenesses of people, but rather, intimate character studies that fall somewhere in between. JILLIAN STEINHAUER

Tauba Auerbach

Through April 22. Paula Cooper Gallery, 534 West 21st Street, Manhattan, 212-255-1105; paulacoopergallery.com.

Bubbles combine the geometry of perfect spheres with the chaotic behaviors of floating, bursting, conjoining and pressing up against one another. In the dozen paintings, each titled ''Foam'' (all 2023), Tauba Auerbach finds a mass of bubbles a fitting subject for their coolly elegant art. The exhibition, titled ''Free Will,'' is this New York-based artist's first hometown gallery show since the success of their 2022 San Francisco Museum of Modern Art survey exhibition. The paintings reproduce images of bubbled foam photographed through a microscope, here painted using accumulations of pointillist-like dots. When viewed up close, they resemble topographical maps marked by multicolored pins or even reptile skin.

Shown alongside the paintings on four low metal tables are six beaded glass sculptures, also all sharing a title, ''Org'' (2023 with one from 2022). In the front of the gallery, where light floods in from the street through frosted windows are seven semicircular arcs of kiln-fired glass mounted on vertical aluminum armatures, again all titled ''Spontaneous Lace'' (2023). These translucent half-moons feature colored powdered glass that after heating look delicately patterned, like melted lacework. The tabletop beaded sculptures suggest minimalist jewelry as well as instructional models of complex molecules. All of Auerbach's works here seem to capture order at a moment before seizing into chaos, or vice versa. The works may seem at a glance almost coldly scientific, but is there anything more human than the struggle of barely maintaining order with grace? JOHN VINCLER

'Photography Then'

Through April 15. Anonymous Gallery, 136 Baxter Street, Manhattan; 646-478-7112, anonymousgallery.com.

''Photography Then?'' The title of this group show takes a swipe at perennial museum exhibitions (''Photography Now'') that try to sum up the state of the art. The six artists here exploit the broad cultural fluency in the medium to variously frame American masculinity as fraught, turgid and heavily constructed. Alyssa Kazew's portrait of five muscular, shirtless young men looks Photoshopped: Even if they earned their abs the hard way, their bodies look strange and taut, disjointed from their laughing faces.

In this show, photography has been manipulated to manipulate. For the photo ''Saying Goodbye,'' Jesse Gouveia staged a tearful embrace at the airport, the son clutching the father as if for the last time. As the soft-focus strangeness of the moment settles in, the cherry-red tags on their clothes punch through, and the eerie feeling dawns that this might be an ad for Supreme x Levi's or an airport. Buck Ellison stuffed ''Christmas Card #2'' with upper-class signifiers; as for how the other half lives, Chessa Subbiondo gives us an Instagram star posing like a cutoff-jean-shorts Venus in the flash-lit night, in front of a Big 5 Sporting Goods, while an awkward, awe-struck boy behind her spills his drink. This is the desirous world photography makes.

Not all of the artists in the show identify as photographers. When everyone and their mother has a 12-megapixel digital camera in their pocket, photography is a choice, not a vocation: ''Photography, then.'' TRAVIS DIEHL

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/06/arts/design/art-gallery-shows-to-see-right-now.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/06/arts/design/art-gallery-shows-to-see-right-now.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Che Lovelace's ''Shallow Pools'' (2022) in his show ''Bathers'' at Nicola Vassell Gallery, which plays with a linear concept of time. (PHOTOGRAPH VIA CHE LOVELACE AND NICOLA VASSELL GALLERY

PHOTO BY LUIS CORZO)

Shellyne Rodriguez's ''BX Third World Mix Tape No. 4, Caminos (Slow and Steady)'' (2022). (PHOTOGRAPH VIA SHELLYNE RODRIGUEZ AND PPOW, NEW YORK)

''Controllore'' (1960), by the Swiss artist Rudolf Maeglin, in an exhibition of character studies. (PHTOOGRAPH VIA MEREDITH ROSEN GALLERY)

Jesse Gouveia's photograph ''Saying Goodbye'' (2022), staged at an airport, raises suspicions of manipulation, but to what end? (PHOTOGRAPH VIA JESSE GOUVEIA AND ANONYMOUS GALLERY) This article appeared in print on page C11.

**Load-Date:** April 7, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Black Turnout in Midterms Was One of the Low Points for Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6705-R5N1-DXY4-X4JG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 30, 2022 Wednesday 23:21 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 928 words

**Byline:** Nate Cohn

**Highlight:** But the effects of the decrease wound up being muted.

**Body**

But the effects of the decrease wound up being muted.

There was a lot of good news — or at least news that felt good — for Democrats this election cycle, from holding the Senate to remaining stubbornly competitive in the House.

But as more data becomes final, it’s clear that Black turnout is not one of those feel-good stories for the party.

We won’t get conclusive numbers for months, but the evidence so far raises the distinct possibility that the Black share of the electorate sank to its lowest level since 2006. It certainly did in states like Georgia and North Carolina, where authoritative data is already available.

The relatively low turnout numbers aren’t necessarily a surprise. After all, this was not supposed to be a good year for Democrats. Perhaps this is one of the things that went about as expected, with no reason to think it portends catastrophe for Democrats in the years ahead.

Still, relatively low Black turnout is becoming an unmistakable trend in the post-Obama era, raising important — if yet unanswered — questions about how Democrats can revitalize the enthusiasm of their strongest group of supporters.

Is it simply a return to the pre-Obama norm? Is it yet another symptom of eroding Democratic strength among ***working-class*** voters of all races and ethnicities? Or is it a byproduct of something more specific to Black voters, like the rise of a more progressive, activist — and pessimistic — Black left that doubts whether the Democratic Party can combat white supremacy?

Whatever the answer, it is clear that the relatively low Black turnout was not exactly disastrous electorally for Democrats in 2022. With the possible exception of the Wisconsin Senate race, it’s hard to identify a high-profile election where Democrats might have prevailed if the Black share of the electorate had stayed at 2014 or 2018 levels.

But it does help make sense of one of the stranger features of this election: how Republicans fared so well in the national vote, but routinely underperformed in critical states and districts. With the important exceptions of Georgia and North Carolina, the Black population share was below the national average in virtually all of the key districts and Senate contests.

Georgia and North Carolina are two of the states where voters indicate their race when they register to vote, offering an unusually clear look at the racial composition of the electorate. In both states — along with Louisiana — the Black share of the electorate fell to its lowest levels since 2006.

In all three states, the turnout rate among Black voters was far lower than among white voters. In North Carolina, for example, 43 percent of Black registered voters turned out, compared with 59 percent of white registered voters — roughly doubling the difference from 2018 and tripling the racial turnout gap from 2014.

While similarly conclusive data is not available elsewhere so far, the turnout by county suggests that a relatively weak Black turnout was a national phenomenon.

In Philadelphia, Milwaukee and Detroit, turnout fell 10 percent to 12 percent beneath 2018 levels. At the same time, turnout increased in the rest of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan. Obviously, there are plenty of voters of other races and ethnicities in Philadelphia, Milwaukee and Detroit, but the relatively lower Black turnout in these places is part of a broader nationwide pattern: In areas where Black voters represented a larger share of the population, the turnout sank by more.

The decline looms especially large in Wisconsin, where the Democrat Mandela Barnes fell 26,718 votes short of victory ([*one percentage point short*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-wisconsin-us-senate.html)), even as the Democratic margin in the City of Milwaukee fell by a nearly identical 27,612 votes compared with 2018.

Mr. Barnes, who was born in Milwaukee and represented part of the city in the State Assembly, did well enough outside Milwaukee to have had a very good chance to win the state. But the city did not represent the share of the state’s electorate that it did two or four years ago.

The lower Black share of the electorate [*was not quite decisive*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-north-carolina-us-senate.html) in North Carolina, where the Democrat Cheri Beasley probably needed Black turnout to match or exceed white turnout share to win her Senate race (she lost by three points). It probably wasn’t decisive in the Georgia governor’s race either; Stacey Abrams [*lost by almost eight points*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-georgia-governor.html). No realistic Black turnout would have been enough.

Perhaps more remarkable is that Raphael Warnock, the Democratic senator from Georgia, and Ms. Beasley [*fared so well*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-georgia-us-senate.html), even with Black voters representing such a low share of the electorate. Mr. Warnock and Ms. Beasley appear to have fared better among non-Black voters than any Democrats in recent memory in either state.

For Mr. Warnock, the relatively low Black turnout in the general election may offer some upside in the runoff Dec. 6 against Herschel Walker.

In the 2021 runoff, the Black share of the electorate [*rose by enough*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/07/upshot/warnock-ossoff-georgia-victories.html) for Mr. Warnock and Jon Ossoff to prevail, even though Republicans won the most votes in the general election two months before.

A similar increase this time, though certainly not guaranteed, might give Mr. Warnock a fairly comfortable victory.

Indeed, there are a few positive signs for Democrats already. So far, Black voters represent 38 percent of the early vote. It’s tough to read too much into this, given the shortened early voting window (and the fact that many blue-leaning counties allowed early voting over the weekend). We’ll see whether it holds up Election Day.

This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** November 30, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Are New York's Democratic Leaders Listening to Voters?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:678P-6971-DXY4-X055-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 9, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 14; MARA GAY

**Length:** 1059 words

**Byline:** By Mara Gay

**Body**

For politicians in some places in the United States, election losses tend to prompt a kind of soul-searching.

In Albany? Not so much.

Just two months after New York voters delivered New York Democrats a drubbing at the polls, it's not clear if the message is penetrating the party's thicket of dysfunction and hubris.

The hubris made an appearance over the holiday, when the governor approved a 29 percent pay raise that the State Legislature gave itself in December. And the Democratic Party chairman, Jay Jacobs, remains in his post, never mind the shellacking his party received in November, in which Republicans flipped four House seats and came surprisingly close to taking the governor's mansion in a heavily Democratic state.

Most concerning, Gov. Kathy Hochul and the State Legislature, which began its new session this week, appear prepared to return to business as usual, which means cautiously tinkering with policy while they are fixated on crises of their own making. The first questions before the Legislature include whether to approve Ms. Hochul's choice for chief judge of the New York State Court of Appeals, whom liberals oppose because of his conservative-leaning rulings in labor, abortion and criminal justice cases -- as well as more mundane headaches, like whether to remove a newly elected Republican assemblyman who is facing questions about whether he lives in the borough he was elected to serve. (Lester Chang, the assemblyman in question, says he does.)

Back in the real world, New York is suffering.

A crisis in confidence over public safety in the state, made worse by persistent concerns over gun violence and hate crimes, continues, even as it's clear some progress is being made.

Unemployment in the state remained higher than the national rate in 2022, and it is especially high in New York City, where unemployment averaged 6.2 percent, according to an analysis from the state's comptroller. Among Black residents in New York City, that figure was more than 10 percent.

More and more, living in New York is out of reach not just for ***working-class*** or middle-class residents but nearly anyone without a trust fund. If the governor and Legislature tried apartment hunting in New York City right now, they would discover that the median rent for a two-bedroom apartment in New York City this January is $4,890 -- more than 20 percent higher than this time last year. Little wonder then, that 67,000 people slept in city shelters this week, more than 20,000 of them children.

What is required from Albany is not business as usual, but bold, swift action on the issues that residents in the state are confronting in their daily lives.

That means finding new and creative ways to expand the state's economy and improve public safety, including by further strengthening its gun laws. Among the bright spots last year was a measure that Ms. Hochul pushed for in the wake of the mass shooting in Buffalo, which made the red flag laws barring individuals who may pose a risk to themselves or others from obtaining a firearm more effective. In the six months after the law was changed, judges approved more than 2,000 such orders, a significant increase from the year before, according to the Albany Times Union newspaper.

New York needs Ms. Hochul and the Legislature to deliver that kind of relentless focus on housing. The way to begin is to do everything possible to spur housing production.

For one thing, this means coming up with a new kind of tax incentive for developers that encourages more truly affordable housing. The state's previous program, known as 421a, mostly created units for high-income people even as it cost taxpayers $1.7 billion per year. Albany allowed it to expire last year without replacing it.

In December, the governor said she would build 800,000 units of housing in the state over the next decade. That's good, but the harder task is to push for zoning and tax changes across the state that will allow the region to build the multifamily housing needed to truly end the crisis and let New York grow.

Voters will know Ms. Hochul and the Legislature are serious about the housing crisis when they start fighting -- hard -- to build multifamily housing in suburban areas like Long Island, where it is decades overdue. The governor backed off similar proposals last year, wary that doing so might alienate voters in Long Island, where multifamily housing has historically been unwelcome. In the end, Long Island voted Republican anyway.

Ms. Hochul and other Democrats should discard this tepid, safe approach to policymaking. It is failing the state, as well as the party. Ideally, the governor can work with local communities to build support for zoning changes to permit multifamily housing. But the governor can also make clear that infrastructure dollars for Long Island are contingent on welcoming the housing the region needs.

The failure to boldly address central issues like housing is in part why, while Democrats outperformed expectations nationally, the outcome in New York was just the opposite.

New York Democrats bungled their shot at congressional mapmaking last year, then went on to lose four House seats, a series of events that was not only embarrassing for the state party, but played a pivotal role in delivering the House into Republican hands. Democrats lost several State Assembly seats, too, though they held on to their supermajority, thanks to a more than 2:1 advantage in registered voters that Democrats enjoy in New York.

In spite of that overwhelming advantage, Governor Hochul won re-election with just 53.2 percent of the vote in November. For comparison, Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan motivated voters in a decidedly less Democratic swing state and was re-elected by a much larger margin.

In this new year, New York Democrats have a chance to deliver on the issues that truly matter to people who live in the state -- and give their voters a reason to show up at the polls.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.A member of the editorial board, focusing on New York State and local affairs.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/07/opinion/kathy-hochul-new-york-state-legislature.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/07/opinion/kathy-hochul-new-york-state-legislature.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY CINDY SCHULTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** January 9, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Insecurity's Insidious And Overwhelming Power Over All of Us***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6908-DHG1-DXY4-X1W0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 20, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 4; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 3125 words

**Byline:** By Astra Taylor

**Body**

Since 2020, the richest 1 percent has captured nearly two-thirds of all new wealth globally -- almost twice as much money as the rest of the world's population. At the beginning of last year, it was estimated that 10 billionaire men possessed six times as much wealth as the poorest three billion people on Earth. In the United States, the richest 10 percent of households own more than 70 percent of the country's assets.

Such statistics are appalling. They have also become familiar. Since it was catapulted onto the national stage more than a decade ago by Occupy Wall Street, ''inequality'' has been a frequent topic of conversation in American political life. It helped animate Bernie Sanders's influential campaigns, reshaped academic scholarship, shifted public policy, and continues to galvanize protest. And yet, however important focusing on the inequality crisis has been, it has also proven insufficient.

If we want to understand contemporary economic life, we need a more expansive framework. We need to think about insecurity. Where inequality encourages us to look up and down, to note extremes of indigence and opulence, insecurity encourages us to look sideways and recognize potentially powerful commonalities.

If inequality can be captured in statistics, insecurity requires talking about feelings: It is, to borrow a phrase from feminism, personal as well as political. Economic issues, I've come to realize, are also emotional ones: the spike of shame when a bill collector calls, the adrenaline when the rent or mortgage is due, the foreboding when you think about retirement.

And unlike inequality, insecurity is more than a binary of haves and have-nots. Its universality reveals the degree to which unnecessary suffering is widespread -- even among those who appear to be doing well. We are all, to varying degrees, overwhelmed and apprehensive, fearful of what the future might have in store. We are on guard, anxious, incomplete and exposed to risk. To cope, we scramble and strive, shoring ourselves up against potential threats. We work hard, shop hard, hustle, get credentialed, scrimp and save, invest, diet, self-medicate, meditate, exercise, exfoliate.

And yet security, for the most part, eludes us. That's because the main mechanisms by which we are told to gain security for ourselves -- making money, buying property, earning degrees, saving for retirement -- often involve being invested in systems that rarely provide the stability we crave. The stock in our 401(k), if we are lucky enough to have one, all too often supports industries that poison the planet; the tech company we work for undermines democracy; the rising price of the home we own makes it harder for others to stay housed.

Of course, living with uncertainty and risk is nothing new. How should mortal creatures who have spent our long evolution struggling to survive feel but insecure? The precarious and unpredictable nature of life is what helped inspire the ancient Stoics to counsel equanimity and Buddhist thinkers to develop the concept of Zen. A kind of existential insecurity is indelible to being human. It stems from being dependent on others for survival; from being vulnerable to physical and psychological illness and wounding and the looming fact of death. It is a kind of insecurity we can never wholly escape or armor ourselves against, try as we might.

But existential insecurity is not my focus here. The ways we structure our societies could make us more secure; the way we structure it now makes us less so. I call this ''manufactured insecurity.'' Where existential insecurity is an inherent feature of our being -- and something I believe we need to accept and learn from -- manufactured insecurity facilitates exploitation and profit by waging a near constant assault on our self-esteem and well-being. In different ways, political philosophers, economists and advertising executives have pointed out how our economic system capitalizes on the insecurities it produces, which it then prods and perpetuates, making us all insecure by design. Only by reckoning with how deep manufactured insecurity runs will it become possible to envision something different.

Manufactured insecurity is far from inevitable, and yet it is intensifying. The same developments that have supercharged inequality in recent decades -- including the deregulation of finance and business and the decline of the welfare state -- have heightened insecurity and left no one, wealthy or ***working class***, unscathed. While the relatively privileged seek ways to shield themselves from risk -- and even turn periodic shocks to their advantage -- the fact is they've rigged a game that can't be won, one that keeps them stressed and scrambling, and breathing the same smoke-tinged air as the rest of us. Which means they, too, have much to gain from rewriting its rules, including reimagining what new forms of security might entail.

For most of my life, it had never occurred to me to fret over the fat in my cheeks. I'd hardly heard the words ''buccal fat,'' much less thought of it as something that I could or should worry about, until I saw buccal fat described in The Guardian as a ''fresh source of insecurity to carry into the new year.'' Maybe you read the same article -- or maybe you discovered that you were supposed to be insecure about something else: the way you part your hair; the fit of your jeans; the make of your car; the size of your home or the way it is decorated.

As the British political theorist Mark Neocleous has noted, the modern word ''insecurity'' entered the English lexicon in the 17th century, just as our market-driven society was coming into being. Capitalism thrives on bad feelings. Discontented people buy more stuff -- an insight the old American trade magazine ''Printers' Ink'' stated bluntly in 1930: ''Satisfied customers are not as profitable as discontented ones.'' It's hard to imagine any advertising or marketing department telling us that we're actually OK, and that it is the world, not us, that needs changing. All the while, manufactured insecurity encourages us to amass money and objects as surrogates for the kinds of security that cannot actually be commodified -- connection, meaning, purpose, contentment, safety, self-esteem, dignity and respect -- but which can only truly be found in community with others.

Part of the insidious and overwhelming power of insecurity is that, unlike inequality, it is subjective. Sentiments, or how real people actually feel, rarely map rationally onto statistics; you do not have to be at rock bottom to feel insecure, because insecurity results as much from expectation as from deprivation. Unlike inequality, which offers a snapshot of the distribution of wealth at a certain moment in time, insecurity spans the present and future, anticipating what may come next.

This is why insecurity affects people on every rung of the economic ladder, even if its harshest edge is predictably reserved for those at the bottom. Recent years have produced an abundance of scholarship demonstrating the negative effects of inequality on health and happiness across the board. Rising inequality, and the insecurity it causes, correlates with higher rates of physical illness, depression, anxiety, drug abuse and addiction. Living in a highly competitive, consumerist society makes everyone more status-conscious, stressed out and sick.

The philosopher Jeremy Bentham wrote about the ''fear of losing'' and how wealth itself becomes a source of worry. Assets must be guarded and grown, after all, lest fortunes be diminished or lost. ''When insecurity reaches a certain point, the fear of losing prevents us from enjoying what we possess already. The care of preserving condemns us to a thousand sad and painful precautions, which yet are always liable to fail of their end,'' he wrote in ''Theory of Legislation,'' published in 1802.

Bentham was referring to money and objects, which can be ported away by thieves, but he could also have been talking about status, which is impossible to steal yet is never secure. In a world of economic extremes, even the most prosperous are afraid of losing rank, of falling in both net worth and self-worth. It is this insecurity that keeps them grasping ever upward.

These people are suffering from what economists call ''fractal inequality.'' But to those trapped inside the fractal's vertiginous snare, the overwhelming sensation is one of insecurity. The person who is in debt looks to the person with zero dollars, who looks to the person who has $50,000, who looks to the person who has six figures, who looks to the person who has half a million dollars, who looks to the person who has a million dollars in the bank, who looks to the person with twice as many assets. And on and on.

The dysphoria of feeling you don't have enough, even when you objectively have a lot, is not simply a spontaneous reaction to seeing others with more, a kind of lizard-brained lust, but rather the consequence of living in an insecure and risk-filled world in which there are no upper or lower limits on wealth and poverty. Left unchecked -- or, rather, untaxed -- the fractal's spiral never ends, as Silicon Valley's parade of billionaires jockeying for fame and dominance makes clear.

A few years ago, my sister was working at a hip Brooklyn cafe. The place has a vintage and vaguely Parisian aesthetic, retro and low-tech. There were, of course, regulars, including a medievalist who liked to chat. On a slow day, a barista on duty was exchanging pleasantries with the medievalist when her phone rang: The owner was watching the security camera from his laptop and told her to stop being so talkative. When I asked my sister how many cameras were installed in the small space, she identified at least eight, and said there might be more. The charming cafe was, in fact, a panopticon -- the boss able to tune in any time from anywhere and see from nearly every angle. Even when all they wanted to do was show a bit of kindness and community to a local eccentric, the workers were perpetually worried about being fired. The security cameras hadn't been installed to make the staff safer; they were there to make them feel insecure about holding on to their jobs.

It's not just baristas. From ''pickers'' at Amazon warehouses to grocery store clerks to radiologists to well-paid software engineers, workers are increasingly surveilled, tracked and ranked -- and made to feel like the rug could be pulled out from under them at any moment.

This manufactured insecurity reflects a cynical theory of human motivation, one that says people will work only under the threat of duress, not from an intrinsic desire to create, collaborate and care for one another. What the economist John Kenneth Galbraith called ''the nerve-racking problem of insecurity'' is, he argued, a feature inherent to our competitive economic system, one that takes the form of ''episodic unemployment for the worker'' on the one side, and ''occasional insolvency for the farmer or businessman'' on the other. ''Along with the carrot of pecuniary reward,'' he wrote, ''must go the stick of personal economic disaster.''

The mere fear of job loss causes ill health, and losing your job or experiencing unwanted unemployment, scholars have shown, increases the risk of death. Here the problem is not necessarily poverty in absolute terms, but the insecurity that comes from instability and the threat of downward mobility and loss of status, a threat now omnipresent.

Today, people might have the same blue- or white-collar jobs their parents or grandparents had before them -- academic, office clerk, factory worker, janitor, driver, delivery person -- but they are so often now adjuncts, gig workers or temps employed by a private contractor, with few prospects for promotion or improvement in their job benefits, should they have any.

But even if you manage to ascend the professional ranks, you cannot afford to rest. In the United States today, all it takes is a devastating enough crisis to reduce the once fortunate to a state of precarity or poverty: Business could suddenly drop; a job could be automated or offshored; the stock in a retirement account could crash; home values could plummet; a family member could be diagnosed with a serious illness (something that, in the United States, can eviscerate the economic security of a middle-class household overnight); a storm could wreak havoc; another, more deadly pandemic could hit. The writer Barbara Ehrenreich, in her 1989 study of the psychology of the middle class, dubbed the condition ''fear of falling.'' But today, the middle feels more precarious than ever, and everyone is afraid of what lies below.

These stresses don't excuse behavior like spying on employees, but they can help us understand what propels it. Constant insecurity helps keep us in line, while the conventional methods of achieving security fail us.

History, including recent history, shows that hard times, or even the mere anticipation of them -- the feeling of being economically insecure and anticipating the worst, whether or not those fears are objectively justified -- can increase the appeal of racism and xenophobia.

Across the world, the far right has gained ground by speaking directly to atomized and isolated people's anxieties, and by offering scapegoats: immigrants, Muslims, Jews, Black people, trans people, women seeking abortions. Too often, insecurity fuels the embrace of social hierarchy and domination. What more tempting solution to a discomfiting sense of insecurity than donning a mask of superiority and invincibility? Thus some people denounce ''snowflakes'' who need ''safe spaces'' while taking shelter behind bigotry, puffing themselves up by mocking fragility and denying their own vulnerability. In these cases, it's not enough to point out that such individuals are often more privileged or better off than others -- to emphasize inequality. Insecurity is about feelings as much as facts.

Instead we need to seek to channel insecurity in constructive ways. Indignation at the way our current system manufactures and exploits our fears and anxieties can help strengthen existing movements and coalesce new ones, uniting powerful -- and expanding -- coalitions that can fight for collective forms of security based in care and concern rather than desperation and distress.

My own experience as a co-founder of the Debt Collective, a union of debtors, showed me how economic insecurity can inspire people to organize for redistributive policies and an expanded welfare state. Inspired by the feminist consciousness-raising circles of the 1970s, we often host what we call debtors' assemblies: forums where people share their financial woes. Without fail, some people cry. They also find life-changing strength and camaraderie. In these sessions, insecurity becomes a gateway, how participants understand themselves and the wider world.

Under such conditions, economic insecurity can become a motor for renewing and improving our society. That's what happened in the wake of the Great Depression, when trade unionists, unemployed people, socialists, liberal reformers and visionary politicians highlighted insecurity as a central component of laissez-faire capitalism and mobilized to remedy it. In 1938, President Franklin D. Roosevelt denounced insecurity as ''one of the most fearsome evils of our economic system'' and invoked ''security'' as the justification for the New Deal that would form the foundation of the American welfare state.

For the last 50 years, this web of security-enhancing social policies has been shrinking. Then came Covid-19. As a result of a sudden increase in federal income support, millions of people -- my sister among them -- were materially secure enough to leave jobs where they had felt disrespected, abused, unhappy, bored, underpaid or unable to advance, leading to a historic ''quit rate.'' For a time, the insecurity induced by the threat of job loss was greatly diminished. Some central banks stepped in to raise interest rates, which weakened the bargaining position of labor, ostensibly so the banks could target inflation, while politicians shut down the pandemic assistance programs -- some cited cost, but it seemed the real reason was that the programs gave workers too much power. The material security they provided was a threat to our insecurity-dependent status quo.

Rather than something to pathologize, I want us to see insecurity as an opportunity. We all need protection from life's hazards, natural or human-made. The simple acceptance of our mutual vulnerability -- of the fact that we all need and deserve care throughout our lives -- has potentially transformative implications. When we spur people on with insecurity because we expect the worst from them, we create a vicious cycle that stokes desperation and division while facilitating the kind of cutthroat competition and consumption that has brought our fragile planet to a catastrophic brink. When we extend trust and support to others, we improve everyone's security -- including our own.

Not only would reweaving the social safety net go a long way toward reducing the stress and strain that ails so many of us today, but also, a baseline of material security might enable us to face our existential insecurity with compassion and even curiosity.

Insecurity, after all, is what makes us human, and it is also what allows us to connect and change. ''Nothing in Nature 'becomes itself' without being vulnerable,'' writes the physician Gabor MateÌ in ''The Myth of Normal.'' ''The mightiest tree's growth requires soft and supple shoots, just as the hardest-shelled crustacean must first molt and become soft.'' There is no growth, he observes, without emotional vulnerability.

The same also applies to societies. Recognizing our shared existential insecurity, and understanding how it is currently used against us, can be a first step toward forging solidarity. Solidarity, in the end, is one of the most important forms of security we can possess -- the security of confronting our shared predicament as humans on this planet in crisis, together.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

Astra Taylor is an organizer, a filmmaker and the author of the forthcoming book ''The Age of Insecurity: Coming Together as Things Fall Apart,'' from which this essay is adapted. She is the 2023 CBC Massey lecturer.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/18/opinion/inequality-insecurity-economic-wealth.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/18/opinion/inequality-insecurity-economic-wealth.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR4, SR5.

**Load-Date:** August 20, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Will Democrats Be Locked Out?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:657Y-SBW1-DXY4-X3S7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 18, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 20; ROSS DOUTHAT

**Length:** 1276 words

**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

Throughout the Trump era it was a frequent theme of liberal commentary that their political party represented a clear American majority, thwarted by our antidemocratic institutions and condemned to live under the rule of the conservative minority.

In the political context of 2016-20, this belief was overstated. Yes, Donald Trump won the presidential election of 2016 with a minority of the popular vote. But more Americans voted for Republican congressional candidates than Democratic congressional candidates, and more Americans voted for right-of-center candidates for president -- including the Libertarian vote -- than voted for Hillary Clinton and Jill Stein. In strictly majoritarian terms, liberalism deserved to lose in 2016, even if Trump did not necessarily deserve to win.

And Republican structural advantages, while real, did not then prevent Democrats from reclaiming the House of Representatives in 2018 and the presidency in 2020 and Senate in 2021. These victories extended the pattern of 21st century American politics, which has featured significant swings every few cycles, not the entrenchment of either party's power.

The political landscape after 2024, however, might look more like liberalism's depictions of its Trump-era plight. According to calculations by liberalism's Cassandra, David Shor, the convergence of an unfavorable Senate map for Democrats with their pre-existing Electoral College and Senate disadvantages could easily produce a scenario where the party wins 50 percent of the congressional popular vote, 51 percent of the presidential vote -- and ends up losing the White House and staring down a nearly filibuster-proof Republican advantage in the Senate.

That's a scenario for liberal horror, but it's not one that conservatives should welcome either. In recent years, as their advantages in both institutions have increased, conservatives have defended institutions like the Senate and the Electoral College with variations of the argument that the United States is a democratic republic, not a pure democracy.

These arguments carry less weight, however, the more consistently undemocratic the system's overall results become. (They would fall apart completely in the scenario sought by Donald Trump and some of his allies after 2020, where state legislatures simply substitute their preferences for the voters' in their states.)

The Electoral College's legitimacy can stand up if an occasional 49-47 percent popular vote result goes the other way; likewise the Senate's legitimacy if it tilts a bit toward one party but changes hands consistently.

But a scenario where one party has sustained governing power while lacking majoritarian support is a recipe for delegitimization and reasonable disillusionment, which no clever conservative column about the constitutional significance of state sovereignty would adequately address.

From the Republican Party's perspective, the best way to avoid this future -- where the nature of conservative victories undercuts the perceived legitimacy of conservative governance -- is to stop being content with the advantages granted by the system and try harder to win majorities outright.

You can't expect a political party to simply cede its advantages: There will never be a bipartisan constitutional amendment to abolish the Senate, on any timeline you care to imagine. But you can expect a political party to show a little more electoral ambition than the G.O.P. has done of late -- to seek to win more elections the way that Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon won them, rather than being content to keep it close and put their hopes in lucky breaks.

Especially in the current climate, which looks dire for the Democrats, the Republicans have an opportunity to make the Electoral College complaint moot, for a time at least, by simply taking plausible positions, nominating plausible candidates and winning majorities outright.

That means rejecting the politics of voter-fraud paranoia -- as, hopefully, Republican primary voters will do by choosing Brian Kemp over David Perdue in the Georgia gubernatorial primary.

It means rejecting the attempts to return to the libertarian ''makers versus takers'' politics of Tea Party era, currently manifested in Florida Senator Rick Scott's recent manifesto suggesting tax increases for the ***working class*** -- basically the right-wing equivalent of ''defund the police'' in terms of its political toxicity.

And it means -- and I fear this is beyond the G.O.P.'s capacities -- nominating someone other than Donald Trump in 2024.

A Republican Party that managed to win popular majorities might still see its Senate or Electoral College majorities magnified by its structural advantages. But such magnification is a normal feature of many democratic systems, not just our own. It's very different from losing the popular vote consistently and yet being handed power anyway.

As for what the Democrats should do about their disadvantages -- well, that's a longer discussion, but two quick points for now.

First, to the extent the party wants to focus on structural answers to its structural challenges, it needs clarity about what kind of electoral reforms would actually accomplish something. That's been lacking in the Biden era, where liberal reformers wasted considerable time and energy on voting bills that didn't pass and also weren't likely to help the party much had they been actually pushed through.

A different reform idea, statehood for the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, wouldn't have happened in this period either, but it's much more responsive to the actual challenges confronting Democrats in the Senate. So if you're a liberal activist or a legislator planning for the next brief window when your party holds power, pushing for an expanded Senate seems like a more reasonable long ball to try to train your team to throw.

Second, to the extent that there's a Democratic path back to greater parity in the Senate and Electoral College without structural reform, it probably requires the development of an explicit faction within the party dedicated to winning back two kinds of voters -- culturally conservative Latinos and ***working-class*** whites -- who were part of Barack Obama's coalition but have drifted rightward since.

That faction would have two missions: To hew to a poll-tested agenda on economic policy (not just the business-friendly agenda supported by many centrist Democrats) and to constantly find ways to distinguish itself from organized progressivism -- the foundations, the activists, the academics -- on cultural and social issues. And crucially, not in the tactical style favored by analysts like Shor, but in the language of principle: Rightward-drifting voters would need to know that this faction actually believes in its own moderation, its own attacks on progressive shibboleths, and that its members will remain a thorn in progressivism's side even once they reach Washington.

Right now the Democrats have scattered politicians, from West Virginia to New York City, who somewhat fit this mold. But they don't have an agenda for them to coalesce around, a group of donors ready to fund them, a set of intellectuals ready to embrace them as their own.

Necessity, however, is the mother of invention, and necessity may impose itself upon the Democratic Party soon enough.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTOpinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/16/opinion/democrats-republicans-majority.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/16/opinion/democrats-republicans-majority.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK PETERSON/REDUX)

**Load-Date:** April 18, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Best Genre Movies of 2022***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:674D-SF81-DXY4-X37D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2022 Tuesday

The New York Times on the Web

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section ; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk

**Length:** 1018 words

**Byline:** By Elisabeth Vincentelli, Erik Piepenburg, Robert Daniels and Devika Girish

**Body**

We look at the best in horror, science fiction, action and international films, all available to stream.

Ready to go some gooey or gory places? Or see an expert performer navigate action films in an original way? Or perhaps you'd like to explore two knockout docs from around the world? Our genre movie streaming columnists have made their picks for the best of the year. Some movies you will have heard of. Others will be new to your view. Either way, prepare to head out on adventure with these across-the-spectrum offerings.

Science Fiction

For David Cronenberg, the call is always coming from inside the house: It is the body that attacks, betrays, seduces, takes over. Impervious to the subjects agitating current science-fiction movies (alternative universes, artificial intelligence, a dying Earth), the Canadian director went back to familiar turf with his latest, in which people mutate in unpredictable ways. Cronenberg has always known that the true frontier is not space but the evolution of flesh, consciousness and machine.

In ''Crimes of the Future,'' Saul Tenser (Viggo Mortensen) keeps growing new tumors that his acolyte, Caprice (Léa Seydoux), excises in public, via a repurposed autopsy device. The visual effects are not much more sophisticated than those in the director's similarly themed ''Videodrome'' (1983) and ''Existenz'' (1999), but the squishy organic feel is exactly what makes the new film stand out from run-of-the-mill C.G.I. fests. That and, of course, its tone, coldly detached and darkly comic, as exemplified by Kristen Stewart's deliciously arch turn as a fan of Tenser's body artistry.

''Everyone wants to be a performance artist these days,'' we are told, and the movie zeros in on our narcissism, need for attention and terminal cynicism. Beyond the gross-out close-ups of puckering organs, what is most striking here is a rare cinematic quality nowadays: perversity. -- ELISABETH VINCENTELLI

Stream ''Crimes of the Future'' on Hulu.

Horror

My favorite horror movies this year laid off the flashy effects and instead gave me the unshakable willies the unshowy way: with creeping dread and uncertain stillness. That's how ''Watcher,'' ''We're All Going to the World's Fair'' and ''The Innocents'' did it.

But oh man, ''The Sadness.'' Rob Jabbaz's transgressive zombie film was bombastically directed and exhaustingly gory -- in other words, the year's most gloriously brutal horror-watching experience.

It's set in Taipei, where two young lovers (Berant Zhu and Regina Lei) fight to reunite after a contagion turns people into sexually voracious flesh destroyers. The carnage almost never lets up, and it's jaw-dropping to watch -- like when the hungry infected turn a crowded subway car into a preposterously blood-slick Slip 'N Slide. This scene, like the film overall, is demented and repulsive but also -- and here's the curveball -- uncompromisingly feminist. It's not easy to get a message across when the mayhem surrounding it is this maximalist, but Jabbaz figured it out.

Listen to me carefully: If you're at all iffy about being grossed out, stay away from this film. But if your constitution is solid, I dare you to jump into its exquisitely gruesome, grimly satirical maelstrom. -- ERIK PIEPENBURG

Stream ''The Sadness'' on Shudder.

Action

Between Matt Reeves' gripping neo-noir ''The Batman'' and Steven Soderbergh's unnerving surveillance thriller ''KIMI,'' this year the actress Zoë Kravitz ruled the action genre. Her reign is uniquely impressive when one considers the disparate requirements of each role.

As Selina Kyle/Catwoman in ''The Batman,'' the agile, shadowy equal to the caped crusader, she moves with a slender yet muscular physicality. As seen in her knowing runway stride, sultry possibilities become real and hand-to-hand confrontations are rendered acrobatic as Kravitz gracefully leaps and dives against thugs.

Playing Angela, a blue-haired tech employee confined to her home office in ''KIMI,'' the actress turns in her former fluidity for an antisocial rigidity as she becomes the target of a predatory company intent on covering up the crime she discovered. In contrast to the skintight leather suit she wears as Catwoman, Kravitz packs a different but no less formidable punch in her long loose coat as she evades her pursuers during a series of arresting chase scenes.

And yet, what binds these seemingly conflicting performances is how Kravitz's expressive eyes translate the assuredness of Catwoman and the savviness of Angela. They're a confirmation of her range as today's premiere Black woman action hero. -- ROBERT DANIELS

Stream both ''The Batman'' and ''KIMI'' on HBO Max.

International

Every month, as I compile international films for my column, I confront the arbitrariness of the boundaries that determine what we consider familiar and foreign, the home and the world. My two favorite films this year, both documentaries by women, challenge these delineations. In ''A Night of Knowing Nothing'' by Payal Kapadia, a fictional voice-over narration, chronicling the dissolve of the speaker's inter-caste relationship, coalesces a series of twilit scenes of college life in India that range from nocturnal revels to protests against an increasingly repressive government. Culminating with CCTV footage of baton-wielding police descending upon a library full of students, the film shatters the fictions of democracy: The will of the people means little to the weapons of the state.

In Alice Diop's ''We,'' a train route that connects Paris's suburbs to the city center forms the spine for the film's intimate, itinerant glimpses of the ***working-class*** immigrants who live on the outskirts of France's capital. Diop's cinematic map bursts the contours of French identity and recenters them around those relegated to its margins.

Each film, a whole fashioned from disparate pieces, asks us to re-envision the nation itself: as a collective forged out of solidarity rather than superficial similarities. -- DEVIKA GIRISH

Stream ''A Night of Knowing Nothing'' on the Criterion Channel. Stream ''We'' on Mubi.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/19/movies/best-genre-movies-streaming.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/19/movies/best-genre-movies-streaming.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Viggo Mortensen, bottom, and Léa Seydoux in ''Crimes of the Future.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nikos Nikolopoulos/Neon FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Voting is over and a winner is expected tonight in the New York City mayor’s race.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:640H-MM21-DXY4-X33C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 2, 2021 Tuesday 21:44 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 773 words

**Byline:** Andy Newman, Michael Gold, Katie Glueck and Troy Closson

**Highlight:** It is unclear when a winner will be declared, but in the 2013 election, the last open-seat mayoral race in the city, the contest was called less than an hour after polls closed.

**Body**

It is unclear when a winner will be declared, but in the 2013 election, the last open-seat mayoral race in the city, the contest was called less than an hour after polls closed.

Polls closed in New York City at 9 p.m., as [*Eric Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/23/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html) and [*Curtis Sliwa*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/30/nyregion/curtis-sliwa-nyc-mayor.html) waited to learn which of them voters had chosen to lead the nation’s largest city out of the throes of the pandemic and into a new political era.

Mr. Adams, the Democratic nominee and current Brooklyn borough president, is the odds-on favorite over Mr. Sliwa, the Republican founder of the Guardian Angels patrol group who has never held public office. Registered Democrats outnumber Republicans in the city nearly seven to one.

It is unclear when a winner will be declared, but in the 2013 election that sent Bill de Blasio to Gracie Mansion, the last open-seat mayoral race in the city, the contest was called less than an hour after polls closed. If Mr. Adams — who triumphed in a bruising multicandidate Democratic primary by charting a moderate course — wins tonight, he will become the city’s [*second Black mayor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/13/nyregion/black-power-eric-adams-nyc.html).

Mr. Adams, 61, a former police captain and state senator, ran a campaign [*focused*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/11/nyregion/mayor-race-nyc-crime-police.html) on public safety, at a time when the city is struggling with a pandemic-era increase in gun violence. Many voters across the city said that his perspective on safety and crime had won him their support; he has said repeatedly that he pressed for reforms from within the Police Department.

In the Bay Ridge area of Brooklyn, Ahmed Hubabi, 63, a Democrat, said that friends in law enforcement had urged him to vote for Mr. Adams. “I think he’s the right person for the job,” Mr. Hubabi said, adding, “I think he’s for the ***working class***, especially for the minorities and the underprivileged.”

In Kingsbridge in the Bronx, Julia Yarwood, a 35-year-old Democrat, said of Mr. Adams, “The way that he spoke, he seemed to represent a lot of New Yorkers.”

Mr. Adams has promised to lead New York in a more equitable direction, pointing to his ***working-class*** roots. Still, in contrast to the message of economic populism Mr. de Blasio rode to victory for two terms (he is barred by term limits from running again), Mr. Adams has made [*explicit overtures*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/nyregion/eric-adams-business-crime.html) to big-business leaders, arguing that they too have a significant role to play in the city’s recovery.

After voting in Brooklyn on Tuesday morning, Mr. Adams wiped away tears. “Because I’m standing here, everyday New Yorkers are going to realize they deserve the right to stand in this city also,” he said.

Mr. Sliwa, a former talk-radio host, has also been keenly focused on public safety and addressing homelessness — but on other matters and certainly in personality, he and Mr. Adams have significant differences.

Mr. Sliwa’s campaign has also been marked by antics and eccentricities that often drew more attention than his policy positions. His trip to the polls on Tuesday became a fracas when he tried to bring [*one of his many cats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/22/nyregion/curtis-sliwa-mayor-cats.html) with him, then shouted at election officials who asked him to remove his red campaign jacket because it violated electioneering rules.

Mr. Sliwa, 67, who made his reputation as a crime fighter in the streets during the early days of the Guardian Angels, portrayed Mr. Adams as elitist during his campaign.

Another voter in Bay Ridge, Mike Miglino, 65, a retired high school teacher and registered Democrat, said he had crossed party lines to vote for Mr. Sliwa because “Democrats have gone too far left.”

Mr. Sliwa has highlighted still-simmering questions around [*Mr. Adams’s residency*](https://www.curbed.com/2021/11/eric-adams-brooklyn-stakeout.html) and [*his financial dealings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/16/nyregion/eric-adams-fund-raising.html). Mr. Sliwa has also tried to harness resistance in parts of the city to vaccine mandates, which he opposes.

In Ozone Park, Queens, Nancy Aldrich, 59 and unvaccinated, said admiringly of Mr. Sliwa, “He’s from the streets — he knows the reality of what is going on. He doesn’t blow smoke in your eyes.”

Other key races have offered more drama, including [*several City Council elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/31/nyregion/city-council-nyc-election.html?action=click&amp;module=Well&amp;pgtype=Homepage&amp;section=New%20York) where Republicans are fighting to hold, if not grow, their three spots in the 51-member body.

Across the state, a hotly contested [*rematch in the Buffalo mayor’s race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/nyregion/india-walton-byron-brown-buffalo-mayor.html) and a fight for [*district attorney on Long Island*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/28/nyregion/nassau-da-kaminsky-donnelly.html) also illustrate nationwide struggles over public safety and criminal justice reform. Taken together, the results on Tuesday may offer a snapshot of the tensions over the [*direction and identity of the Democratic Party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/nyregion/democratic-party-ny.html) in New York.

Julianne McShane, James Thomas and Karen Zraick contributed reporting.

Julianne McShane, James Thomas and Karen Zraick contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Voting in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn on Tuesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ahmed Gaber for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2021

**End of Document**



[***22 Mummies Stop Traffic in Egypt***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62C5-R301-JBG3-64KS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 4, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 623 words

**Byline:** By Mona El-Naggar

**Body**

But the made-for-TV spectacle also underlined the jarring divide between Egypt's celebrated past and its uncertain present.

CAIRO -- Downtown Cairo came to a near standstill Saturday night as 22 mummies were moved from a museum where they had resided for more than a century to a new home, transported atop custom-made vehicles in a glittering, meticulously planned procession.

The fanfare -- broadcast live on state television and complete with a military band, a 21-gun salute and a host of Egyptian A-list celebrities -- served as both a grand opening of sorts for the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization where the country's oldest monarchs were set to land and an invitation to tourists to return to Cairo after the pandemic.

''These are the mummies of kings and queens who ruled during Egypt's golden age,'' said Zahi Hawass, a former minister of antiquities who supervised the discovery of tombs that date back thousands of years. ''It's a thrill, everyone will watch.''

Everyone, except many Egyptians.

Along the five-mile path to the new museum lay stretches of ***working-class*** neighborhoods that were deliberately hidden from view ahead of the parade, a reminder of the jarring divide between Egypt's celebrated past and its uncertain present.

Banners proclaiming the ''Pharaohs' Golden Parade'' and large national flags prevented television viewers from peering inside Cairo's impoverished areas and kept local residents from getting a glimpse of the polished, made-for-TV spectacle. In one spot, plastic screens at least 10 feet tall were mounted on scaffolding to close gaps in a cream-colored wall.

''They put it up to hide us,'' said Mohammed Saad, a local resident who stood with two friends a few feet behind a barrier that separated them from the newly swept road where the ancestral parade would roll through.

Two security officers confirmed that no one would be allowed to leave nearby neighborhoods during the parade, or to step onto the street to watch. ''They can watch on a screen,'' one of them offered.

In a television interview, the head of Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities credited the president, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, for conceiving of the public procession as a way to draw tourists back after the coronavirus pandemic brought international travel to a halt last year.

But the spectacle also underlined the economic and social divisions in Egypt's capital.

''There is a tendency to try to show a better picture instead of fixing the existing reality,'' Ahmed Zaazaa, an urban planner, said of the government's public image efforts. ''The government says they are making reforms, but the vast majority of people in Cairo who live in ***working-class*** neighborhoods are excluded.''

Egyptian television broadcast nonstop coverage of the parade preparations, emphasizing how the news was echoing abroad, pairing the visuals with dramatic theme music and a stream of information about the 22 kings and queens who ruled Egypt more than 3,000 years ago.

The ancient royals who were on the move included Ramses II, the longest reigning pharaoh, and Queen Hatshepsut, one of Egypt's few female pharaohs.

After sunset, crowds gathered in downtown Cairo, among them enthusiastic young families who brought their children along in hopes of getting a glimpse of the historic moment.

''It's a once-in-a-lifetime event. These are our ancestors.'' said Sarah Zaher, who came with three friends.

But many of those who gathered were met by police barricades and turned back.

A uniformed officer yelled, ''If you want to watch, go watch on television.'' Disappointed, the crowds retreated into nearby coffee houses to watch on television or on their phones.

Nada Rashwan and Dawlat Magdy contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/03/world/middleeast/cairo-mummies-parade.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/03/world/middleeast/cairo-mummies-parade.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Mummies being transferred to a new museum in Cairo on Saturday in a made-for-TV event. (PHOTOGRAPH BY REUTERS TV)

**Load-Date:** April 4, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Politics and Pozole in a Battle for Sunset Park***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:687C-8HC1-DXY4-X4K6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 14, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1652 words

**Byline:** By John Leland and Lexi Parra

**Body**

For Sonia Cortes, the battle for Sunset Park began with soup. Two years ago, after the pandemic wiped out her job as a seamstress, Ms. Cortes started selling pozole, a brothy Mexican soup, in the park, a 25-acre swath of green in southwestern Brooklyn. On a good Sunday, she could make $600 or $700. ''I was able to pay my rent,'' she said.

By last fall, the Sunday market had grown to more than 80 vendors, mostly immigrant women selling Mexican street food and wares to large weekend crowds. They called it Plaza Tonatiuh, after an Aztec sun god. Every Sunday, there were musicians and children's activities; there were political education sessions, led by the market's organizers, members of an activist group called Mexicanos Unidos, discussing Mao Zedong's ''Five Golden Rays'' or Frantz Fanon's anticolonialist ''The Wretched of the Earth.''

Then last month, police and parks enforcement officers moved to shut down the market, citing community complaints and the fact that Plaza Tonatiuh did not have a permit. On Easter Sunday, dozens of officers clashed violently with vendors and organizers, who locked arms in resistance. Two people were arrested.

''The police hurt us,'' said Ms. Cortes, who said she got pushed around in the fray. ''They were violent toward us,'' she said. ''We weren't selling, and they still took us out.'' A police spokesperson said the crowd blocked efforts to reach one of the Plaza members, and someone punched a parks officer.

Without the market, Ms. Cortes said she now has $2,000 in bills she cannot pay. As she saw it, the closing of the Plaza pitted the city against some of its most vulnerable residents, who were simply trying to survive.

''They've taken bread off our table,'' she said.

Samuel Sierra, who has been using the park for five decades, took a different view of the Plaza. Last summer, he was distributing get-out-the-vote pamphlets for the Democratic County Committee when three of the Plaza Tonatiuh organizers told him he had to leave.

''They were very aggressive,'' Mr. Sierra said. ''There's a feeling like they own the area.'' He added that he was not against vendors. ''They have a right to prosper,'' he said. ''But it shouldn't be at the expense of the community.''

In a city where shared resources are scarce, who controls public space? Is a market of 80 vendors a bootstrap response to economic hardship? Or is it a private takeover of a neighborhood park?

The neighborhood Sunset Park is home to large ***working-class*** Asian and Latino populations, bordered by Park Slope on the north and Bay Ridge on the south. The development known as Industry City, along the neighborhood's western edge, has brought an influx of new money and tensions over gentrification. The park itself brings together all the population groups, with grassy expanses and views of the Statue of Liberty and Lower Manhattan.

Following the Easter confrontation, Alexa Avilés, who represents Sunset Park on the City Council, called a community meeting that quickly became contentious. Vendors and organizers waved signs reading ''Decriminalize Street Vendors'' and ''We Want Cops Out of Our Park,'' and called upon elected officials to come up with a solution. Two young children started to describe being in the park during the police sweep, but they stopped in tears.

Then at a signal from Brian Garita, a founder of Plaza Tonatiuh, the vendors and organizers all walked out.

''Comrades, we said what we wanted to say,'' Mr. Garita told the group outside the meeting. ''There was no reason for us to stay there.''

Mr. Garita, 26, sees the Plaza as a step toward a broader radical movement. Critics say he is the problem, an outsider pursuing an ideological agenda.

Mr. Garita, who also uses the first name Leo, has a master's degree in public administration and urban development and sustainability, and he works four days a week as a barista in Prospect Heights, Brooklyn. Though he said he grew up in Sunset Park, he now lives in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn. ''I was displaced,'' he said.

In the park, he is the guy with the bullhorn.

In the spring of 2020, he was working at a nonprofit organization in the Bronx when the murder of a Mexican American soldier named Vanessa Guillén at Fort Hood in Texas set off demonstrations around the country. From these demonstrations, Mr. Garita helped start Mexicanos Unidos to connect the protests over Ms. Guillén's murder with other movements, including Black Lives Matter.

The following March, he focused on the vendors in Sunset Park, organizing them into a unified market and holding political education sessions.

''We talk about the things that are going on around us, these patterns of colonialism, gentrification, oppressor and oppressed,'' said Roy Baizan, one of the organizers, who comes to the park from the Bronx.

But as the market grew, neighbors started to complain, Ms. Avilés said. Many vendors used open flames, which are banned in the park, and she said that residents objected that it was hard to pass through the market.

''Also, we started to get some vendors who felt intimidated by the tactics of the organizers,'' she added. Some vendors complained that they had to pay to be part of the Plaza.

''I'm sympathetic,'' said Ms. Avilés, a Democrat who belongs to the Democratic Socialists of America. ''My aunt used to make clothes and we would sell them on the street. But this is public space, and there were real tensions with commandeering public space and controlling it. You can't do that.''

Benito Bravo, who runs children's folkloric dance performances in the park, said a Plaza Tonatiuh organizer told him last year during a Day of the Dead performance that he had to leave.

''He told me, 'If you don't go out, I'll have to call my people,'' Mr. Bravo said. ''Thirty people came up to me saying, 'If you don't go, it will be problems for you.' They were in my face, and all my kids are crying.''

During one clash with parks enforcement officers last year, Mr. Garita threw a plate of food and was charged with assault in the second degree. The charge was dismissed this month because he was not given a speedy trial.

Mr. Garita said the Plaza does not charge vendors to participate, but all had to be approved to be part of the Plaza. He made no apologies for keeping some people out of the market. But despite his vocal presence within Plaza Tonatiuh, Mr. Garita has no authority over who may or may not use the park.

''The people that we have been confrontational with have only been opportunistic people,'' Mr. Garita said. ''People who are electioneering, who come to the park and press these candidates that no one's ever seen. We don't support that type of electioneering tactic. We've been confrontational with people who come to promote themselves. This is a collective thing, and we have to support the whole before the parts.''

Critics of the Plaza say the organizers are putting vendors -- many of them undocumented immigrants -- at risk, provoking clashes with law enforcement.

''They're using these vendors to make a broader point about law enforcement, about bureaucratic processes, a whole bunch of things,'' said Andrew Gounardes, the Democratic state senator whose district includes Sunset Park. ''And the vendors are the ones caught in the middle.''

Edwin Rodriguez, NYC Parks's assistant commissioner for urban park service, said that for the past two years, outreach to vendors on the permitting process has been met with aggression, particularly from several of the organizers. ''From an enforcement perspective,'' Mr. Rodriguez said, ''the vendors have been very peaceful, while the organizers have not, playing an oversized role in crowd agitation.''

Vendors say the city's permitting process is too onerous. The city capped the number of permits back in the 1980s, with little growth since then, said Mohamed Attia, managing director of the Street Vendor Project at the Urban Justice Center, so most of the city's estimated 20,000 vendors operate without the required permits or licenses. Since the pandemic, he said, the number of vendors has soared, and so has the number of tickets issued, which can carry a fine of $1,000.

On a recent Sunday, a few dozen vendors and organizers gathered in an industrial building near Sunset Park for a private version of the Plaza, with children's activities and food. A D.J. played Latin and pop music, vendors offered food and T-shirts, and a woman led a tea-making workshop. Without the park's crowds -- or exposure to police -- the gathering was more social than economic.

Blanca Nicolas and her daughter, Ariana Garcia, prepared elotes -- ears of corn slathered with lime juice and mayonnaise, then sprinkled with red chili pepper and cheese -- for sale to other vendors and organizers.

Ms. Nicolas said she appreciated the organizers' political agenda. ''We learn more about what we can do,'' she said. And selling in the market had made her 12-year-old son more outgoing, she said.

Ms. Avilés, the City Council member, said she was working to find other places for the Plaza -- maybe a closed street, maybe smaller-scale markets in different parts of the neighborhood.

Mr. Garita said he, too, was looking for other venues. But in the meantime, he was working with lawyers to expand the project to include a workers' cooperative, and then an ad hoc credit union, or tanda. ''We're even looking ahead to seeing if we can run a candidate in Sunset Park in the future,'' he said.

Ms. Cortes, with her $2,000 in unpaid bills, tried to remain optimistic. For two years, she and the other vendors had managed to survive the turmoil caused by the pandemic. Now, if they returned to the market that had sustained them, they risked arrest or confrontation. Yet they needed the income to stay afloat.

''We're going to go back to selling,'' she said. ''God willing.''

Jo Corona and Lexi Parra contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/14/nyregion/sunset-park-street-vendors-protest.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/14/nyregion/sunset-park-street-vendors-protest.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top right: fresh tortillas

a traditional Mexican necklace

churros in a vendor's cart

bows on a vendor's table. (MB1)

Top, a birthday celebration last Sunday at the indoor Plaza Tonatiuh location. Center row: Brian Garita, right, a founder of Plaza Tonatiuh who also goes by Leo, at a protest in Sunset Park last month

and a vendor, left, showing support for the Plaza. Above, Sonia Cortes selling pozole last Sunday (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LEXI PARRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MB5) This article appeared in print on page MB1, MB5.

**Load-Date:** May 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Letter to a Young Republican***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:621P-YVW1-JBG3-606H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 18, 2021 Thursday 20:53 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 890 words

**Byline:** David Brooks

**Highlight:** How should you spend your life?

**Body**

How should you spend your life?

This week I received a moving note from a young friend of mine. In college, he realized he wanted to make a difference in this world by serving in government. His opinions leaned right, so the Republican Party became the vehicle for that service. He’s spent 10 years working his way up the Washington policy ladder.

But now he is dismayed by what the Republican Party has become. He’s disgusted by the whole political game. He’s thinking that maybe government is not where vital, meaningful work will take place over the next decades. He is in a career crisis, wondering if he should change the trajectory of his life. He asked for my advice:

Dear Young Republican,

I get it. I’ve been increasingly dismayed and disgusted by the Republican Party since the moment Sarah Palin first stepped onto the national stage. My interests have shifted to those who are weaving the social fabric at the community level, and if you find a way to make a difference out of government, I salute you.

But we do face a political crisis in this country, and the Republican Party is the epicenter of that crisis. Destiny has placed you, all of you young Republicans, at the crucial spot in the line. We either have two responsible political parties in this country or we do not. And it will be reforming Republicans, with your energies and ideas, that determine the outcome.

The Republican Party is going to hold a lot of power in the years ahead. Even with a losing candidate at the top of the ticket, the GOP managed to pick up 12 House seats in 2020. It is possible that the Republicans will control the House and the Senate in just two years.

The Democrats have become the party of the educated metropolitan class. There will always be a lot of Americans who [*do not share*](https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/old_uploads/2019/06/Wilkinson-Density-Divide-Final.pdf) the interests or values of that class and they tend to vote Republican.

The party is politically viable, but it is intellectually and morally bankrupt. Under Trump it became an apocalyptic personality cult. But you should know, as I’m sure you do, that there are many Republicans who want to change their party and make it a vehicle for conservative ideas.

These people are energized as never before and feel their whole lives have been preparation for the coming moral, intellectual and political struggle. This is a struggle to create a Republican Party that is democratic and not authoritarian, patriotic and not nationalistic, conservative and not reactionary, benevolent and not belligerent, intellectually self-confident and not apocalyptic and dishonest.

But is it your struggle? I guess I would ask myself two questions: Are you dedicated to the ideas that are at the heart of current conservatism: the need to hold off the China threat; the need to restrain the power of cultural elites and centralized government; the need to build an economy that functions for the ***working class***. Second, are you attached to actual Republicans? The conservative movement left an opening for Trump because it didn’t understand what was on the mind of actual voters.

The party has the potential to be something truly good for America: a multiracial ***working***- ***class*** coalition, a party that serves the interest of all those who don’t fit in with the definition of the good life that is promulgated by the meritocracy. It’s to be a champion for those who didn’t complete college, don’t want to leave their hometown for the big city, do have a set of traditional values centered around their faith.

To become that party, the G.O.P. has to displace the cultural circus with actual policymaking. Trumpism is a media strategy, not a political philosophy; it’s a bid to win endless attention and stoke enmity.

Republicans will beat Trumpism not by confronting it directly but by focusing on policymaking, by becoming a regular party once again. As Senator Ben Sasse [*put it*](https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/old_uploads/2019/06/Wilkinson-Density-Divide-Final.pdf), it’s to make the Republican Party about more than one dude. You may have noticed that this week, Mitt Romney and Tom Cotton are teaming up on [*an effort*](https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/old_uploads/2019/06/Wilkinson-Density-Divide-Final.pdf) to raise the minimum wage and enforce immigration laws, two plans to boost ***working class*** wages. That’s what there needs to be more of.

Will this work? Is the Republican Party salvageable? Nobody knows. Right now Republicans are rallying around Trump because they believe Democrats and the media are going after him. It’s pie in the sky to ask rank-and-file Republicans to denounce the man they’ve clung to. But, as has been observed, we Americans don’t solve our problems, we just leave them behind.

Suppose new leaders, issues and movements arose? Suppose the shows that premiered in the coming years’ seasons made the shows that premiered in 2016 look tired and passé. The party that moved from Theodore Roosevelt, to Calvin Coolidge to Dwight Eisenhower to Ronald Reagan to Donald Trump is going to eventually move on once again. That future is waiting to be created.

It’s not my struggle, and maybe it’s not your struggle. But it is certainly a noble way for the right people to spend their lives.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/old_uploads/2019/06/Wilkinson-Density-Divide-Final.pdf) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/old_uploads/2019/06/Wilkinson-Density-Divide-Final.pdf). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/old_uploads/2019/06/Wilkinson-Density-Divide-Final.pdf).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/old_uploads/2019/06/Wilkinson-Density-Divide-Final.pdf), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/old_uploads/2019/06/Wilkinson-Density-Divide-Final.pdf) and [*Instagram*](https://www.niskanencenter.org/wp-content/uploads/old_uploads/2019/06/Wilkinson-Density-Divide-Final.pdf).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mark Peterson/Redux FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Will Democrats Soon Be Locked Out of Power?; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:657K-TD91-DXY4-X1J2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 16, 2022 Saturday 23:38 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1272 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** With a little more electoral ambition, Republicans have a clear majority in reach.

**Body**

Throughout the Trump era it was a frequent theme of liberal commentary that their political party represented a clear American majority, thwarted by our antidemocratic institutions and condemned to live under the rule of the conservative minority.

In the political context of 2016-20, this belief was overstated. Yes, Donald Trump won the presidential election of 2016 with a minority of the popular vote. But more Americans [*voted*](https://history.house.gov/Institution/Election-Statistics/Election-Statistics/) for Republican congressional candidates than Democratic congressional candidates, and more Americans voted for right-of-center candidates for president — including the Libertarian vote — than voted for Hillary Clinton and Jill Stein. In strictly majoritarian terms, liberalism deserved to lose in 2016, even if Trump did not necessarily deserve to win.

And Republican structural advantages, while real, did not then prevent Democrats from reclaiming the House of Representatives in 2018 and the presidency in 2020 and Senate in 2021. These victories extended the pattern of 21st century American politics, which has featured significant swings every few cycles, not the entrenchment of either party’s power.

The political landscape after 2024, however, might look more like liberalism’s depictions of its Trump-era plight. According to [*calculations*](https://www.slowboring.com/p/democrats-are-sleepwalking-into-a?s=r) by liberalism’s Cassandra, David Shor, the convergence of an unfavorable Senate map for Democrats with their pre-existing Electoral College and Senate disadvantages could easily produce a scenario where the party wins 50 percent of the congressional popular vote, 51 percent of the presidential vote — and ends up losing the White House and staring down a nearly filibuster-proof Republican advantage in the Senate.

That’s a scenario for liberal horror, but it’s not one that conservatives should welcome either. In recent years, as their advantages in both institutions have increased, conservatives have defended institutions like the Senate and the Electoral College with variations of the argument that the United States is a democratic republic, not a pure democracy.

These arguments carry less weight, however, the more consistently undemocratic the system’s overall results become. (They would fall apart completely in the scenario sought by Donald Trump and some of his allies after 2020, where state legislatures simply substitute their preferences for the voters’ in their states.)

The Electoral College’s legitimacy can stand up if an occasional 49-47 percent popular vote result goes the other way; likewise the Senate’s legitimacy if it tilts a bit toward one party but changes hands consistently.

But a scenario where one party has sustained governing power while lacking majoritarian support is a recipe for delegitimization and reasonable disillusionment, which no clever conservative column about the constitutional significance of state sovereignty would adequately address.

From the Republican Party’s perspective, the best way to avoid this future — where the nature of conservative victories undercuts the perceived legitimacy of conservative governance — is to stop being content with the advantages granted by the system and try harder to win majorities outright.

You can’t expect a political party to simply cede its advantages: There will never be a bipartisan constitutional amendment to abolish the Senate, on any timeline you care to imagine. But you can expect a political party to show a little more electoral ambition than the G.O.P. has done of late — to seek to win more elections the way that Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon won them, rather than being content to keep it close and put their hopes in lucky breaks.

Especially in the current climate, which looks dire for the Democrats, the Republicans have an opportunity to make the Electoral College complaint moot, for a time at least, by simply taking plausible positions, nominating plausible candidates and winning majorities outright.

That means rejecting the politics of voter-fraud paranoia — as, hopefully, Republican primary voters will do by choosing Brian Kemp over David Perdue in the Georgia gubernatorial primary.

It means rejecting the attempts to return to the libertarian “makers versus takers” politics of Tea Party era, currently manifested in Florida Senator Rick Scott’s recent manifesto suggesting tax increases for the ***working class*** — basically the right-wing equivalent of “defund the police” in terms of its political toxicity.

And it means — and I fear this is beyond the G.O.P.’s capacities — nominating someone other than Donald Trump in 2024.

A Republican Party that managed to win popular majorities might still see its Senate or Electoral College majorities magnified by its structural advantages. But such magnification is a normal feature of many democratic systems, not just our own. It’s very different from losing the popular vote consistently and yet being handed power anyway.

As for what the Democrats should do about their disadvantages — well, that’s a longer discussion, but two quick points for now.

First, to the extent the party wants to focus on structural answers to its structural challenges, it needs clarity about what kind of electoral reforms would actually accomplish something. That’s been lacking in the Biden era, where liberal reformers wasted considerable time and energy on voting bills that didn’t pass and also weren’t likely to help the party much had they been actually pushed through.

A different reform idea, statehood for the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, wouldn’t have happened in this period either, but it’s much more responsive to the actual challenges confronting Democrats in the Senate. So if you’re a liberal activist or a legislator planning for the next brief window when your party holds power, pushing for an expanded Senate seems like a more reasonable long ball to try to train your team to throw.

Second, to the extent that there’s a Democratic path back to greater parity in the Senate and Electoral College without structural reform, it probably requires the development of an explicit faction within the party dedicated to winning back two kinds of voters — culturally conservative Latinos and ***working-class*** whites — who were part of Barack Obama’s coalition but have drifted rightward since.

That faction would have two missions: To hew to a poll-tested agenda on economic policy (not just the business-friendly agenda supported by many centrist Democrats) and to constantly find ways to distinguish itself from [*organized progressivism*](https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/the-end-of-progressive-intellectual-life) — the foundations, the activists, the academics — on cultural and social issues. And crucially, not in the tactical style favored by analysts like Shor, but in the language of principle: Rightward-drifting voters would need to know that this faction actually believes in its own moderation, its own attacks on progressive shibboleths, and that its members will remain a thorn in progressivism’s side even once they reach Washington.

Right now the Democrats have scattered politicians, from West Virginia to New York City, who somewhat fit this mold. But they don’t have an agenda for them to coalesce around, a group of donors ready to fund them, a set of intellectuals ready to embrace them as their own.

Necessity, however, is the mother of invention, and necessity may impose itself upon the Democratic Party soon enough.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTOpinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK PETERSON/REDUX)

**Load-Date:** April 17, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Letter to a Young Republican***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:621S-V8S1-DXY4-X0YY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 19, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 885 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

How should you spend your life?

This week I received a moving note from a young friend of mine. In college, he realized he wanted to make a difference in this world by serving in government. His opinions leaned right, so the Republican Party became the vehicle for that service. He's spent 10 years working his way up the Washington policy ladder.

But now he is dismayed by what the Republican Party has become. He's disgusted by the whole political game. He's thinking that maybe government is not where vital, meaningful work will take place over the next decades. He is in a career crisis, wondering if he should change the trajectory of his life. He asked for my advice:

Dear Young Republican,

I get it. I've been increasingly dismayed and disgusted by the Republican Party since the moment Sarah Palin first stepped onto the national stage. My interests have shifted to those who are weaving the social fabric at the community level, and if you find a way to make a difference out of government, I salute you.

But we do face a political crisis in this country, and the Republican Party is the epicenter of that crisis. Destiny has placed you, all of you young Republicans, at the crucial spot in the line. We either have two responsible political parties in this country or we do not. And it will be reforming Republicans, with your energies and ideas, that determine the outcome.

The Republican Party is going to hold a lot of power in the years ahead. Even with a losing candidate at the top of the ticket, the GOP managed to pick up 12 House seats in 2020. It is possible that the Republicans will control the House and the Senate in just two years.

The Democrats have become the party of the educated metropolitan class. There will always be a lot of Americans who do not share the interests or values of that class and they tend to vote Republican.

The party is politically viable, but it is intellectually and morally bankrupt. Under Trump it became an apocalyptic personality cult. But you should know, as I'm sure you do, that there are many Republicans who want to change their party and make it a vehicle for conservative ideas.

These people are energized as never before and feel their whole lives have been preparation for the coming moral, intellectual and political struggle. This is a struggle to create a Republican Party that is democratic and not authoritarian, patriotic and not nationalistic, conservative and not reactionary, benevolent and not belligerent, intellectually self-confident and not apocalyptic and dishonest.

But is it your struggle? I guess I would ask myself two questions: Are you dedicated to the ideas that are at the heart of current conservatism: the need to hold off the China threat; the need to restrain the power of cultural elites and centralized government; the need to build an economy that functions for the ***working class***. Second, are you attached to actual Republicans? The conservative movement left an opening for Trump because it didn't understand what was on the mind of actual voters.

The party has the potential to be something truly good for America: a multiracial ***working***- ***class*** coalition, a party that serves the interest of all those who don't fit in with the definition of the good life that is promulgated by the meritocracy. It's to be a champion for those who didn't complete college, don't want to leave their hometown for the big city, do have a set of traditional values centered around their faith.

To become that party, the G.O.P. has to displace the cultural circus with actual policymaking. Trumpism is a media strategy, not a political philosophy; it's a bid to win endless attention and stoke enmity.

Republicans will beat Trumpism not by confronting it directly but by focusing on policymaking, by becoming a regular party once again. As Senator Ben Sasse put it, it's to make the Republican Party about more than one dude. You may have noticed that this week, Mitt Romney and Tom Cotton are teaming up on an effort to raise the minimum wage and enforce immigration laws, two plans to boost ***working class*** wages. That's what there needs to be more of.

Will this work? Is the Republican Party salvageable? Nobody knows. Right now Republicans are rallying around Trump because they believe Democrats and the media are going after him. It's pie in the sky to ask rank-and-file Republicans to denounce the man they've clung to. But, as has been observed, we Americans don't solve our problems, we just leave them behind.

Suppose new leaders, issues and movements arose? Suppose the shows that premiered in the coming years' seasons made the shows that premiered in 2016 look tired and passé. The party that moved from Theodore Roosevelt, to Calvin Coolidge to Dwight Eisenhower to Ronald Reagan to Donald Trump is going to eventually move on once again. That future is waiting to be created.

It's not my struggle, and maybe it's not your struggle. But it is certainly a noble way for the right people to spend their lives.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/18/opinion/republican-party-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/18/opinion/republican-party-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mark Peterson/Redux FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Reaching for Ohio's Exhausted Majority***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:655M-3FW1-JBG3-60T5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 7, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 15

**Length:** 1702 words

**Byline:** By Jazmine Ulloa

**Body**

Mr. Ryan, the Ohio Democrat running for Senate, has been listening to white ***working-class*** voters. Whether they are listening to him and the Democratic Party is the question.

NILES, OHIO -- Representative Tim Ryan won re-election in 2020. But in one sharply personal way, he lost, too.

Mr. Ryan, 48, the Ohio Democrat and one-time presidential candidate, was born and raised in Niles, a manufacturing city of roughly 18,000 that sits halfway between Youngstown and Warren in southern Trumbull County.

Mr. Ryan had once won Trumbull with as much as 74 percent of the vote. That number fell to just 48 percent in 2020, when he narrowly lost the county by roughly one percentage point. A place that was once a bastion of white blue-collar Democrats turned away from a white Democratic native son whose blue-collar grandfather had been a steelworker in Niles for four decades.

Now, Mr. Ryan is trying to win back his party's voters in Trumbull and throughout Ohio as he runs for Senate. His problem in Trumbull exemplifies the larger problem for Democrats in the Midwest: The lingering appeal of Trumpism and the erosion of support for the party among the white ***working-class*** voters who once formed a loyal part of its base in the industrial heart of the country.

Many national Democratic pollsters and pundits have written off Mr. Ryan's pursuit as a near-impossible task. They see Ohio as too red and too white to change course. But as his Republican opponents have been veering farther to the right and aggressively pursuing former President Donald J. Trump's endorsement, Mr. Ryan is betting voters have had enough of the extremism in American politics. He is focused on bringing back voters who feel forgotten by Democrats and turned off by Republicans.

''I feel like I am representing the Exhausted Majority,'' Mr. Ryan said in an interview, using a phrase coined by researchers to describe the estimated two-thirds of voters who are less polarized and who feel overlooked. People, Mr. Ryan added, ''just want to move on and actually focus on the things that are really important.''

Like other Democrats in long-shot races, Mr. Ryan must stay firmly within a narrow lane as he vies to replace Senator Rob Portman, a Republican who is retiring. Mr. Ryan does not tout Medicare for All and other transformative policies that tend to energize progressives, and he does not want to talk about transgender women in sports and other divisive issues. Instead, he wants to campaign strictly on jobs, manufacturing and taking on China. His first television commercial -- part of a $3.3 million ad buy -- almost sounds like it came from a Republican, squarely centering on the nation's fight to beat China on manufacturing.

''It's us versus them,'' he says in a digital one-minute version of the ad, during which he mentions ''China'' eight times in 60 seconds. The ad has drawn criticism from some Asian advocacy groups and elected officials, who described it as racist and called on him to take it down.

Shekar Narasimhan, the chairman of AAPI Victory Fund, a political action committee that mobilizes Asian American and Pacific Islander voters, urged Mr. Ryan to not use hate or fear to win votes. ''That's what the Trump Republicans do and why we fight them everywhere,'' he said in a statement.

Mr. Ryan condemned anti-Asian violence but said that he was speaking specifically about government policies of the Chinese Communist Party that have hurt Ohio workers and that he was not backing down.

Seven months before the November election, it is too early to say whether the Ryan playbook is working. Interviews with voters, former elected officials and community leaders in Niles, Warren and other towns in the industrial region known as the Mahoning Valley showed just how hard the midterms will be for Democrats, and for Mr. Ryan. His jobs-and-the-economy message clashes with the prices ***working-class*** voters have been paying at the grocery store and at the gas pump.

Many Republican voters in this part of the Mahoning Valley were quick to dismiss any Democrat as unviable, citing gas prices, inflation and the U.S.-Mexico border as Democratic problems that needed Republican solutions. Democrats tended to be split between those who supported Mr. Ryan and those wary he had become too much a part of the Democratic establishment. Even anti-Trump voters have been in an anti-establishment frame of mind.

Outside the Hot Dog Shoppe in Warren, Royce VanDervort, 76, who worked for the Packard electric division at General Motors, said he understood why people grew tired of the Democratic political machine amid factory closures and job losses, but was surprised by just how strong and enduring the Trump appeal has been. He is a die-hard Democrat and said he supports Mr. Ryan. ''Too old to change now,'' he added.

But Mr. VanDervort's friend and neighbor, Dennis Garito, 57, was the kind of voter Mr. Ryan has been trying to win back. A retired fabrication worker and a Democrat for 35 years, Mr. Garito now describes himself as an independent. On the one hand, he said, he worries Mr. Ryan and other Democrats have lost touch with the people they represent. On the other, he has grown sick of far-right Republicans who argue, he said, like ''kids fighting.''

He plans to vote for Mr. Ryan in the Democratic primary in May. But if State Senator Matt Dolan, a Republican less centered on Mr. Trump, wins the Republican primary and makes it on the ballot in November, Mr. Ryan will likely lose Mr. Garito's vote. ''If it comes down between Dolan and Ryan, I'm probably going to vote for Dolan,'' Mr. Garito said. Mr. Ryan, he added, had become ''too much of a career politician.''

Asked later about Mr. Garito's comments, Mr. Ryan said Mr. Garito reflected those voters in the middle who are without a home politically. His role model has been Senator Sherrod Brown, the Ohio Democrat who has weathered Republican waves by focusing on rebuilding the middle class.

''I am telling everyone right now -- 'Just hear us out, come listen to us,''' the congressman said.

On a blustery, snowy day in early spring, Mr. Ryan sat in Giuseppe's Italian Market, one of his favorite Italian delis in Niles, dressed down in jeans and a gray pullover with a United Steelworkers logo. In the Democratic primary, Mr. Ryan is the front-runner, but he will face Morgan Harper, a progressive lawyer, and Traci Johnson, a tech executive.

Mr. Ryan has been on a rigorous tour of the state, aiming to visit with voters in all 88 counties. So far, he has hit 82. He met with union workers in town halls, diners and factories along the Ohio River. He hosted round tables with business owners and home health care aides in Cincinnati, Cleveland and other cities. He picketed with aerospace workers north of Dayton.

''I want to see these folks,'' Mr. Ryan said. ''I want to be in their communities.''

Mr. Ryan's visit-every-county tactic echoes Beto O'Rourke's driving tour of Texas in 2017 and 2018, when Mr. O'Rourke made campaign stops in all 254 counties in Texas during his unsuccessful bid to defeat Senator Ted Cruz.

The Mahoning Valley where Mr. Ryan still lives stretches across northeastern Ohio and northwestern Pennsylvania, and was once a thriving zone of steel factories and manufacturing plants. But Mr. Ryan saw the region transform amid job losses, bad trade deals and disinvestment, he said.

''Growing up, you think it is just happening here, but when you travel Ohio, you realize that it is the vast majority of Ohio,'' he said.

The exodus of white blue-collar voters from the Democratic Party accelerated here with the arrival of Mr. Trump, who stirred populist anger as he pledged to bring back manufacturing jobs and companies, as well as to aid struggling workers who had been laid off or reassigned. Many of his promises never materialized, but that didn't hurt the former president's well of support among the workers who saw him as their champion. Ohio went to Mr. Trump in the past two presidential elections, and it appears to be trending in Republicans' favor, as President Biden's low approval ratings are expected to hurt Democrats.

The diminishing support for Mr. Ryan in 2020 in Trumbull County was part of a larger wave of enthusiasm for Mr. Trump that knocked out other well-known Democrats in the Mahoning Valley, said Bill Padisak, who works in Niles and serves as president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Central Labor Council in Mahoning and Trumbull Counties. But he said it was too early to tell whether many of those people would remain Republicans.

''A lot of the union members I talk to, I think they will swing back,'' Mr. Padisak said.

Democrats' struggles go far beyond Mr. Trump. The outrage, racial resentment and white grievances harnessed by Republicans have proven too salient for some voters who see their identity and way of life under attack. Others blame the Biden administration and Democrats for the troubles with the economy and illegal immigration.

On a visit to Warren for her 18-year-old daughter's dance competition, Kristen Moll, 54, echoed a common refrain among Republicans. ''Right now, regardless of if you're running for Senate or governor or any public office, I would feel the Democratic Party in general is leading the country down the wrong path,'' Ms. Moll said.

At her home, Charlene W. Allen, 76, a community activist and legislative aide to the Youngstown Warren Black Caucus, believed Mr. Ryan had a shot. But she said he could not win the seat without doing more to repel Republicans' attempts to sow division, like proactively taking on issues of race and crime.

''Some of that Trump support has waned, but I don't know if it has waned enough,'' she said.

David and Jennifer Raspanti, who are the owners of a painting company in Trumbull County and who are Republicans, said they did not care whether the next senator was a Republican or a Democrat as long as the candidate was not extreme and could make clearheaded decisions.

''We need to come back to the middle,'' Ms. Raspanti, 44, said at a restaurant in Boardman Township, where the family was having breakfast with their two sons after church. ''We need to listen to each other better.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/06/us/politics/tim-ryan-ohio-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/06/us/politics/tim-ryan-ohio-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Youngstown in the Mahoning Valley has seen blue-collar voters move toward Donald J. Trump.

David and Jennifer Raspanti said they want a senator who is not extreme, regardless of party.

Many Republican voters in the Mahoning Valley were quick to dismiss any Democrat as unviable.

TIM RYAN, Ohio Democratic congressman, on his voter outreach.

''Some of that Trump support has waned, but I don't know if it has waned enough,'' said Charlene W. Allen, a local activist.

Dennis Garito said Democrats are out of touch, but he's also sick of Republicans who argue like ''kids fighting.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MADDIE McGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 7, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Anti-C.R.T. Movement and a Vision For a New Right Wing; Jay caspian Kang***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64RR-J2F1-JBG3-601R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 10, 2022 Thursday 11:22 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2867 words

**Byline:** Jay Caspian Kang

**Highlight:** A conversation with the Manhattan Institute’s Reihan Salam.

**Body**

It’s become fashionable on the left to think of the American political right as a thicket of vaguely defined ideologies funded, in large part, by shadowy billionaires who want to overthrow democracy. This may very well be true, but what’s changed over the past decade or so is that it’s become a lot easier to track the lineage of right-wing thought. The shadows, mostly, have been lifted.

The national meltdown over critical race theory, for example, can quite easily be traced back to the Manhattan Institute, a conservative think tank that employs Christopher Rufo, the country’s pre-eminent critic of critical race theory. The group has historically been funded by [*corporations*](https://centerjd.org/content/fact-sheet-manhattan-institute), political interest groups like EdChoice, which promotes voucher programs, and [*wealthy private donors*](https://www.insidephilanthropy.com/economic-policy-research/2015/6/1/why-wall-streeters-love-the-manhattan-institute.html) like the [*Koch brothers*](https://publicintegrity.org/politics/koch-brothers-pour-more-cash-into-think-tanks-alec/) and the [*Bradley Foundation*](https://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Lynde_and_Harry_Bradley_Foundation).

Why has the Manhattan Institute, which typically focuses on economic policy, immigration, crime and education policy, turned so much of its attention to the critical race theory culture war? Is it just a way to sow racial discord and “own the libs”? Does it come out of a sincere desire to eliminate a type of racialized thinking from public schools? Or is there some larger vision of conservative politics that’s at play here?

To answer these questions, I spoke to Reihan Salam, the president of the Manhattan Institute. He explained his organization’s concentration on critical race theory along with educational meritocracy and law and order matters. These aren’t particularly new arenas for conservatives, but what’s interesting is the intended audience. Salam and the Manhattan Institute see a multicultural right that can be built by looking in places that progressives either overlook, or, in Salam’s estimation, willfully ignore.

Can you build a coalition between frustrated Latino, Asian American and Black parents who believe in school choice and the ideals of American meritocracy? And can those groups then be folded into a modern Republican Party that still is in the thrall of Trumpism?

Here are edited excerpts from our conversations:

What’s the Manhattan Institute platform for 2022?

Crime and public safety have been absolutely central to our work. Partly because, at a moment when virtually all elite institutions, including elite institutions on the right, were oriented toward criminal justice reform, we were saying: “Look, responsible, thoughtful, measured reform may well make sense. But what we want to do is avoid some kind of mechanistic lurch toward a permissive bias.”

And also the intersection of race and public policy. If you look at every important policy debate right now, there’s a way in which classic empirical debates have been overshadowed by a debate over what is and is not racist, with the definition of what counts as racist growing ever more expansive and totalizing.

I think it freezes a lot of people, including a lot of people of color, out of conversations. I think that it has obscured a lot of the diversity of opinion, a lot of different communities. If you’re a nonwhite person who dissents from elite progressive opinion, you are guilty of “multiracial whiteness.” We see this in debates about environmental policy, about health policy, any number of things. So I think that squarely addressing that is especially important in diverse communities, because these are communities where it winds up having very material consequences.

What’s an example of a consensus with regards to racism that is locking out diverse intellectual thought?

The political scientists Alan Yan and Hakeem Jefferson did some survey work looking at Black Americans and their views on, for example, the size of the welfare state and how much we devote to social spending. And they[*found that*](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/how-the-two-party-system-obscures-the-complexity-of-black-americans-politics/) 31 percent of Black respondents favored increasing the resources allocated to these programs — but 28 percent favored reducing them.

If you look at prestige media institutions, and their kind of narrative around what it means to have diverse voices, I don’t think you see that diversity of opinion expressed. The moral authority of a person who reflects a progressive left view and speaks on behalf of a marginalized population is vast. And it has a huge effect on conversations, including policy conversations. I think merely surfacing the fact that actually you cannot speak for a group in these monolithic terms has some power in itself.

A lot of people would agree with you there. Progressive elite media does tend to overlook a lot of narratives, especially in minority communities. But how do you build a political platform out of that observation? To put it a bit more succinctly, what’s the prestige media got to do with it?

Prestige media imparts prestige, and so it incentivizes the behavior of ambitious, status-seeking people.

Consider the rise of the so-called progressive prosecution movement. Alvin Bragg, the new Manhattan D.A., is a graduate of the Trinity School, one of the most selective prep schools in the country, and Harvard and Harvard Law School. He is a product of the most elite American institutions. And he’s advancing an approach to prosecution — roughly the same approach as Chesa Boudin, the San Francisco D.A., himself a Rhodes scholar — that is just deeply not in tune with the opinions of the ***working-class*** Dominicans or Bangladeshis or Black people who are getting victimized by chronic offenders.

What matters in these contexts is who gets through what you could call the “prestige primary.” And it’s just not cool for kids at Yale Law School to care more about the fate of unfashionable crime victims than about whatever they’re reading in the socialist magazine Jacobin or The New York Times Magazine, which are increasingly indistinguishable. Giving voice to people who are outside of this bubble is vitally important — it challenges the legitimacy of the elite progressive consensus, it activates citizens who haven’t otherwise felt their power and it creates an opening for political and civic entrepreneurs to build new coalitions.

The platform you’re describing sounds a lot like the one that New York City’s new mayor, Eric Adams, ran on. He’s focused on public safety, education and fighting the progressive elite in the name of ***working-class*** people of color. What do you think about his first few weeks as mayor? Do you think he could be someone who could further the aims of the center right?

Basically, yes.

Eric Adams might be the most consequential Democratic politician in the country right now. Joe Biden, Nancy Pelosi, even Kamala Harris all seem to represent an interregnum. There’s something else that’s on the horizon for the center left, and it could very well be Adams.

At a time when a self-referential, educated, affluent group dominates the uppermost echelons of the party, Adams has a great deal of moral authority. The fragility of New York City’s recovery, the fact that the city’s economic model depends on retaining the ultrarich and the vast service-sector ***working class***, the fraught politics of race and public order all make this an incredibly high-stakes moment. If Adams can get this roughly right, he will absolutely have claim to being the party’s next national leader.

And Adams is not entirely alone. There’s a handful of other Black and brown outer-borough politicians in New York who understand the stakes and who are carving out new ideological approaches that go beyond prestige-media progressivism. Ritchie Torres, the first-term congressman from the South Bronx, is perhaps the most obvious and compelling example. You could call them the pragmatic progressives or neo-moderates or whatever. They’re all hated by the post-college democratic socialist youth, who sneer at them on Twitter, but they represent ***working-class*** communities and they viscerally understand the cost of saying no to housing development and to decent blue-collar jobs. Adams is their most visible success.

Of course, Adams is not a conventional conservative. But if he can follow through on his calls for increased investment in effective policing and increasing the number of high-quality schools (as opposed to obsessing over the racial balance at Stuyvesant or Bronx Science while most children go to schools that are failing their students), and if he can lower the barriers to new housing and private-sector growth in general, he’ll build a durable, diverse majority of moderate, small-c conservative voters that could absolutely serve as a national model.

You fund and promote the work of Chris Rufo. He has started a full-on culture war over critical race theory. Why did the Manhattan Institute fund this fight?

I appreciate that Chris’s work has been controversial, especially among practitioners of prestige media, but we don’t shy away from that. His reporting for City Journal, a publication run by the Manhattan Institute, and the broader work he’s been doing for us has been consistently insightful, intellectually serious and impactful.

We hire people with traditional academic credentials, but we also hire people with unconventional experiences that allow them to see things in new ways — investigative journalists, documentary filmmakers, renegade ex-civil servants — and we encourage scholars with different experiences and skill sets to collaborate. We wouldn’t be doing our job if we didn’t hire people like Chris, and we intend to keep doing it.

Rufo has tweeted that this critical race theory fight is all part of a larger plan. And when he said that, I instantly pictured some think tank behind all this. You’re the think tank behind this. What’s the plan here?

I’d say that we’re the think tank where Chris has found an intellectual home.

What he has done is put a name on a big, sprawling concept that’s having a big effect on American life. What Chris has tried to say is, ‘I’ve looked into this, I’ve listened carefully. I’ve looked at these trainings, and it does seem as though there is a kind of body of intellectual work. Is this something that we can reasonably name and say that there is some kind of rough coherent set of ideas here?’

Chris has assigned a name to this phenomenon.

OK, but what are you trying to accomplish?

I see the C.R.T. fight as part of a larger fight against race essentialism. If we’re going to build a successful multiethnic democracy, it’ll be because we’ve lowered the salience of race in people’s lives. Our goal should be the expansion of the American mainstream, in which people aren’t bound by rigid racial expectations, and ethnic identity is more voluntary or symbolic than something that determines your life chances.

To some, I’m sure this will sound utopian, but I actually think it’s a decent description of an emerging reality in huge swaths of ***working-class*** and middle-class America, and particularly for immigrants and second-generation Americans in nonelite neighborhoods and workplaces.

I sometimes get the sense that the most race-obsessed environments in America are prisons — think of California’s racial prison gangs, which Chris Rufo [*wrote about*](https://www.city-journal.org/the-lefts-divisive-racialist-ideologies) recently for City Journal — and elite media and academic institutions. If you dissent from a certain set of ideas championed by credentialed spokespeople for what it means to be Black or Latino or Asian or whatever, the message is that you are not to be taken seriously, you don’t count as a diverse voice.

The C.R.T. fight, to me, is first and foremost about resisting this tendency to further racialize American life, which, in turn, creates the potential for new cultural possibilities, new social ties across ethnic lines and new political coalitions.

Are you concerned at all about downstream effects from this culture war? Like school boards banning books by Black authors and some of the actions we’ve seen that I think even you would say constitute censorious overreach?

As Chris has observed, the pushback against critical race theory has been multiethnic, and it’s transcended ideological lines. There’s no question that some opponents of C.R.T. have overreached, just as some partisans of C.R.T. have gone too far in the direction of compelling students, faculty and staff to affirm a specific set of political and ideological ideas.

There are more than 13,000 public school districts in the country, not all of which are governed thoughtfully or responsibly. One of the reasons our scholars have been calling for greater transparency is that we believe these debates should happen in the open, with all interested parties having access to reliable information. It’s been very disorienting to see many organizations denounce new curriculum transparency proposals as paving the way for censorship — it seems almost calculated to convince people that there’s a shadowy “deep state” in public education that wants to evade scrutiny, which strikes me as unfair to most public educators.

I suspect this is all a manifestation of negative polarization: If those people are for curriculum transparency, we must be against it.

These ideas — being tough on crime, against critical race theory in schools and for educational choice — whom do you hope this appeals to?

I think it can appeal to a very diverse coalition of people, especially people who depend on public order, who depend on high-quality public services. You know, as you and I both know, there is a universe of people who can lead perfectly happy lives without relying on the public sector. They can be perfectly safe, they can insulate themselves. But our sense is that there’s just a large universe of people who can’t, for whom the stakes are actually quite high. It’s not ideological for them. And I think that those are the people that we want to speak to.

I think there’s a fair argument to be made that being tough on crime and against C.R.T. and moving away from equity approaches in education could all be considered anti-Black. How do you respond to that?

It’s insane, because I believe that Black Americans, in particular, benefit enormously from effective policing and enormously and disproportionately from improving the quality of public education.

When it comes to the education battles, we recently published a paper on high schools in New York City, and what we found is that these high schools that were established after 1994 — starting under the Giuliani administration, but really under the Bloomberg administration — have just done way, way better in terms of actually getting students to graduate and also imparting the kind of skills that young people need to flourish than incumbent schools.

The de Blasio administration kind of stopped going down that road and creating new schools. That matters so much more than whether Bronx Science has this or that racial composition. And, to me, that’s the whole problem: You have this kind of urban progressivism that is so narrowly fixated on selective institutions and the concerns of affluent, credentialed, educated people.. They’re so narrowly fixated on their own experiences and what that means, rather than on what does it mean to broaden access and opportunity for a much, much larger group of people who, by the way, don’t necessarily aspire to the exact same things as the people who are on the faculty at Yale Law School.

Do you think this platform can compete with Trumpism?

Trumpism is exceedingly hard to define. Donald Trump’s presidency gave any number of different factions on the right little hints that they could claim him. Immigration restrictionists claim him, but there were always these signs that he wanted to increase the number of guest workers, or [*when he said*](https://www.politico.com/story/2019/02/05/trump-state-of-the-union-legal-immigration-1148629)in a State of the Union address that “I want people to come into our country in the largest numbers ever.” Trump contained multitudes. The simplest definition of Trumpism is that it’s all about personal loyalty to the former president rather than a fixed body of ideas.

But there is definitely a contest for the future of the center right. My sense is that there’s an emerging right-of-center politics that is deeply pessimistic about the prospect of a diversifying America, explicitly anti-urban, and increasingly willing to embrace redistribution and centralized power than the movement conservatism of the pre-Trump era.

Then there’s what many of our scholars are advancing: a more practical, results-oriented approach that focuses on core quality-of-life questions; a belief in the potential of urban life; an unapologetic defense of educational excellence and public order; a healthy skepticism toward centralized power; and an opposition to race essentialism that’s rooted in the realities of living in a culturally dynamic, pluralistic and individualistic society. I suspect this sensibility speaks to more Americans, and especially to more young people, than what I take to be the alternative.

Both tendencies are about breaking the country out of economic and cultural stagnation, and both have an anti-elitist streak. But our vision is just not as bleak, pessimistic and enervating, and that’s why I’m confident it can compete and win.

Have feedback? Send a note to [*kang-newsletter@nytimes.com*](mailto:kang-newsletter@nytimes.com).

Jay Caspian Kang ([*@jaycaspiankang*](https://twitter.com/jaycaspiankang?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor)), a writer for Opinion and The New York Times Magazine, is the author of “The Loneliest Americans.”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Alberto Miranda FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2023

**End of Document**



[***New York Voters Put Democrats on Notice. Was the Message Received?; mara gay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6789-8G21-JBG3-64R6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 7, 2023 Saturday 22:27 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1069 words

**Byline:** Mara Gay

**Highlight:** If Kathy Hochul is listening to New Yorkers, she will act boldly on housing and public safety.

**Body**

For politicians in some places in the United States, election losses tend to prompt a kind of soul-searching.

In Albany? Not so much.

Just two months after New York voters delivered New York Democrats a drubbing at the polls, it’s not clear if the message is penetrating the party’s thicket of dysfunction and hubris.

The hubris made an appearance over the holiday, when the governor approved a 29 percent [*pay raise*](https://www.cbsnews.com/news/new-york-legislature-salary-raise-outside-income-limit/) that the State Legislature gave itself in December. And the Democratic Party chairman, Jay Jacobs, [*remains*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2022/12/jay-jacobs-has-few-regrets-and-no-apologies.html) in his post, never mind the shellacking his party received in November, in which Republicans flipped four House seats and came surprisingly close to taking the governor’s mansion in a heavily Democratic state.

Most concerning, Gov. Kathy Hochul and the State Legislature, which began its new session this week, appear prepared to return to business as usual, which means cautiously tinkering with policy while they are fixated on crises of their own making. The first questions before the Legislature include whether to approve Ms. Hochul’s [*choice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/22/nyregion/new-york-appeals-court-nomination-hochul.html) for chief judge of the New York State Court of Appeals, whom liberals oppose because of his conservative-leaning rulings in labor, abortion and criminal justice cases — as well as more mundane headaches, like whether to remove a newly elected Republican assemblyman who is facing [*questions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/05/nyregion/lester-chang-assembly.html) about whether he lives in the borough he was elected to serve. (Lester Chang, the assemblyman in question, says he does.)

Back in the real world, New York is suffering.

A crisis in [*confidence over public safety*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/05/nyregion/new-york-crime-stats.html) in the state, made worse by persistent concerns over gun violence and [*hate crimes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/12/us/politics/fbi-hate-crimes.html), continues, even as it’s clear some progress is being made.

Unemployment in the state remained higher than the national rate in 2022, and it is especially high in New York City, where unemployment averaged 6.2 percent, according to an analysis from the state’s comptroller. Among Black residents in New York City, that figure was more than 10 percent.

More and more, living in New York is out of reach not just for ***working-class*** or middle-class residents but nearly anyone without a trust fund. If the governor and Legislature tried apartment hunting in New York City right now, they would discover that the median rent for a two-bedroom apartment in New York City this January is [*$4,890*](https://www.renthop.com/average-rent-in/new-york-ny) — more than 20 percent higher than this time last year. Little wonder then, that 67,000 people [*slept*](https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/dhs/downloads/pdf/dailyreport.pdf) in city shelters this week, more than 20,000 of them children.

What is required from Albany is not business as usual, but bold, swift action on the issues that residents in the state are confronting in their daily lives.

That means finding new and creative ways to expand the state’s economy and improve public safety, including by further strengthening its gun laws. Among the bright spots last year was a measure that Ms. Hochul pushed for in the wake of the mass shooting in Buffalo, which made the red flag laws barring individuals who may pose a risk to themselves or others from obtaining a firearm more effective. In the six months after the law was changed, judges [*approved*](https://www.timesunion.com/state/article/Use-of-Red-Flag-law-jumps-following-governor-s-17658887.php) more than 2,000 such orders, a significant increase from the year before, according to the Albany Times Union newspaper.

New York needs Ms. Hochul and the Legislature to deliver that kind of relentless focus on housing. The way to begin is to do everything possible to spur housing production.

For one thing, this means coming up with a new kind of tax incentive for developers that encourages more truly affordable housing. The state’s previous program, known as 421a, mostly created units for high-income people even as it cost taxpayers $1.7 billion per year. Albany [*allowed*](https://therealdeal.com/2022/06/15/dead-and-buried-421a-is-gone-will-it-ever-return/) it to expire last year without replacing it.

In December, the governor said she would build 800,000 units of housing in the state over the next decade. That’s good, but the harder task is to push for [*zoning and tax changes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/opinion/new-york-affordable-housing.html) across the state that will allow the region to build the multifamily housing needed to truly end the crisis and let New York grow.

Voters will know Ms. Hochul and the Legislature are serious about the housing crisis when they start fighting — hard — to build multifamily housing in suburban areas like Long Island, where it is decades overdue. The governor backed off similar proposals last year, wary that doing so might alienate voters in Long Island, where multifamily housing has historically been unwelcome. In the end, Long Island voted Republican anyway.

Ms. Hochul and other Democrats should discard this tepid, safe approach to policymaking. It is failing the state, as well as the party. Ideally, the governor can work with local communities to build support for [*zoning changes to permit multifamily housin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/24/opinion/long-island-housing.html)g. But the governor can also make clear that infrastructure dollars for Long Island are contingent on welcoming the housing the region needs.

The failure to boldly address central issues like housing is in part why, while Democrats outperformed expectations nationally, the outcome in New York was just the opposite.

New York Democrats [*bungled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/28/nyregion/redistricting-maps-court-appeals.html) their shot at congressional mapmaking last year, then went on to lose four House seats, a series of events that was not only [*embarrassing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/nyregion/new-york-republicans-house.html) for the state party, but played a [*pivotal role*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/16/opinion/house-democrats-new-york.html) in delivering the House into Republican hands. Democrats lost several State Assembly seats, too, though they held on to their supermajority, thanks to a more than 2:1 advantage in registered voters that Democrats enjoy in New York.

In spite of that overwhelming advantage, Governor Hochul won re-election with just [*53.2 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-new-york-governor.html) of the vote in November. For comparison, Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan motivated voters in a decidedly less Democratic swing state and was [*re-elected*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/11/08/us/elections/results-michigan-governor.html) by a much larger margin.

In this new year, New York Democrats have a chance to deliver on the issues that truly matter to people who live in the state — and give their voters a reason to show up at the polls.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

A member of the editorial board, focusing on New York State and local affairs.

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY CINDY SCHULTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** January 8, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Why Does Everyone Feel So Insecure All the Time?; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68YT-X9C1-JBG3-64P5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 18, 2023 Friday 11:24 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3107 words

**Byline:** Astra Taylor

**Highlight:** Only by reckoning with how deep manufactured insecurity runs will it become possible to envision something different.

**Body**

Since 2020, the richest 1 percent has captured nearly two-thirds of all [*new wealth*](https://www.oxfam.org/en/press-releases/richest-1-bag-nearly-twice-much-wealth-rest-world-put-together-over-past-two-years) globally — almost twice as much money as the rest of the world’s population. At the beginning of last year, it was estimated that 10 billionaire men possessed six times as much wealth as the poorest three billion people on Earth. In the United States, [*the richest 10 percent*](https://theconversation.com/why-inequality-is-growing-in-the-us-and-around-the-world-191642) of households own more than 70 percent of the country’s assets.

Such statistics are appalling. They have also become familiar. Since it was catapulted onto the national stage more than a decade ago by Occupy Wall Street, “inequality” has been a frequent topic of conversation in American political life. It helped animate Bernie Sanders’s influential campaigns, reshaped academic scholarship, shifted public policy, and continues to galvanize protest. And yet, however important focusing on the inequality crisis has been, it has also proven insufficient.

If we want to understand contemporary economic life, we need a more expansive framework. We need to think about insecurity. Where inequality encourages us to look up and down, to note extremes of indigence and opulence, insecurity encourages us to look sideways and recognize potentially powerful commonalities.

If inequality can be captured in statistics, insecurity requires talking about feelings: It is, to borrow a phrase from feminism, personal as well as political. Economic issues, I’ve come to realize, are also emotional ones: the spike of shame when a bill collector calls, the adrenaline when the rent or mortgage is due, the foreboding when you think about retirement.

And unlike inequality, insecurity is more than a binary of haves and have-nots. Its universality reveals the degree to which unnecessary suffering is widespread — even among those who appear to be doing well. We are all, to varying degrees, overwhelmed and apprehensive, fearful of what the future might have in store. We are on guard, anxious, incomplete and exposed to risk. To cope, we scramble and strive, shoring ourselves up against potential threats. We work hard, shop hard, hustle, get credentialed, scrimp and save, invest, diet, self-medicate, meditate, exercise, exfoliate.

And yet security, for the most part, eludes us. That’s because the main mechanisms by which we are told to gain security for ourselves — making money, buying property, earning degrees, saving for retirement — often involve being invested in systems that rarely provide the stability we crave. The stock in our 401(k), if we are lucky enough to have one, all too often supports industries that poison the planet; the tech company we work for undermines democracy; the rising price of the home we own makes it harder for others to stay housed.

Of course, living with uncertainty and risk is nothing new. How should mortal creatures who have spent our long evolution struggling to survive feel but insecure? The precarious and unpredictable nature of life is what helped inspire the ancient Stoics to counsel equanimity and Buddhist thinkers to develop the concept of Zen. A kind of existential insecurity is indelible to being human. It stems from being dependent on others for survival; from being vulnerable to physical and psychological illness and wounding and the looming fact of death. It is a kind of insecurity we can never wholly escape or armor ourselves against, try as we might.

But existential insecurity is not my focus here. The ways we structure our societies could make us more secure; the way we structure it now makes us less so. I call this “manufactured insecurity.” Where existential insecurity is an inherent feature of our being — and something I believe we need to accept and learn from — manufactured insecurity facilitates exploitation and profit by waging a near constant assault on our self-esteem and well-being. In different ways, political philosophers, economists and advertising executives have pointed out how our economic system capitalizes on the insecurities it produces, which it then prods and perpetuates, making us all insecure by design. Only by reckoning with how deep manufactured insecurity runs will it become possible to envision something different.

Manufactured insecurity is far from inevitable, and yet it is intensifying. The same developments that have supercharged inequality in recent decades — including the deregulation of finance and business and the decline of the welfare state — have heightened insecurity and left no one, wealthy or ***working class***, unscathed. While the relatively privileged seek ways to shield themselves from risk — and even turn periodic shocks to their advantage — the fact is they’ve rigged a game that can’t be won, one that keeps them stressed and scrambling, and breathing the same smoke-tinged air as the rest of us. Which means they, too, have much to gain from rewriting its rules, including reimagining what new forms of security might entail.

For most of my life, it had never occurred to me to fret over the fat in my cheeks. I’d hardly heard the words “buccal fat,” much less thought of it as something that I could or should worry about, until I saw buccal fat [*described in The Guardian*](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/jan/11/buccal-fat-removal-self-esteem-beauty-ideal) as a “fresh source of insecurity to carry into the new year.” Maybe you read the same article — or maybe you discovered that you were supposed to be insecure about something else: the way you part your hair; the fit of your jeans; the make of your car; the size of your home or the way it is decorated.

As the British political theorist Mark Neocleous has noted, the modern word “insecurity” entered the English lexicon in the 17th century, just as our market-driven society was coming into being. Capitalism thrives on bad feelings. Discontented people buy more stuff — an insight the old American trade magazine “Printers’ Ink” stated bluntly in [*1930*](https://studylib.net/doc/10284786/captains-of-consciousness--advertising-and-the-social-roo...#_blank): “Satisfied customers are not as profitable as discontented ones.” It’s hard to imagine any advertising or marketing department telling us that we’re actually OK, and that it is the world, not us, that needs changing. All the while, manufactured insecurity encourages us to amass money and objects as surrogates for the kinds of security that cannot actually be commodified — connection, meaning, purpose, contentment, safety, self-esteem, dignity and respect — but which can only truly be found in community with others.

Part of the insidious and overwhelming power of insecurity is that, unlike inequality, it is subjective. Sentiments, or how real people actually feel, rarely map rationally onto statistics; you do not have to be at rock bottom to feel insecure, because insecurity results as much from expectation as from deprivation. Unlike inequality, which offers a snapshot of the distribution of wealth at a certain moment in time, insecurity spans the present and future, anticipating what may come next.

This is why insecurity affects people on every rung of the economic ladder, even if its harshest edge is predictably reserved for those at the bottom. Recent years have produced an abundance of scholarship demonstrating the negative effects of inequality on health and happiness across the board. Rising inequality, and the insecurity it causes, correlates with higher rates of physical illness, depression, anxiety, drug abuse and addiction. Living in a highly competitive, consumerist society makes everyone more status-conscious, stressed out and sick.

The philosopher Jeremy Bentham wrote about the “fear of losing” and how wealth itself becomes a source of worry. Assets must be guarded and grown, after all, lest fortunes be diminished or lost. “When insecurity reaches a certain point, the fear of losing prevents us from enjoying what we possess already. The care of preserving condemns us to a thousand sad and painful precautions, which yet are always liable to fail of their end,” he wrote in “Theory of Legislation,” published in 1802.

Bentham was referring to money and objects, which can be ported away by thieves, but he could also have been talking about status, which is impossible to steal yet is never secure. In a world of economic extremes, even the most prosperous are afraid of losing rank, of falling in both net worth and self-worth. It is this insecurity that keeps them grasping ever upward.

These people are suffering from what economists call “fractal inequality.” But to those trapped inside the fractal’s vertiginous snare, the overwhelming sensation is one of insecurity. The person who is in debt looks to the person with zero dollars, who looks to the person who has $50,000, who looks to the person who has six figures, who looks to the person who has half a million dollars, who looks to the person who has a million dollars in the bank, who looks to the person with twice as many assets. And on and on.

The dysphoria of feeling you don’t have enough, even when you objectively have a lot, is not simply a spontaneous reaction to seeing others with more, a kind of lizard-brained lust, but rather the consequence of living in an insecure and risk-filled world in which there are no upper or lower limits on wealth and poverty. Left unchecked — or, rather, untaxed — the fractal’s spiral never ends, as Silicon Valley’s parade of billionaires jockeying for fame and dominance makes clear.

A few years ago, my sister was working at a hip Brooklyn cafe. The place has a vintage and vaguely Parisian aesthetic, retro and low-tech. There were, of course, regulars, including a medievalist who liked to chat. On a slow day, a barista on duty was exchanging pleasantries with the medievalist when her phone rang: The owner was watching the security camera from his laptop and told her to stop being so talkative. When I asked my sister how many cameras were installed in the small space, she identified at least eight, and said there might be more. The charming cafe was, in fact, a panopticon — the boss able to tune in any time from anywhere and see from nearly every angle. Even when all they wanted to do was show a bit of kindness and community to a local eccentric, the workers were perpetually worried about being fired. The security cameras hadn’t been installed to make the staff safer; they were there to make them feel insecure about holding on to their jobs.

It’s not just baristas. From “pickers” at Amazon warehouses to grocery store clerks to radiologists to well-paid software engineers, workers are increasingly surveilled, tracked and ranked — and made to feel like the rug could be pulled out from under them at any moment.

This manufactured insecurity reflects a cynical theory of human motivation, one that says people will work only under the threat of duress, not from an intrinsic desire to create, collaborate and care for one another. What the economist John Kenneth Galbraith called “the nerve-racking problem of insecurity” is, he argued, a feature inherent to our competitive economic system, one that takes the form of “episodic unemployment for the worker” on the one side, and “occasional insolvency for the farmer or businessman” on the other. “Along with the carrot of pecuniary reward,” he wrote, “must go the stick of personal economic disaster.”

The mere fear of job loss causes ill health, and losing your job or experiencing unwanted unemployment, scholars have shown, increases the risk of death. Here the problem is not necessarily poverty in absolute terms, but the insecurity that comes from instability and the threat of downward mobility and loss of status, a threat now omnipresent.

Today, people might have the same blue- or white-collar jobs their parents or grandparents had before them — academic, office clerk, factory worker, janitor, driver, delivery person — but they are so often now adjuncts, gig workers or temps employed by a private contractor, with few prospects for promotion or improvement in their job benefits, should they have any.

But even if you manage to ascend the professional ranks, you cannot afford to rest. In the United States today, all it takes is a devastating enough crisis to reduce the once fortunate to a state of precarity or poverty: Business could suddenly drop; a job could be automated or offshored; the stock in a retirement account could crash; home values could plummet; a family member could be diagnosed with a serious illness (something that, in the United States, can eviscerate the economic security of a middle-class household overnight); a storm could wreak havoc; another, more deadly pandemic could hit. The writer Barbara Ehrenreich, in her 1989 study of the psychology of the middle class, dubbed the condition “fear of falling.” But today, the middle feels more precarious than ever, and everyone is afraid of what lies below.

These stresses don’t excuse behavior like spying on employees, but they can help us understand what propels it. Constant insecurity helps keep us in line, while the conventional methods of achieving security fail us.

History, including recent history, shows that hard times, or even the mere anticipation of them — the feeling of being economically insecure and anticipating the worst, whether or not those fears are objectively justified — can increase the appeal of racism and xenophobia.

Across the world, the far right has gained ground by speaking directly to atomized and isolated people’s anxieties, and by offering scapegoats: immigrants, Muslims, Jews, Black people, trans people, women seeking abortions. Too often, insecurity fuels the embrace of social hierarchy and domination. What more tempting solution to a discomfiting sense of insecurity than donning a mask of superiority and invincibility? Thus some people denounce “snowflakes” who need “safe spaces” while taking shelter behind bigotry, puffing themselves up by mocking fragility and denying their own vulnerability. In these cases, it’s not enough to point out that such individuals are often more privileged or better off than others — to emphasize inequality. Insecurity is about feelings as much as facts.

Instead we need to seek to channel insecurity in constructive ways. Indignation at the way our current system manufactures and exploits our fears and anxieties can help strengthen existing movements and coalesce new ones, uniting powerful — and expanding — coalitions that can fight for collective forms of security based in care and concern rather than desperation and distress.

My own experience as a co-founder of the [*Debt Collective*](https://debtcollective.org/), a union of debtors, showed me how economic insecurity can inspire people to organize for redistributive policies and an expanded welfare state. Inspired by the feminist consciousness-raising circles of the 1970s, we often host what we call debtors’ assemblies: forums where people share their financial woes. Without fail, some people cry. They also find life-changing strength and camaraderie. In these sessions, insecurity becomes a gateway, how participants understand themselves and the wider world.

Under such conditions, economic insecurity can become a motor for renewing and improving our society. That’s what happened in the wake of the Great Depression, when trade unionists, unemployed people, socialists, liberal reformers and visionary politicians highlighted insecurity as a central component of laissez-faire capitalism and mobilized to remedy it. In 1938, President Franklin D. Roosevelt denounced insecurity as “one of the most fearsome evils of our economic system” and invoked “security” as the justification for the New Deal that would form the foundation of the American welfare state.

For the last 50 years, this web of security-enhancing social policies has been shrinking. Then came Covid-19. As a result of a sudden increase in federal income support, millions of people — my sister among them — were materially secure enough to leave jobs where they had felt disrespected, abused, unhappy, bored, underpaid or unable to advance, leading to a historic “quit rate.” For a time, the insecurity induced by the threat of job loss was greatly diminished. Some central banks stepped in to raise interest rates, which weakened the bargaining position of labor, ostensibly so the banks could target inflation, while politicians shut down the pandemic assistance programs — some cited cost, but it seemed the real reason was that the programs gave workers too much power. The material security they provided was a threat to our insecurity-dependent status quo.

Rather than something to pathologize, I want us to see insecurity as an opportunity. We all need protection from life’s hazards, natural or human-made. The simple acceptance of our mutual vulnerability — of the fact that we all need and deserve care throughout our lives — has potentially transformative implications. When we spur people on with insecurity because we expect the worst from them, we create a vicious cycle that stokes desperation and division while facilitating the kind of cutthroat competition and consumption that has brought our fragile planet to a catastrophic brink. When we extend trust and support to others, we improve everyone’s security — including our own.

Not only would reweaving the social safety net go a long way toward reducing the stress and strain that ails so many of us today, but also, a baseline of material security might enable us to face our existential insecurity with compassion and even curiosity.

Insecurity, after all, is what makes us human, and it is also what allows us to connect and change. “Nothing in Nature ‘becomes itself’ without being vulnerable,” writes the physician Gabor Maté in “The Myth of Normal.” “The mightiest tree’s growth requires soft and supple shoots, just as the hardest-shelled crustacean must first molt and become soft.” There is no growth, he observes, without emotional vulnerability.

The same also applies to societies. Recognizing our shared existential insecurity, and understanding how it is currently used against us, can be a first step toward forging solidarity. Solidarity, in the end, is one of the most important forms of security we can possess — the security of confronting our shared predicament as humans on this planet in crisis, together.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

Astra Taylor is an organizer, a filmmaker and the author of the forthcoming book “The Age of Insecurity: Coming Together as Things Fall Apart,” from which this essay is adapted. She is the 2023 CBC Massey lecturer.

This article appeared in print on page SR4, SR5.

**Load-Date:** January 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Valentine's Day Movies for All Inclinations***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64SH-SC71-JBG3-61WM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 14, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1050 words

**Byline:** By Erik Piepenburg

**Body**

Depending on how you feel about Valentine's Day, these streaming picks will either melt or break your heart.

LOVE

'In the Mood for Love' (2000)

Stream it on HBO Max.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Wong Kar-wai's tale of unrequited passion is a sensual feast. Set in Hong Kong in 1962, it stars Tony Leung as a journalist who moves into an apartment with his wife but falls for his neighbor, a married secretary played by Maggie Cheung.

This film creates a delicious atmosphere, with help from the luscious florals that will make you covet William Chang Suk-ping's costumes and a swoon-worthy soundtrack of Nat King Cole standards and Chinese tunes. Sophisticated, astute and poetic, this is the pick if you don't want to skimp on the swank.

'The Incredibly True Adventure of Two Girls in Love' (1995)

Stream it on the Criterion Channel.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Maria Maggenti's low-budget film about love in the time of Generation X is one of the sunnier and sweeter films of '90s New Queer Cinema.

Randy (Laurel Holloman) is a ***working-class*** tomboy who strikes up a romance with her wealthy high school classmate Evie (Nicole Ari Parker). Randy finds support from the lesbian aunt who's raising her. But when Evie's mother finds her daughter and Randy in bed, it's not the kind of coming out that PFLAG dreams are made of. In screwball fashion, the final act playfully fulfills the film's title promise.

'Love Jones' (1997)

Rent it on most major platforms.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

The only feature film by the writer-director Theodore Witcher is this dramedy about the relationship between two artists in Chicago: Darius, a poet (Larenz Tate), and Nina, a photographer (Nia Long). The film explores what happens when there's no easy answer to the question: Is this the one?

The film's soundtrack, which includes Cassandra Wilson and the Brand New Heavies, was a hit, and the chemistry between Tate and Long was, and still is, extra hot. Witcher has said he still gets stopped by fans who are smitten with his take on Black 20-somethings making art and looking for love.

'Love Crazy' (1941)

Rent it on most major platforms.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

William Powell and Myrna Loy were already household names for playing a married detective team in the ''Thin Man'' films when they starred in Jack Conway's screwball comedy about a man who pretends to be nuts to stop his wife from seeking a divorce. One of the film's many blissful moments is Powell in drag as his character's matronly sister.

Bosley Crowther, in his review for The Times, called this ''one of the craziest love stories ever spread on a screen.'' How crazy? ''Everyone who worked on the picture,'' he wrote, ''must have trained rigidly on a routine of old slapstick comedies and a diet of locoweed.''

'Down With Love' (2003)

Stream it on HBO Max.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Peyton Reed's musical comedy is a pastiche homage to the deliciously frothy films of Rock Hudson and Doris Day. Ewan McGregor plays a womanizing journalist who tries to woo a feminist author, played by Renée Zellweger, as part of his exposé on her manifesto pushing for equality between the sexes.

If you're a sucker for suave playboys, ''Sex and the Single Girl'' sensibilities, extravagant movie musical dance numbers and '60s Givenchy, this one's for you.

LOATHE

'Gaslight' (1944)

Stream it on the Criterion Channel.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Ingrid Bergman stars in George Cukor's chilling psychological thriller as a woman who slowly loses her grip on sanity as her conniving husband, played with sinister smarm by Charles Boyer, plants doubts about memories she knows to be true.

Bergman won her first of three Academy Awards for her vivid performance as the wife on her way to madness. Angela Lansbury almost steals the film as her sassy maid.

'Valentine' (2001)

Stream it on Shudder.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

David Boreanaz and Denise Richards star in this horror film about a murderous psycho in a Cupid mask who targets a group of women with ornately decorated Valentine's Day cards with messages like: ''Roses are red. Violets are blue. They'll need dental records to identify you.'' Could the killer be nerdy Jeremy, whom they teased in middle school?

Jamie Blanks's film is scary-stupid date night fun, especially for horror fans who will appreciate an old-fashioned slasher film with a cutting sense of humor and dudes who wear chokers.

'Faces' (1968)

Stream it on HBO Max.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Trust, friendship, romance -- they all disintegrate in the brutally candid films of John Cassavetes. That's especially true in this drama about a middle-aged couple (John Marley and Lynn Carlin) who explore ill-fated romantic shenanigans outside their troubled marriage.

Shot on grainy 16 millimeter in black and white, this is a wrenching introduction to the unsteady camerawork and uncomfortable close-ups that make Cassavetes's naturalist storytelling so affecting. Watching this punch-to-the-gut takedown of a fragile marriage is as bleak as it is mesmerizing.

'Audition' (2001)

Steam it on Tubi.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Takashi Miike's shocking thriller is about a middle-aged widower (Ryo Ishibashi) who sits in on phony movie auditions as a (creepy) ruse to meet a wife. The woman he falls for (Eihi Shiina) is a meek former ballet dancer who, as he fatefully learns, is a torture virtuoso and syringe enthusiast who's off her rocker.

Even if you have a strong stomach for slice-and-dice scares, don't be shocked if your nerves take a beating during this film, especially when it takes an unexpectedly monstrous turn -- then puts the pedal to the metal.

'Enough' (2002)

Stream it on Peacock.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Jennifer Lopez may be America's sweetheart bride in her new rom-com ''Marry Me.'' But for the besieged young mom she plays in Michael Apted's melodramatic thriller, love sours.

Lopez plays a ***working-class*** woman who learns that her wealthy, abusive husband (Billy Campbell) has been cheating. She and her daughter (Tessa Allen) go on the run, with her husband fast on her heels. Desperate to protect her child, she takes up self-defense and, in a potent finale, pops open a can of whoop-ass that's so satisfying, you'll need a cigarette when it's over.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/09/movies/valentines-day-movies.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/09/movies/valentines-day-movies.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Larenz Tate and Nia Long in ''Love Jones.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY NEW LINE CINEMA, VIA EVERETT COLLECTION)

Jennifer Lopez in Michael Apted's ''Enough.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY COLUMBIA PICTURES)

**Load-Date:** February 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***From Northern Ireland, Dance as a ‘Physical Prayer’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64H4-RFH1-DXY4-X53N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 10, 2022 Monday 14:38 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; dance

**Length:** 1515 words

**Byline:** Siobhan Burke

**Highlight:** Oona Doherty, a rising star in Europe, brings a Belfast-inspired piece to New York. “This is about kinetic trauma,” she says. “This is about you, as well.”

**Body**

Oona Doherty, a rising star in Europe, brings a Belfast-inspired piece to New York. “This is about kinetic trauma,” she says. “This is about you, as well.”

“Push!” the choreographer Oona Doherty shouted, as a group of young women sprinted in a circle to a propulsive drumbeat. It was a chilly night at the Gibney dance studios near Union Square, with the windows wide open to improve ventilation, a safety measure in the midst of the Omicron wave.

But the cold didn’t seem to bother the dancers, who were in the third hour of a sweaty rehearsal. Slowing to a walk, they tightened into a huddle, then unleashed a sharp, confrontational unison phrase, full of thwacking arms, stomping feet and hands slapping their thighs.

“Well done, well done,” Doherty said when they had finished. “You’re killing it!”

The dancers were learning one of the four short episodes that make up Doherty’s [*“Hard to Be Soft — A Belfast Prayer,”*](https://irishartscenter.org/event/oona-doherty-hard-to-be-soft-a-belfast-prayer) a work inspired by the city where she grew up in the wake of the 30-year conflict known as the Troubles. In this section, for a group she calls the Sugar Army, she recruits performers (mostly teens) from wherever she tours — in New York, alumni of the [*Young Dancemakers Company*](https://sites.google.com/ecfs.org/young-dancemakers-company/home), a summer program for public high-school students.

“That woman is a firecracker,” Kiana King, 22, said after her second rehearsal with Doherty. “She genuinely makes me want to do more, and work more, and want more from myself as an artist.”

A rising star of contemporary dance in Europe, Doherty, 36, is still a newcomer to American stages. She has brought a full-length work to this side of the Atlantic only once before, “[*Hope Hunt and the Ascension into Lazarus*](https://www.oonadohertyweb.com/hope-hunt),” a daredevil solo that opens with its protagonist tumbling out of the trunk of a car, which she performed [*at the 92nd Street Y*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/08/arts/dance/oona-doherty.html) in March 2020.

Now “Hard to Be Soft” which has toured extensively since its premiere in 2017 — recently to the Venice Biennale, where Doherty won the 2021 Silver Lion award — is poised to make its United States debut. Barring Covid-related disruptions, it will run Jan. 13-23 at the Irish Arts Center in Manhattan, part of the inaugural season in the institution’s [*new building*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/31/theater/irish-arts-center-new-york.html).

Rachael Gilkey, the center’s director of programming and education, first took note of Doherty at the 2016 Dublin Fringe Festival in an early performance of “Hope Hunt.” “She stood out immediately as a performer and a choreographer who you just couldn’t take your eyes off of,” Gilkey said.

While Doherty’s latest work, “Lady Magma,” is a bacchanalian exploration of female sexuality, she has become best known for her nuanced portrayals of a kind of toughened, ***working-class*** masculinity. In two solos that bookend “Hard to Be Soft,” she adopts the style and mannerisms of men from the streets of her home city — “young lads, basically, in their track suits,” she said in a video interview from Bangor, the seaside town near Belfast where she now lives and works. (She uses a local church, rent-free, as her studio.)

Through mercurial movement that suggests, at times, a body at war with itself, Doherty unveils a brokenness — and, though more elusive, an almost exalted levity — beneath her characters’ aggressive posturing. In the haunting score, by the acclaimed Belfast DJ David Holmes, what sounds like sacred choral music mingles with sparring voices that offer fragments of a narrative.

Watching Doherty in this role, you might begin to conflate the artist with the archetypes she embodies; her conviction is that complete, a form of faith. “I wanted it all to be a physical prayer,” she said. “It was an attempt at healing.”

Born in North London to parents from Northern Ireland, who left amid the violence of the 1970s, Doherty returned with them to Belfast when she was about 10. “I went to a very big Catholic all-girls school,” she said, “which stays with you a bit, because girls can be vicious.” Memories of her classmates gave rise, in part, to her vision for the Sugar Army as a defiant band of young women.

Doherty struggled academically but discovered “the one thing I was good at,” she said, in her school’s contemporary dance program. A self-described “dweeb” in her early teen years, she entered a more rebellious phase as an undergraduate at the London Contemporary Dance School. (She got kicked out after a year, what she now sums up as “a wobble” in her career.)

After completing degrees at Ulster University and Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance, Doherty worked with T.r.a.s.h., a punk-influenced performance group in the Netherlands. Its directors, Kristel van Issum and Guilherme Miotto, “taught me everything I know,” she said. But the work became too depleting. “It sounds terrible, but it’s true — they were interested in seeing people in a state of exhaustion, so we were all very thin and very tired.”

Returning to Northern Ireland after four years with T.r.a.s.h., Doherty shifted her focus to her own choreography. (She also turned heads as a performer with the Irish dance-theater artist Emma Martin.) She locates the beginnings of “Hard to Be Soft” in that period of readjustment. “When you’ve been away from home, and you come back, you see it differently,” she said.

When discussing her work, Doherty rarely refers to specific religious or political affiliations, but rather to a collective trauma, passed down through generations. Having lived through the Troubles, she said, people of her parents’ generation “have a good reason to have a lot of walls up.” With “Hard to Be Soft,” she sought “to really understand the full scope of pain, and to dance it with love,” she said. “You’re not being an angry man onstage. It’s more than that. You’re playing someone in pain, who can’t handle that amount of pain, so it comes out in anger.”

In the show’s third episode, titled “Meat Kaleidoscope,” two men lumber toward each other and lock into a long, grappling embrace. “Are we hugging because we’re supporting each other or because we’re trying to strangle each other?” said the choreographer John Scott, who performs the duet with Sam Finnegan. “I think it can resonate with a lot of different communities about division within community and division within family.”

Doherty was also interested in how certain types of labor impact the body and psyche. Her father, uncles and grandfather all worked in the Harland and Wolff shipyard, where the Titanic was built — an anchor of Belfast’s economy. “Already the type of work you’re doing builds a certain character,” she said. “There’s a certain weight in that amount of metal around you.”

The dance scholar Aoife McGrath, a senior lecturer at Queen’s University Belfast, has followed Doherty’s work and collaborated with her on a book that accompanies “Lady Magma.” In “Hard to Be Soft,” McGrath said, she sees Doherty’s dual perspective as a Belfast insider and outsider, who has “the embodied knowledge of growing up in that landscape” and a keen outside eye.

“It’s that fascinating duality of experience that I think helps audiences connect to her work,” she said, “even if they have no knowledge of what it’s like to walk down the street in Belfast.”

Yet despite, or perhaps because of, the work’s broad resonance, Doherty has developed some qualms about its reception. While touring France, she sensed a reaction from audiences of, “‘Oh my God, these poor people in Belfast,’” she said. “They look at it as the other.” It might spring from a particular place, she added, “but this is about kinetic trauma. This is about you, as well.”

She expresses wariness, too, about the frequent use of the term “***working class***” in relation to her art. “I think then people presume that I’m really ***working class***, so I have a right to talk about it,” she said. “I’m not rich, but I’m not —” She searched for the right words. “I own a MacBook Pro, and my whole job is dancing! There’s something really posh about that.”

Under the pressures of a busy touring schedule, Doherty has also come to question her ideas about dance and healing. “I used to have more faith in the healing that dance could do,” she said. “Now I doubt it a little bit. I don’t know if it’s just another business.”

Yet her sensitivity onstage and in the studio suggests that her faith persists. During the Sugar Army rehearsal, she listened as the dancers, who had just performed their own short movement phrases for one another, reflected on the exercise. One dancer shared that she had been nervous, trembling, but used that sensation to tell a story.

Doherty could relate. “Every feeling and emotion you have,” she said, “it can be useful if you use it as fuel for the art.”

PHOTOS: Oona Doherty at the church where she rehearses in Bangor, Northern Ireland, a seaside town near Belfast. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIUS GRACE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1); Above, the Belfast version of what Oona Doherty, far left, calls the Sugar Army. She recruits performers, mostly teenagers, for the group wherever she tours. Left, Brian Quinn and John Scott, on the right, in Doherty’s “Hard to Be Soft — A Belfast Prayer,” in 2017. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUCA TRUFFARELLI; ELLIUS GRACE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C4)

**Load-Date:** January 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Where Dance Is Physical Prayer***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64H8-SB61-JBG3-63TD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 11, 2022 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1459 words

**Byline:** By Siobhan Burke

**Body**

Oona Doherty, a rising star in Europe, brings a Belfast-inspired piece to New York. ''This is about kinetic trauma,'' she says. ''This is about you, as well.''

''Push!'' the choreographer Oona Doherty shouted, as a group of young women sprinted in a circle to a propulsive drumbeat. It was a chilly night at the Gibney dance studios near Union Square, with the windows wide open to improve ventilation, a safety measure in the midst of the Omicron wave.

But the cold didn't seem to bother the dancers, who were in the third hour of a sweaty rehearsal. Slowing to a walk, they tightened into a huddle, then unleashed a sharp, confrontational unison phrase, full of thwacking arms, stomping feet and hands slapping their thighs.

''Well done, well done,'' Doherty said when they had finished. ''You're killing it!''

The dancers were learning one of the four short episodes that make up Doherty's ''Hard to Be Soft -- A Belfast Prayer,'' a work inspired by the city where she grew up in the wake of the 30-year conflict known as the Troubles. In this section, for a group she calls the Sugar Army, she recruits performers (mostly teens) from wherever she tours -- in New York, alumni of the Young Dancemakers Company, a summer program for public high-school students.

''That woman is a firecracker,'' Kiana King, 22, said after her second rehearsal with Doherty. ''She genuinely makes me want to do more, and work more, and want more from myself as an artist.''

A rising star of contemporary dance in Europe, Doherty, 36, is still a newcomer to American stages. She has brought a full-length work to this side of the Atlantic only once before, ''Hope Hunt and the Ascension into Lazarus,'' a daredevil solo that opens with its protagonist tumbling out of the trunk of a car, which she performed at the 92nd Street Y in March 2020.

Now ''Hard to Be Soft'' which has toured extensively since its premiere in 2017 -- recently to the Venice Biennale, where Doherty won the 2021 Silver Lion award -- is poised to make its United States debut. Barring Covid-related disruptions, it will run Jan. 13-23 at the Irish Arts Center in Manhattan, part of the inaugural season in the institution's newly renovated building.

Rachael Gilkey, the center's director of programming and education, first took note of Doherty at the 2016 Dublin Fringe Festival in an early performance of ''Hope Hunt.'' ''She stood out immediately as a performer and a choreographer who you just couldn't take your eyes off of,'' Gilkey said.

While Doherty's latest work, ''Lady Magma,'' is a bacchanalian exploration of female sexuality, she has become best known for her nuanced portrayals of a kind of toughened, ***working-class*** masculinity. In two solos that bookend ''Hard to Be Soft,'' she adopts the style and mannerisms of men from the streets of her home city -- ''young lads, basically, in their track suits,'' she said in a video interview from Bangor, the seaside town near Belfast where she now lives and works. (She uses a local church, rent-free, as her studio.)

Through mercurial movement that suggests, at times, a body at war with itself, Doherty unveils a brokenness -- and, though more elusive, an almost exalted levity -- beneath her characters' aggressive posturing. In the haunting score, by the acclaimed Belfast DJ David Holmes, what sounds like sacred choral music mingles with sparring voices that offer fragments of a narrative.

Watching Doherty in this role, you might begin to conflate the artist with the archetypes she embodies; her conviction is that complete, a form of faith. ''I wanted it all to be a physical prayer,'' she said. ''It was an attempt at healing.''

Born in North London to parents from Northern Ireland, who left amid the violence of the 1970s, Doherty returned with them to Belfast when she was about 10. ''I went to a very big Catholic all-girls school,'' she said, ''which stays with you a bit, because girls can be vicious.'' Memories of her classmates gave rise, in part, to her vision for the Sugar Army as a defiant band of young women.

Doherty struggled academically but discovered ''the one thing I was good at,'' she said, in her school's contemporary dance program. A self-described ''dweeb'' in her early teen years, she entered a more rebellious phase as an undergraduate at the London Contemporary Dance School. (She got kicked out after a year, what she now sums up as ''a wobble'' in her career.)

After completing degrees at Ulster University and Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance, Doherty worked with T.r.a.s.h., a punk-influenced performance group in the Netherlands. Its directors, Kristel van Issum and Guilherme Miotto, ''taught me everything I know,'' she said. But the work became too depleting. ''It sounds terrible, but it's true -- they were interested in seeing people in a state of exhaustion, so we were all very thin and very tired.''

Returning to Northern Ireland after four years with T.r.a.s.h., Doherty shifted her focus to her own choreography. (She also turned heads as a performer with the Irish dance-theater artist Emma Martin.) She locates the beginnings of ''Hard to Be Soft'' in that period of readjustment. ''When you've been away from home, and you come back, you see it differently,'' she said.

When discussing her work, Doherty rarely refers to specific religious or political affiliations, but rather to a collective trauma, passed down through generations. Having lived through the Troubles, she said, people of her parents' generation ''have a good reason to have a lot of walls up.'' With ''Hard to Be Soft,'' she sought ''to really understand the full scope of pain, and to dance it with love,'' she said. ''You're not being an angry man onstage. It's more than that. You're playing someone in pain, who can't handle that amount of pain, so it comes out in anger.''

In the show's third episode, titled ''Meat Kaleidoscope,'' two men lumber toward each other and lock into a long, grappling embrace. ''Are we hugging because we're supporting each other or because we're trying to strangle each other?'' said the choreographer John Scott, who performs the duet with Sam Finnegan. ''I think it can resonate with a lot of different communities about division within community and division within family.''

Doherty was also interested in how certain types of labor impact the body and psyche. Her father, uncles and grandfather all worked in the Harland and Wolff shipyard, where the Titanic was built -- an anchor of Belfast's economy. ''Already the type of work you're doing builds a certain character,'' she said. ''There's a certain weight in that amount of metal around you.''

The dance scholar Aoife McGrath, a senior lecturer at Queen's University Belfast, has followed Doherty's work and collaborated with her on a book that accompanies ''Lady Magma.'' In ''Hard to Be Soft,'' McGrath said, she sees Doherty's dual perspective as a Belfast insider and outsider, who has ''the embodied knowledge of growing up in that landscape'' and a keen outside eye.

''It's that fascinating duality of experience that I think helps audiences connect to her work,'' she said, ''even if they have no knowledge of what it's like to walk down the street in Belfast.''

Yet despite, or perhaps because of, the work's broad resonance, Doherty has developed some qualms about its reception. While touring France, she sensed a reaction from audiences of, '''Oh my God, these poor people in Belfast,''' she said. ''They look at it as the other.'' It might spring from a particular place, she added, ''but this is about kinetic trauma. This is about you, as well.''

She expresses wariness, too, about the frequent use of the term ''***working class***'' in relation to her art. ''I think then people presume that I'm really ***working class***, so I have a right to talk about it,'' she said. ''I'm not rich, but I'm not --'' She searched for the right words. ''I own a MacBook Pro, and my whole job is dancing! There's something really posh about that.''

Under the pressures of a busy touring schedule, Doherty has also come to question her ideas about dance and healing. ''I used to have more faith in the healing that dance could do,'' she said. ''Now I doubt it a little bit. I don't know if it's just another business.''

Yet her sensitivity onstage and in the studio suggests that her faith persists. During the Sugar Army rehearsal, she listened as the dancers, who had just performed their own short movement phrases for one another, reflected on the exercise. One dancer shared that she had been nervous, trembling, but used that sensation to tell a story.

Doherty could relate. ''Every feeling and emotion you have,'' she said, ''it can be useful if you use it as fuel for the art.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/10/arts/dance/oona-doherty-hard-to-be-soft-irish-arts-center.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/10/arts/dance/oona-doherty-hard-to-be-soft-irish-arts-center.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Oona Doherty at the church where she rehearses in Bangor, Northern Ireland, a seaside town near Belfast. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIUS GRACE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1)

Above, the Belfast version of what Oona Doherty, far left, calls the Sugar Army. She recruits performers, mostly teenagers, for the group wherever she tours. Left, Brian Quinn and John Scott, on the right, in Doherty's ''Hard to Be Soft -- A Belfast Prayer,'' in 2017. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUCA TRUFFARELLI

ELLIUS GRACE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C4)

**Load-Date:** January 11, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Turkey’s President Amassed Power. He Could Still Lose This Election.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6870-D9J1-DXY4-X2D2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 12, 2023 Friday 08:47 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; middleeast

**Length:** 1686 words

**Byline:** Ben Hubbard

**Highlight:** Turkey’s president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, has tilted the political playing field in his favor over the past two decades, concentrating power in his own hands. Still, he faces a stiff challenge in Sunday’s election.

**Body**

Turkey’s president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, has tilted the political playing field in his favor over the past two decades, concentrating power in his own hands. Still, he faces a stiff challenge in Sunday’s election.

ISTANBUL, Turkey — As President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey approaches the toughest election of his career on Sunday, he has marshaled many of the resources of the state to tilt the playing field to his advantage.

Mr. Erdogan, who has come to increasingly dominate the country over the past two decades, tapped the Treasury for populist spending programs and has raised the minimum wage three times in the last year and a half. His challenger barely appears on the state broadcaster while Mr. Erdogan’s speeches are aired in full. And this weekend’s vote will be overseen by an election board that, during recent votes, has made questionable calls that benefited the president.

And yet, Mr. Erdogan could still lose.

Recent polls show him trailing [*the main challenger, Kemal Kilicdaroglu*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/16/world/middleeast/turkey-elections-erdogan-kilicdaroglu.html), in a tight race that could go to a runoff later this month. But Mr. Erdogan’s grip on the country could also contribute to his undoing, if voters drop him because of his strongman ways and [*persistently high inflation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/05/world/europe/turkey-inflation-erdogan.html) that has left Turks feeling poorer.

“The elections are not fair, but nonetheless they are free, and that is why there is always the prospect of political change in Turkey,” said Sinan Ulgen, director of the Istanbul-based EDAM research group. “The prospect exists, and is now palpable.”

Mr. Erdogan has eroded democratic institutions, stocking the judiciary with loyalists and limiting free expression. His main challenger, Mr. Kilicdaroglu, has vowed to restore democracy if he wins.

The close race speaks to Turkey’s complicated character. Political scientists say it is neither a full democracy nor a full-blown autocracy, but rather a mix of the two in which the leader has outsized power but where elections can still bring about change.

Turkey has never tipped into full-on autocracy because electoral politics retain a hallowed place in the national identity, one revered by Mr. Erdogan himself. He and his governing Justice and Development Party have regularly trounced their opponents at the ballot box over the years with no indications of foul play, granting Mr. Erdogan a mandate.

Mr. Erdogan dismissed speculation that he would refuse to leave power if he lost, calling a question about the possibility “very ridiculous” during an interview on Friday with Turkish broadcasters. He came to power through democracy, he said, and would respect the process.

“If our nation decides to make such a different decision, we will do exactly what’s required by democracy,” he said.

Turkey’s political ambiguity is also reflected in its global position.

During Mr. Erdogan’s tenure, much of Turkish foreign policy has become personally associated with him as he has proved to be a necessary, but problematic — and at times puzzling — partner of the West. He condemned Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and sent aid to the Ukrainian government while not only refusing to join Western sanctions on Russia, but also expanding trade ties with, and drawing closer to, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

He has sparred with the United States over Syria policy and disparages Washington in his speeches. He heads a NATO member state but has hampered the alliance’s expansion, [*delaying*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/17/world/europe/turkey-finland-nato.html) Finland’s ability to join and [*still refusing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/30/world/europe/nato-finland-sweden-turkey-erdogan.html) to accept Sweden.

All of that, at times, has left Western leaders wondering whose side he is really on.

A change of leadership in Turkey would resonate around the world, given the country’s unique position as a predominantly Muslim society with a staunchly secular state and a vast network of economic and diplomatic ties spanning Asia, Africa, Europe and the Middle East.

Mr. Kilicdaroglu has promised that if he wins, he will improve relations with the West and make Turkish foreign policy less personal. But what exactly that would look like is hard to predict: He represents a coalition of six political parties with widely divergent ideologies and his record provides few clues. Before entering politics, he was a civil servant who ran Turkey’s social security administration.

After Mr. Erdogan rose to the national stage as prime minister in 2003, he was widely seen as a new model of Islamist democrat, one pro-business and interested in strong ties with the West. During his first decade, Turkey’s economy boomed, lifting millions into the middle class.

But more recently — after facing mass street protests against his governing style, becoming president in 2014 and surviving a failed coup attempt in 2016 — he purged his foes from the state bureaucracy, limited civil liberties and centralized power in his hands.

Mr. Erdogan [*retains a fervent following*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/09/world/europe/turkey-election-erdogan.html), particularly among ***working class***, rural and more religious voters, who love his rhetoric about standing up for Turkey against an array of domestic and foreign enemies. He has pushed back against Turkey’s state secularism, expanding Islamic education and changing regulations to allow women in government jobs to wear head scarves.

The political opposition says that his consolidation of power has gone too far and portrays Sunday’s vote as a make-it-or-break-it moment for Turkish democracy that could inspire other states struggling with aspiring autocrats.

Mr. Erdogan’s advantages are clear, starting with the perks citizens can receive through links to his political party, including state jobs, social support or local services like new roads, analysts said.

The president’s use of power for electoral gain has raised questions about how fair these elections really are.

“It is more like a hybrid regime, where you have multiparty elections but where the opposition does not enjoy the same opportunities as the government to put their ideas and policies through to voters,” said Ersin Kalaycioglu, a professor of political science at Sabanci University in Istanbul.

Mr. Erdogan has extended his sway over the news media. Major news networks are owned by businessmen close to Mr. Erdogan while outlets that criticize his policies are often hounded with fines and lawsuits.

A recent analysis of the state-funded broadcaster TRT found that in April, Mr. Kilicdaroglu received only 32 minutes of airtime. Mr. Erdogan got 32 hours.

“TRT acts like a public relations firm assigned to run the election campaign of the ruling party and its presidential candidate,” Ilhan Tasci, an opposition party member at the state broadcasting regulator, said in a statement when releasing the data.

Overseeing Sunday’s vote is the Supreme Election Council, a panel of judges. For decades, it was widely regarded as independent and trustworthy, but two recent decisions marred its reputation in the eyes of opposition supporters.

In 2017, while the votes were being counted in [*a referendum*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/16/world/europe/turkey-referendum-polls-erdogan.html) on changing Turkey from a parliamentary to a presidential system, the board decided to override the electoral law and [*include ballots that lacked an official stamp*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/25/world/europe/turkey-referendum-judges.html) proving their authenticity. The referendum passed by a slim margin, allowing Mr. Erdogan, the president at the time, to greatly expand his powers.

In 2019, after an opposition candidate beat Mr. Erdogan’s candidate in the mayor’s race for Istanbul, Turkey’s largest city, the council voided the results, citing irregularities, and called for a redo. The same opposition candidate won that, too, by an even larger margin.

Those decisions raised questions about the election board’s willingness to rule against Mr. Erdogan’s preferred outcome, said Hasan Sinar, an associate professor of criminal law at Altinbas University in Istanbul.

“On paper, they are neutral,” he said. “But when the government stays in power so long, no one in that position can be neutral anymore.” Any doubt about the electoral board’s neutrality was detrimental to Turkey’s democracy, he added. “This is never supposed to be poisoned by doubt,” he said.

In recent weeks, Mr. Erdogan has used his bully pulpit to bludgeon the opposition, warning that the country would suffer under their leadership and accusing them of conspiring with terrorists. Mr. Erdogan’s interior minister, Suleyman Soylu, who oversees the security forces, has gone further, sowing doubts about the results before the vote even begins.

The election amounted to “a political coup attempt by the West,” Mr. Soylu said last month during a campaign stop. “It is a coup attempt formed by bringing together all of the preparations to purge Turkey.”

A few days later, Mr. Soylu said that Mr. Kilicdaroglu’s party was “always open to cheating.”

Despite the problems, Turks remain hopeful that Sunday’s poll will express the people’s will. This week, after Mr. Soylu requested that the election board share detailed data about polling places and voter registrations so his ministry could set up its own system to tabulate the vote, the election board pushed back, saying that only it was empowered to count votes.

Others noted Mr. Erdogan’s long commitment to electoral politics, hoping that meant he would accept his own loss if it happened.

“Turkey has a long tradition of multiparty democracy and a very strong attachment to the integrity of the vote,” said Mr. Ulgen, the director of EDAM. If a clean vote is held, it would probably be respected, even by Mr. Erdogan, he added.

But trouble could arise if the results are very close, causing the candidates to contest them or question the process.

If the spread is very thin, Mr. Ulgen said, “all options are on the table.”

Gulsin Harman contributed reporting.

Gulsin Harman contributed reporting.

PHOTO: A campaign poster of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey at a market in the city of Kayseri. (A1); Recent polls show President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey trailing Kemal Kilicdaroglu. The race could go to a runoff this month. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Supporters of Mr. Kilicdaroglu at a campaign event in Ankara. Mr. Kilicdaroglu has vowed to restore democracy if he wins. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SEDAT SUNA/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) (A5) This article appeared in print on page A1, A5.

**Load-Date:** May 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The MAGA Transformation of Elise Stefanik***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:677M-B581-JBG3-60DW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 4, 2023 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21; LETTERS

**Length:** 1136 words

**Body**

To the Editor:

'''I Am Ultra-MAGA': Invention of Elise Stefanik'' (front page, Jan. 1) traces the evolution of an emerging congressional leader driven by a restless political ambition and a quest for power and influence.

Ms. Stefanik herself defends her shift from a moderate brand of Republicanism to a full-throated embrace of MAGA doctrine as simply reflecting the views among her constituents.

But surely we must demand more of our leaders than that they be mere conduits for expressing what they perceive to be the will of those they represent. True leadership does indeed involve taking into account the views of various constituents in shaping one's words and actions, but ultimately grounding them in a set of principles that makes morality -- the desire to do that which is right, fair and just -- the force that most animates our exercise of leadership.

In his recent book about Abraham Lincoln, ''And There Was Light,'' Jon Meacham writes that ''politics divorced from conscience is fatal to the American experiment in liberty under law.''

Representative Stefanik, along with anyone who aspires to a position of leadership, would do well to heed those words.

Richard StopolNew York

To the Editor:

Elise Stefanik's Gumby-like transformation from moderate Republican to ultra-MAGA Trumpster is emblematic of today's G.O.P., which has now given us George Santos. Malleability and dissembling have replaced honesty and conviction.

Groucho Marx famously said, ''Those are my principles, and if you don't like them ... well, I have others.''

James B. FishmanNew York

The Benefits of an Expanded Child Tax Credit

To the Editor:

Re ''Don't Expand the Child Tax Credit,'' by Scott Winship (Opinion guest essay, Dec. 21):

Dr. Winship writes that while a short-term bump in the child tax credit has been shown to reduce child poverty, the long-term consequences are likely to be a disincentive for parents to work. This trope has been a conservative talking point going back to the Reagan administration.

The glaring omission in Mr. Winship's analysis is the cost and unavailability of reliable, quality day care for low-income and single parents.

The Times recently published a hand-wringing article about the cost of day care, which can reach heights beyond that of college tuition. A Nov. 17 article in Fortune magazine bemoaned the frequency with which parents miss work for lack of child care, especially during winter flu and cold seasons.

When are conservatives going to see the elephant in the room? The problem is the cost and availability of child care, not parents' inherent unwillingness to work if they receive a benefit in the form of a child tax credit from the government.

Meredith WattsSan Francisco

To the Editor:

If the money from the tax credit enables ***working-class*** parents to quit or reduce the hours of an undervalued, low-paying job and stay home to nurture and raise their children, to avoid the stress and anxiety of dealing with unreliable child care and transportation, what's so wrong with that? Let them enjoy the same options more financially secure parents enjoy.

Iris Lee StolerBrooklyn

To the Editor:

As Scott Winship explains in his essay, the expanded Child Tax Credit dramatically reduced child poverty in 2021. The monthly payments also reduced food insecurity and lessened parent financial stress.

But I disagree with Mr. Winship on one key point -- the expanded Child Tax Credit wouldn't dramatically change parents' work behavior. Findings from the 2021 University of Chicago study he mentions have been rebutted by the libertarian-leaning Niskanen Center and other researchers. Evidence from the similar tax benefits in Canada also found no negative employment effects among parents.

If anything, a permanently expanded Child Tax Credit would, in the long run, support employment outcomes for parents and children. Providing additional cash to families improves outcomes in school, health and even future earnings.

In fact, the tax credit helped some parents work more hours. The payments allow parents to afford the transportation and child care needed to work.

The expanded Child Tax Credit supports children, families and our economies -- in both the short and the long term.

Ashley BurnsideWashingtonThe writer is a senior policy analyst at the Center for Law and Social Policy.

Special Ed Funds for Hasidim: Require Proof of Disability

To the Editor:

Re ''Hasidic Schools Seize on Special Ed Windfall'' (front page, Dec. 29):

A few months ago, The Times published an article about how the Hasidim in New York City were failing to provide basic instruction in the state's elementary and high school curriculums.

We now learn that they are labeling so many of their children disabled in a bid to obtain state and federal special education funds to augment their inferior schools and unjustly enrich their community. This fraudulent conduct takes scarce resources from the truly needy disabled children in other schools.

As a retired special education attorney, I was appalled that the school administration in New York has apparently shirked its responsibility to students and to the taxpayers by allowing this fraud to continue. At a minimum, it should have trained staff, if not a practicing attorney, at each hearing, forcing the students and parents to prove the disability and to prove what services are necessary.

It should also be conducting annual evaluations to determine the student's progress and if special education and related services continue to be necessary. The burden of proof in these cases lies with the student and the parent.

The flood of cases will quickly wane when the parents realize that they will be on the hook for attorneys' fees for both sides if they pursue untenable claims of disability. This can happen only if the public school administration does its job.

Sharon RobinsonLos Angeles

What About Threats to the Rest of Us?

To the Editor:

Re ''Chief Justice Roberts Addresses Threats to Judges' Safety in His Year-End Report'' (news article, Jan. 1):

Chief Justice John Roberts is right to address threats to judges' safety in his year-end report. I only wish he recognized the threat to women's safety posed by the court's Dobbs decision and the threat to the safety of us all posed by the court's decision in New York State Rifle & Pistol Association Inc. v. Bruen.

Cynthia HicksSan Leandro, Calif.

A Crying Baby

To the Editor:

Re ''The Disappearing Act of a Magical Baby Toy'' (Sunday Business, Dec. 25):

Whatever happened to picking up your crying baby so she can smell and feel the parent's warm body and hear the parent's soothing voice? Sure, clicking a switch on an electronic toy will stop a baby from crying, but that is not being a responsible parent.

Joan HechtFair Lawn, N.J.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/03/opinion/letters/elise-stefanik-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/03/opinion/letters/elise-stefanik-trump.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** January 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Urgency Can't Be Optional***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67X5-MRF1-JBG3-60CY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 1, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 1333 words

**Byline:** By James Poniewozik

**Body**

A well-meaning Apple TV+ series is the latest story to struggle with making an environmental wake-up call into good drama.

Forty years ago this November, ABC blew up Kansas City. ''The Day After,'' the made-for-TV movie dramatizing a nuclear war and its aftermath in the heartland, drew 100 million viewers and started a national conversation.

It's not as if, decades into the Cold War, Americans had lacked material for that conversation. They had the news; they knew about Hiroshima. But there was a difference between knowing something and seeing it, even in TV-movie form.

Times change, as do existential dangers. Climate change is also a threat to the planet that demands action, but it poses different challenges for a screen drama.

One advantage ''The Day After'' had was right there in its title: Nuclear destruction is fast. Global warming doesn't do its damage in a single, telegenic explosion. Speed up the decades-long process of climate change and you get ''The Day After Tomorrow,'' the 2004 film that unleashed a risible quickie apocalypse onto the screen. So how do you do justice to a slow-burn geocatastrophe while getting a general audience to pay attention?

Maybe with Meryl Streep playing a whale? Would that do the job?

That at least is the offer of ''Extrapolations,'' an eight-part series currently in the middle of its run on Apple TV+. It isn't the first program to dramatize environmental issues. (Hands up if you remember ''Ark II,'' the 1970s kids' series about a band of scientists, and a chimp, who explored a polluted Earth in a space-age mobile home.) But it's likely the most ambitious and star-studded.

Judged by its intentions, ''Extrapolations'' is unimpeachably worthy. Judged by actually watching it, it is at best an adventurous attempt to encircle an immense subject from many angles. At worst, it's the biggest work of well-meaning celebrity cringe since Gal Gadot's ''Imagine'' video.

If there is someone you would nominate to pull this off, it would be the screenwriter Scott Z. Burns, whose 2011 film ''Contagion'' was the ''Day After'' of pandemics -- chilling, focused and grounded in science without being buried in it.

As the creator of ''Extrapolations,'' which covers the years 2037 to 2070, he takes a semi-anthology approach, telling self-contained stories in each episode while working a few characters into a longer arc.

The early episodes take place in a world recognizably like ours, with higher temps and bigger hurricanes. By the back half, we're in a ''Black Mirror'' dystopia in which the ***working class*** eat kelp and lease out memory space in their brains while the rich guzzle wine and foie gras and upload their consciousnesses to be housed in new bodies in a more temperate future.

There's a lot to cover, geographically, temporally and scientifically. ''Extrapolations'' puts the data first -- literally, each title sequence gives the global temperature increase by the episode's date as well as statistics about population displacement or the dollar cost of the climate crisis. But it fails in the character stories, which crumble under the weight of each installment's syllabus.

In its scope, ''Extrapolations'' has a lot in common with Kim Stanley Robinson's 2020 sci-fi novel ''The Ministry for the Future,'' down to its depiction of deadly heat waves in India and its speculation about cooling the planet by geoengineering the atmosphere. (''Extrapolations'' is more skeptical of that solution, with a seeming moral aversion to the idea of humanity trying to have its carbon cake and eat it too.)

Somehow, ''Ministry'' -- which depicts a grim but ultimately hopeful speculative future -- manages to be as analytic as a Thomas Piketty tome and as moving as a love story. It's humane but systems-focused, attentive to the importance of politics and especially markets in both ruining the climate and repairing it.

''Extrapolations'' prefers to tell the stories of individuals. In 2046, a marine biologist (Sienna Miller) converses with the world's last humpback whale, through software that translates cetacean-speak into the voice of her mother (Streep). In 2059, a scientist (Edward Norton) consults the American president (Cherry Jones) on the wisdom of creating the atmospheric equivalent of a volcanic eruption to slow warming. In 2068, a squabbling married couple (Forest Whitaker and Marion Cotillard) give a party for what might be their last New Year's Eve together.

The lurches in tone -- family melodrama to political thriller to dinner-table farce -- make this feel less like a series than a short-story anthology by mismatched authors riffing on a theme. Sometimes it works; the more successful installments are the more weird and satirical ones, as when Daveed Diggs (''Hamilton'') plays a rabbi trying to save his congregation in perma-flooded Miami.

But in trying to ground its personal stories in hard science, ''Extrapolations'' turns its characters into didactic sandwich boards. ''Twenty-five years ago, we thought crypto was going to be our savior,'' a character declares. ''Now it is killing us with the carbon footprint.'' After news of an earthquake, a random subway passenger says, ''Sea-level change. More water, more weight on the tectonic plates.'' If everyday people spent this much time giving unnatural expository speeches about climate mechanics, we wouldn't need an ''Extrapolations.''

The show's biggest flaw may be its choice to rely on Hollywood good guys and bad guys. Climate change is ultimately about populations and systems. Some people have more power and culpability, but in an honest telling, your antagonist is partly your audience.

''Extrapolations'' does nod to the broad damage done by human appetites. But it builds its long game around a single tech megacorp, whose dastardly leader (Kit Harington) is a stiff Frankenstein of Jeff Bezos and Elon Musk. (At one point, he plots the Earth's fate with a cabal of businessmen -- the most cartoonish capitalist heavies since the V.I.P.s in ''Squid Game'' -- in an actual back-room lair.)

The series does feel urgent, as if it's dumping out the writer's toolbox in search of the one implement that will cut through the noise. This kind of frustration was both spirit and subject of the regrettable parable ''Don't Look Up,'' in which astronomers' warnings about an approaching comet were swallowed in the black hole of 24-hour media. But mistrusting your audience's complacency is not a great way to launch an engrossing story, though it can be a fantastic way to reach the sub-audience that already agrees with you.

A different way to dramatize the climate emergency is to make it part of the dismal background noise of daily life, as in fact it is. One of the most effective examples I've seen is Russell T Davies's 2019 series ''Years and Years,'' about a Manchester, England, family in a near future of xenophobia and rising fascism. Calamities unfold in the foreground -- the financial system collapses, a family member dies in a border crossing -- and in the background the rain, fed by the climate shift, falls and falls and falls for days, weeks, months, threatening the foundation of the family home, a quiet English apocalypse.

Other sci-fi series take climate emergency as a premise. In Syfy's pulpy ''The Ark,'' a spacecraft carries human survivors to start again somewhere far away from the ruined Earth. Global warming is the seed -- or rather the spore -- of HBO's ''The Last of Us,'' in which rising temperatures allow the Ophiocordyceps fungus to turn human hosts into zombies. That may not pass the bar as mycology or eco-science, but remember that the pantheon of anti-nuke cinema includes not just ''The Day After'' but also ''Godzilla.''

As for ''Extrapolations,'' it's certainly laden with noble ideas, such as ''ecocide,'' which codifies destroying the environment as a crime akin to mass murder. But allowing your good intentions to smother your story is, at least, its own kind of misdemeanor.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/arts/television/extrapolations-climate-change.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/arts/television/extrapolations-climate-change.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Sienna Miller in the first episode of ''Extrapolations,'' an eight-part science fiction series about climate change. (PHOTOGRAPH BY APPLE TV+) (C1)

Top, Meryl Streep in the second episode of ''Extrapolations.'' Above left, Emma Thompson, center, in the 2019 series ''Years and Years.'' Above right, Jennifer Lawrence and Leonardo DiCaprio in ''Don't Look Up.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY APPLE TV+

ROBERT LUDOVIC/HBO

NIKO TAVERNISE/NETFLIX) (C6) This article appeared in print on page C1, C6.

**Load-Date:** April 1, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Hell to All That***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65M7-8GC1-DXY4-X0RS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 5, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 2176 words

**Byline:** By Ismail Muhammad

**Body**

To hear more audio stories from publications like The New York Times, download Audm for iPhone or Android.

The first time I moved to New York, I was an undergraduate, and I tried to make Harlem my home. I had a lot to learn. As a Californian, I thought Chucks were year-round shoes; I wore them even in the snow, letting my toes get stiff on late-night walks from the library or the 116th Street station back to my dorm. By my sophomore year, though, I knew the most important things: where on Malcolm X I could find the shea butter I needed to keep my skin from turning ashy in the winter, the barbershop where I could get a decent fade and the grocery store where I could buy Red Rooster hot sauce.

An earnest literature nerd, I was studying at Columbia because I wanted to be a writer, which meant being like the writers I read as a high school student -- Larsen, Hughes, Hurston. And that meant being in Harlem. So I often found myself at Minton's Playhouse on 118th, or hanging out at to St. Nicholas Park, or soaking up history by osmosis at the Studio Museum. I wanted to become part of Harlem's long cultural legacy, and the steady stream of arrivals who'd come to New York to transform themselves into who they were destined to be.

This past winter, as I faced the prospect of returning to New York after a decade in California's Bay Area, I knew I wanted Harlem to be my home again. If I was hoping for a return to the charming literary fantasy that sustained me as a college boy, though, I was out of luck. As I began my search for housing, a broker described the rental market as the worst he had witnessed in his long career. The pandemic -- or at least, the city's patience with fighting it -- was coming to an end. My housing search pitched me headlong into a frenzied and undignified reality.

Competitors greeted me at every open house I went to. Like me, they had trawled StreetEasy and Trulia and Craigslist; like me, they had been tempted by digitally placed furniture and airbrushed interiors, fooled by wide-angle photos of spacious living rooms that turned out to feel like crypts. Some eager people arrived clutching application packets, while others bid up the rent. One Saturday afternoon in March, I walked to see a fifth-floor walk-up, which a broker described as a ''sizable one bedroom.'' It left me deflated: The wood floors subtly sloped toward the apartment's center, and the bedroom could snugly fit a full-size bed, maybe a small dresser, but nothing else. The bathroom was a closet; I could barely stand in the sole actual closet. When I asked if the dingy walls would be repainted before the unit was rented, the broker, a gangly zoomer in a fur coat, blinked at me. ''No, that's not something the landlord will do,'' he said, before pointing out a neighborhood bar that, he promised, served bottomless mimosas at brunch.

Eventually I found a place, just steps away from Harlem's heart at 125th Street. When I look down from my living room onto the street below, the neighborhood's new, motley character comes into view: people alternately sprawling and contracting as neighbors shuttle in and out of buildings; the quick steps of new-moneyed young professionals in contrast with the block's otherwise-sleepy tempo. From this perch at the base of St. Nicholas Terrace, I can see how the neighborhood, and the city itself, have changed since I last lived in New York in 2011.

The changes are being driven, yet again, by arrivals, as an influx of new and returning residents jam themselves into the city. New Yorkers with means who fled during Covid are now returning to the upscale neighborhoods they abandoned; at the same time, the pandemic-era rent concessions and eviction protections that advantaged many renters -- especially in the poorest neighborhoods, where most residents stayed put -- have expired. Then there are the newcomers like me, moving to the city in droves for work, repopulating the offices that are struggling to creep back to life.

To make matters worse, over the last decade, the city has failed to construct new affordable housing commensurate with its growing population; the pandemic only exacerbated this gap. Throughout its modern history, Manhattan has been defined by masses of refugees, laborers, dreamers, millionaires, paupers, writers, actors, musicians and all the rest arriving and charging onto, up the length of and eventually off the island. It's dawning on me that I'm now part of yet another kind of New York history: a wave of migration that would decide the city's future. New York is poised to revive itself after the suffering of 2020, but as with the pandemic itself, some will be able to weather recovery's onset better than others. As new migrations begin to change the city's population and culture, New Yorkers will be answering the same questions they've asked themselves for decades, or even centuries: What do we want this city to be, and whom do we want here?

Arriving in New York might prompt dreams of literary stardom, indulgent luxury or maybe just a good bottomless-mimosa brunch. But in reality, arrival here has always been bound up with questions of power. Who gets to be where, when -- and why? The answers are decided ad hoc, by what the writer Lucy Sante has called Manhattan's ''great machinery of movement.'' And the ever-growing need for housing, above all, has served as that machine's engine. Upwardly mobile residents pushed their way north as newer immigrants and the poor settled in the abandoned neighborhoods. All parties acted on the faith that there would always be more space to settle, exploit and eventually abandon to newcomers.

For example, as Irish immigrants fleeing religious conflict and poverty in the early 19th century flowed into Manhattan -- between the early 1820s and 1830s the United States experienced a sixfold increase in Irish immigrants, with many of them settling in New York -- real estate barons like John Jacob Astor saw an opportunity. Houses could be subdivided into overcrowded tenement buildings, their floors turned into apartments for multiple families rather than a single renter. Areas like Five Points were multiracial ghettos where, at various points in history, Irish, German, Chinese and African American migrants lived. By 1920, more than two million people living in New York were immigrants, many of them of eastern and southern European origin. In the later decades of the 19th century, overcrowding in Lower Manhattan and Midtown prompted the development of neighborhoods like Harlem, where real estate developers and reformers helped construct cheap apartment buildings for European immigrants.

The history of arrival is not just a story of development and coexistence, though; it is also a story of violent competition for control. Persistent race riots plagued Lower Manhattan, with Blacks often becoming targets of the white ***working class*** and losing in the contest for living space. Riots in 1834, 1863 and 1900 encouraged Black migration farther north. As David Levering Lewis writes in ''When Harlem Was in Vogue,'' by 1910, with the onset of World War I, hundreds of thousands of Blacks poured out of the South and into Northern cities, in search of higher wages. Soon, an overwhelming majority of Black New Yorkers had been born outside the city.

Harlem was already prepared to welcome the influx. Black New Yorkers had been pushing north out of Midtown since the 1890s, and by 1910 large African American churches purchased or built new buildings for their congregations. The congregants followed: In 1911, St. Philip's Episcopal Church purchased a block of apartment buildings on 135th Street. The cabarets and jazz clubs in Midtown that helped pioneer America's obsession with Black music weren't far behind. Buoyed by economic gains made during World War I, some Black New Yorkers found the security that had eluded them downtown. In a surreal 1925 short story by Rudolph Fisher, ''City of Refuge,'' the story's protagonist, a Southern migrant fresh off the subway, experiences Harlem as a utopia where his rights are truly inalienable, everyone has money and a Black traffic cop can lord his authority over a white driver. The story is a delirious representation of the relative freedom Southern migrants encountered in Harlem. What was previously an enclave for European immigrants had transformed into a Black mecca by the 1920s.

Harlem's reputation as a neighborhood with strong cultural and social infrastructure put it at Black culture's vanguard. Figures like the scholar W.E.B. Du Bois, the sociologist Charles S. Johnson and the philosopher Alain Locke envisioned culture as the ideal way to assault anti-Black racism. Harlem was their staging ground. These members of the Black intellectual elite, with the support of wealthy patrons both white and Black, engineered the Harlem Renaissance. Johnson recruited talented artists, luring writers and artists like the Kansas City-based painter Aaron Douglas and Zora Neale Hurston, at the time a Howard University student, to New York with promises of a budding scene and recognition for their work. Publications like Du Bois's magazine, The Crisis, highlighted voices from the movement, while Locke's 1925 anthology, ''The New Negro,'' tried to codify it. Voices from farther afield, like Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey and the poet Claude McKay, both from Jamaica, drifted in and out of the Renaissance, but found their perspectives amplified on Harlem's streets and in its publications. The foundation for a century of Black culture was laid in New York.

Like many of New York's cultural explosions, the Harlem Renaissance depended on the availability of living space not only for the artists who drove the movement but also for the masses whose culture allowed for high art to flourish at all. In most cases, the fact that New York's wealthy elite abandoned entire neighborhoods left the poor and low-caste to create new cultural forms that invigorated the city.

In her book ''The Warhol Economy,'' the writer Elizabeth Currid-Halkett looked to the downtown New York boom of the 1970s and found the same logic at work: Capital's abandonment of New York and shredding of the social contract made the city a dangerous place to live, but it also created the conditions -- cheap rent and plenty of space, primarily -- that gave us punk music, hip-hop, street art and other pillars of contemporary American culture. Generations earlier, the crowded and dangerous conditions of the Bowery gave rise to figures like the composer Irving Berlin, who, before he was a Broadway luminary, got his start singing weepy ballads to crooks in seedy dives. In the mid-1970s, the blight of New York's downtown scene -- the delirious cross-pollination of daring music, visual art and fashion -- birthed musicians like Patti Smith and artists like Keith Haring. Around the same time, hip-hop culture was taking root in the ruins of the South Bronx. The Haitian-Puerto Rican American artist Jean-Michel Basquiat bridged the gap between uptown and downtown, concocting a splintered style that spoke to the decade's social disintegration.

Today's housing market provides a different challenge from the recession of the 1970s, though. Twentieth-century Manhattan was a city in which arrivals could reliably find a place for themselves, no matter how abject or ignored that place was. Twenty-first-century Manhattan presents an altogether different set of problems: How can new arrivals make a home here if there is no affordable space for them? And how can they transplant themselves without exiling the ***working-class*** natives whose culture and labor the city cannot survive without?

Returning to Harlem means arriving again, finding myself looking at the area through its history rather than through a fantasy. When I was a freshman at Columbia, students railed against construction of the university's Manhattanville campus in West Harlem; the plan was reminiscent of the conflict in 1968 over Columbia's ill-fated attempt to build a segregated gym in Morningside Park, which Harlemites felt would result in their exclusion from crucial neighborhood public space. When I was in school, students conducted a hunger strike against the plans, but the first phase of the Manhattanville project was completed earlier this year. A Whole Foods opened on 125th Street back in 2017, as if in anticipation of the changes Columbia's project would bring: The presence of highly educated, upwardly mobile people who would begin to colonize uptown rather than compete in Brooklyn's overheated market or suffer the absurdities downtown, and, in the process, taking apartments that, until recently, might have served a more ***working-class*** group of renters. My return to Harlem speaks to the paradox at the heart of contemporary New York: The city's warm embrace of the creative economy's stewards makes it what it is. Increasingly, that embrace leaves too many other residents out in the cold.

Ismail Muhammad is a story editor for the magazine.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/01/magazine/new-york-return.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/01/magazine/new-york-return.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Immigrants arriving at Ellis Island, circa 1905.

Back lots of New York tenements, circa 1935. (MM14-MM15)

Grand Central Terminal's main concourse, 1930s or '40s. (MM15)

Schoolboys, Harlem, 1930s. (MM16)

Nightclub, Harlem, 1930s. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ASHLEY GILBERSTON) (MM16-MM17)

**Load-Date:** June 5, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Times/Siena Polls in Four House Races Offer Democrats Some Hope***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66R4-HJP1-DXY4-X4TC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 28, 2022 Friday 13:18 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 829 words

**Byline:** Nate Cohn

**Highlight:** Class, ethnicity and incumbency matter in these swing districts.

**Body**

Class, ethnicity and incumbency matter in these swing districts.

Good morning, everyone. We’ve just wrapped up a round of House polls in four districts with some pretty interesting results:

New York Times/Siena College polling

* PA-08 (Trump+3 in 2020) — Cartwright\* (D) 50, Bognet (R) 44

1. KS-03 (Biden+4) — Davids\* (D) 55, Adkins (R) 41
2. NM-02 (Biden+6) — Vasquez (D) 48, Herrell\* (R) 47
3. NV-01 (Biden+8) — Titus (D) 47\*, Robertson (R) 47

\*incumbent

If you can’t make sense of these findings, know that you’re not alone. It is very challenging to make sense of the House. There are dozens of idiosyncratic districts and candidates to track.

It’s probably a safe bet that most of you don’t know who those eight candidates even are. And you probably don’t know where those districts are, either. For those who do know, let the necessity of the last two paragraphs be your reminder about why there aren’t more House polls by national media organizations.

Anyway, I did promise that they were interesting. So here are a few takeaways from [*the main story*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/28/us/politics/polls-swing-district-house-republicans-democrats.html):

These are not terrible results for Democrats. No, I can’t tell you how the House will go based on just four districts. And so these results can’t really change my view of the race for the House overall. But on balance, these are some decent results for Democrats.

I’d say two of the districts — Pennsylvania’s Eighth and Kansas’ Third — count as great results for Democrats. New Mexico’s Second is something of a wash, and Nevada’s First counts as a pretty good result for Republicans.

I expected a bit better for Republicans after our last national poll showed them up by three percentage points on the generic ballot (our national and district polling methodology is essentially identical, by the way).

Ethnicity and class matter. One simple way to interpret these results: Democrats are doing well in mostly white districts in Kansas and Pennsylvania, but Republicans are doing relatively well in the more Hispanic districts in the Southwest. Democratic strength is especially noteworthy in Kansas’ Third, one of the most highly educated districts.

All of this is broadly consistent with the patterns we’ve seen in national polling so far this cycle. Democrats have tended to show weakness among economically vulnerable ***working-class*** voters, while Republicans have struggled among the college-educated voters receptive to liberal views on abortion, guns and democracy.

Incumbency still matters. One theme I’ve heard from Republicans and Democrats alike is that incumbents are holding up well: Republican incumbents in Biden Country are doing pretty well; Democratic incumbents in vulnerable districts aren’t collapsing, even while Democrats struggle in open districts.

I found this pattern a little hard to believe — or at least, I found it hard to believe that this story would hold up this close to Election Day — given that incumbents struggled to outrun the top of the ticket in 2020. But here we are two weeks before the election and these incumbents do seem to be holding their own.

Matt Cartwright of Pennsylvania’s Eighth has been held up as the archetypal example of a resilient Democratic incumbent and, indeed, he’s leading by six points in a district former President Donald J. Trump carried.

The one exception: Dina Titus of Nevada’s First. But her district was drastically redrawn by Democrats.

Could Davids really be up 14 points? If you’re enough of a political junkie to have an opinion on these poll findings, I’d guess the 14-point lead for the Democrat Sharice Davids in Kansas really jumped off your screen. It’s a solid 10 points better for her than I would have guessed, which makes it one of the biggest outliers we’ve published.

I could build an argument about why Democrats are so strong here. This highly educated district was ground zero in the aftermath of the Supreme Court’s decision to overturn Roe v. Wade, with Kansas subsequently holding a referendum on abortion rights in the state. The Democratic governor, Laura Kelly, is also up for re-election, and she is expected to win Kansas’ Third by something like 15 points or more. Maybe Ms. Davids could do it, too?

And longtime readers might recall that a Times/Siena poll of Kansas’ Third in 2018 seemed like an [*outlier*](https://twitter.com/Nate_Cohn/status/1318893519805841414?s=20&amp;t=jach4lq6upUmpGLuhInhdg), only to be borne out by the results.

But it’s also quite possible that most of Ms. Davids’s strength comes from some statistical noise accompanying a small sample — there are just 400 respondents in these House polls — and perhaps an exuberant Democratic base in a highly educated district that’s itching to pick up the phone right now.

If you think I’m wrong, you won’t have too long before you find out the results and send me your “I told you so” email.

PHOTO: Representative Sharice Davids of Kansas at an August watch party in which a state referendum to effectively ban abortion was defeated. She leads in the polling in Kansas’ Third, a highly educated district. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Arin Yoon for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 27, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Credit Card Points Are Being Paid For by the Poor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67PM-JD71-JBG3-63FT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 6, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1311 words

**Byline:** By Chenzi Xu and Jeffrey Reppucci

**Body**

There's an undeniable feeling of excitement when you turn your daily credit card swipes at Starbucks into first-class airfare or a weekend jaunt to Costa Rica. Thanks to mobile banking and the ease of autopay, you can scrupulously avoid any additional costs by paying your monthly bill in full. Free flights and exclusive discounts abound.

Something for nothing, right?

Not exactly nothing. Credit card perks for educated, usually urban professionals are being subsidized by people who have less. In other words, when you book a hotel room or enjoy entry to an airport lounge at no cost, poor consumers are ultimately footing the bill.

Demand for rewards is only going up. In 2016, Chase launched its Sapphire Reserve card. The card comes with perks, bonuses and points multipliers that for big-spending travelers and diners are worth far more than its steep $550 annual fee. There was so much initial demand that Chase ran out of the metal slabs it prints the cards on. Sapphire's enormous success set off a credit card perks war, with numerous banks flooding the market with sign-on bonuses worth thousands of dollars.

In 2022, the Federal Reserve published data showing that the cost of rewards, as a share of total transaction volume on credit cards, increased 25 percent from 2015 through 2021. This bonanza has helped affluent professionals flood Instagram with envy-inducing shots of white sand beaches, hotel suites and plush airport lounges.

But these high-income travelers are also less likely to carry balances that incur interest charges and late fees, which traditionally increase profits for card issuers. So, to offset the cost of paying lavish rewards to these consumers, banks have sought to maximize other usage-based revenues.

Enter interchange fees, or the money it costs merchants to accept noncash payments. A recent study at Stanford found that when credit card rewards increase, so do these fees.

The United States now has some of the highest credit card processing costs in the world, typically at 2 percent to 2.25 percent of every purchase. This is eight to nine times as much as the prevailing swipe fee in the European Union. The vast majority of merchants pass these costs on to consumers by charging more for their products -- regardless of how one pays.

The result? Lower-income consumers are forced to pay higher prices on the goods they buy, but they rarely receive any benefit from rewards programs, according to the Federal Reserve, which has been tracking the distributional effects of card rewards. Its December 2022 report estimates an annual redistribution of $15 billion in rewards value from poorer people to richer people, from low-education people to highly educated people and from diverse communities to less diverse communities.

Put another way, credit card rewards are essentially a tax on less affluent consumers, who are much more likely to pay for their goods with cash, debit cards or standard credit products that accrue no such rewards.

According to the San Francisco Fed, Americans with annual incomes at the national median (a bit less than $70,000) use credit cards for 23 percent of purchases. The numbers drop off precipitously as income decreases. Roughly half of all households use cash or debit cards for most purchases. Households with annual incomes over $150,000 use a credit card the most frequently, or 44 percent of the time.

The poor are much less likely to have access to rewards credit cards, even if they want them. Why? Cards with the highest value rewards are often available only to the rich. First, you'll need a credit score of at least 700 to qualify for a premium card. That eliminates half the country. And only 21 percent of Black households have FICO scores above 700. Second, issuers consider your income and debt-to-income ratio, which can be used to disqualify card applicants with high credit scores. Banks just don't want to issue rewards-heavy cards and pay lucrative sign-on bonuses to consumers who have low credit limits and spend much less overall.

Now consider the design of these rewards programs: five times as many points on hotels, three times as many points on dining, a $300 credit to SoulCycle, a $100 credit to Saks Fifth Avenue. This generation of prestige points cards often rewards discretionary, even luxury purchases, further transferring dollars to the highest income card holders. Cash-back cards available to households with lower credit scores and incomes offer more modest rewards than their prestige alternatives do.

Visa and Mastercard operate the two largest card networks, accounting for 77 percent of about 650 million general purpose credit cards in the United States. They act as agents for thousands of banks and dictate the terms and fees that merchants must pay.

And business is booming. In 2021 these two companies generated $77 billion in credit card interchange fees, which they share with issuing banks.

The aggregate costs of credit card points, driven by Visa and Mastercard's longstanding interchange duopoly, spurred Senators Richard Durbin, Democrat of Illinois, and Roger Marshall, Republican of Kansas, to introduce the Credit Card Competition Act last July. The House soon followed with its own bipartisan bill. Yet multiple attempts to attach the legislation to military and omnibus funding bills by year's end failed.

The act would have forced Visa and Mastercard to compete head-to-head with other processors, reducing their overwhelming market power to set rates. Lower interchange fees can mean lower prices for consumers. (Despite expected opposition from the now-Republican-controlled House, Mr. Durbin plans to reintroduce the bill this year, his office said.)

The American Bankers Association argues that such legislation would result in net harm. It points to reductions in credit card rewards programs and hints at the creation of new fees by banks to make up the lost revenues.

The first part is certainly true; however, it's hard to muster a defense for preserving rewards at Saks Fifth Avenue in the name of consumer welfare. The latter may also be true -- and sounds like something the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau should look into.

Opponents of the bill also correctly point out that network security could suffer in the short run: Introducing smaller players and novel technologies would create vulnerabilities that hackers might exploit. Visa and Mastercard do use their systemwide scale in the name of effective fraud protection. However, the economics of competition suggest that all companies, especially Visa and Mastercard, would be heavily incentivized to innovate on network security to preserve market share against new entrants.

A problem for any reform that helps ***working-class*** families will be that consumers who enjoy great privileges from premium credit cards would end up worse off. But they would be returning economic value to working Americans, whose production and consumption sustains the economy in the first place.

And prestige card holders surely will manage. They may have hoped to use points toward an overwater villa in the Maldives. If Congress acts, they can settle for a free hotel room in Hawaii.

Chenzi Xu is a finance professor at the Stanford Graduate School of Business. Jeffrey Reppucci is a candidate for a Master of Business Administration and Master of Public Policy at Stanford.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.Ms. Xu is a finance professor at the Stanford Graduate School o Business. Mr. Reppucci is a candidate for masters of business administration and public policy at Stanford.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/04/opinion/credit-card-rewards-points-poor-interchange-fees.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/04/opinion/credit-card-rewards-points-poor-interchange-fees.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** March 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***European Cinema Has Still Got It***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6771-9MJ1-DXY4-X0MV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 1, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 8; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1096 words

**Byline:** By Emilie Bickerton

**Body**

PARIS -- So that's the end of that. With the deaths of Jean-Luc Godard and Jean-Marie Straub this year, the curtain has come down on two of the most radical filmmakers of the 20th century. In their wake, a great era of European cinema has drawn to a close.

Their unclassifiable films interrogated the nature of image-making past and present, encompassing a whole sweep of historical, philosophical and musical references. While Mr. Godard remained famous, largely thanks to his early 1960s features that are among world cinema's most recognized classics, Mr. Straub and his partner Danièle Huillet's films were barely seen, though consistently championed by art house filmgoers. What these directors gave us, in their different but extreme works, were among the deepest reflections of what cinema was and can be.

They leave European cinema, buffeted by the pandemic, in a parlous state. Attendance numbers across the continent are in decline, the range of films is diminishing, and ticket prices are rising. Streaming platforms, which offer a model for movie watching that is cheaper, simpler and often more comfortable than a trip out to the movie theater, are generally held responsible for this state of affairs. While a reprise of a common argument that technological innovation -- from the emergence of sound to television -- would bring the demise of cinema, the charge has plenty of ammunition. The ubiquity of readily accessible movies and television series has undeniably dented the willingness of people to seek out more challenging films.

And yet, to judge from the array of films released this year, there's nothing wrong with the quality of European filmmaking. Often I emerged from a movie theater surprised, moved, disturbed and encouraged. Cinema may be threatened by changing habits of consumption, underfunding for nonblockbuster fare, narrow aesthetic codes and limited exposure, but it continues -- more than 100 years after the Lumière brothers pronounced the form's imminent death -- to thrum with life.

Much of that vitality emerges from the work of female directors. ''One Fine Morning,'' by the French director Mia Hansen-Løve, is certainly up there with her best, bringing together all the admirable qualities of her filmmaking -- quiet emotional drama, subtle observation of human interaction and character evolution, stories rooted in cities and spaces -- in a simple tale of one woman's new relationship developing in parallel with her aging father's mental decline.

Germany's Angela Schanelec also added a fine, beguiling film to her already impressive filmography. ''I Was at Home, But'' tells the story, through a series of domestic scenes from a charming dance routine to negotiations over a defective bike, of a mother's complicated response to her son's return home after a weeklong absence. Originally released in 2019, the film -- delayed by the pandemic, like many others -- went on general release in French cinemas only in 2022.

The year also saw the continued flourishing of ***working-class*** films, or proletkino, a genre born in the Soviet Union of the 1920s. The proletariat was far more empowered than it is today in postindustrial Europe, yet in recent decades there has been an impressive and surprising resurgence of films in this genre across the continent. This new proletkino, as I've called it, had another bumper year.

The Dardenne brothers, Belgian filmmakers who have made a career out of social dramas set in an old steel town, produced one of their strongest -- and bleakest -- films to date, ''Tori and Lokita,'' about two child migrants from Benin landing in France and the new hell they enter when one of them cannot get the required papers. Pedro Costa, a Portuguese auteur, also returned to his long-running subject of Cape Verde migrants in the Lisbon slums with his painterly and poetic ''Vitalina Varela.''

In France, Stéphane Brizé concluded his superb trilogy of films reflecting on the modern world of labor. In ''Another World,'' he focuses on the pressures felt by a middle manager, once close to his workers but now forced to deliver on increasingly impossible demands for greater efficiency and enforce massive layoffs. As a chronicle of the changing nature of work in the past few decades, there's little better than Mr. Brizé's trilogy.

It's been a fine year for feature documentaries, too, including Jonàs Trueba's ambitious ''Who's Stopping Us.'' Across five years and in more than three hours, the film charts the lives of young people in Madrid as they transition from their teens to their 20s. It continues an intriguing lineage of recent works mixing documentary and fiction that has its roots in Michael Apted's classic British TV series ''Seven Up!,'' which began in 1964, and includes Richard Linklater's ''Boyhood'' (2014) and Sébastien Lifshitz's ''Adolescents'' (2019). In their marriage of sociological interest with formal experimentation, films like Mr. Trueba's offer an exciting new route for documentary cinema, exploring and expanding the possibilities of the form.

Perhaps no one better exemplifies that blending of reality and fiction than Alice Diop, the French documentarian whose first feature film, ''Saint Omer,'' is on the Oscar shortlist for best international film. The courthouse drama, based on the true story of an infanticide, deserves its recognition -- and so does Ms. Diop, whose documentary ''We,'' released in cinemas earlier in the year, insightfully and sensitively brings to light the experience of second- and third-generation immigrants in suburban France.

Adieu, then, Mr. Godard and Mr. Straub. The world of cinema has lost two titans. Beyond the loss, there are major reasons for concern, especially about distribution -- which relegates ever fewer films to limited runs in exclusive locations -- and a lack of cinema education that ideally would start in school. Mr. Godard, in particular, was a wonderful guide here: His films are a lesson in the history of cinema. There is currently no pretender to his throne in the 21st century. But we still have time. For now, a few new ghosts have joined us in the auditorium.

Emilie Bickerton is a journalist at Agence France-Presse, a screenwriter and the author of ''A Short History of Cahiers du Cinema.''

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/28/opinion/godard-straub-european-cinema.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/28/opinion/godard-straub-european-cinema.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A scene from ''One Fine Morning,'' a film directed by Mia Hansen-Løve. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLE BETHUEL/LES FILMS PELLÉAS, VIA SONY PICTURES CLASSICS) This article appeared in print on page SR8.

**Load-Date:** January 1, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Gretchen Whitmer Rejected False Choices. All Democrats Should.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:672R-C9M1-JBG3-64WV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 12, 2022 Monday 06:11 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 954 words

**Byline:** Brian Stryker

**Highlight:** There is a model for running an effective campaign in Michigan and states like it.

**Body**

For years, the so-called Blue Wall states — Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin — have been not just politically but also emotionally important for Democrats. With the party poised to enact a new primary lineup that includes Michigan in an early slot, the state has grown even more important for Democrats.

In many ways, Michigan offers a microcosm of American politics. It includes a diverse population of over 10 million people and a mix of big, medium and smaller urban areas, along with diverse suburbs and rural areas.

For Democrats, much of the debate about running in and winning big northern industrial states is that we have to choose a style of campaign. Either we talk to blue-collar voters about issues like economics and manufacturing, or we talk to suburban women about abortion. Either we use progressive issues to turn out our base, or we take moderate positions on issues to persuade people in the middle.

There is a model for running an effective campaign in Michigan and states like it — and it involves rejecting many of these false choices.

Gretchen Whitmer illustrated that model in Michigan this year. With her midterm victory, she has now had two decisive general-election wins in a critical Blue Wall state. Last month, she won by 10.6 points (a margin bested by only two Democratic presidential candidates in the last 50 years, Barack Obama in 2008 and Bill Clinton in 1996).

She ran on economics and abortion, increased Democratic turnout and persuaded swing voters, all while connecting with the party’s largest base: Black voters. She embodied the way smart campaigns in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and around the country operated this cycle, and she gave a blueprint for Democrats in 2024.

The first lesson of Ms. Whitmer’s campaign is that economic good news and development — especially building things — really make a difference. Democrats should run on American manufacturing: Whether it was a new semiconductor plant (to help ease the chip shortage facing the auto industry) or generational-level investments from G.M. in electric-vehicle battery plants (to make sure the critical supply chains for electric cars will be based in Michigan, not China, where many E.V. batteries are currently built), Ms. Whitmer fought to bring them to Michigan.

In in multiple TV ads, she [*told*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cqz3r8vUQPI) [*voters*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4nFv123LUdo), “I can’t solve the inflation problem, but we’re doing things — right now — to help.” She listed tangible benefits that she proposed or got done, like more affordable community college, insurance refunds and tax cuts for seniors. She passed four balanced, bipartisan budgets with no tax increases, and she let voters know about that.

A lot of Democrats talked about economics across the country, but few did so as consistently and effectively as Ms. Whitmer. And it wasn’t just talk: When businesses opened, she was often there to celebrate them.

This was paired with a pocketbook attack. Her opponent, Tudor Dixon, took millions of dollars from the [*wildly unpopular*](https://progressmichigan.org/2022/08/new-poll-michiganders-remain-anti-devos/) (in Michigan) billionaire Betsy DeVos and her family. For months her campaign highlighted Ms. Dixon’s connections to Ms. DeVos and how Ms. Dixon’s tax plan would benefit Ms. DeVos and hurt the middle class — ***working-class*** tax hikes, cuts to schools and the like. Ms. Whitmer also highlighted abortion rights as a vote-deciding issue for swing voters. Again, this was [*not just talk*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/09/opinion/taking-the-fight-for-safe-legal-abortion-to-the-states.html). Through a ballot initiative, Michigan voters faced the decision on whether to place abortion protections in the state Constitution. Voters approved changing the state Constitution with strong support (57 percent).

Months before the Dobbs decision overturned Roe v. Wade and could have effectively banned abortion in Michigan (because of a dormant law from the 1930s), Ms. Whitmer sued and got courts to block enforcement of that law. No doubt the issue helped Michigan Democrats and progressives to catalyze turnout. Estimates from the U.S. Elections Project show overall turnout in 2022 was down about 6 percent from the 2018 midterm, but in Michigan, turnout was up nearly 5 percent.

Ms. Whitmer also developed a deep connection with Black voters well before she picked as her running mate and governing partner the state’s first Black lieutenant governor, Garlin Gilchrist. After winning Black voters decisively with high turnout in 2018, she deepened that connection. The “Big Gretch” [*song*](https://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/2020/05/04/gretchen-whitmer-big-gretch-rap-song/3077499001/) (“We ain’t even about to stress/we got Big Gretch”) and memes that came out of Black Michigan spoke to a deep appreciation Black voters had for her [*decisiveness in the pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/gretchen-whitmer-coronavirus-michigan.html) to keep people safe.

This was on top of a lot of other work to help Black voters, things like bringing the first new auto plant to Detroit in 30 years and making sure Detroiters had a first crack at the plant’s jobs.

This did not come at the expense of talking to white voters: She won Macomb County, ground zero for voters who cast ballots for Barack Obama, then switched to Donald Trump, by about 60 percent more in 2022 from 2018.

What Ms. Whitmer has done in Michigan can be done by Democrats across the country. We can talk about economics and abortion, we can invest in turnout and persuasion, and we can strengthen our appeal to voters of color while winning over white voters.

Brian Stryker ([*@BrianStryker*](https://twitter.com/brianstryker?lang=en)) is a partner at Impact Research and a strategist for Gretchen Whitmer, Tim Ryan and Mandela Barnes, among others.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nic Antaya for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 12, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Class Divide***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67PF-G8C1-DXY4-X0M8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 5, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 12; FICTION

**Length:** 1304 words

**Byline:** By Aamina Ahmad

**Body**

In Ayòbámi Adébáyò's ''A Spell of Good Things,'' the lives of a ***working-class*** boy and a wealthy young doctor converge to expose the precarity of the social order.

A SPELL OF GOOD THINGS, by Ayòbámi Adébáyò

During the pandemic, my walking path in Berkeley, Calif., trailed past the Seabreeze encampment where a number of the city's homeless population were living. Various municipal initiatives sprang up to try to protect this and other encampments from Covid-19, but these came on the heels of longstanding tensions between the housed and unhoused in the Bay Area -- tensions that had, for the city, largely taken the shape of concerns about trash and safety. Accompanying these concerns I sensed an undercurrent of distaste: The encampments were unsightly, ugly, embarrassing. Locals wanted to help these members of their community, but more than that they really wanted them gone. Just over a year later, they were.

Set in contemporary Nigeria, Ayòbámi Adébáyò's second novel, ''A Spell of Good Things,'' is a pointed warning about the dangers of choosing to look away from the deep economic fissures that run through a community. Whatever we might do to distance ourselves from the destitute -- taking refuge in tidy suburbs, expunging the poor from our scenic trails -- in any society lives can and do intersect. These intersections expose the flimsiness of the illusions the privileged cling to, that they can both preside over and hide from the impoverished, and that there is no cost to doing so.

Adébáyò established her storytelling prowess in her 2017 debut, ''Stay With Me,'' a gripping tale of a marriage undone by a series of secrets and betrayals. In this compelling follow-up, Adébáyò's hand is just as deft, but her canvas is more expansive. Following the lives of two families from opposite sides of the tracks in an unnamed city in southwestern Nigeria, the story weaves between the contrasting worlds of two young people who first cross paths loosely, incidentally, but whose choices -- and lack thereof -- knot their destinies together over time. By the end, the intricacy of the novel's structure comes to feel both unexpected and inevitable, building toward a final devastating convergence.

An early, bracing scene introduces us to 16-year-old Eniolá as he endures the first of many humiliations in the story: A vendor, one of his father's creditors, spits at him in the marketplace.

The assault is quick, but the scene unfurls over several pages, the accumulation of detail allowing us to inhabit the depth of Eniolá's physical and emotional injury. Where a raw, dynamic storytelling energized Adébáyò's prose in ''Stay With Me,'' here the graceful, stately quality of the sentences evokes restraint, avoiding sentimentality: ''No,'' the boy thinks. ''He wouldn't ask any of the men around him to confirm if his face still had any streaks. He wouldn't.''

From here Eniolá's situation continues to deteriorate. He is the eldest child of a schoolteacher father, with high hopes of achieving similar levels of professional, middle-class success, when sudden misfortune in the form of teacher layoffs ushers the family's slow descent into poverty. His mother now scours dunghills for plastic bottles and tin she can sell to provide her family with one meal a day, if that. His father, meanwhile, is more or less incapacitated by the emotional toll of long-term unemployment, spending most of his time in bed, staring at the wall.

Eniolá understands that the kind of life he aspires to can be achieved only through a university education, not through the tailoring apprenticeship he is barely maintaining or the government schools where teachers rarely show up. His only hope is to graduate from the second-rate private school his parents cannot afford, where children are beaten when their school fees are late. While the novel outlines the impossible choices families must confront daily -- eat, pay rent or pay school fees? -- it is the social and psychological hardships that we feel most viscerally: Every term, Eniolá's ''lips grew heavier and heavier whenever he wanted to discuss his school fees with his parents.'' Parents agonize over giving their children something better, only to be haunted by the shame that comes with admitting defeat, or with giving up. Eniolá's father ''often seemed slightly surprised and disappointed to have woken up,'' Adébáyò writes.

In contrast, Wúràolá, a 28-year-old hospital resident in the same city, is overworked and subject to the pressures of an underfunded health service; but because she is affluent and well educated, she exists in an altogether different reality. Despite her promising medical career, the women in her family can think of little worse than her remaining unmarried at 30, and worry that Wúràolá's boyfriend, Kúnlé, a TV newscaster and the son of a well-to-do surgeon with political aspirations, is wasting her time. The reader instead worries about his controlling and intrusive behavior. If poverty closes doors again and again, financial security does not always offer protection.

Both families have experienced the precarity of the middle class. The misfortunes Wúràolá's mother, Yèyé, experienced growing up have taught her that the world is a harder place to survive than Wúràolá, born into wealth, realizes. Yèyé ''had never been able to shake the sense that life was war, a series of battles with the occasional spell of good things.'' And so, with the privilege afforded to her by marrying Wúràolá's wealthy father, Yèyé lives her life preparing for a rainy day. And Eniolá's family, robbed of their middle-class income in an instant, lurches from one crisis to the next, stuck in an endless present. Eniolá can work toward building his own professional future, but Yèyé knows what he does not: that ''real wealth was intergenerational, and the way Nigeria was set up, your parentage would often matter more than your qualifications.''

The plot is accelerated by the upcoming elections for governor, in which Kúnlé's father is challenging the unscrupulous incumbent -- a high-stakes political race that draws the novel's main players to its center. The device of the sleazy politician is not unfamiliar; trust in our leaders does not seem especially high anywhere at the moment. But Adébáyò's timely novel -- Nigerians will vote in a general election at the end of February -- indicts a political class that shows little concern for tackling their constituents' dire realities, and even makes effective use of those difficulties for their own ends. As this book shows, the resulting political factionalism plays out most tragically in the streets, injuring those far removed from power and fueling a culture where political violence against ordinary people has become normalized.

In one sense, this story line offers little ambiguity; its villains are predictably corrupt, the cruelty of their methods operatic. But Adébáyò humanizes those sucked into the vortex of that power with a striking compassion -- the characters' misjudgments and delusions are deeply and empathetically imagined, wholly alive. The outcome of these errors binds Eniolá's and Wúràolá's fates forever, the collision of their worlds underscoring their shared frailty.

Readers around the world may want to turn their gazes from the poor on their neighborhood sidewalks, but the inescapable truth is that the inhabitants of any place remain bound to one another. Not just by space or circumstance, but by our shared vulnerability to the whims of socioeconomic forces, by the recognition that another human's longings are not so different from our own.

Aamina Ahmad is the author of ''The Return of Faraz Ali.''

A SPELL OF GOOD THINGS | By Ayòbámi Adébáyò | 332 pp. | Alfred A. Knopf | $28Aamina Ahmad is the author of ''The Return of Faraz Ali.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/05/books/review/ayobami-adebayo-a-spell-of-good-things.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/05/books/review/ayobami-adebayo-a-spell-of-good-things.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page BR12.

**Load-Date:** March 5, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A New Vision for a Tragedy Rooted in Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:676S-D491-DXY4-X46C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 31, 2022 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 995 words

**Byline:** By Alex Marshall

**Body**

LONDON -- When Clint Dyer was an aspiring actor in the mid-1980s, he made his first visit to the National Theater, the revered London playhouse whose productions are a showcase for the great and good of British drama. ''I'd never seen a stage that size,'' Dyer recalled recently. ''I'd never seen actors of that level. What a thing! How inspiring!''

But when Dyer walked out of the auditorium after the show, he saw something that changed his mood instantly, he said: On a wall was a large photograph from a 1960s production of ''Othello,'' with the actor Laurence Olivier in the title role -- in blackface. The sight ''broke my heart,'' Dyer said.

Dyer, who is Black, said he grabbed a pen and wrote the words ''Shame on you'' in the whites of Olivier's eyes.

Almost four decades later, Britain's theatrical landscape has changed radically. Last year, Dyer, 54, was named as the National Theater's deputy artistic director -- a position that makes him arguably the most high-profile person of color in British theater. On Wednesday, he premieres his own production of ''Othello'' at the playhouse.

''It's such a strange feeling that I'm in this building, directing the play that broke my heart,'' Dyer said in an interview. ''The beauty of that circle is almost overwhelming.''

The National Theater rarely stages the lengthy ''Othello,'' but previous productions have been landmark events. Those include John Dexter's 1964 production with Laurence Olivier (so revered that photographs from the show were still on display two decades later), Sam Mendes's 1997 staging featuring David Harewood in the lead and Nicholas Hytner's acclaimed 2013 production starring Adrian Lester as Shakespeare's tragic hero, a Moor who murders his wife Desdemona after he is tricked into believing that she is having an affair.

Dyer's ''Othello'' -- which sets the play in an arena populated by black-shirted thugs who seethe whenever Othello (Giles Terera) goes near his white wife (Rosy McEwen) -- is highly anticipated, especially given that Dyer is the first Black director to tackle the play at the theater.

During a recent rehearsal break, the director said he was hoping to do something new in this show. ''As a Black man, I've always found productions problematic,'' he said, adding that most directors play down the issue of race and focus on male jealousy, even when a Black actor takes the lead role. ''The irony is,'' Dyer said, ''the way we've been performing 'Othello' has in some ways highlighted our racism more than the actual play.''

To some theatergoers, Dyer's rise to the heart of Britain's theatrical establishment may appear swift. He was little known here until a play he directed and co-wrote, ''Death of England,'' opened in February 2020, just a few weeks before the coronavirus pandemic shuttered London's playhouses. The play, about a ***working-class*** man coping with his conflicting feelings for his deceased father, was a critical hit for the National Theater.

Yet for almost two decades, Dyer had been toiling away in London's theater land. Born in 1968, he was brought up in Upton Park, a poor district of East London. His mother was a nurse, and his father worked at a Ford car factory. He wanted to be a soccer player, he said, but after acting in a school play, older schoolmates encouraged him to attend Saturday morning workshops at the Theater Royal Stratford East. Soon, he was acting in a play directed by Mike Leigh, and theater administrators pushed him to try his hand at writing and directing, too.

In 2004, Philip Hedley, the theater's artistic director at the time, asked Dyer to direct his first production, ''The Big Life,'' about four immigrants to Britain from the Caribbean who take a vow to avoid women and wine, but swiftly break it. Based on Shakespeare's ''Love's Labour's Lost,'' the musical transferred to the West End, though Dyer struggled to get directing work afterward.

Hedley said that race was ''the only reason'' Dyer's career didn't take off at the time. If he had been white, ''he'd have been the hot property,'' Hedley said. Dyer said he restarted his career by taking acting gigs, and writing and directing plays on the side. It was 15 years before he directed in the West End again, with ''Get Up, Stand Up! The Bob Marley Musical.'' He is now developing a Muhammad Ali musical for Broadway.

There is curiosity in Britain's theater world not just about Dyer's ''Othello,'' but also about his plans as the National Theater's deputy director. Dominic Cooke, a former artistic director of the Royal Court who is one of the National's associate artists, said Dyer was chosen for the role partly because of his ''really strong take on the politics of race.''

The theater has long set targets to increase diversity on its stages, including one for 25 percent of performers to be people of color. (Last season it surpassed most of its objectives, with nonwhite artists making up 36 percent of its performers.) Dyer said ''targets are valuable,'' but it shouldn't just fall to casting directors to increase diversity onstage. ''We should really be going to writers,'' Dyer said, adding that he wanted to ask playwrights to consider the diversity of their characters from the moment they began working on a play.

Writers ''should be doing the work to actually go out and learn about different cultures, different people and find the vernaculars that they speak in,'' Dyer said.

For all that focus on race, Dyer said his main responsibility as the National Theater's deputy director was nothing to do with diversity, but simply ''to sell tickets'' -- and that started with his ''Othello.'' For an artist of his generation, it felt like ''a big deal'' that a Black director was staging the play there, he said, but younger people might not see it as significant.

That didn't bother him, he said. ''I'm glad they don't think this is a big deal, as I do,'' Dyer added. ''Because they shouldn't. It should be bloody normal.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/29/theater/clint-dyer-othello-national-theater.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/29/theater/clint-dyer-othello-national-theater.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Clint Dyer, the deputy artistic director of the National Theater, said most productions of ''Othello'' played down the issue of race. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ADAMA JALLOH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C5.

**Load-Date:** December 31, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Dina Titus overcomes a challenge from the left in her re-election bid for a key Nevada House district.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65P9-TCV1-JBG3-63XH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 15, 2022 Wednesday 01:11 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 615 words

**Byline:** Jazmine Ulloa

**Highlight:** Ms. Titus sought to differentiate herself from her primary challenger by backing away from the most sweeping progressive policy positions.

**Body**

Ms. Titus sought to differentiate herself from her primary challenger by backing away from the most sweeping progressive policy positions.

Representative Dina Titus, who is seeking her seventh term, has won the Democratic nomination in the race for Nevada’s First Congressional District, leaning on her track record and big fund-raising haul to overcome a primary challenge from the left.

Ms. Titus, 72, triumphed over Amy Vilela, an accountant-turned-health-care-activist who had Senator Bernie Sanders’s endorsement after serving as his campaign co-chairwoman in Nevada during his 2020 presidential run. The Associated Press called the race.

Ms. Titus is still facing a tough road to re-election in November in a state long held as a national model for Democrats. High unemployment, skyrocketing rents and rising gasoline prices are all posing problems for her and other Democrats, with voters primed to punish the party in power in Washington.

Ms. Titus has consistently coasted to re-election with the support of ***working-class*** and Latino voters but her district, which encompasses Las Vegas, was recently redrawn. It now includes larger portions of Henderson and Boulder City in Clark County, adding more Republican voters to the once-Democratic stronghold. The area has also been hard hit by the pandemic, making her vulnerable to attacks from Republicans on crime, jobs and inflation.

In an interview Tuesday, Ms. Titus said that she had represented a portion of the new area in her district before, when she was a state legislator. “I tell voters that though I have been away awhile, I haven’t been in your mailboxes, I am coming home,” she said.

At a Las Vegas field office for a Democratic political group, where volunteers greeted her with cheers Tuesday, Ms. Titus told reporters that Democrats need to keep telling the story of their successes, including the passage of a bipartisan infrastructure deal and coronavirus relief packages that had helped her state’s economic recovery.

“We’re feeling optimistic, ready to move on to the next stage,” she said.

Nevada has experienced steady job growth, but as of the latest labor statistics released in April, still has some of the nation’s highest unemployment rates.

The challenges she has faced [*reflect those of other*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/01/us/politics/nevada-midterms-democrats.html) Democrats in Nevada and across the country. She had [*sought an ambassadorship*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/12/us/politics/biden-pelosi-democrats-midterm-elections.html) but didn’t get one because Democrats feared losing her seat.

Ms. Vilela, 47, was pulled into politics after the death of her [*daughter, Shalynne,*](https://patientsafetymovement.org/patient-safety/patient-stories/shalynne-mckinney/) in 2015, after she was denied proper medical care for an untreated blood clot because she couldn’t provide adequate proof of insurance at an emergency room.

Ms. Vilela unsuccessfully ran for a House seat in 2018 and was featured in the documentary “Knock Down the House” alongside Representatives Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York and Cori Bush of Missouri, then Democratic primary candidates.

This time, Ms. Vilela centered her campaign on working people and promoting sweeping progressive policies like Medicare for all, raising the minimum wage, and a Green New Deal. She attacked Ms. Titus’s progressive credentials and sought to portray her as a career politician who put corporate interests over those of her constituents.

While Ms. Titus has a reputation as the most liberal member of the Nevada delegation, she has distanced herself from far-left calls to “defund” the police and argued in favor of incremental measures on clean energy and health care over sweeping progressive legislation like the Green New Deal and Medicare for all.

PHOTO: Representative Dina Titus during a hearing in Washington in February 2020. (PHOTOGRAPH BY T.J. Kirkpatrick for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 15, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Right-Wing Pundit Inspired by Trump Eyes the Presidency in France***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63N0-TYK1-JBG3-62VJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 19, 2021 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1349 words

**Byline:** By Norimitsu Onishi

**Body**

Éric Zemmour, a writer and TV celebrity known for his far-right nationalism, dominates political talk in France as he weighs a run for president.

PARIS -- France's election season began in force this week, with candidates for the presidency launching their bids or holding campaign-style events. But the person who stole the show was not a candidate, or even a politician, but a right-wing writer and TV star channeling Donald J. Trump.

Éric Zemmour became one of France's top TV celebrities through his punditry on CNews, a Fox News-like channel, even as he was sanctioned twice for inciting racial hatred. This week he dominated news-media coverage in the kickoff to elections next April.

A poll released Wednesday shows him rising among potential voters, beating out declared candidates like the mayor of Paris. While his share would appear to put the presidency out of reach, he could disrupt the long-anticipated scenario of a duel between President Emmanuel Macron and Marine Le Pen of the far-right National Rally.

In a well-orchestrated blitz that blurred the lines between media and politics, Mr. Zemmour, 63, one of France's best-selling writers, released a new book Thursday titled ''France Has Not Said Its Last Word Yet,'' with a cover showing him standing with arms crossed in front of the French flag.

In a brief telephone interview, Mr. Zemmour said that the cover had been modeled after Mr. Trump's ''Great Again,'' the 2015 book that outlined his political agenda ahead of his election victory the following year, and that showed Mr. Trump in front of the American flag.

The cover, Mr. Zemmour said, was not the only way Mr. Trump had inspired him. While Mr. Zemmour coyly deflected longstanding rumors of a possible candidacy, this month he has sent stronger signals that he may follow Mr. Trump in a leap from television to politics.

''Obviously, there are common points,'' Mr. Zemmour said. ''In other words, someone who is completely from outside the party system, who never had a political career and who, furthermore, understood that the major concerns of the ***working class*** are immigration and trade.''

In France's two-round presidential election, the two top vote-getters in the first round meet in a runoff. Mr. Macron has aggressively courted the traditional, more moderate right in a strategy to produce a final showdown with Ms. Le Pen, whom he beat in 2017. But the presence of Mr. Zemmour, with his appeal across the right side of France's political spectrum, could upset that calculus.

''French politics has become totally unpredictable,'' said Nicolas Lebourg, a political scientist specializing in the right and far-right.

''In this extremely fluid context, things could end with the election of a Republican president after Macron is defeated because Zemmour picks up a few points,'' Mr. Lebourg added, referring to the Republicans, the party of the traditional right.

The poll released Wednesday showed 10 percent of voters supporting Mr. Zemmour in the first round of the election, up from 7 percent a week earlier and 5 percent in July. He is one of the few candidates registering in the double digits, outscoring some from France's established parties, including the Socialist mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo.

According to a poll published on Monday, Mr. Zemmour is one of the few candidates to draw support from both the French traditional right and far-right -- a point he underscored in the interview, saying that the far-right National Rally ''puts off the French bourgeoisie,'' while the Republicans ''have only an extremely aging constituency and don't connect with the young or the ***working class***.''

The poll also showed he is strong with the ***working class***, men and young voters.

''His straight talk appeals a lot to a generation that has been very disappointed by politicians' lies and that is very mistrustful of the media,'' said François de Voyer, a host and financial supporter of Black Book, a seven-month-old YouTube channel that has featured long interviews with Mr. Zemmour and other personalities, mostly from the right and far right. He said Mr. Zemmour gives the impression of ''never hiding what he thinks, even if it means making controversial remarks,'' adding, ''I think it has the effect of creating trust.''

Still, a run by Mr. Zemmour -- whose hard-line views on immigration, Islam's place in France and national identity are regarded as being to the right of Ms. Le Pen -- would immediately inject into the election some of the most explosive issues in an increasingly polarized society.

A longtime journalist for the conservative daily Le Figaro, Mr. Zemmour became a best-selling author in the past decade with books that described a France in decline, under threat from what he claimed was an Islam that doesn't share France's core values. His celebrity and influence rose to another level after he became the star of CNews in 2019, where, each evening in prime time, he expounded on his ideas to hundreds of thousands of viewers.

He has portrayed himself as a truth-teller in a news media dominated by politically correct, left-leaning journalists. He has railed against the immigration of Muslim Africans, invoking the supposed existential threat of a ''great replacement'' -- a loaded term that even Ms. Le Pen has avoided -- that will overwhelm France's more established white and Christian population.

Over the weekend, Mr. Zemmour said that, if he were president, he would ban ''non-French'' first names like Mohammed and Kevin, because they created obstacles to an assimilation process that used to turn immigrants into what he considered real French people.

These kinds of comments have occasionally drawn the attention of French authorities. In May, the government broadcast regulator fined CNews 200,000 euros, about $236,000, for speech inciting racial hatred. On his show in September 2020, Mr. Zemmour had said that unaccompanied foreign minors should be expelled from France, calling them ''thieves,'' ''killers'' and ''rapists.''

Some presidential candidates from the Republicans dismissed Mr. Zemmour's challenge. Xavier Bertrand, the leader of a region in northern France, said that Mr. Zemmour was a ''great divider.'' Valérie Pécresse, the head of the Paris region, said that he offered ''no genuine proposals.''

Mr. Lebourg, the political scientist, said that Mr. Zemmour's ''ethnic nationalism'' was rooted in the ideology of the National Front of the 1990s, the predecessor to the National Rally that was led by Ms. Le Pen's father, Jean-Marie Le Pen. More than any other individual, Mr. Zemmour succeeded over the years in imposing his vision on politicians in the traditional right, Mr. Lebourg said.

Supporters say that is why Mr. Zemmour is the only candidate who can appeal to both the traditional right and far right.

''Éric Zemmour opened the eyes of a certain number of people, including in my political family,'' said Antoine Diers, a spokesman for Friends of Éric Zemmour, a group that is raising funds for a potential presidential bid. Mr. Diers is also a member of the Republicans and an official at the city hall of Plessis-Robinson, a suburb south of Paris.

Because of Mr. Zemmour's influence, Mr. Diers said, candidates of his party ''finally take positions on immigration, on questions of identity and French culture.''

Arno Humbert, another member of Friends of Éric Zemmour, said he left Ms. Le Pen's National Rally in June after more than a decade, disillusioned by her efforts to widen her appeal by toning down her party's positions in a strategy of ''de-demonizing.''

Mr. Zemmour was forced off the air on Monday after the government regulator ordered a limit on his broadcast time because he could be considered a player in national politics. He and his supporters were quick to cry censorship.

Asked whether the decision would ultimately help him by burnishing his image as a truth teller among his supporters, he said, ''Of course.''

''It was a blessing in disguise,'' he said.

Léontine Gallois contributed reporting.Léontine Gallois contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/world/europe/zemmour-france-presidency-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/17/world/europe/zemmour-france-presidency-trump.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Éric Zemmour, center, in Paris on Wednesday. Though not yet a candidate for president, he has attracted sizable media attention and his poll numbers are rising. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALAIN APAYDIN/ABACA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** September 19, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Struggling to Understand A Shooting in Kansas City***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6821-3YF1-JBG3-633N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 19, 2023 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1442 words

**Byline:** By Mitch Smith and Julie Bosman

**Body**

Residents and friends of the victim were searching for answers as the 84-year-old homeowner surrendered to the authorities on two felony charges.

KANSAS CITY, Mo. -- On Tuesday morning, hundreds of Staley High School students filled the street outside their school in a display of anger and support for their fellow student, Ralph Yarl, who was shot by a homeowner after he rang a doorbell at the wrong house in Kansas City last week. One sign read, ''We Walk for Ralph.'' Another demanded, ''Justice 4 Ralph Yarl.''

By day's end, they found some measure of relief, as Andrew D. Lester, the 84-year-old man accused of shooting Ralph, surrendered to the authorities after being charged with assault in the first degree and armed criminal action.

But many residents of Kansas City remained deeply troubled by the events that had shaken their city for the last several days. Some asked why Mr. Lester was released from police custody last week rather than being charged immediately. Others said that federal hate crime charges should be brought, in a case that the county prosecutor said had a racial component, as an older, white homeowner was accused of shooting an unarmed Black teenager. A few wondered if a jury would sympathize with Mr. Lester, who told the police that he was ''scared to death'' of being physically harmed before shooting Ralph.

In a country on edge over crime, the shooting was the latest example of an ordinary interaction -- the ringing of a doorbell on a front step in a quiet neighborhood in Missouri -- instantly turning into another shocking incident of American gun violence.

''I am, I think, sufficiently frightened over how easily we are willing to shoot each other,'' said Representative Emanuel Cleaver, a Democrat who previously served as the first Black mayor of Kansas City.

At a gathering in downtown Kansas City on Tuesday afternoon, Karen Allman, who lives down the street from Mr. Lester, said that she found some satisfaction that he had turned himself in, but that she was still upset over what had happened -- and that Mr. Lester had not been charged for several days after the shooting on Thursday night.

''I have no doubt that if it was a Black homeowner who shot a white kid on his porch, he would have stayed in jail until somebody pressed charges,'' she said.

Jail records showed that Mr. Lester was released on bond from Clay County jail shortly after surrendering to the authorities on Tuesday. No lawyer was listed as representing him in court records, and it was not clear when he might appear in front of a judge.

Ralph, who had been sent to pick up his younger siblings when the shooting occurred, was recovering at home after being hospitalized with two gunshot wounds to his head and arm. In a CBS News interview on Tuesday, Cleo Nagbe, Ralph's mother, said her son was doing ''considerably well'' after being shot above his left eye and in his upper right arm. Lee Merritt, a lawyer for the family, said Ralph was sitting up and playing with his dog on Tuesday. He said the teenager also spoke by phone with Vice President Kamala Harris.

Paul Yarl, Ralph's father, said this week that his son, an athlete who loves music and video games, had surgery over the weekend to remove the bullets and was able to walk out of the hospital on Sunday. He is expected to make a full recovery.

The authorities in Kansas City released new details of their investigation, and in the neighborhood in far northern Kansas City where the shooting took place, residents said they were still stunned by the shooting and its aftermath.

There was little disagreement over what had transpired on Thursday night. According to the criminal complaint, at roughly 9:50 p.m., one resident heard something unusual: a vehicle pulling into Mr. Lester's driveway. It was odd, the resident later told the police, for Mr. Lester to have a visitor this late at night.

Ralph had made an error common in Kansas City, driving to a house on Northeast 115th Street instead of Northeast 115th Terrace, a block away. He pressed the doorbell and waited outside the front door for what felt like a long time, he told the police later. Mr. Lester, who had just gone to bed, got up and opened the inside door while holding a revolver, according to a probable cause statement from investigators.

Mr. Lester told a police officer after the shooting that he saw a Black male ''pulling on the exterior storm door handle.'' This was one of the few areas of disagreement: When interviewed by a detective, Ralph said that he only rang the doorbell and did not pull on the door.

Within moments, Mr. Lester began shooting through the glass of the exterior storm door, afraid that a break-in was in progress, he told the police.

Ralph was shot in the head and then the arm. ''Don't come around here,'' he remembers Mr. Lester saying, according to a detective. He got up and ran away, trying to elude more gunshots, he told the police.

Zach Dovel, 20, was across the street watching a podcast, in the house where he lives with his mother.

The two were startled by a bang on the front door; fearful that someone was trying to break in, they called 911. The operator, Mr. Dovel said, told them that there was a gunman on the loose and that they should stay inside.

But they could see a teenager in the driveway and went outside. He was limping and bleeding, wounded from gunshots. Mr. Dovel ran back inside and grabbed towels, while his mother talked to Ralph, asking questions and trying to keep him alert until the ambulance arrived.

''The worst part was seeing him get down on his knees -- it looked like he was praying,'' Mr. Dovel said. ''He thought he was going to die.''

One of Ralph's family members said that he went to three different houses before a neighbor would help him. Mr. Dovel said the police and an ambulance arrived in what felt like minutes, and once there was a police presence outside, more neighbors emerged from their homes.

The shooting happened near the northern edge of Kansas City, a sprawling municipality that is larger in size than New York City though its population is far smaller.

Known locally as the Northland, this stretch of Kansas City north of the Missouri River has a reputation of being more conservative and white than the city as a whole. That perception intensified in 2021 when a dispute over police funding contributed to talk of the Northland splitting from Kansas City. The area where the shooting took place resembles a ***working-class*** suburb, with single-family homes that have generous yards and no sidewalks.

Residents who were home on Tuesday said they were unsettled by the shooting but rejected the notion that it reflected on their neighborhood, which was swarmed by television cameras.

''They're judging all of us, but everybody here is nice and decent,'' said Vickie Mahterian, a neighbor. ''People come to my door all the time. I don't shoot them in the head. We are good people here.''

Dan Fowler, a City Council member whose district includes the shooting scene, said there was a broad sense of relief in Kansas City that charges had been filed and that the suspect was in custody.

''It doesn't bring closure, but it brings a sense of closure that at least the process is going and that there is accountability,'' Mr. Fowler said.

Mr. Fowler said Kansas City's pattern for naming roads, in which there might be a terrace, street or boulevard with similar names near one another, made it easy to understand how Ralph ended up on the wrong porch.

''It's very easy to get that confused if you are not particularly familiar with the area,'' Mr. Fowler said. ''I was stunned that somebody would go on such an innocent, everyday thing of picking up your siblings, and then he gets shot.''

S. David Mitchell, a law professor at the University of Missouri, said that a defense lawyer could try to invoke the castle doctrine, a law in Missouri that allows people to use deadly force to defend themselves without having to retreat.

The front porch, Mr. Mitchell said, ''becomes the gray area of what constitutes one's castle,'' a question that the jury could consider.

''It's created this narrative that if you're ever in trouble, you can't stop and ask a homeowner for assistance in case you're shot.''

Mitch Smith reported from Kansas City, Mo., and Julie Bosman from Chicago. Carey Gillam and Lauren Fox contributed reporting from Kansas City, Mo. Sheelagh McNeill contributed research.Mitch Smith reported from Kansas City, Mo., and Julie Bosman from Chicago. Carey Gillam and Lauren Fox contributed reporting from Kansas City, Mo. Sheelagh McNeill contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/18/us/ralph-yarl-shooting-suspect-charges.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/18/us/ralph-yarl-shooting-suspect-charges.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Ralph Yarl, 16, was shot by a homeowner Thursday after he mistakenly went to the wrong house to pick up his siblings. He was home recovering Tuesday, and his mother said he was doing ''considerably well.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BEN CRUMP LAW, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

CHARLIE RIEDEL/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Andrew D. Lester This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** April 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Amazon Tried One of the Oldest Tricks in the Book, and It Backfired; Jamelle Bouie***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6556-GFH1-DXY4-X06H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 5, 2022 Tuesday 00:30 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1097 words

**Byline:** Jamelle Bouie

**Highlight:** The successful organization of a warehouse in Staten Island offers a real glimmer of hope for the American ***working class***.

**Body**

Faced with an unexpectedly strong organizing campaign by workers at one of its Staten Island warehouses, Amazon initially turned to one of the oldest tricks in the anti-union playbook: a little bit of racism.

Speaking about Christian Smalls, a warehouse employee who was fired after he led a walkout in March 2020, David Zapolsky, Amazon’s general counsel, said in [*leaked meeting notes*](https://www.vice.com/en/article/5dm8bx/leaked-amazon-memo-details-plan-to-smear-fired-warehouse-organizer-hes-not-smart-or-articulate), “He’s not smart, or articulate, and to the extent that the press wants to focus on us versus him, we will be in a much stronger PR position than simply explaining for the umpteenth time how we’re trying to protect workers.”

Zapolsky believed Amazon could discredit the organizers if it made Smalls — who is young and Black and has tattoos on his neck — “the face of the entire union/organizing movement.”

If that was the plan, it backfired.

On Friday, [*by a vote of 2,654 to 2,131*](https://www.thecity.nyc/2022/4/1/23006509/amazon-warehouse-workers-union-win-staten-island), or 55 percent to 45 percent, the workers at Amazon’s Staten Island warehouse — led by Smalls and a dedicated cadre of other organizers — voted to form a union. In winning this surprising victory, these workers have also dealt a blow to one of the most powerful, and most powerfully anti-union, companies in the United States.

What makes this all the more remarkable is the extent to which the Amazon Labor Union had no formal ties to (or assistance from) more established unions. This was the bottom-up triumph of an independent organization, something very rare in American labor history, especially in light of the size of the shop in question, with its thousands and thousands of workers organized into 24/7 coverage.

There has already been a wealth of commentary and reporting on the [*meaning of this win*](https://prospect.org/labor/generational-worker-revolt-hits-its-stride-amazon-union/) for organized labor, on [*the prospects*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-04-02/amazon-warehouse-workers-just-redefined-what-s-possible-for-u-s-labor) for unionizing other Amazon warehouses and on [*the specifics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/02/business/amazon-union-christian-smalls.html?smid=tw-share) of the organizing effort itself. To these, I would like to add a few observations about the structural factors that helped make this victory possible.

To start, there is the economy. Even with rising inflation, this is the strongest economy we’ve had for workers in at least a generation. Overall, in 2021 the United States [*added more than 6.4 million jobs*](https://news.yahoo.com/us-added-more-jobs-2021-185651553.html) to its economy, a record high. At the start of this year, the nation’s labor market was on track to recover from the pandemic three times as fast as it did from the Great Recession a decade earlier. And it still is: The United States [*added*](https://www.bls.gov/news.release/empsit.nr0.htm) 431,000 jobs in March and 95,000 more than previously recognized for the months of January and February, both of which also saw record job growth. Unemployment has [*dropped below 4 percent*](https://www.bls.gov/news.release/empsit.nr0.htm), the lowest since the economic boom of the 1990s, and wages are growing this year at an annual rate of [*more than 5 percent*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-03-03/rapid-wage-growth-in-u-s-isn-t-going-anywhere-anytime-soon).

Employers can go ahead and threaten to fire workers who try to unionize, even if these threats are illegal, but the tight market for labor gives those workers other options, which makes the threat less potent than it might have been when the economy was weaker and jobs were scarce. On the flip side, a red-hot labor market means that employers who want to fire employees are hamstrung by the fact that they may not be able to replace them with new workers. This, on its own, gives workers leverage where they may have possessed very little.

Additional leverage, for Amazon workers in particular, comes from the nature of the enterprise itself. In theory, Amazon could simply close a warehouse that voted to unionize, in the same way that a 20th-century textile company might have shut down a mill or moved it rather than face an organized work force. But the value of Amazon’s shipping business rests on its ability to deliver packages as quickly as possible, which means that the products must be as physically close to customers as is feasible. The very thing that makes Amazon what it is — its ubiquitous presence across the American landscape — also makes it vulnerable to those workers who are able to organize themselves.

The final point I’ll make relates back to that attempt to divide the warehouse workers along racial lines. [*In an interview*](https://jacobinmag.com/2022/04/amazon-labor-union-alu-staten-island-organizing) with the left-wing magazine Jacobin, one organizer — Angelika Maldonado, the chairman of the Amazon Labor Union’s Workers Committee — explained how the union campaign used the racial and ethnic diversity of the work force to attract supporters and build class solidarity. To reach Spanish-speaking workers, for example, the campaign used Spanish-speaking organizers; to reach African immigrant workers, it brought in food from a local African caterer. “That really attracted a whole bunch of African workers toward us, and we gained a couple of new organizers off that,” Maldonado told Jacobin. Far from a liability that Amazon could use against the union campaign, the diversity of the Staten Island warehouse proved to be a strength.

The story of the Amazon Labor Union is far from over. [*In a statement*](https://www.aboutamazon.com/news/policy-news-views/statement-from-amazon-on-staten-island-union-vote), Amazon said it was considering “filing objections based on the inappropriate influence and undue influence by” the National Labor Relations Board, an accusation that the board had put its finger on the scale in favor of the workers. Amazon could also refuse to negotiate with the union, turning this labor battle into a legal one. If the company does choose to negotiate, we can assume it will fight to give as few concessions to the union as possible, since a successful negotiation for workers would then become, like the organizing effort itself, an example for other workers at other warehouses to follow and pursue.

But even with these fights on the horizon, the Staten Island warehouse workers have done something remarkable. They have seized the opportunity presented by the state of the economy and the nature of Amazon’s business to show, in dramatic fashion, how ordinary workers can overcome the best efforts of one of America’s largest companies to keep democracy out of the workplace.

And while it is impossible to know at this stage whether the initial success of the Amazon Labor Union is the dawning of a new day for the labor movement, it is certainly true that it represents a real glimmer of hope for the American ***working class*** and the unions that still hope to organize it.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: The Amazon Labor Union organizing committee celebrating its victory.  (PHOTOGRAPH BY DeSean McClinton-Holland for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 7, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Detroit Success, by Way of Burundi***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6821-3YF1-JBG3-631V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 19, 2023 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Dining In, Dining Out / Style Desk; Pg. 8; MAKING IT WORK

**Length:** 1517 words

**Byline:** By Amy Haimerl

**Body**

Hamissi Mamba, a refugee from Burundi, knew little of American culture when he arrived eight years ago and learned English watching the ''Peppa Pig'' cartoon. But he opened his dream restaurant, and the accolades have rolled in.

''Making It Work'' is a series is about small-business owners striving to endure hard times.

When Hamissi Mamba arrived in Detroit from the landlocked African nation of Burundi in 2015, it was snowing. His wife, Nadia Nijimbere, was waiting for him at the airport with their 2-year-old twin daughters. He had never met his children before.

Two years earlier, his wife, a human-rights activist, had fled to the United States seeking political asylum. Unable to get a visa at the time, Mr. Mamba had to stay behind. Neither of them knew Ms. Nijimbere was pregnant.

The family was now reunited, but the journey was just beginning. The couple had to learn the culture and the food, and raise two children. Mr. Mamba, who speaks French, Swahili and Kirundi, taught himself English by watching the TV cartoon ''Peppa Pig.''

He also had a big dream: to bring the food of their home country to Detroit. He competed in a local entrepreneurship program in 2017, and the couple won the $50,000 prize to help them get their restaurant started. They finally opened the doors to their airy restaurant, Baobab Fare, in early 2021 -- in the throes of the pandemic.

The accolades have rolled in. In February, the couple were named for the second time as semifinalists for best chef in the James Beard awards, and in March, Mr. Mamba won an episode of ''Chopped,'' a cooking competition on the Food Network, and with it, $10,000. Now they are donating that prize money to Freedom House Detroit, the nonprofit that helped Ms. Nijimbere, and other asylum seekers like her, escape persecution.

''Mamba is what you want the rest of humanity to be like,'' said Elizabeth Orozco-Vasquez, the chief executive of Freedom House Detroit.

Growing up in Burundi in East Africa, Mr. Mamba, 42, learned to cook traditional regional flavors from his mother, who owned a restaurant. She taught him to cook with his senses, not just by recipes, which gave him an advantage on ''Chopped'' when he was confronted with proteins unfamiliar to him, like ostrich and scallops. But, he said the culinary skills that landed him on the show don't compare to his wife's talent.

''The best cook is not even me, it's Nadia,'' he said.

Ms. Nijimbere, 41, is not one for the limelight, though, and didn't want to go on national television. Mr. Mamba nearly turned down the ''Chopped'' producers, but decided to compete himself because he felt it was important to share their food and the story of how two refugees became small-business owners.

''The American dream is still there, and people don't believe in it anymore,'' Mr. Mamba said.

But the path toward that dream wasn't always smooth, even when they believed.

It was awkward at first, he said, to fit himself into his family, who had already learned to adjust to a new life that he was just starting. He spent long, lonely days staring out the window of their nondescript apartment in Lincoln Park, a ***working-class*** enclave just outside Detroit, while Ms. Nijimbere was at work as a hotel housekeeper and a caregiver, and the girls were at day care. Mr. Mamba was used to the bustling streets of Burundi, filled with bright colors and people, but in the bleak Detroit winter he found the streets desolate and imposing.

''Everything in this country is big,'' he said. ''Cars are big, roads are big, houses are big. Food are huge. Everything for me, from Burundi, was big, big, big. That was my first impression of this country.''

His only outlets to lessen his isolation were visiting Freedom House Detroit to talk with other refugees and watching animated TV shows, especially ''Peppa Pig,'' with his daughters as a way to improve his English. He loved that Peppa Pig's younger brother, George, was limited in his speech, which made him feel better. ''You start learning from there, like the toddler, like the kid,'' he said.

It was in those early quiet months that the idea of bringing the flavors of his mother's kitchen to Detroit started to form. Mr. Mamba, who had earned a college marketing degree in Burundi, began taking business classes through Freedom House and testing the city's appetite for their food. He persuaded local chefs to lend him their restaurants for an evening so he could host pop-up dinners featuring his menus.

His signature dish, the one that most evokes Burundian food, is nyumbani, a cut of beef simmered in tomato sauce and served with fried plantains and peanut-stewed spinach. When Mr. Mamba heard about an annual competition hosted by the nonprofit Hatch Detroit for small businesses to win start-up money, he knew it was his shot.

At first Ms. Nijimbere was hesitant to help him, because she thought they had no chance of winning.

''I'm crazy risk taker,'' Mr. Mamba said. ''I can jump from nothing, but she's more like, 'Whoa, wait, let's see.' I have to convince her.''

She finally agreed to help by cooking a batch of pilau, a rice dish with spiced beef and vegetables, and a chicken stew with onions and plantains for Mr. Mamba to submit to the Hatch judges, along with a business plan that he developed in his classes at Freedom House. The food wowed the judges, as it later did on ''Chopped.''

''It was just incredible; like nothing I'd ever tasted before,'' said Vittoria Katanski, who then was the executive director of Hatch Detroit. ''Their personality and passion just came out in the food.''

Winning the contest, and the $50,000 prize, in 2017 -- beating out nearly 160 other competitors -- changed everything. It was the couple's big moment that changed the trajectory of their business dreams.

''That was, for us, a sign that Detroit is home,'' Mr. Mamba said. ''These people, they never see this food before. The whole concept is new for them. But they choose us. That is powerful.''

Starting a small business is rarely easy, though, and landlords weren't convinced that it was a smart risk to lease restaurant space to two refugees with few resources and no credit score. The couple didn't give up hope, however, and the Hatch organization helped connect them with professionals who could offer legal and architectural services, and access to additional funding.

''Everything that has happened, I would call it a miracle,'' Mr. Mamba said. ''People have made this for us.''

One of those miracle workers was Sue Mosey. Her nonprofit economic development organization, Midtown Inc., agreed to lease Mr. Mamba and Ms. Nijimbere a prime spot in an emerging culinary district, just north of downtown Detroit, at a price they could afford.

Ms. Mosey said Midtown Inc. could offer below-market rates to the couple because the nonprofit had purchased a number of empty buildings in the area with the hope of filling them with tenants reflecting a variety of cultures and ethnicities.

The couple set May 2020 for the opening of Baobab Fare, named after a broad-trunked tree common to Burundi that is also known as the ''tree of life.''

But before they could open, Covid-19 restrictions shut down construction.

Mr. Mamba had no income, but the bills were still coming. When Ms. Mosey called to check in, he started crying in his car, afraid she was going to evict them from their restaurant space.

Instead, she offered help. Midtown Inc. had received funds to provide free rent for a year to the small businesses in the nonprofit's buildings, including Baobab Fare. ''There are some very generous people in Detroit that stepped up to help our local independent businesses,'' Ms. Mosey said.

In February 2021, Baobab Fare finally welcomed its first customers into the restaurant, a bright space with a gray-and-yellow décor. Mr. Mamba wasn't sure anyone would come. After all, mask mandates were still in place in Michigan, coronavirus case counts were high, and the Delta variant was just beginning to sweep the country.

But another miracle happened: The place was packed. By November 2021, the popular food website Eater named Baobab Fare one of the 11 best new restaurants in the country. In February 2022, they earned their first semifinalist nomination from the James Beard Foundation for best chef in the Great Lakes region.

Now the couple is trying to manage their growth. They see Baobab Fare as more than a business, but as a place for the entire community. They have 38 employees, mostly fellow refugees they've met through Freedom House Detroit. They are working on a second location and have expanded into wholesale packaged foods, such as hot sauce and a passion-fruit juice that was so in demand during the pandemic that they were selling 300 bottles a week. And they just introduced a food truck specializing in East African street foods that will make the rounds of festivals and other community events.

''We are working hard not only for us but for others,'' Mr. Mamba said. ''I feel like I'm not the owner now. Now this is for our staff. For our clients. For our community.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/15/dining/baobab-fare-restaurant-detroit.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/15/dining/baobab-fare-restaurant-detroit.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, from left: Baobab Fare, whose interior design includes details that celebrate Burundi architecture

Nadia Nijimbere and her husband, Hamissi Mamba, owners of the Detroit restaurant. They see Baobab Fare, which employs mostly refugees, as a place for the entire community. Above, coffee beans imported from Burundi are among the items the restaurant sells. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALI LAPETINA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page D8.

**Load-Date:** April 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘Extrapolations’ and the Peril of Climate Cringe; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67WK-6D71-JBG3-6016-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 29, 2023 Wednesday 17:14 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1393 words

**Byline:** James Poniewozik

**Highlight:** A well-meaning Apple TV+ series is the latest story to struggle with making an environmental wake-up call into good drama.

**Body**

A well-meaning Apple TV+ series is the latest story to struggle with making an environmental wake-up call into good drama.

Forty years ago this November, ABC blew up Kansas City. “The Day After,” the made-for-TV movie dramatizing a nuclear war and its aftermath in the heartland, drew [*100 million viewers*](https://www.nytimes.com/1984/02/28/arts/tv-films-will-use-more-social-issues.html) and started a national conversation.

It’s not as if, decades into the Cold War, Americans had lacked material for that conversation. They had the news; they knew about Hiroshima. But there was a difference between knowing something and seeing it, even in TV-movie form.

Times change, as do existential dangers. Climate change is also a threat to the planet that demands action, but it poses different challenges for a screen drama.

One advantage “The Day After” had was right there in its title: Nuclear destruction is fast. Global warming doesn’t do its damage in a single, telegenic explosion. Speed up the decades-long process of climate change and you get “The Day After Tomorrow,” the 2004 film that unleashed a risible quickie apocalypse onto the screen. So how do you do justice to a slow-burn geocatastrophe while getting a general audience to pay attention?

Maybe with Meryl Streep playing a whale? Would that do the job?

That at least is the offer of [*“Extrapolations,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/15/arts/television/extrapolations-scott-z-burns.html) an eight-part series currently in the middle of its run on Apple TV+. It isn’t the first program to dramatize environmental issues. (Hands up if you remember [*“Ark II,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_lj8z28Mshw) the 1970s kids’ series about a band of scientists, and a chimp, who explored a polluted Earth in a space-age mobile home.) But it’s likely the most ambitious and star-studded.

Judged by its intentions, “Extrapolations” is unimpeachably worthy. Judged by actually watching it, it is at best an adventurous attempt to encircle an immense subject from many angles. At worst, it’s the biggest work of well-meaning celebrity cringe since [*Gal Gadot’s “Imagine” video*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/20/arts/music/coronavirus-gal-gadot-imagine.html).

If there is someone you would nominate to pull this off, it would be the screenwriter [*Scott Z. Burns*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/15/arts/television/extrapolations-scott-z-burns.html), whose 2011 film [*“Contagion”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/09/movies/contagion-steven-soderberghs-plague-paranoia-review.html) was the “Day After” of pandemics — chilling, focused and grounded in science without being buried in it.

As the creator of “Extrapolations,” which covers the years 2037 to 2070, he takes a semi-anthology approach, telling self-contained stories in each episode while working a few characters into a longer arc.

The early episodes take place in a world recognizably like ours, with higher temps and bigger hurricanes. By the back half, we’re in a “Black Mirror” dystopia in which the ***working class*** eat kelp and lease out memory space in their brains while the rich guzzle wine and foie gras and upload their consciousnesses to be housed in new bodies in a more temperate future.

There’s a lot to cover, geographically, temporally and scientifically. “Extrapolations” puts the data first — literally, each title sequence gives the global temperature increase by the episode’s date as well as statistics about population displacement or the dollar cost of the climate crisis. But it fails in the character stories, which crumble under the weight of each installment’s syllabus.

In its scope, “Extrapolations” has a lot in common with Kim Stanley Robinson’s 2020 sci-fi novel [*“The Ministry for the Future,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/11/books/kim-stanley-robinson-sci-fi.html) down to its depiction of deadly heat waves in India and its speculation about cooling the planet by [*geoengineering*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/11/opinion/geoengineering-climate-change-solar.html) the atmosphere. (“Extrapolations” is more skeptical of that solution, with a seeming moral aversion to the idea of humanity trying to have its carbon cake and eat it too.)

Somehow, “Ministry” — which depicts a grim but ultimately hopeful speculative future — manages to be as analytic as a Thomas Piketty tome and as moving as a love story. It’s humane but systems-focused, attentive to the importance of politics and especially markets in both ruining the climate and repairing it.

“Extrapolations” prefers to tell the stories of individuals. In 2046, a marine biologist (Sienna Miller) converses with the world’s last humpback whale, through software that translates cetacean-speak into the voice of her mother (Streep). In 2059, a scientist (Edward Norton) consults the American president (Cherry Jones) on the wisdom of creating the atmospheric equivalent of a volcanic eruption to slow warming. In 2068, a squabbling married couple (Forest Whitaker and Marion Cotillard) give a party for what might be their last New Year’s Eve together.

The lurches in tone — family melodrama to political thriller to dinner-table farce — make this feel less like a series than a short-story anthology by mismatched authors riffing on a theme. Sometimes it works; the more successful installments are the more weird and satirical ones, as when Daveed Diggs (“Hamilton”) plays a rabbi trying to save his congregation in perma-flooded Miami.

But in trying to ground its personal stories in hard science, “Extrapolations” turns its characters into didactic sandwich boards. “Twenty-five years ago, we thought crypto was going to be our savior,” a character declares. “Now it is killing us with the carbon footprint.” After news of an earthquake, a random subway passenger says, “Sea-level change. More water, more weight on the tectonic plates.” If everyday people spent this much time giving unnatural expository speeches about climate mechanics, we wouldn’t need an “Extrapolations.”

The show’s biggest flaw may be its choice to rely on Hollywood good guys and bad guys. Climate change is ultimately about populations and systems. Some people have more power and culpability, but in an honest telling, your antagonist is partly your audience.

“Extrapolations” does nod to the broad damage done by human appetites. But it builds its long game around a single tech megacorp, whose dastardly leader (Kit Harington) is a stiff Frankenstein of Jeff Bezos and Elon Musk. (At one point, he plots the Earth’s fate with a cabal of businessmen — the most cartoonish capitalist heavies since [*the V.I.P.s in “Squid Game”*](https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2021/oct/19/they-didnt-just-pick-us-up-off-the-street-meet-the-globally-derided-squid-game-vips) — in an actual back-room lair.)

The series does feel urgent, as if it’s dumping out the writer’s toolbox in search of the one implement that will cut through the noise. This kind of frustration was both spirit and subject of the regrettable parable [*“Don’t Look Up,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/23/movies/dont-look-up-review.html) in which astronomers’ warnings about an approaching comet were swallowed in the black hole of 24-hour media. But mistrusting your audience’s complacency is not a great way to launch an engrossing story, though it can be a fantastic way to reach the sub-audience that already agrees with you.

A different way to dramatize the climate emergency is to make it part of the dismal background noise of daily life, as in fact it is. One of the most effective examples I’ve seen is Russell T Davies’s 2019 series [*“Years and Years,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/23/arts/television/years-and-years-review-hbo.html) about a Manchester, England, family in a near future of xenophobia and rising fascism. Calamities unfold in the foreground — the financial system collapses, a family member dies in a border crossing — and in the background the rain, fed by the climate shift, falls and falls and falls for days, weeks, months, threatening the foundation of the family home, a quiet English apocalypse.

Other sci-fi series take climate emergency as a premise. In Syfy’s pulpy “The Ark,” a spacecraft carries human survivors to start again somewhere far away from the ruined Earth. Global warming is the seed — or rather the spore — of HBO’s [*“The Last of Us,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/12/arts/television/the-last-of-us-review.html) in which rising temperatures allow the Ophiocordyceps fungus to turn human hosts into zombies. That may not pass the bar as mycology or eco-science, but remember that the pantheon of anti-nuke cinema includes not just “The Day After” but also “[*Godzilla*](https://slate.com/technology/2014/06/godzilla-gojira-and-the-hydrogen-bomb-how-a-movie-monster-framed-the-environmental-movement.html).”

As for “Extrapolations,” it’s certainly laden with noble ideas, such as “ecocide,” which codifies destroying the environment as a crime akin to mass murder. But allowing your good intentions to smother your story is, at least, its own kind of misdemeanor.

PHOTOS: Sienna Miller in the first episode of “Extrapolations,” an eight-part science fiction series about climate change. (PHOTOGRAPH BY APPLE TV+) (C1); Top, Meryl Streep in the second episode of “Extrapolations.” Above left, Emma Thompson, center, in the 2019 series “Years and Years.” Above right, Jennifer Lawrence and Leonardo DiCaprio in “Don’t Look Up.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY APPLE TV+; ROBERT LUDOVIC/HBO; NIKO TAVERNISE/NETFLIX) (C6) This article appeared in print on page C1, C6.

**Load-Date:** March 31, 2023

**End of Document**



[***What Do We Want From Our Next New York?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65KB-TX61-DXY4-X11H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 1, 2022 Wednesday 13:32 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 2214 words

**Byline:** Ismail Muhammad

**Highlight:** Decade after decade, waves of migration have remade New York. What kind of city will the latest one create?

**Body**

To hear more audio stories from publications like The New York Times, [*download Audm for iPhone or Android*](https://www.audm.com/?utm_source=nytmag&amp;utm_medium=embed&amp;utm_campaign=hello_all_that_muhammad).

The first time I moved to New York, I was an undergraduate, and I tried to make Harlem my home. I had a lot to learn. As a Californian, I thought Chucks were year-round shoes; I wore them even in the snow, letting my toes get stiff on late-night walks from the library or the 116th Street station back to my dorm. By my sophomore year, though, I knew the most important things: where on Malcolm X I could find the shea butter I needed to keep my skin from turning ashy in the winter, the barbershop where I could get a decent fade and the grocery store where I could buy Red Rooster hot sauce.

An earnest literature nerd, I was studying at Columbia because I wanted to be a writer, which meant being like the writers I read as a high school student — Larsen, Hughes, Hurston. And that meant being in Harlem. So I often found myself at [*Minton’s Playhouse on 118th*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/07/nyregion/businessman-trying-to-revive-mintons-playhouse-in-harlem.html), or hanging out at to St. Nicholas Park, or soaking up history by osmosis at the Studio Museum. I wanted to become part of [*Harlem’s long cultural legacy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/20/arts/design/harlem-virtual-tour.html), and the steady stream of arrivals who’d come to New York to transform themselves into who they were destined to be.

This past winter, as I faced the prospect of returning to New York after a decade in California’s Bay Area, I knew I wanted Harlem to be my home again. If I was hoping for a return to the charming literary fantasy that sustained me as a college boy, though, I was out of luck. As I began my search for housing, a broker described the rental market as the worst he had witnessed in his long career. The pandemic — or at least, the city’s patience with fighting it — was coming to an end. My housing search pitched me headlong into a frenzied and undignified reality.

Competitors greeted me at every open house I went to. Like me, they had trawled StreetEasy and Trulia and Craigslist; like me, they had been tempted by digitally placed furniture and airbrushed interiors, fooled by wide-angle photos of spacious living rooms that turned out to feel like crypts. Some eager people arrived clutching application packets, while others bid up the rent. One Saturday afternoon in March, I walked to see a fifth-floor walk-up, which a broker described as a “sizable one bedroom.” It left me deflated: The wood floors subtly sloped toward the apartment’s center, and the bedroom could snugly fit a full-size bed, maybe a small dresser, but nothing else. The bathroom was a closet; I could barely stand in the sole actual closet. When I asked if the dingy walls would be repainted before the unit was rented, the broker, a gangly zoomer in a fur coat, blinked at me. “No, that’s not something the landlord will do,” he said, before pointing out a neighborhood bar that, he promised, served bottomless mimosas at brunch.

Eventually I found a place, just steps away from Harlem’s heart at 125th Street. When I look down from my living room onto the street below, the neighborhood’s new, motley character comes into view: people alternately sprawling and contracting as neighbors shuttle in and out of buildings; the quick steps of new-moneyed young professionals in contrast with the block’s otherwise-sleepy tempo. From this perch at the base of St. Nicholas Terrace, I can see how the neighborhood, and the city itself, have changed since I last lived in New York in 2011.

The changes are being driven, yet again, by arrivals, as an influx of new and returning residents jam themselves into the city. [*New Yorkers with means who fled during Covid are now returning*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/31/realestate/in-2021-new-yorks-housing-market-made-a-stunning-comeback.html) to the upscale neighborhoods they abandoned; at the same time, the pandemic-era [*rent concessions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/07/nyregion/nyc-rent-surge.html) and [*eviction protections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/14/nyregion/eviction-moratorium-is-ending.html) that advantaged many renters — especially in the [*poorest neighborhoods*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/16/nyregion/bronx-evictions-housing-coronavirus-pandemic.html), where most residents stayed put — have expired. Then there are the newcomers like me, moving to the city in droves for work, repopulating the offices that are struggling to creep back to life.

To make matters worse, over the last decade, the city has failed to construct new affordable housing commensurate with its growing population; the pandemic only exacerbated this gap. Throughout its [*modern history*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/06/books/review/city-of-dreams-history-of-immigrant-new-york-tyler-anbinder.html), Manhattan has been defined by masses of refugees, laborers, dreamers, millionaires, paupers, writers, actors, musicians and all the rest arriving and charging onto, up the length of and eventually off the island. It’s dawning on me that I’m now part of yet another kind of New York history: a wave of migration that would decide the city’s future. New York is poised to revive itself after the suffering of 2020, but as with the pandemic itself, some will be able to weather recovery’s onset better than others. As new migrations begin to change the city’s population and culture, New Yorkers will be answering the same questions they’ve asked themselves for decades, or even centuries: What do we want this city to be, and whom do we want here?

Arriving in New York might prompt dreams of literary stardom, indulgent luxury or maybe just a good bottomless-mimosa brunch. But in reality, arrival here has always been bound up with questions of power. Who gets to be where, when — and why? The answers are decided ad hoc, by what the writer Lucy Sante has called Manhattan’s “great machinery of movement.” And the ever-growing need for housing, above all, has served as that machine’s engine. Upwardly mobile residents pushed their way north as newer immigrants and the poor settled in the abandoned neighborhoods. All parties acted on the faith that there would always be more space to settle, exploit and eventually abandon to newcomers.

For example, as Irish immigrants fleeing religious conflict and poverty in the early 19th century flowed into Manhattan — between the early 1820s and 1830s the United States experienced a sixfold increase in Irish immigrants, with many of them settling in New York — real estate barons like John Jacob Astor saw an opportunity. Houses could be subdivided into overcrowded tenement buildings, their floors turned into apartments for multiple families rather than a single renter. Areas like Five Points were multiracial ghettos where, at various points in history, Irish, German, Chinese and African American migrants lived. By 1920, more than two million people living in New York were immigrants, many of them of eastern and southern European origin. In the later decades of the 19th century, overcrowding in Lower Manhattan and Midtown prompted the development of neighborhoods like Harlem, where real estate developers and reformers helped construct cheap apartment buildings for European immigrants.

The history of arrival is not just a story of development and coexistence, though; it is also a story of violent competition for control. Persistent race riots plagued Lower Manhattan, with Blacks often becoming targets of the white ***working class*** and losing in the contest for living space. Riots in 1834, 1863 and 1900 encouraged Black migration farther north. As David Levering Lewis writes in “When Harlem Was in Vogue,” by 1910, with the onset of World War I, hundreds of thousands of Blacks poured out of the South and into Northern cities, in search of higher wages. Soon, an overwhelming majority of Black New Yorkers had been born outside the city.

Harlem was already prepared to welcome the influx. Black New Yorkers had been pushing north out of Midtown since the 1890s, and by 1910 large African American churches purchased or built new buildings for their congregations. The congregants followed: In 1911, St. Philip’s Episcopal Church purchased a block of apartment buildings on 135th Street. The cabarets and jazz clubs in Midtown that helped pioneer America’s obsession with Black music weren’t far behind. Buoyed by economic gains made during World War I, some Black New Yorkers found the security that had eluded them downtown. In a surreal 1925 short story by Rudolph Fisher, “[*City of Refuge*](http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai3/migrations/text4/cityofrefuge.pdf),” the story’s protagonist, a Southern migrant fresh off the subway, experiences Harlem as a utopia where his rights are truly inalienable, everyone has money and a Black traffic cop can lord his authority over a white driver. The story is a delirious representation of the relative freedom Southern migrants encountered in Harlem. What was previously an enclave for European immigrants had transformed into a Black mecca by the 1920s.

Harlem’s reputation as a neighborhood with strong cultural and social infrastructure put it at Black culture’s vanguard. Figures like the [*scholar W.E.B. Du Bois*](https://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/15/books/challenge-white-supremacy-100-years-later-scholars-revisit-w-e-b-dubois-who.html), the sociologist Charles S. Johnson and the [*philosopher Alain Locke*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/22/books/review/the-new-negro-alain-locke-biography-jeffrey-c-stewart.html) envisioned culture as the ideal way to assault anti-Black racism. Harlem was their staging ground. These members of the Black intellectual elite, with the support of wealthy patrons both white and Black, engineered the Harlem Renaissance. Johnson recruited talented artists, luring writers and artists like the Kansas City-based painter Aaron Douglas and Zora Neale Hurston, at the time a Howard University student, to New York with promises of a budding scene and recognition for their work. Publications like Du Bois’s magazine, The Crisis, highlighted voices from the movement, while Locke’s 1925 anthology, “The New Negro,” tried to codify it. Voices from farther afield, like Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey and the poet Claude McKay, both from Jamaica, drifted in and out of the Renaissance, but found their perspectives amplified on Harlem’s streets and in its publications. The foundation for a century of Black culture was laid in New York.

Like many of New York’s cultural explosions, the Harlem Renaissance depended on the availability of living space not only for the artists who drove the movement but also for the masses whose culture allowed for high art to flourish at all. In most cases, the fact that New York’s wealthy elite abandoned entire neighborhoods left the poor and low-caste to create new cultural forms that invigorated the city.

In her book “The Warhol Economy,” the writer Elizabeth Currid-​Halkett looked to the downtown New York boom of the 1970s and found the same logic at work: Capital’s abandonment of New York and shredding of the social contract made the city a dangerous place to live, but it also created the conditions — cheap rent and plenty of space, primarily — that gave us punk music, hip-hop, street art and other pillars of contemporary American culture. Generations earlier, the crowded and dangerous conditions of the Bowery gave rise to figures like the composer [*Irving Berlin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/19/books/review/irving-berlin-james-kaplan.html), who, before he was a Broadway luminary, got his start singing weepy ballads to crooks in seedy dives. In the mid-1970s, the blight of New York’s downtown scene — the delirious cross-pollination of daring music, visual art and fashion — birthed musicians like [*Patti Smith*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/04/fashion/patti-smith-survivor.html) and artists like Keith Haring. Around the same time, hip-hop culture was taking root in the ruins of the South Bronx. The Haitian-Puerto Rican American artist [*Jean-Michel Basquiat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/27/arts/design/basquiat-nahmad-gallery-king-pleasure.html) bridged the gap between uptown and downtown, concocting a splintered style that spoke to the decade’s social disintegration.

Today’s housing market provides a different challenge from the recession of the 1970s, though. Twentieth-century Manhattan was a city in which arrivals could reliably find a place for themselves, no matter how abject or ignored that place was. Twenty-first-century Manhattan presents an altogether different set of problems: How can new arrivals make a home here if there is no affordable space for them? And how can they transplant themselves without exiling the ***working-class*** natives whose culture and labor the city cannot survive without?

Returning to Harlem means arriving again, finding myself looking at the area through its history rather than through a fantasy. When I was a freshman at Columbia, students railed against construction of the university’s Manhattanville campus in West Harlem; the plan was reminiscent of the conflict in 1968 over Columbia’s ill-fated attempt to build a segregated gym in Morningside Park, which Harlemites felt would result in their exclusion from crucial neighborhood public space. When I was in school, students conducted a hunger strike against the plans, but the first phase of the Manhattanville project was completed earlier this year. A Whole Foods opened on 125th Street back in 2017, as if in anticipation of the changes Columbia’s project would bring: The presence of highly educated, upwardly mobile people who would begin to colonize uptown rather than compete in Brooklyn’s overheated market or suffer the absurdities downtown, and, in the process, taking apartments that, until recently, might have served a more ***working-class*** group of renters. My return to Harlem speaks to the paradox at the heart of contemporary New York: The city’s warm embrace of the creative economy’s stewards makes it what it is. Increasingly, that embrace leaves too many other residents out in the cold.

Ismail Muhammad is a story editor for the magazine.

PHOTOS: Immigrants arriving at Ellis Island, circa 1905.; Back lots of New York tenements, circa 1935. (MM14-MM15); Grand Central Terminal’s main concourse, 1930s or ’40s. (MM15); Schoolboys, Harlem, 1930s. (MM16); Nightclub, Harlem, 1930s. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ASHLEY GILBERSTON) (MM16-MM17)

**Load-Date:** October 7, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Dirty Little Secret of Credit Card Rewards Programs; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67P7-MR81-DXY4-X4VW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 4, 2023 Saturday 20:32 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1310 words

**Byline:** Chenzi Xu and Jeffrey Reppucci

**Highlight:** When you book a free hotel room using credit card rewards, poor consumers are ultimately footing the bill.

**Body**

There’s an undeniable feeling of excitement when you turn your daily credit card swipes at Starbucks into [*first-class airfare*](https://upgradedpoints.com/travel/fly-business-or-first-class-using-points/) or a weekend jaunt to [*Costa Rica*](https://upgradedpoints.com/travel/best-ways-to-fly-to-costa-rica-with-points/). Thanks to mobile banking and the ease of autopay, you can scrupulously avoid any additional costs by paying your monthly bill in full. Free flights and exclusive discounts abound.

Something for nothing, right?

Not exactly nothing. Credit card perks for educated, usually urban professionals are being subsidized by people who have less. In other words, when you book a hotel room or enjoy entry to an airport lounge at no cost, poor consumers are ultimately footing the bill.

Demand for rewards is only going up. In 2016, Chase launched its Sapphire Reserve card. The card comes with perks, bonuses and points multipliers that for big-spending travelers and diners are worth far more than its steep $550 annual fee. There was so much initial demand that Chase ran out of the metal slabs it prints the cards on. Sapphire’s enormous success set off a credit card perks war, with numerous banks flooding the market with sign-on bonuses worth thousands of dollars.

In 2022, the Federal Reserve published data showing that the cost of rewards, as a share of total transaction volume on credit cards, increased 25 percent from 2015 through 2021. This bonanza has helped affluent professionals flood Instagram with envy-inducing shots of white sand beaches, hotel suites and plush airport lounges.

But these high-income travelers are also less likely to carry balances that incur interest charges and late fees, which traditionally increase profits for card issuers. So, to offset the cost of paying lavish rewards to these consumers, banks have sought to maximize other usage-based revenues.

Enter interchange fees, or the money it costs merchants to accept noncash payments. A recent study at [*Stanford*](https://luluywang.github.io/PaperRepository/payment_jmp.pdf) found that when credit card rewards increase, so do these fees.

The United States now has some of the highest credit card processing costs in the world, typically at 2 percent to 2.25 percent of every purchase. This is eight to nine times as much as the prevailing swipe fee in the European Union. The vast majority of merchants [*pass*](https://www.kansascityfed.org/Research%20Working%20Papers/documents/7595/rwp20-18.pdf) these costs on to consumers by charging more for their products — regardless of how one pays.

The result? Lower-income consumers are forced to pay higher prices on the goods they buy, but they rarely receive any benefit from rewards programs, according to the Federal Reserve, which has been tracking the distributional effects of card rewards. Its December 2022 [*report*](https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/feds/files/2023007pap.pdf) estimates an annual redistribution of $15 billion in rewards value from poorer people to richer people, from low-education people to highly educated people and from diverse communities to less diverse communities.

Put another way, credit card rewards are essentially a tax on less affluent consumers, who are much more likely to pay for their goods with cash, debit cards or standard credit products that accrue no such rewards.

According to the [*San Francisco Fed*](https://www.frbsf.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2022-Findings-from-the-Diary-of-Consumer-Payment-Choice-FINAL.pdf), Americans with annual incomes at the national median (a bit less than [*$70,000*](https://sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/R44705.pdf)) use credit cards for 23 percent of purchases. The numbers drop off precipitously as income decreases. Roughly half of all households use cash or debit cards for most purchases. Households with annual incomes over $150,000 use a credit card the most frequently, or 44 percent of the time.

The poor are much less likely to have access to rewards credit cards, even if they want them. Why? Cards with the highest value rewards are often available only to the rich. First, you’ll need a credit score of at least 700 to qualify for a premium card. That eliminates half the country. And only 21 percent of Black households have FICO scores above 700. Second, issuers consider your income and debt-to-income ratio, which can be used to disqualify card applicants with high credit scores. Banks just don’t want to issue rewards-heavy cards and pay lucrative sign-on bonuses to consumers who have low credit limits and spend much less overall.

Now consider the design of these rewards programs: five times as many points on hotels, three times as many points on dining, a $300 credit to SoulCycle, a $100 credit to Saks Fifth Avenue. This generation of prestige points cards often rewards discretionary, even luxury purchases, further transferring dollars to the highest income card holders. Cash-back cards available to households with lower credit scores and incomes offer more modest rewards than their prestige alternatives do.

Visa and Mastercard operate the two largest card networks, accounting for [*77 percent*](https://news.northeastern.edu/2022/08/04/credit-card-reward/) of about 650 million general purpose credit cards in the United States. They act as agents for thousands of banks and dictate the terms and fees that merchants must pay.

And business is booming. In 2021 these two companies generated [*$77 billion*](https://news.northeastern.edu/2022/08/04/credit-card-reward/) in credit card interchange fees, which they share with issuing banks.

The aggregate costs of credit card points, driven by Visa and Mastercard’s longstanding interchange duopoly, spurred Senators Richard Durbin, Democrat of Illinois, and Roger Marshall, Republican of Kansas, to introduce the [*Credit Card Competition Act*](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/senate-bill/4674?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22credit+card%22%2C%22credit%22%2C%22card%22%5D%7D&amp;r=1&amp;s=1) last July. The House soon followed with its own bipartisan bill. Yet multiple attempts to attach the legislation to military and omnibus funding bills by year’s end failed.

The act would have forced Visa and Mastercard to compete head-to-head with other processors, reducing their overwhelming market power to set rates. Lower interchange fees can mean lower prices for consumers. (Despite expected opposition from the now-Republican-controlled House, Mr. Durbin plans to reintroduce the bill this year, his office said.)

The American Bankers Association [*argues*](https://www.aba.com/-/media/documents/letters-to-congress-and-regulators/09272022-joint-fs-trades-letter-to-house-leadership.pdf?rev=e488cad5922e4dbeb9767514ed216016) that such legislation would result in net harm. It points to reductions in credit card rewards programs and hints at the creation of new fees by banks to make up the lost revenues.

The first part is certainly true; however, it’s hard to muster a defense for preserving rewards at Saks Fifth Avenue in the name of consumer welfare. The latter may also be true — and sounds like something the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau should look into.

Opponents of the bill also correctly point out that network security could suffer in the short run: Introducing smaller players and novel technologies would create vulnerabilities that hackers might exploit. Visa and Mastercard do use their systemwide scale in the name of effective fraud protection. However, the economics of competition suggest that all companies, especially Visa and Mastercard, would be heavily incentivized to innovate on network security to preserve market share against new entrants.

A problem for any reform that helps ***working-class*** families will be that consumers who enjoy great privileges from premium credit cards would end up worse off. But they would be returning economic value to working Americans, whose production and consumption sustains the economy in the first place.

And prestige card holders surely will manage. They may have hoped to use points toward an [*overwater villa in the Maldives*](https://onemileatatime.com/jw-marriott-maldives/). If Congress acts, they can settle for a free hotel room in Hawaii.

Chenzi Xu is a finance professor at the Stanford Graduate School of Business. Jeffrey Reppucci is a candidate for a Master of Business Administration and Master of Public Policy at Stanford.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

Ms. Xu is a finance professor at the Stanford Graduate School o Business. Mr. Reppucci is a candidate for masters of business administration and public policy at Stanford.

This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** May 31, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Shooting of Teen Who Rang Doorbell at Wrong House Unsettles Kansas City***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:681W-WKV1-DXY4-X1XK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 18, 2023 Tuesday 09:08 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1485 words

**Byline:** Mitch Smith and Julie Bosman

**Highlight:** Residents and friends of the victim were searching for answers as the 84-year-old homeowner surrendered to the authorities on two felony charges.

**Body**

Residents and friends of the victim were searching for answers as the 84-year-old homeowner surrendered to the authorities on two felony charges.

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — On Tuesday morning, hundreds of Staley High School students filled the street outside their school in a display of anger and support for their fellow student, Ralph Yarl, who was shot by a homeowner after he rang a doorbell at the wrong house in Kansas City last week. One sign read, “We Walk for Ralph.” Another demanded, “Justice 4 Ralph Yarl.”

By day’s end, they found some measure of relief, as Andrew D. Lester, the 84-year-old man accused of shooting Ralph, [*surrendered to the authorities*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/18/us/ralph-yarl-shooting-kansas-city.html) after being charged with assault in the first degree and armed criminal action.

But many residents of Kansas City remained deeply troubled by the events that had shaken their city for the last several days. Some asked why Mr. Lester was released from police custody last week rather than being charged immediately. Others said that federal hate crime charges should be brought, in a case that the county prosecutor said had a racial component, as an older, white homeowner was accused of shooting an unarmed Black teenager. A few wondered if a jury would sympathize with Mr. Lester, who told the police that he was “scared to death” of being physically harmed before shooting Ralph.

In a country on edge over crime, the shooting was the latest example of an ordinary interaction — the ringing of a doorbell on a front step in a quiet neighborhood in Missouri — instantly turning into another shocking incident of American gun violence.

“I am, I think, sufficiently frightened over how easily we are willing to shoot each other,” said Representative Emanuel Cleaver, a Democrat who previously served as the first Black mayor of Kansas City.

At a gathering in downtown Kansas City on Tuesday afternoon, Karen Allman, who lives down the street from Mr. Lester, said that she found some satisfaction that he had turned himself in, but that she was still upset over what had happened — and that Mr. Lester had not been charged for several days after the shooting on Thursday night.

“I have no doubt that if it was a Black homeowner who shot a white kid on his porch, he would have stayed in jail until somebody pressed charges,” she said.

Jail records showed that Mr. Lester was released on bond from Clay County jail shortly after surrendering to the authorities on Tuesday. No lawyer was listed as representing him in court records, and it was not clear when he might appear in front of a judge.

Ralph, who had been sent to pick up his younger siblings when the shooting occurred, was recovering at home after being hospitalized with two gunshot wounds to his head and arm. In a CBS News interview on Tuesday, Cleo Nagbe, Ralph’s mother, said her son was doing “considerably well” after being shot above his left eye and in his upper right arm. Lee Merritt, a lawyer for the family, said Ralph was sitting up and playing with his dog on Tuesday. He said the teenager also spoke by phone with Vice President Kamala Harris.

Paul Yarl, Ralph’s father, said this week that his son, an athlete who loves music and video games, had surgery over the weekend to remove the bullets and was able to walk out of the hospital on Sunday. He is expected to make a full recovery.

The authorities in Kansas City released new details of their investigation, and in the neighborhood in far northern Kansas City where the shooting took place, residents said they were still stunned by the shooting and its aftermath.

There was little disagreement over what had transpired on Thursday night. According to the criminal complaint, at roughly 9:50 p.m., one resident heard something unusual: a vehicle pulling into Mr. Lester’s driveway. It was odd, the resident later told the police, for Mr. Lester to have a visitor this late at night.

Ralph had made an error common in Kansas City, driving to a house on Northeast 115th Street instead of Northeast 115th Terrace, a block away. He pressed the doorbell and waited outside the front door for what felt like a long time, he told the police later. Mr. Lester, who had just gone to bed, got up and opened the inside door while holding a revolver, according to a probable cause statement from investigators.

Mr. Lester told a police officer after the shooting that he saw a Black male “pulling on the exterior storm door handle.” This was one of the few areas of disagreement: When interviewed by a detective, Ralph said that he only rang the doorbell and did not pull on the door.

Within moments, Mr. Lester began shooting through the glass of the exterior storm door, afraid that a break-in was in progress, he told the police.

Ralph was shot in the head and then the arm. “Don’t come around here,” he remembers Mr. Lester saying, according to a detective. He got up and ran away, trying to elude more gunshots, he told the police.

Zach Dovel, 20, was across the street watching a podcast, in the house where he lives with his mother.

The two were startled by a bang on the front door; fearful that someone was trying to break in, they called 911. The operator, Mr. Dovel said, told them that there was a gunman on the loose and that they should stay inside.

But they could see a teenager in the driveway and went outside. He was limping and bleeding, wounded from gunshots. Mr. Dovel ran back inside and grabbed towels, while his mother talked to Ralph, asking questions and trying to keep him alert until the ambulance arrived.

“The worst part was seeing him get down on his knees — it looked like he was praying,” Mr. Dovel said. “He thought he was going to die.”

One of Ralph’s family members said that he went to three different houses before a neighbor would help him. Mr. Dovel said the police and an ambulance arrived in what felt like minutes, and once there was a police presence outside, more neighbors emerged from their homes.

The shooting happened near the northern edge of Kansas City, a sprawling municipality that is larger in size than New York City though its population is far smaller.

Known locally as the Northland, this stretch of Kansas City north of the Missouri River has a reputation of being more conservative and white than the city as a whole. That perception intensified in 2021 when a [*dispute*](https://www.thepitchkc.com/why-the-northland-is-so-pissed-off-and-what-that-means-for-kansas-city-the-police-and-mayor-quinton-lucas/) over police funding contributed to talk of the Northland [*splitting from Kansas City*](https://www.kmbc.com/article/poll-suggests-support-for-the-northland-to-secede-from-kansas-city-missouri/37503342). The area where the shooting took place resembles a ***working-class*** suburb, with single-family homes that have generous yards and no sidewalks.

Residents who were home on Tuesday said they were unsettled by the shooting but rejected the notion that it reflected on their neighborhood, which was swarmed by television cameras.

“They’re judging all of us, but everybody here is nice and decent,” said Vickie Mahterian, a neighbor. “People come to my door all the time. I don’t shoot them in the head. We are good people here.”

Dan Fowler, a City Council member whose district includes the shooting scene, said there was a broad sense of relief in Kansas City that charges had been filed and that the suspect was in custody.

“It doesn’t bring closure, but it brings a sense of closure that at least the process is going and that there is accountability,” Mr. Fowler said.

Mr. Fowler said Kansas City’s pattern for naming roads, in which there might be a terrace, street or boulevard with similar names near one another, made it easy to understand how Ralph ended up on the wrong porch.

“It’s very easy to get that confused if you are not particularly familiar with the area,” Mr. Fowler said. “I was stunned that somebody would go on such an innocent, everyday thing of picking up your siblings, and then he gets shot.”

S. David Mitchell, a law professor at the University of Missouri, said that a defense lawyer could try to invoke the castle doctrine, a law in Missouri that allows people to use deadly force to defend themselves without having to retreat.

The front porch, Mr. Mitchell said, “becomes the gray area of what constitutes one’s castle,” a question that the jury could consider.

“It’s created this narrative that if you’re ever in trouble, you can’t stop and ask a homeowner for assistance in case you’re shot.”

Mitch Smith reported from Kansas City, Mo., and Julie Bosman from Chicago. Carey Gillam and Lauren Fox contributed reporting from Kansas City, Mo. Sheelagh McNeill contributed research.

Mitch Smith reported from Kansas City, Mo., and Julie Bosman from Chicago. Carey Gillam and Lauren Fox contributed reporting from Kansas City, Mo. Sheelagh McNeill contributed research.

PHOTOS: Ralph Yarl, 16, was shot by a homeowner Thursday after he mistakenly went to the wrong house to pick up his siblings. He was home recovering Tuesday, and his mother said he was doing “considerably well.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BEN CRUMP LAW, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS; CHARLIE RIEDEL/ASSOCIATED PRESS); Andrew D. Lester This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** April 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Read Your Way Through London***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66KR-0K41-JBG3-64YV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 12, 2022 Wednesday 20:57 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1810 words

**Byline:** Bernardine Evaristo

**Highlight:** Bernardine Evaristo, whose “Girl, Woman, Other” won the Booker Prize, invites readers into London, a city whose rich literary landscape is “for everyone, not just the privileged few.”

**Body**

Bernardine Evaristo, whose “Girl, Woman, Other” won the Booker Prize, invites readers into London, a city whose rich literary landscape is “for everyone, not just the privileged few.”

[*Read Your Way Around the World*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/literary-guides) is a series exploring the globe through books.

The literary landscape of London is as varied as the city itself. According to the 2011 census, 40 percent of residents identified as “Asian, Black, Mixed or Other.” While this is no multi-culti utopia, it is undeniably an intensely multicultural metropolis where more than 300 languages are spoken.

Born here, raised here, living here, I am proud of this heteroglot city that has been my muse ever since I [*started writing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/01/books/bernardine-evaristo-girl-woman-other-booker-prize.html), just as it has inspired the literary imagination of scribes for hundreds of years.

Every kind of literary activity is available here in abundance: festivals, public talks and debates, spoken word slams, workshops, cross art form collaborations. It is also the heartland of British publishing, the media and many of the national arts institutions and government-funded literary organizations that help writers progress to performance or publication, as well as projects to nurture new readers. Literary London is more than the books we read, the plays we watch or the poets who bestride its stages: It has a thriving infrastructure designed to widen participation and create a literary culture for everyone, not just the privileged few.

An eccentric city with a live-and-let-live vibe, London is a place where people can be free to be themselves, find the communities to which they belong and write whatever they want. There are, in a sense, many Londons for writers to explore. It is a city where rich and poor often live side by side: Even the most expensive districts, such as Mayfair and Westminster, will have affordable housing projects. There are also towns that were once villages, each with their own distinct identities and increasingly fluid demographics.

No single writer can define London because it can never be essentialized. It is a sprawling, complicated, very historical and heterogenous city, about which writers through the ages have offered their own versions. Here are some of my personal choices.

What should I read before I pack my bags?

“[*London: The Biography*](https://www.nytimes.com/2001/12/02/books/a-city-much-like-hell.html),” by Peter Ackroyd, might sound like a stolid, academic tome but it’s anything but. It’s an incredibly stylish and idiosyncratic account of the city from prehistory onward, told through section headings such as “Crime and Punishment” and “Cockney Visionaries” rather than a straightforward chronology.

Ignatius Sancho, the author of “[*Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho*](https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/sancho1/sancho1.html),” is believed to have been born on a slave ship en route to the West Indies in 1729. He was brought to London as a small child, remaining until his death in 1780. As an adult, he ran a grocery shop in Westminster, was an abolitionist and composer and moved in leading literary, political and artistic circles, which was exceptional for a Black man at that time. His letters were published posthumously.

My favorite Virginia Woolf book is the classic “[*Mrs. Dalloway,*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/97/06/08/reviews/woolf-dalloway.html)” a psychologically penetrating, modernist short novel set on a single day in central London, 1923 — the city [*vividly brought to life*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/14/books/review/virginia-woolf-mrs-dalloway.html) through two main characters of different classes.

And for a comic take on British class and snobbery, read “[*The Diary of a Nobody,*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/00/07/02/bookend/bookend.html?action=click&amp;amp;contentCollection=meter-links-click&amp;amp;contentId=&amp;amp;mediaId=&amp;amp;module=meter-Links&amp;amp;pgtype=article&amp;amp;priority=true&amp;amp;referrer=&amp;amp;version=meter+at+null)” published in 1892, by George and Weedon Grossmith. It’s quite a skill to make boring fictional characters interesting, but the Grossmith brothers do just this with Charles Pooter and his family, who reside in north London.

Finally, for insight into teenagers in London, read Hannah Lowe’s poetry collection “[*The Kids*](https://www.theguardian.com/books/2021/sep/03/the-best-recent-poetry-review-roundup),” inspired by the youngsters she taught in an inner city London school for 10 years.

What books can show me other facets of the city?

“[*The Five: The Untold Lives of the Women Killed by Jack the Ripper,*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/books/jack-the-rippers-identity-has-been-endlessly-scrutinized-his-victims-were-largely-forgotten/2019/04/05/cc77f4fa-57bb-11e9-814f-e2f46684196e_story.html)” by Hallie Rubenhold, offers just what it says on the cover. It’s quite shocking to read how egregiously these women have been misrepresented since their murders in the 19th century. Rubenhold untangles the myths of history-making and writes with great empathy about the hardships the women endured when alive and the rampant misogyny they faced when dead.

Roger Robinson, who is originally from Trinidad, has a poetry collection, “A Portable Paradise,” that [*should be read*](https://nationalpoetryday.co.uk/poem/a-portable-paradise/) for its emotional honesty and vulnerability, and for a sequence of poems about the [*Grenfell Tower fire*](https://www.nytimes.com/news-event/uk-grenfell-tower-fire), in which a public housing block in west London caught fire in 2017, killing 72 people and injuring hundreds more. It was an avoidable tragedy: The fire spread because of cladding that defied building regulations, due to government neglect. The building still stands, wrapped in protective scaffolding with green love hearts and the words “Forever in Our Hearts” at the top. Take Robinson’s book to the site and read his poems about it.

Set in south London, “[*Ordinary People*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/05/books/review/diana-evans-ordinary-people.html),” a soulful novel by Diana Evans, subtly explores the web of desires and disappointments around Black British relationships, family, work and parenting. Evans’s first novel, “[*26a*](https://www.nytimes.com/2005/09/25/books/review/26a-sister-sister.html),” centers on twins from an interracial British-Nigerian family living in northwest London.

“[*Queer City: Gay London from the Romans to the Present Day*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/21/books/review/queer-city-peter-ackroyd.html),” by Peter Ackroyd, again, is an important and entertaining corrective to the overwhelmingly heteronormative recording of British history. And in “[*Night Haunts: A Journey Through the London Night*](https://www.theguardian.com/books/2010/nov/13/night-london-sukhdev-sandhu-review),” by Sukhdev Sandhu, you’ll discover the urban dwellers who work in the dark, from the avian police to the cleaners to the Thames bargers and flushers.

What writer is everyone talking about?

Isabel Waidner, and deservedly so. A German-British Londoner, they published two novels before [*winning the Goldsmiths Prize*](https://www.theguardian.com/books/2021/nov/10/isabel-waidner-wins-goldsmiths-prize-for-mindbending-sterling-karat-gold#:~:text=Isabel%20Waidner%20wins%20Goldsmiths%20prize%20for%20&amp;#39;mindbending&amp;#39;%20Sterling%20Karat%20Gold,-This%20article%20is&amp;amp;text=Isabel%20Waidner%20has%20won%20the,to%20mind%2Dbending%20effect%E2%80%9D.) for experimental fiction in 2022 with “Sterling Karat Gold.” They write about the politics of state oppression, the politics of rebellion, the politics of the imagination. Their explosive sensibility and style are as far removed from mediocre prose and middle-class manners as you can imagine. This alone is reason to read them.

If I have no time for day trips, what books could take me there instead?

There aren’t enough writers from ***working-class*** backgrounds writing novels about people from ***working-class*** backgrounds, but two outstanding Scottish storytellers have made names for themselves in recent years doing just that: [*Douglas Stuart*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/23/books/douglas-stuart-shuggie-bain.html), whose novels, “[*Shuggie Bain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/books/review/shuggie-bain-douglas-stuart.html)” and “[*Young Mungo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/03/books/review-young-mungo-douglas-stuart.html),” feature young, gay, Glaswegian protagonists, and Kerry Hudson, novelist and memoirist, whose first novel, “[*Tony Hogan Bought Me an Ice-Cream Float Before He Stole My Ma*](https://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/jul/25/topny-hogan-by-kerry-hudson-review),” centers on a young girl born in Aberdeen and the women in her family. These two writers will wring out your emotions: Their writing is heartbreaking and heartwarming in equal measure.

What audiobook would make for good company while I walk around?

“[*London Clay: Journeys in the Deep City*](https://www.ft.com/content/ff5b1b83-ceb9-41e7-9fe6-c02398ca430b),” by Tom Chivers, is perfect. He’s previously written poetry books and brings a poet’s sensibility to this prose nonfiction book about the hidden parts of the capital, mixing the past with the present, the known with the unknown and his personal story with social history and geology.

Who are the literary icons I’ll see on public monuments?

St. Thomas’ Hospital, in Waterloo, is definitely worth a visit. There you’ll find an impressive statue of [*Mary Seacole*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/07/books/review/in-search-of-mary-seacole-helen-rappaport.html), the Jamaican nurse, hotelier and traveler whose frank and entertaining autobiography, “[*Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands*](https://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/seacole/adventures/adventures.html),” was published in 1857.

Not too far from the hospital you’ll find a hallowed place for writers: Poets’ Corner, in Westminster Abbey. More than 100 poets and writers are buried or commemorated there; the first among them was Geoffrey Chaucer, the author of “The Canterbury Tales” — a long poem charting the journey of a group of pilgrims who travel from south London to Canterbury — who died in 1400. In 2014, the poet Patience Agbabi published a witty, remixed version of the poem, “[*Telling Tales*](https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/jan/23/funky-chaucer-reboot-patience-agbabi-canterbury-tales).”

Also entombed in Poets’ Corner are Charles Dickens, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling and Alfred, Lord Tennyson, and there are memorial tablets to many more writers, including John Betjeman; Jane Austen; Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë; Gerard Manley Hopkins; Ted Hughes; Henry James; William Shakespeare; Oscar Wilde and Philip Larkin. In a noisy, hectic city, this is a quiet space where you can commune with the spirits of the literary past and reflect on the power of literature to resonate far beyond a writer’s life.

What are some good places to read or find new books?

[*Newham Bookshop*](https://www.newhambooks.co.uk/), in the East End, has been a passionate and stalwart supporter of a truly diverse range of writers and readers since it was founded in 1978, decades before diversity became a buzzword. [*The Second Shelf*](https://www.thesecondshelf.com/), a women’s bookshop in the West End, is the place to go to buy rare and current books, art and ephemera, such as [*Sylvia Plath’s plaid skirt*](https://www.thesecondshelf.com/art-ephemera/sylvia-plaths-tartan-plaid-skirt).

The British Library in [*Kings Cross*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/12/travel/what-to-do-36-hours-kings-cross-london.html) is one of my favorite places to meet people in London for a coffee. Its vaults, which contain copies of every book, play or other document published in the United Kingdom, descend the equivalent of eight stories below ground. Readers can access most books through the [*Reading Rooms*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/28/world/europe/28library.html).

The [*St. Cuthbert Gospel*](https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/st-cuthbert-gospel), the oldest European book to survive fully intact, is frequently on display there. The Library purchased it for a staggering 9 million pounds in 2012. The value of literature is so much more than financial, but nothing beats seeing a physical book from the 8th century and reflecting on the world as it was then, and the world as it is now.

Bernardine Evaristo’s London Reading List

* “London: The Biography” and “Queer City: Gay London from the Romans to the Present Day,” Peter Ackroyd

1. “Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho,” Ignatius Sancho
2. “Mrs. Dalloway,” Virginia Woolf
3. “The Diary of a Nobody,” George and Weedon Grossmith
4. “The Kids,” Hannah Lowe
5. “The Five: The Untold Lives of the Women Killed by Jack the Ripper,” Hallie Rubenhold
6. “A Portable Paradise,” Roger Robinson
7. “Ordinary People” and “26a,” Diana Evans
8. “Night Haunts: A Journey Through the London Night,” Sukhdev Sandhu
9. “Sterling Karat Gold,” Isabel Waidner
10. “Shuggie Bain” and “Young Mungo,” Douglas Stuart
11. “Tony Hogan Bought Me an Ice-Cream Float Before He Stole My Ma,” Kerry Hudson
12. “London Clay: Journeys in the Deep City,” Tom Chivers
13. “Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands,” Mary Seacole
14. “The Canterbury Tales,” Geoffrey Chaucer
15. “Telling Tales,” Patience Agbabi

Bernardine Evaristo — that’s Bernardine with two R’s! — is the author of 10 books and other writings spanning multiple genres. There are now over 60 translations of her books in more than 40 languages, and she has received more accolades and honors than could ever be squeezed at the bottom of this page.

This article appeared in print on page BR7.

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2025

**End of Document**



[***This 'Oliver!' Owns the Harsh Life***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:685W-MDX1-JBG3-635T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 7, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1600 words

**Byline:** By Sarah Bahr

**Body**

The emphasis Encores! puts on words and music rather than spectacle allows the cruel realities of Dickensian London to stand out amid the bouncy tunes.

It was 10 a.m. on a recent morning in a rehearsal room at New York City Center, and nine boys scurried around the space, clutching parasols of red and white lace, tin cups and jaunty pocket squares.

''OK, everyone!'' said Lorin Latarro, the choreographer of the show, a new staging of ''Oliver!,'' the Lionel Bart musical opening at City Center on Wednesday for a two-week run as part of the Encores! series. ''Today we're going to work on 'I'd Do Anything.'''

The boys gathered around Raúl Esparza, who is playing Fagin, the lovable London crime lord, in a battered brown hat with a buckle, tan overcoat and black fingerless gloves.

''Would you risk the 'drop'?'' he sang, his eyes bugging as he grabbed his scarf and mimed a noose tightening around his neck. (Translation: Are you willing to go out and commit robbery and possibly face the gallows if you're caught?) All nine pickpockets in training nodded enthusiastically.

''Oliver!,'' based on the Charles Dickens novel ''Oliver Twist,'' is the story of an orphan's search for belonging in that band of young pickpockets in 1830s London. It mixes fun, candy-coated musical theater crowd-pleasers like ''Food, Glorious Food'' and ''Consider Yourself'' with darker Dickensian themes including poverty and domestic violence.

''The show has these really harrowing lyrics even in songs that are upbeat,'' said the production's director, Lear deBessonet. ''And I think that in some productions, you may just be bobbing along with the rhythm of the song, and you might not really hear those words.''

But that's generally not the case in the concert-like stagings that Encores! is known for. Although there is an orchestra onstage, props and sets are minimal.

''Because you strip away some of those other production elements, it really puts a new focus on the lyric,'' deBessonet said. ''It's meaty work for me as a director to figure out how to tell the story with so few elements.''

When deBessonet, now in her third year as the artistic director of Encores!, was setting the season lineup in late 2021, just before the Omicron surge of Covid-19, she was struck by the parallels between the uncertain present and the perilous world of Dickens's day.

''It's interesting that 'Oliver!' is generally thought of as a family musical,'' she said in a recent conversation in her office at City Center. ''It certainly has these very winsome tunes, and the cast of children is delightful beyond measure, but there are dark edges of the story that we're very much leaning into and exploring in this production.''

MANY OF THE SONGS FROM 'OLIVER!' have become well known, thanks to the popular 1968 film adaptation, which starred Ron Moody as Fagin. This crowd-pleasing musical is a staple of school stages across Britain, where it debuted in London's West End in 1960, and the United States, where it opened on Broadway in 1963 and won three Tony Awards, including one for the score. But ''Oliver!,'' like many of the shows staged by Encores!, whose mission is to offer revivals of seldom-seen work, is rarely produced in full.

It hasn't been professionally staged in its entirety on a New York City stage in nearly 40 years, since the short-lived 1984 Broadway revival that starred Patti LuPone as Nancy. In fact, neither deBessonet, nor any of the five main cast members except for Benjamin Pajak (''The Music Man''), who plays Oliver, had ever seen a live performance of the show.

In addition to Esparza (''Company''), the show also stars Lilli Cooper as Nancy, the romantic partner of the brutal Bill Sikes (Tam Mutu, recently of ''Moulin Rouge! The Musical''), and Julian Lerner, who plays the Artful Dodger, the leader of the gang that takes Oliver in.

Underscoring the musical's darker bits, deBessonet said, like the fear and loneliness the orphaned Oliver experiences, was a matter of subtraction rather than addition. Without elaborate sets or showstopping production numbers there are fewer elements competing to divert the audience's attention from the words of the actors.

But neither did the production need to amp up the grim with foreboding lighting or a fog machine, she said -- the darkness is already inherent in Dickens's text, and in Bart's book, score and lyrics.

''We're trying to have those words be heard with the belief that the complexity is in the lyric itself,'' she said.

One example, she said, is the titular tune ''Oliver!,'' a song familiar to many, even those who haven't seen the show, for its high-spirited chorus.

''It's this really bouncy song,'' deBessonet said, ''but the actual lyrics are:

There's a dark, thin, winding stairway

Without any banister

Which we'll throw him down and feed him on cockroaches

Served in a canister.

The show does preserve many of the musical's more lighthearted elements. Every song from the original Broadway production remains, including bouncy numbers like ''I'd Do Anything'' and ''You've Got to Pick a Pocket or Two.'' The dreamlike sequence ''Food, Glorious Food,'' with its visions of sausages and mustards, jelly and custard. And 20 additional performers, all New York City public school students, will join the company onstage for ''Consider Yourself,'' the boys' full-voiced embrace of Oliver into their ranks -- the first true family he has known.

''The show is incredibly challenging -- the domestic violence, the treatment of children at that time in general is truly harrowing,'' deBessonet said. ''And yet there's this buoyant joy about these numbers.''

And the emotional core is still the camaraderie that springs up between the striving, ***working-class*** characters.

''The whole narrative question of the show is 'Where is the love?' and Fagin is one answer,'' deBessonet said. ''But it's complicated.''

Even though the Fagin of the Bart musical is more of a lovable curmudgeon than the child-exploiting criminal in the Dickens novel, deBessonet and Esparza said that they wanted the audience to remain cognizant of the less-savory context of his mentorship.

''I fully believe Fagin loves those children, and he is exploiting them,'' deBessonet said. ''He's sending them out to rob for him, to keep him alive, and he knows that every time he sends them out, there's a possibility that they could get caught or killed.''

Less complex is Bill Sikes, who is objectively the show's most loathsome character.

''Bill Sikes is a sociopath, and there is no end to his cruelty,'' deBessonet said of Nancy's abusive boyfriend. ''The show ends with him murdering her brutally in front of us and in front of a kid.''

But Mutu knew he didn't want to play a one-note villain. Instead he searched for the humanity within the character, to add nuances to his portrayal without offering redemption.

''People aren't black and white,'' he said. ''There are levels to each of us. Yes, I am playing a sociopath who has violent tendencies --''

''-- but he has redeeming qualities,'' Esparza interjected. ''Which are?''

They both laughed.

''The love between Nancy and Bill is genuine,'' Mutu said, referring to their codependency as fascinating. ''I'm trying to find the sense of the complexity of our relationship, which I think gets brushed under the carpet.''

Normally, deBessonet said, she would have no interest in doing a production that includes violence toward a woman -- ''I've already seen enough of that for a lifetime'' -- but she was impressed by Nancy's bravery, how she risked everything to save the life of Oliver.

And Cooper and deBessonet said they wanted to make sure Nancy's murder was not the final word on her story. ''Her life is about her heroism and choosing to lay down her life to save this child who not too long ago was a stranger to her,'' deBessonet said.

Though Nancy allows others to see her as a passive player in her own life, Cooper wanted her performance to underscore the power Nancy wields in moments like the ''Oom-Pah-Pah'' number, in which her lively and somewhat risqué dance is actually a means of distracting Bill Sikes and Fagin so she can help Oliver escape.

''She has this innate maternal nature to her,'' Cooper said, ''especially with all the boys in Fagin's den and wanting to protect them. Even with Bill, the man that she loves, she feels needed by those who are wounded and fragile and need help.''

''She herself was a child thief, and she's managed to grab hold of life with this force,'' deBessonet said. ''In the face of all that difficulty, she's been able to say, 'I'm still going to love life.''

BACK IN THE REHEARSAL ROOM, the boys continued their run-through of ''I'd Do Anything.'' Two stood on either side at the front, wielding red parasols, while two with white ones flanked them from behind. As the boys spun the parasols to imitate wheels, Nancy and the Artful Dodger walked to center.

''Would you climb a hill?'' she sang, as the human ''carriage'' began to roll.

''Anything!'' he responded.

''Wear a daffodil?''

He nodded. ''Anything!''

''Leave me all your will?''

He nodded more vigorously. ''Anything!''

''Even fight my Bill?'' she asked pointedly.

He recoiled slightly.

''Stop!'' Latarro called. She walked over to Lerner. ''Bill Sikes is really tall and really scary -- he's like a boxer,'' she said. ''So you all jump back like 'No way!'''

They tried again.

This time when Nancy asked, all nine pickpockets sprung back as though they had just realized they were standing on the third rail. Their eyes hardened.

''Anything!''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/arts/oliver-encores.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/arts/oliver-encores.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, Raúl Esparza, center, as Fagin in a rehearsal for the Encores! production of ''Oliver!'' at New York City Center. Below, a model of David Rockwell's set and, bottom, Lilli Cooper, left, as Nancy and Angelica Beliard, right, dancing with Benjamin Pajak, who plays Oliver. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page AR8.

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Crist Picks Educator To Join Him In Election***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6684-TX61-DXY4-X3DP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 28, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 23

**Length:** 723 words

**Byline:** By Patricia Mazzei

**Body**

Karla Hernández-Mats, head of the largest teachers union in the region, criticized the Republican governor for attacking educators. ''This is what dictators do,'' she said.

MIAMI -- In choosing the head of the largest teachers union in the Southeast as his running mate, Charlie Crist, the Democratic nominee for Florida governor, said he found a partner to embody the caring and empathy that he argues Gov. Ron DeSantis sorely lacks.

Mr. Crist named Karla Hernández-Mats, the president of the United Teachers of Dade, as his lieutenant governor pick on Saturday, casting the former middle school special education science teacher -- who is unknown to the vast majority of Florida voters -- as a passionate parent and advocate ready to govern at his side, despite her lack of experience in elective office.

Ms. Hernández-Mats has ''a good heart,'' Mr. Crist said in a brief interview, the first after making his decision. ''That moves me more than anything, always.''

The daughter of Honduran immigrants, Ms. Hernández-Mats taught for a decade in Hialeah, a ***working class***, heavily Cuban American and heavily Republican city northwest of Miami. In 2010, she was named Florida's teacher of the year. Her mother was a secretary, she said, and her father a farmworker who cut sugar cane and picked tomatoes until he landed a union job as a carpenter.

''It epitomizes the American dream,'' Ms. Hernández-Mats said of her life in a separate interview, her first since becoming Mr. Crist's running mate.

Mr. Crist said he would continue to emphasize how unaffordable the state has become under Mr. DeSantis and how the governor has restricted people's rights, including by opposing abortion, which is now illegal in Florida after 15 weeks of pregnancy.

But in selecting a teachers union leader, Mr. Crist has ensured, for better or worse, that the governor's race will remain focused at least in part on matters of education, a topic that Mr. DeSantis, a Republican, has seized as an electoral strength in the wake of the coronavirus pandemic.

Mr. DeSantis, who gained a national following for bucking public health experts and reopening Florida businesses and schools sooner than other states, has made ''parents' rights'' a centerpiece of his message. He has waged cultural battles against the teaching of gender identity and racism in schools. And he campaigned for 30 school board candidates, almost all of whom won or made it into runoffs in Tuesday's primary election. Two of the winners were in Miami-Dade County.

The Republican Party of Florida wasted no time in criticizing Mr. Crist's pick, saying before the campaign officially named Ms. Hernández-Mats that she represented ''another slap in the face to Florida's parents.''

''It confirms how out of touch Crist is with Florida families,'' the party said in a statement on Friday.

Mr. Crist dismissed the notion that voters would agree with the criticism that sharing the ticket with a teachers union chief would somehow put him in opposition to parents.

''I believe that parents being involved is incredibly important, and teachers should also be respected for their expertise,'' he said. ''They're not mutually exclusive.''

Democrats argued that Ms. Hernández-Mats could relate to voters as a working mother who understands the challenges inside classrooms. And, as a Spanish speaker, she can reach Hispanic voters whom the party has struggled to win.

''Hispanic voters are obviously immensely critical to building a winning coalition for Democrats,'' said Christian Ulvert, a Democratic political consultant in Miami who is Nicaraguan American. ''The best way to go toe-to-toe is if you have someone in the community to fight back.''

In the interview, the energetic Ms. Hernández-Mats seemed eager to fulfill a running mate's frequent role in attacking the opposing candidate.

''The state is stripping away freedoms,'' she said. ''Governor DeSantis doesn't want women to choose or have autonomy over their bodies or health care. They take away one freedom and then they take away more freedom.''

''Just a few months ago, people were like, 'Teachers are amazing!''' she added, recalling how teachers were praised for teaching online early in the pandemic. ''And now we have a governor that attacks teachers and public education. To what end? This is what dictators do.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/27/us/charlie-crist-karla-hernandez-mats-florida-gov.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/27/us/charlie-crist-karla-hernandez-mats-florida-gov.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: By selecting a teachers union leader as his running mate in the Florida governor's race, Charlie Crist has ensured that the campaign will remain at least partly focused on education. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Zack Wittman for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Crisis in Israel Has a Distinctly American Flavor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67W9-S041-DXY4-X1SW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 28, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 20; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1446 words

**Byline:** By Aron Heller

**Body**

TEL AVIV -- Hours before Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu delayed a proposed judicial overhaul that has prompted mass protests, the head of one of Israel's most powerful unions made a small, seemingly off-topic remark as he announced a nationwide strike Monday.

''We are soldiers of the democratic state of Israel. Our country, and no one else's,'' hollered Arnon Bar-David, the union leader. ''This is not the country of Kohelet -- this is a country that belongs to all its citizens.''

The Kohelet Policy Forum is a libertarian-leaning think tank reportedly funded by at least one American billionaire that has emerged as the ideological architect of the proposed overhaul. The plan's intellectual backers have routinely pointed to the American model of elected leaders nominating and confirming Supreme Court justices as their inspiration. By invoking the forum, Mr. Bar-David touched on a key aspect of Israel's social and judicial crisis that has been too often overlooked: American influence.

While many observers have pointed to trends in Israel as harbingers for the United States, just as compelling an argument can be made that it is the other way around.

In many ways, the fight over the future of the judiciary marks the culmination of the Americanization of Israeli society. A segment of Israeli society has always admired the United States and has striven to reimagine itself in its image. Over the past few decades, though, it hasn't been America's grand traditions of democracy and multiculturalism that have infiltrated the psyche of many in the Jewish state but rather its less admirable attributes.

As in America, many on the Israeli right have stopped defining themselves based on policies and have resorted instead to nativism and resistance to democratic norms. The political wedge issues in Israel are no longer questions around Palestinian statehood but rather the independence of the courts, good governance and plain decency. It's no surprise, then, that the heirs of Israel's earlier generation of conservatives can no longer find their place in the ruling Likud party. They've become Israeli versions of so-called RINOs, or Republicans in name only.

Without the demarcation of the ideological rivalries of the past, Israel's political map is now defined mostly along identity lines, with the ultra-Orthodox, nationalist settlers and ***working-class*** Mizrahi voters on one side (the ''red'' Israel) and the wealthier, mostly Ashkenazi, educated class of the coastal Tel Aviv and Haifa regions on the other (the ''blue'' Israel). Despite the socioeconomic gaps between them, the main points of contention tend to revolve around matters of decorum, tradition and grievances.

An example of Israel's echoes of the United States can be found in the changes to the socialist kibbutz movement that helped shape the country's identity and fueled its growth, which have been all but overrun by privatization and rabid capitalism that has contributed to the country having among the highest rates of inequality among nations in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Israel's collective and pioneering spirit has been ravaged by consumerism and commercialism.

Like America, Israel now finds itself hopelessly polarized along numerous societal fault lines: religious and secular, rural and urban, educated and not, traditional and progressive, hawks and doves. And, like the United States so often during the Trump years, those differences have spilled out into the streets. But for a small country in a tough neighborhood, one whose survival depends on an engaged citizenry and mandatory military service, the stakes in Israel are that much higher.

Make no mistake, Israeli politics has always been a blood sport. But only in recent years has this hyperpartisan discourse taken hold, one that transcends ideology and instead revolves around a wannabe strongman's cult of personality.

Before Mr. Netanyahu attempted this power grab, Donald Trump tried it. Before Israel's Channel 14 peddled some of its propaganda and misinformation, Fox News was doing the same.

There is a distinct taste of Americanism to this fresh conservative Israeli persona. Mr. Netanyahu, the country's biggest panderer to identity politics, is Israel's most American-style politician. He spent many years in the United States, and many of his pollsters and strategists, not to mention his inner circle, came straight from right-wing Republican campaigns. Much of the appeal he has cultivated over the past decade owes to the backing of the free daily newspaper Israel Hayom, the outlet of the late billionaire Republican megadonor Sheldon Adelson. (Mr. Adelson's widow, Miriam, has recently criticized the rush toward judicial reform.)

It's in the Jewish settlements of the West Bank, though, where the American import has been most devastating. In Israel's version of the Wild West, he who captures the hilltop is king, and ''God's will'' overrules the laws of man. This brazen flouting of the state's authority over the years has often been delivered with the accent of an American gunslinger.

Israeli militancy has always existed. But it was the immigration of the Brooklyn-born rabbi Meir Kahane in the 1970s that helped introduce an American-tinged racism to it. Arabs were no longer just adversaries to overcome in war; they were vile enemies who had to be expelled or killed.

Is it any wonder that Kahane's earliest and most ardent followers were also American immigrants, like the Boston-born Baruch Marzel? That some of the most radical of the Hilltop Youth West Bank anarchists today consider the St. Louis-born rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburgh to be their spiritual leader?

Is it a coincidence that some of the most horrid acts of Jewish terrorism in Israel were carried out by the likes of the Florida-born Jack Teitel and the Brooklyn-born Baruch Goldstein?

Their heirs are now key players in the current government.

Itamar Ben-Gvir, Israel's ultranationalist minister of national security, once referred to the mass murderer Mr. Goldstein as a hero (but says he no longer thinks so) and until recently had a picture of him hanging in his home.

The far-right finance minister, Bezalel Smotrich, who recently made news for saying that an Arab village should be ''wiped out'' and that there was no such thing as Palestinians, was reportedly once arrested on suspicion of being a part of a cell planning to use 700 liters of gasoline in his possession to blow up Tel Aviv's main highway to protest Israel's 2005 withdrawal from Gaza. (He denies this claim.)

The primary motivation for these cabinet ministers in neutering the courts seems to be to remove any future obstacles to their West Bank aspirations and to make sure that withdrawals never happen again. For the ultra-Orthodox, the aim is to perpetuate their avoidance of military service and maintain their preferred status. And for Mr. Netanyahu, who is on trial on corruption charges, the goal is most likely to stay in power and stay out of jail (even though he denies such a motive).

Now this unholy alliance of zealots, cynics and charlatans is following the lead of Republicans in the United States by trying to turn the Supreme Court into an explicitly political body.

But the American federal system has a written constitution, 50 state governments, two independent legislative bodies and other checks and balances that simply don't exist in Israel's parliamentary system.

The Americanization of the Israeli judicial system at the hands of extremist leaders, even if they are elected, would rupture the essential trust and faith that Israelis have put into their system of governance and end the country's long-held belief that good-faith actors in government have the best interests of all of Israel at heart.

If there is one positive American influence to point to these days, it is the awakening of a civil resistance movement that seems as impressive as that of any democracy since the civil rights movement and anti-Vietnam protests of the 1960s.

But the larger issue boils down to this: Israel has enough problems of its own without also importing those of America.

Aron Heller (@aron\_heller) is an Israel-based feature writer, columnist and broadcaster. He was a longtime Associated Press correspondent and journalism lecturer.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.A feature writer, columnist and broadcaster.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/27/opinion/israel-netanyahu-judiciary-protests.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/27/opinion/israel-netanyahu-judiciary-protests.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** March 28, 2023

**End of Document**



[***From TV to the French Presidency? A Right-Wing Star Is Inspired by Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63MJ-XXR1-DXY4-X2BW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 17, 2021 Friday 12:41 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1368 words

**Byline:** Norimitsu Onishi

**Highlight:** Éric Zemmour, a writer and TV celebrity known for his far-right nationalism, dominates political talk in France as he weighs a run for president.

**Body**

Éric Zemmour, a writer and TV celebrity known for his far-right nationalism, dominates political talk in France as he weighs a run for president.

PARIS — France’s election season began in force this week, with candidates for the presidency launching their bids or holding campaign-style events. But the person who stole the show was not a candidate, or even a politician, but a right-wing writer and TV star channeling Donald J. Trump.

Éric Zemmour became one of France’s top TV celebrities through his punditry on [*CNews*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/14/world/europe/france-cnews-fox-far-right.html), a Fox News-like channel, even as he was sanctioned twice for inciting racial hatred. This week he dominated news-media coverage in the kickoff to elections next April.

A [*poll*](https://harris-interactive.fr/opinion_polls/barometre-dintentions-de-vote-pour-lelection-presidentielle-de-2022-vague-13/) released Wednesday shows him rising among potential voters, beating out declared candidates like the mayor of Paris. While his share would appear to put the presidency out of reach, he could disrupt the long-anticipated scenario of a duel between President Emmanuel Macron and [*Marine Le Pen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/16/world/europe/france-le-pen-election.html) of the far-right National Rally.

In a well-orchestrated blitz that blurred the lines between media and politics, Mr. Zemmour, 63, one of France’s best-selling writers, released a new book Thursday titled “France Has Not Said Its Last Word Yet,” with a cover showing him standing with arms crossed in front of the French flag.

In a brief telephone interview, Mr. Zemmour said that the cover had been modeled after Mr. Trump’s “Great Again,” the 2015 book that outlined his political agenda ahead of his election victory the following year, and that showed Mr. Trump in front of the American flag.

The cover, Mr. Zemmour said, was not the only way Mr. Trump had inspired him. While Mr. Zemmour coyly deflected longstanding rumors of a possible candidacy, this month he has sent stronger signals that he may follow Mr. Trump in a leap from television to politics.

“Obviously, there are common points,” Mr. Zemmour said. “In other words, someone who is completely from outside the party system, who never had a political career and who, furthermore, understood that the major concerns of the ***working class*** are immigration and trade.”

In France’s two-round presidential election, the two top vote-getters in the first round meet in a runoff. Mr. Macron has aggressively courted the traditional, more moderate right in a strategy to produce a final showdown with Ms. Le Pen, whom he beat in 2017. But the presence of Mr. Zemmour, with his appeal across the right side of France’s political spectrum, could upset that calculus.

“French politics has become totally unpredictable,” said Nicolas Lebourg, a political scientist specializing in the right and far-right.

“In this extremely fluid context, things could end with the election of a Republican president after Macron is defeated because Zemmour picks up a few points,” Mr. Lebourg added, referring to the Republicans, the party of the traditional right.

The poll released Wednesday showed 10 percent of voters supporting Mr. Zemmour in the first round of the election, up from 7 percent a week earlier and 5 percent in July. He is one of the few candidates registering in the double digits, outscoring some from France’s established parties, including the Socialist mayor of Paris, [*Anne Hidalgo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/02/world/europe/france-president-election-socialists-anne-hidalgo.html).

According to a [*poll*](https://www.ifop.com/publication/le-potentiel-electoral-deric-zemmour-2/) published on Monday, Mr. Zemmour is one of the few candidates to draw support from both the French traditional right and far-right — a point he underscored in the interview, saying that the far-right National Rally “puts off the French bourgeoisie,” while the Republicans “have only an extremely aging constituency and don’t connect with the young or the ***working class***.”

The poll also showed he is strong with the ***working class***, men and young voters.

“His straight talk appeals a lot to a generation that has been very disappointed by politicians’ lies and that is very mistrustful of the media,” said François de Voyer, a host and financial supporter of [*Black Book*](https://www.youtube.com/c/LivreNoir), a seven-month-old YouTube channel that has featured long interviews with Mr. Zemmour and other personalities, mostly from the right and far right. He said Mr. Zemmour gives the impression of “never hiding what he thinks, even if it means making controversial remarks,” adding, “I think it has the effect of creating trust.”

Still, a run by Mr. Zemmour — whose hard-line views on immigration, Islam’s place in France and national identity are regarded as being to the right of Ms. Le Pen — would immediately inject into the election some of the most explosive issues in an increasingly polarized society.

A longtime journalist for the conservative daily Le Figaro, Mr. Zemmour became a best-selling author in the past decade with books that described a France in decline, under threat from what he claimed was an Islam that doesn’t share France’s core values. His celebrity and influence rose to another level after he became the star of CNews in 2019, where, each evening in prime time, he expounded on his ideas to hundreds of thousands of viewers.

He has portrayed himself as a truth-teller in a news media dominated by politically correct, left-leaning journalists. He has railed against the immigration of Muslim Africans, invoking the supposed existential threat of a “[*great replacement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/20/world/europe/renaud-camus-great-replacement.html)” — a loaded term that even Ms. Le Pen has avoided — that will overwhelm France’s more established white and Christian population.

Over the weekend, Mr. Zemmour said that, if he were president, he would ban “non-French” first names like Mohammed and Kevin, because they created obstacles to an assimilation process that used to turn immigrants into what he considered real French people.

These kinds of comments have occasionally drawn the attention of French authorities. In May, the government broadcast regulator fined CNews 200,000 euros, about $236,000, for speech inciting racial hatred. On his show in September 2020, Mr. Zemmour had said that unaccompanied foreign minors should be expelled from France, calling them “thieves,” “killers” and “rapists.”

Some presidential candidates from the Republicans dismissed Mr. Zemmour’s challenge. Xavier Bertrand, the leader of a region in northern France, said that Mr. Zemmour was a “great divider.” Valérie Pécresse, the head of the Paris region, said that he offered “no genuine proposals.”

Mr. Lebourg, the political scientist, said that Mr. Zemmour’s “ethnic nationalism” was rooted in the ideology of the National Front of the 1990s, the predecessor to the National Rally that was led by Ms. Le Pen’s father, Jean-Marie Le Pen. More than any other individual, Mr. Zemmour succeeded over the years in imposing his vision on politicians in the traditional right, Mr. Lebourg said.

Supporters say that is why Mr. Zemmour is the only candidate who can appeal to both the traditional right and far right.

“Éric Zemmour opened the eyes of a certain number of people, including in my political family,” said Antoine Diers, a spokesman for [*Friends of Éric Zemmour*](https://lesamisdericzemmour.fr/), a group that is raising funds for a potential presidential bid. Mr. Diers is also a member of the Republicans and an official at the city hall of Plessis-Robinson, a suburb south of Paris.

Because of Mr. Zemmour’s influence, Mr. Diers said, candidates of his party “finally take positions on immigration, on questions of identity and French culture.”

Arno Humbert, another member of Friends of Éric Zemmour, said he left Ms. Le Pen’s National Rally in June after more than a decade, disillusioned by her efforts to widen her appeal by toning down her party’s positions in a strategy of “[*de-demonizing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/world/europe/france-far-right-national-rally-le-pen-macron.html).”

Mr. Zemmour was forced off the air on Monday after the government regulator ordered a limit on his broadcast time because he could be considered a player in national politics. He and his supporters were quick to cry censorship.

Asked whether the decision would ultimately help him by burnishing his image as a truth teller among his supporters, he said, “Of course.”

“It was a blessing in disguise,” he said.

Léontine Gallois contributed reporting.

Léontine Gallois contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Éric Zemmour, center, in Paris on Wednesday. Though not yet a candidate for president, he has attracted sizable media attention and his poll numbers are rising. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALAIN APAYDIN/ABACA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** October 12, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Best Places to Enjoy Art in California; California Today***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67P1-NMD1-DXY4-X4F0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 3, 2023 Friday 09:00 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1385 words

**Byline:** Soumya Karlamangla

**Highlight:** Readers recommend their favorite museums and art destinations, including several hidden gems.

**Body**

Readers recommend their favorite museums and art destinations, including several hidden gems.

OAKLAND — On a recent visit to the Oakland Museum of California, I marveled at a gargantuan oil [*painting*](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Henry_Burgess_-_San_Francisco_in_July,_1849.jpg) of 1849 San Francisco, in which gold-rush arrivals rode horses down dirt roads and cooked over campfires in what would eventually become the heart of the city’s Financial District.

In a glass case nearby was a concrete fragment of St. Francis Dam, the Los Angeles dam that infamously burst in 1928 and killed hundreds (and later became a plot point in the movie “Chinatown”). In the next room, I was struck by a black-and-white Dorothea Lange [*photograph*](https://dorothealange.museumca.org/image/two-children-of-the-mochida-family-who-with-their-parents-are-awaiting-evacuation-bus/A82.83.6/) of two somber Japanese American children in Hayward with paper tags hooked to their coats, awaiting relocation to internment camps during World War II.

My trip to the Oakland [*museum*](https://museumca.org/) was inspired by a recommendation from a reader, Jo Elliff, who described it as “unique in representing California as a multicultural, evolving center of artistic expression,” perfect for the focus of this newsletter. Indeed, despite its Brutalist exterior, the museum offered a vibrant tour through time and space in the Golden State.

For the past several weeks, you’ve been emailing me your picks for the best museums and places to enjoy art in California. We’ve received dozens of recommendations for sculpture gardens, art walks, galleries — even a vending machine that dispenses original paintings. Today I’m sharing a selection of your suggestions, sorted by region and lightly edited for clarity.

You can send your own recommendation to [*CAToday@nytimes.com*](mailto:CAToday@nytimes.com). Please include your name and the city where you live.

Enjoy.

Northern California

[*San Francisco Museum of Modern Art*](https://www.sfmoma.org/)

“The space is absolutely gorgeous and dedicated to the dynamic display of modern and contemporary art — lots of natural light, large galleries, respectful and often intimate ways of showing multiple works by a single artist. There are special and rotating exhibitions all the time, and the lowest level is free for walk-in enjoyment. Right now, it houses the [*massive Diego Rivera mural*](https://www.sfmoma.org/exhibition/pan-american-unity/) about California’s history and development, and visitors can see its restoration in progress.” — Susan C. Shea, Novato

[*California Conference for the Advancement of Ceramic Arts*](https://www.natsoulas.com/ccaca-2023/) in Davis

“For the last 15 years, I’ve gone up to Davis for this event, better known as C.C.A.C.A. It’s not U.C. Davis but the city of Davis that invites art lovers. You put on your walking shoes and pick up a map and go from one pop-up gallery to the next. Unused spaces in the city become gallery spaces for two days. There are 40 college, university and professional exhibits. There are also outdoor demonstrations from well known ceramic artists. Great people, great event.” — Susan Hanley, Simi Valley

[*Haggin Museum*](https://hagginmuseum.org/) in Stockton

“You wouldn’t expect this regal building containing works by Renoir and Albert Bierstadt in ***working-class*** Stockton, but that’s what makes it feel like, literally, a hidden gem. The museum is in Victory Park, which is in a leafy, tidy neighborhood built in the 1920s. Exhibits include works related to Native Americans, the gold rush, ranching and Chinese immigrant life.” — Elizabeth Zach, Cologne, Germany

Central California

[*Studios on the Park*](https://studiosonthepark.org/) in Paso Robles

“It’s a nonprofit gallery that features local artists, supports and develops kids’ interest in art, and hosts fun wine nights. I’ve never been to any other gallery like it. It’s off the main square in Paso and a perfect place to wander into while seeing the town.” — Sarah Scott, Portland

Southern California

[*Art Candy Machine*](https://spectrumnews1.com/ca/la-west/arts/2020/09/21/art-candy-machine-dispenses-fun-sized-works-of-original-art) in Burbank

“An artist who found an old vending machine during the pandemic refurbished it and sells original art through it. It works perfectly. Everything is $5 and the money goes to the artists. Usually, with the art you’ve purchased, there is a little info on the artist in case you want to get in touch. Whenever I need to get a little something for someone, I go across the street to the art vending machine. It’s constantly changing.” — Julie Grosse, Burbank

[*Stuart Collection*](https://stuartcollection.ucsd.edu/) on the U.C. San Diego campus

“This is an amazing [*collection*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rJ-5bY7wJwk) of public art that few people know about. Each piece was commissioned and has been deliberately placed on the campus. I first discovered the collection while riding my bike through the campus. I was amazed at the art.” — Jeff Krebs, San Diego

[*Parks Exhibition Center at Idyllwild Arts*](https://www.idyllwildartsgallery.org/) in Riverside County

“The gallery features great visiting artist exhibits during the academy year and special Native American exhibits during the summer program. But my favorites are the senior shows in spring semester, which are the culminating exhibits of the graduating class. The imagination and skill of these teenagers, nurtured by the faculty, is surprising, quirky and fun.” — Joann Tomsche, La Quinta

The rest of the news

* Drought: After a pummeling barrage of continuous snow and rain, a large part of the state is [*no longer classified as suffering from drought*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/climate/article/california-drought-emerge-17808916.php), The San Francisco Chronicle reports.

1. Feinstein hospitalized: Senator Dianne Feinstein is [*receiving treatment*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/politics/article/dianne-feinstein-hospitalized-17816572.php) for shingles at a San Francisco hospital, which has forced her to miss votes and hearings in Congress, The San Francisco Chronicle reports.
2. Pandemic benefits end: Almost three million California residents [*will no longer receive food subsidies or assistance*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-03-02/millions-of-californians-see-catastrophic-end-of-covid-19-food-benefits-as-inflation-climbs) after Congress voted to terminate extra benefits that were provided during the pandemic, The Los Angeles Times reports.
3. Curbing fashion waste: California could become the first state to require fashion companies to help [*set up free collection sites*](https://www.mercurynews.com/2023/03/02/refashion-state-proposal-would-force-clothing-companies-to-set-up-recycling-program/) in every county where consumers can drop off unwanted items, The San Jose Mercury reports.

* Sinkholes: Sinkholes have [*cropped up*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-03-02/sinkholes-los-angeles-california-winter-storm) across Southern California after days of rain and snow, The Los Angeles Times reports.

1. Wrongful murder conviction: A judge ruled that a Los Angeles man who spent 38 years in prison [*did not commit the murder*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-03-02/maurice-hastings-los-angeles-wrongful-murder-conviction-found-innocent) that kept him locked up for decades and nearly landed him on death row, The Los Angeles Times reports.

* Winery without license: A winery in Paso Robles has been shut down for operating [*without a license to sell alcohol*](https://apnews.com/article/california-winery-liquor-license-paso-robles-ernest-hemingway-vineyard-3d8e08fd4123bc0f53051337368c3a26), The Associated Press reports.
* Skier death: A 46-year-old [*skier died*](https://www.kcra.com/article/south-lake-tahoe-skier-dies-heavenly-mountain-resort/43169472) Wednesday at Heavenly Mountain Resort, KCRA reports.

1. Sentencing: Two California men who pleaded guilty to [*plotting to firebomb the state Democratic Party’s headquarters*](https://apnews.com/article/rogers-sentenced-democratic-headquarters-bomb-eaed7862c3522a8c5712a2fd8de1896b) and other buildings in Northern California were sentenced to federal prison, The Associated Press reports.
2. National Guard: Members of the California National Guard are set to arrive in the San Bernardino Mountains to [*help people who have been trapped in their homes*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-03-02/california-national-guard-expected-to-arrive-in-snowed-in-lake-arrowhead) for several days by heavy snow, The Los Angeles Times reports.

What we’re eating

[*Bananas foster.*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1017148-bananas-foster)

Where we’re traveling

Today’s tip comes from Karin Anderson, who lives in Brunswick, Maine. Karin recommends Morro Bay, “a little gem” on the Central Coast:

“You can enjoy fresh fish, playful sea otters and the view of Morro Rock while meandering in and out of shops selling salt water taffy, groovy T-shirts and other treasures. I go whenever I’m visiting family members who live nearby in San Luis Obispo (also a great town to visit).”

Tell us about your favorite places to visit in California. Email your suggestions to [*CAtoday@nytimes.com*](mailto:CAtoday@nytimes.com). We’ll be sharing more in upcoming editions of the newsletter.

And before you go, some good news

In May 2022, Kevin Patrick Gleeson was in the process of dissolving his marriage with his second wife, had retired, left Queens and moved to Macon, Ga. He had no idea that love would uproot him once more a few months later.

While Gleeson, 63, had never tried online dating, by September he logged onto SilverSingles, a dating site for people over 50, and was immediately drawn to the profile of Lisa Anne Felix Smartt.

Smartt and Gleeson’s email correspondence soon totaled [*more than 100 pages*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/17/style/lisa-smartt-kevin-gleeson-wedding.html).

Thanks for reading. We’ll be back on Monday. Enjoy your weekend.

P.S. Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini).

Briana Scalia and Isabella Grullón Paz contributed to California Today. You can reach the team at [*CAtoday@nytimes.com*](mailto:CAtoday@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/california-today).

PHOTO: The exterior of the northern corner of the Oakland Museum of California. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Gabrielle Lurie/The San Francisco Chronicle via Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***As the Suburbs Go, So Goes America; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68DG-2861-JBG3-6329-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 7, 2023 Wednesday 12:56 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3008 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** America is undergoing a racial and ethnic upheaval that will profoundly shape election outcomes.

**Body**

Over the past half-century, the percentage of Black Americans living in the nation’s suburbs has doubled, a shift that is changing the balance of political power in key regions of the country.

This transition is simultaneously raising the living standards of better-off African Americans and leaving the poor behind in deteriorating urban neighborhoods.

“Since 1970, the share of Black individuals living in suburbs of large cities has risen from 16 to 36 percent,” [*Alexander W. Bartik*](https://www.alexbartik.com/) and [*Evan Mast*](https://economics.nd.edu/faculty/evan-mast/), economists at the University of Illinois and Notre Dame, wrote in their 2021 paper “[*Black Suburbanization*](https://research.upjohn.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1374&amp;context=up_workingpapers): Causes and Consequences of a Transformation of American Cities.”

“This shift,” they pointed out, “is as large as the post-World War II wave of [*the Great Migration*](https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/migrations/great-migration#:~:text=The%20Great%20Migration%20was%20one,the%201910s%20until%20the%201970s.).”

In contrast, the Black population in “central cities remained flat until 2000 and then declined significantly, leading their share of the national African American total to fall from 41 to 24 percent.” Urban census tracts that were majority Black and had a poverty rate above 20 percent in 1970, according to their data, “have since lost 60 percent of their Black population.”

The two authors continued, “Black suburbanization has led to major changes in neighborhoods, accounting for a large share of recent increases in both the average Black individual’s neighborhood quality and within-Black income segregation.”

In their paper, Bartik and Mast provided data showing that “suburbanization plays a major role in both rising income segregation within the Black population and a growing divergence in neighborhood quality of Black suburbanites and city dwellers,” which “has increased within-Black stratification due to a lack of low-cost suburban housing and relatively low white flight.”

The exodus to the suburbs, according to the two economists,

has accounted for most gains in Black households’ neighborhood characteristics, with Black city dwellers in some cases experiencing relative declines. For example, while the neighborhood median income of the average Black individual has modestly improved from 61 to 66 percent of the average white individual’s neighborhood income, the figure has fallen from 58 to 50 percent for Black city dwellers.

Bartik and Mast’s analysis confirmed the prescient warning of [*William Julius Wilson*](https://sociology.fas.harvard.edu/people/william-julius-wilson), a sociologist at Harvard, who famously wrote in his 1987 book “[*The Truly Disadvantaged*](https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/T/bo13375722.html)” that before the enactment of fair housing legislation, “lower-class, ***working-class*** and middle-class Black families all lived more or less in the same communities, sent their children to the same schools, availed themselves of the same recreational facilities and shopped at the same stores.” The Black middle and working classes “were confined in communities also inhabited by the lower class; their very presence provided stability to inner-city neighborhoods and reinforced and perpetuated mainstream patterns of norms and behaviors.”

The impoverished neighborhoods they have left behind, Wilson continued, “are populated almost exclusively by the most disadvantaged segments of the Black community, that heterogeneous grouping of families and individuals who are outside the mainstream of the American occupational system.”

A February 2023 study of Black suburbanization, “[*Racial Diversity and Segregation*](https://www.rsfjournal.org/content/9/1/26#ref-39): Comparing Principal Cities, Inner-Ring Suburbs, Outlying Suburbs, and the Suburban Fringe,” by [*Daniel T. Lichter*](https://www.human.cornell.edu/people/dtl28), [*Brian C. Thiede*](https://aese.psu.edu/directory/bct11) and [*Matthew M. Brooks*](https://sites.google.com/view/matthewmbrooks/home) of Cornell, Penn State and Florida State, confirmed many of the findings in the Bartik-Mast paper.

One of the most striking shifts they report involves the degree of integration:

The extraordinary increases in Black, Hispanic and Asian suburbanization since 1990 have changed the racial makeup of suburbia overall. Multiracial diversity is suffusing America’s suburbs as never before. We show, for example, that there is a 53 percent probability today that any two people randomly drawn from inner-ring suburban areas would be from different ethnoracial groups.

At the same time, they wrote, one geographic region of suburbia — [*the outer rings*](https://www.washington.edu/news/2017/06/29/as-metro-areas-grow-whites-move-farther-from-the-city-center/) — stands out from the rest:

Not surprisingly, the least diverse part of suburbia is its fringe — formerly rural — counties, where the average likelihood of drawing two people of different races is only 34 percent overall. This finding is consistent with the hypothesis, untested empirically, that the exurbs may be providing “refuge” for suburban whites fleeing growing racial diversity.

Lichter and his co-authors measured different geographic areas from those used by Bartik and Mast, so the numbers vary, but the trends are similar.

Lichter, Thiede and Brooks demonstrated that the rapid rate of increase in Black suburbanization between 1990 and 2020 far outpaced that of other demographic groups.

In 1990, 33.9 percent of Black Americans in what are known as [*metropolitan statistical areas*](https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/metro-micro/about.html#:~:text=The%20general%20concept%20of%20a,social%20integration%20with%20that%20core.) lived in the suburbs. By 2020, that had grown to 51.2 percent, a 17.3-point shift. Over the same period, the share of Asian Americans in metropolitan statistical areas living in suburbs had grown by 13.2 percentage points and the share of Hispanics by 13.8 percentage points.

While Black and other minority suburbanites have made economic gains, the suburbs, Lichter and his two colleagues argued,

are likely to be infused with racial politics over the foreseeable future. School boards and local communities are increasingly divided on issues of inclusion and exclusion, on the racial gerrymandering of municipal and school district boundaries and on restrictive zoning laws on housing and commercial activities. The suburbs are arguably at the front line of America’s “diversity explosion,” where economic integration and cultural assimilation occur or are contested.

In this context, Lichter, Thiede and Brooks contended:

the idea of “melting-pot suburbs,” which signals residential integration, hardly seems apt. To be sure, the largest declines in Black-white segregation over the past decade were found in the suburbs. But any optimism from this result is countered by declines over the last decade in the [*exposure index*](https://socialinnovation.usc.edu/social_research/measuring-segregation-with-the-normalized-exposure-index/#:~:text=Exposure%20indices%20measure%20the%20school,school%20that%20is%2019%25%20Hispanic.) between the Black and white populations in both inner-ring and outlying suburbs.

What that means, they explained, is that

Black individuals are no more likely to be living with white neighbors today than in the past. In fact, Black [*exposure*](https://www.census.gov/topics/housing/housing-patterns/guidance/appendix-b.html) to whites in the suburbs seems to have declined, at least in those parts of the suburbs where most of the metro Black population lives.

They called this — the fact that “declines in Black-white segregation occurred even as Blacks have become less exposed to whites” — a statistical paradox. One reason for it, they wrote, is “rooted mostly in white depopulation rather than white flight since 2010.”

Past declines “in suburban segregation among Hispanics and Asians seem to have stagnated, or even reversed, over the past decade,” Lichter, Thiede and Brooks wrote.

This finding, they continued,

is potentially significant because it raises prospects of growing suburban fragmentation and spatial inequality. Suburbs may be less likely than in the past to connote entry into mainstream society or social mobility. Our findings suggest the formation of new ethnoburbs among the Asian and Hispanic populations — perhaps especially among first- and second-generation immigrants.

A study of the shifting politics of suburbia from the 1950s to the present, “[*Not Just White Soccer Moms*](https://www.rsfjournal.org/content/9/2/184): Voting in Suburbia in the 2016 and 2020 Elections,” by [*Ankit Rastogi*](https://www.ankit-rastogi.com/) and [*Michael Jones-Correa*](https://live-sas-www-polisci.pantheon.sas.upenn.edu/people/standing-faculty/michael-jones-correa), both at the University of Pennsylvania, found that from the 1950s to the start of the 1990s,

residing in racially homogeneous, middle-class enclaves, white suburban voters embraced a set of policy positions that perpetuated their racial and class position. Since the 1990s, however, the demographics of suburbs have been changing, with consequent political shifts.

As a result, they wrote, by 2020, suburban voters were more likely to back Joe Biden than Donald Trump.

Why? the authors asked.

White suburban precincts showed greater support for Biden in 2020 than for Clinton in 2016. Our analysis indicates, however, that if all suburban voters had voted like white suburbanite precincts, Trump would have carried metropolitan suburbs in 2020.

So what saved the day for Biden? “Democrats carried metropolitan suburbs in 2020 because of suburban voters of color.”

While suburban white people have moved to the left over the past three decades, there is continuing evidence of white resistance to suburban integration.

[*Erica Frankenberg*](https://ed.psu.edu/directory/dr-erica-frankenberg), [*Christopher S. Fowler*](https://www.geog.psu.edu/directory/chris-fowler), [*Sarah Asson*](https://ed.psu.edu/academics/departments/department-education-policy-studies/educational-leadership-program/current-educational-leadership-students) and [*Ruth Krebs Buck*](https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/207/article/884808#bio_wrap), all of Penn State, studied declining white enrollment in public schools in their February 2023 paper, “[*Demographic and School Attendance Zone Boundary Changes*](https://www.rsfjournal.org/content/9/2/75): Montgomery County, Maryland, and Fairfax County, Virginia, Between 1990 and 2010.”

They found that from 1990 to 2010, there was “a steep decline in white school-age children and an increase in Black, Hispanic and Asian children in both neighborhoods and the schools that serve them,” which, they argued, suggested that “white households reluctant to send their children to diversifying schools are exiting (or never entering) these districts entirely.”

The decrease in white students, they wrote, “may reflect two potential factors: either white families are leaving these public school districts or white households with school-age children are choosing not to enter these districts, perhaps opting for more distant and homogeneous districts.”

Along similar lines, Lichter and [*Domenico Parisi*](https://inequality.stanford.edu/about/people/domenico-parisi), a sociologist at Stanford, and [*Michael C. Taquino*](https://www.linkedin.com/in/michael-taquino-798bba206/) of Mississippi State examined the response of white people to suburban integration in their 2019 paper, “[*Remaking Metropolitan America?*](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/2378023119854882) Residential Mobility and Racial Integration in the Suburbs.”

“The exodus of whites,” they wrote, “is significantly lower in predominantly white suburbs than in places with racially diverse populations. Most suburban whites have mostly white neighbors, a pattern reinforced by white residential mobility.”

In addition, they continued, “suburban whites who move tend to choose predominantly white communities with mostly white neighbors.” Affluent white people, they noted, are “better positioned to leave diversifying places for mostly white communities with white neighbors.”

Their analysis showed that “white mobility rates were lowest in predominantly white places and blocks and highest in suburban places and blocks with significant Black populations.”

The rates of white mobility, they added,

were especially large if neighbors tended to be Black. Nearly 28 percent of whites moved away from predominantly Black neighbors, compared with an overall average of only 19.25 percent. In suburban blocks with mostly white neighbors, the mobility rate was even lower at 17.45 percent.

Even more strikingly, they reported:

whites living in predominantly Black blocks are 78 percent more likely to leave the place altogether than move to another block in the same place. Similarly, whites living in places with high concentrations of Blacks are 51 percent more likely to leave the place altogether than move to another block within the same place.

A key measure of motivation in deciding to move is the composition of the neighborhood a white family moves to, according to their analysis.

“A significant majority of white intersuburban place moves,” they wrote,

involve movement to predominantly white places (60.1 percent). Only a tiny fraction involved moves to places with predominantly Black populations (7.1 percent). Moves to mixed-race places, however, accounted for a significant minority share of all destinations (32.8 percent).

In their conclusion, Parisi, Lichter and Taquino pointed to the choice of many suburbanizing white residents of outer-ring neighborhoods: “Minority suburbanization has been countered demographically by white population shifts between suburban places, to outlying exurban areas and back to the city.”

More specifically, they argued, “our analyses show, at the block level, that suburban whites overwhelmingly have white rather than racially diverse neighbors, regardless of the overall racial composition of the particular suburban place they live.”

In addition, “Whites are moving to other suburbs, gentrifying central cities and exurban fringe areas that seem to set them apart spatially from newly arriving suburban minorities.”

Despite the pessimism inherent in their analysis, the authors left unanswered a question they posed at the end of their article: “Will white suburbanites join the new American racial mosaic? Or instead, will they leave areas of rapid racial and ethnic change, including the suburbs that no longer provide a ‘safe haven’ from racial minorities and immigrants?”

From a different vantage point, an analysis of racial [*tipping points*](https://davidcard.berkeley.edu/papers/segr-nbhood.pdf) — the percentage of minorities in a neighborhood that precipitates rapid declines in the white population — suggested that the threat of white flight in the suburbs may be lessening.

In “[*Beyond Racial Attitudes*](https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w31136/w31136.pdf): The Role of Outside Options in the Dynamics of White Flight,” [*Peter Q. Blair*](https://www.gse.harvard.edu/faculty/peter-blair), a professor of education at Harvard, developed a method for calculating tipping points that shows a steady and significant lessening of opposition to racial integration from 1970 to 2010. “The census tract tipping points,” Blair noted, “have a mean of 15 percent in 1970, 22 percent in 1980, 28 percent in 1990, 36 percent in 2000 and 41 percent in 2010.” He found that the median tract tipping point also rose, but at a slower pace, from 13 percent in 1970 to 34 percent in 2010.

Regionally, the mean tipping point shifted at the slowest pace in the Northeast (9 percent in 1970, 28 percent in 2010) and the Midwest (10 to 24 percent) and fastest in the West (12 to 43) and the South (17 to 41).

Blair wrote that his data is “consistent with white households becoming more tolerant of living with minorities.”

At the same time, race continues to influence housing prices.

In a December 2022 paper, “[*Quantifying Taste-Based Discrimination With Transaction-Level Housing Data*](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4249510),” [*Tin Cheuk Leung*](https://economics.wfu.edu/faculty-and-staff/tin-cheuk-tommy-leung), [*Xiaojin Sun*](https://hb2504.utep.edu/Home/Profile?username=xsun3) and [*Kwok Ping Tsang*](https://sites.google.com/site/byrontkp/curriculum-vitae), economists at Wake Forest University, the University of Texas at El Paso and Virginia Tech, explored “the impact of a marginal change of racial composition in a neighborhood by looking at price impacts for transactions that happen immediately after.” They found that “an additional nonwhite household within a radius of 0.2 miles reduces the price appreciation of a house by 0.08 percentage points.”

Racial-prejudice effects, they calculated, “translate into a decrease in home value, for a typical house of $380,000 in Virginia, of $3,100 for every 10 extra nonwhite neighbors.”

These effects are strongest in rich neighborhoods: “The negative effects of a nonwhite neighbor in a rich neighborhood is 0.06 percentage points higher than in a poor neighborhood.”

When selling homes, the race and ethnicity of the seller also influence the ultimate price, Leung and his colleagues wrote: “Compared to white sellers, nonwhite sellers receive significantly less, by more than three percentage points.”

Tsang wrote by email, however, that he and his co-authors

did find some evidence of declining racial prejudice over time. For example, according to our estimates, the price appreciation of a house between its repeated sales would be lower by about 1.1 percentage points for every ten nonwhite neighbors moving into its immediate neighborhood (within 0.2 miles) prior to 2017. After 2017, this number is only 0.65 percentage points.

There is a more immediate issue closely tied to the question of whether white racial and ethnic hostility is declining or rising: the 2024 election.

Running as an incumbent president, Donald Trump repeatedly sought to [*exacerbate racial conflict*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/29/us/politics/trump-suburbs-housing-white-voters.html#:~:text=WASHINGTON%20%E2%80%94%20President%20Trump%20vowed%20on,the%20people%20who%20live%20there.) during the 2020 campaign, promising “people living their Suburban Lifestyle Dream,” as he put it in a June 20, 2020, Twitter [*post*](https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1288509568578777088?s=20), that they would “no longer be bothered or financially hurt by having low income housing built in your neighborhood.” He added, for good measure, “Your housing prices will go up based on the market, and crime will go down.”

Trump’s campaign — based on driving increased racial hostility — did not succeed in 2020, but if he wins the Republican nomination for a third time, no one can predict the mood of the electorate on Nov. 5, 2024. That is especially true in the six to 10 battleground states that will determine the outcome — in a handful of which Trump won or lost by very small margins in 2016 and 2020.

In what may be a sign of lessening racial tension, however, a November 2022 analysis of census data published in The Washington Post, “[*How Mixed-Race Neighborhoods Quietly Became the Norm in the U.S.*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2022/11/04/mixed-race-neighborhoods/)” by Ted Mellnik and Andrew Van Dam, reached a striking conclusion:

Deep in the bowels of the nation’s [*2020*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2022/11/04/mixed-race-neighborhoods/) census lurks a quiet milestone: For the first time in modern American history, most white people live in mixed-race neighborhoods. This marks a tectonic shift from just a generation ago.

Back in 1990, 78 percent of white people lived in predominantly white neighborhoods, where at least four of every five people were also white. In the 2020 census, that’s plunged to 44 percent.

In quite a few states, the change from 1990 to 2020 in the share of the population living in mixed-race neighborhoods is remarkable: Washington went from 14 to 77 percent; Utah, from 5 to 50 percent; Oklahoma, from 31 to 93 percent; and New Jersey, from 26 to 61 percent.

America is undergoing a racial and ethnic upheaval that will profoundly shape election outcomes. At first glance, the trends would appear to favor Democrats, but there is no guarantee.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Martin Adolfsson/Gallery Stock FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 8, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Global Nomads Have Once Again Arrived in Brooklyn***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67P0-N7F1-DXY4-X342-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 3, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1097 words

**Byline:** By Rachel Sherman

**Body**

'We've Experienced the Stories We're Telling': 'The Jungle' Is Back.

At the Afghan Cafe, the smell of fresh dough, soft and earthy, lingers as the bread makes its way to the oven. Boxy televisions with old Bollywood films on a loop perch in the corners where the walls meet the ceiling. The floor is hardened mulch, the menu handmade. And all the patrons are a long, long way from home.

''The Jungle'' -- an immersive play about the residents of a makeshift migrant camp in Calais, France -- is back at St. Ann's Warehouse in Brooklyn, where it had its American premiere in 2018. As the story unfolds against the backdrop of the improvised cafe, the audience meets characters from Eritrea, Syria, Sudan, Iraq and Iran, who describe their harrowing journeys while confronting treacherous living conditions and impending eviction.

When ''The Jungle'' last ran in New York (the critic Ben Brantley called it a ''thrilling drama'' and ''a work of absorbing theater''), President Donald J. Trump's travel ban had virtually blocked citizens of many predominantly Muslim countries from entering the United States, which meant three of the actors nearly didn't make it to the stage.

This time, the production -- featuring a mix of new and returning actors, many of whom are former refugees themselves -- hoped for a smoother entry. Julie Hesmondhalgh, who portrays Paula, a do-gooder English volunteer dedicating her life to the women and children of the camp, and Mylène Gomera, who plays Helene, a Christian Eritrean traveling solo, are new to the company; Ammar Haj Ahmad returns as Safi, the show's Syrian narrator, along with Mohamed Sarrar as Omar, a Sudanese refugee.

But the return to the Brooklyn set has been a bumpy one.

''We obviously had some trouble last time, but we did find a way to get here in a sort of timely manner,'' said Justin Martin, who directs the play with Stephen Daldry. ''This time, we've actually found it a bit more difficult.''

Once the show was scheduled for 2023, the visa problems began anew. Applications dragged on without explanation. One of the original cast members, Yasin Moradi, a Kurdish martial artist from Iran, is still waiting for his visa in London.

Others encountered obstacles upon arrival in the United States. Gomera, who is originally from Eritrea, was held at the airport for questioning.

''It took me a couple of days to let it go and shake it off,'' she said.

The American political context may have shifted, but war, natural disaster and economic collapse continue to displace communities around the world -- and the story of desperate people seeking safe harbor still resonates.

''When does a place become a place?'' Safi asks at the end of the first act. ''When does a place become a home?''

We spoke with five cast members about their connections to the show and where they find a sense of home. These are edited excerpts from the conversations.

Ammar Haj Ahmad

I am from Syria, and I am British, but none of it, to be honest, means anything. And maybe it's corny to say, but it's the truth. I am context, and I am human.

Home for me now is people. After what happened to Damascus, I don't have the same relationship to places. Anything you build you can lose. Sometimes safety comes from attitudes and thoughts. That's where home is for me, when someone is kind in nature and has the appetite to understand.

It can be tricky sometimes, because I am performing and people are clapping, and my sisters are sleeping in cars in southern Turkey -- the center of the earthquake.

The last time I was here, I didn't enjoy any minute of it aside from the time I spent onstage. But I couldn't wait to come back. The cast are amazing and the audience is there around you. There is always the potential for it to be magical.

Mylène Gomera

I'm Eritrean. As cliché as it sounds, I'm really a global nomad on so many levels.

The role I play, Helene, is essentially my story, my route. It's such an honor to be a voice for Eritreans, especially Eritrean women. The responsibility I feel is immense.

The intention is never to leave your country. That's what gets lost. And you figure out that it isn't necessarily better, but it is safer. There is a constant battle of: Am I in a better place now?

To be in New York, to be onstage, to have come this far, to have no connections to the industry, to come from a tiny village in Eritrea -- I'm constantly asking myself how this happened.

I'm new to the company, but I feel right at home. We're all taking care of each other; this play requires that. We've experienced the stories we're telling.

Mohamed Sarrar

I am one of the people who lived in the Jungle in Calais. I lived it in reality, and now I'm doing it again. I've moved on, but I go back in my mind to show others what it was like there.

My homeland is Sudan. I fled when I was 25 because of what was happening in Darfur. I fled violence and evil.

Sometimes, onstage, the tears come, because it's not just about me, it's about all of the people who are still working to come, who can't leave.

Julie Hesmondhalgh

I'm U.K. born and bred. I come from a ***working class*** family in the north of England and I live in Manchester now, which is a city that is traditionally a city of protest and radicalism.

Back in my history there is Irish heritage, so with that always comes immigration and prejudice, for sure, but my connection to refuge and migration is purely as an activist. Let's put it this way: It wasn't me who was taken into a side room to be interviewed.

There's always a crisis of refugees, and you have to ask the question, ''Why?'' And racism has to be part of that conversation. That's why this play is so important: because it takes you right to the refugee stories, which we hear in a really real and personal way. And that's where art steps in.

It's an honor to play this role. I wanted this job more than any job I've ever wanted before.

Yasin Moradi

I am originally Kurdish from Iran. I am still in my home in London, unfortunately. It's been a long process.

I thought with Biden in office, we would go to the U.S. more easily, but it seems like it's harder than before. I am the only person who has been here for three weeks waiting without any explanation.

No one is forced to leave their land unless it is unsafe. I lived in the Jungle in 2015 for six weeks. We Kurdish people, we don't have anywhere.

The more people see this play, the more sympathy people have. It is hard to hate someone when you hear their story or laugh at their joke.

I am not there, but my heart is with them.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/02/theater/the-jungle-st-anns-warehouse.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/02/theater/the-jungle-st-anns-warehouse.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Afghan Cafe on the set of ''The Jungle,'' which integrates the audience with the cast, features catwalklike runways throughout the makeshift restaurant. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TEDDY WOLFF) (C4)

Cast members of ''The Jungle,'' clockwise, from top left: Ammar Haj Ahmad, Mylène Gomera, Mohamed Sarrar, Yasin Moradi and Julie Hesmondhalgh. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARA MESSINGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C5) This article appeared in print on page C4, C5.

**Load-Date:** March 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘Luzzu’ Review: Capturing Culture on the Coasts of Malta***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63V9-VYV1-JBG3-60ST-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 14, 2021 Thursday 00:19 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 314 words

**Byline:** Natalia Winkelman

**Highlight:** This subtle drama follows a young Maltese fisherman torn between fidelity to his trade and the demands of a modern world.

**Body**

This subtle drama follows a young Maltese fisherman torn between fidelity to his trade and the demands of a modern world.

In the naturalistic drama “Luzzu,” Jesmark (Jesmark Scicluna) spends days bobbing and fishing in bright sea waters off the coast of Malta. Though fish are few and money is tight, Jesmark treasures his trade and the cheerfully painted luzzu — or quaint wooden fishing boat — that has been passed down through his paternal lineage for generations. But once he and his wife Denise (Michela Farrugia) learn that their infant son requires pricey medical care, Jesmark must negotiate between his fidelity to fishing and the demands of a modern world.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/1kPHPM8kYQE)]

As a character, Jesmark is familiar. He is strong, sullen and stubborn, a zealous laborer whose ***working-class*** upbringing left him with a sturdy moral code and a chip on his shoulder. Quarrels with Denise or his fishing buddy David (David Scicluna) often end in Jesmark storming off in a headstrong huff. Eventually, his stiff upper lip grows tiresome, and our hero’s slow road to redemption grows less important than the people and settings that surround him. Here, Alex Camilleri, the Maltese American writer-director, excels.

In “Luzzu,” his first feature film, Camilleri demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of how small moments can build a sense of place: sandals on the salty floor of a fishery; a metal scraper peeling paint from a hull; a priest blessing boats for safe passage. Malta’s views are arresting, but the images Camilleri chooses would never be found in a travel brochure. In his subtle, vérité approach, he captures something special — not one man’s crisis, but a community’s culture.

Luzzu

Not rated. In Maltese and English, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 34 minutes. In theaters.

PHOTO: Jesmark Scicluna in “Luzzu.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kino Lorber FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 15, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Word of the Day: luminous; Word of the day***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64NS-0PM1-JBG3-62TR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 1, 2022 Tuesday 02:00 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** LEARNING

**Length:** 404 words

**Byline:** The Learning Network

**Highlight:** This word has appeared in 133 articles on NYTimes.com in the past year. Can you use it in a sentence?

**Body**

This word has appeared in 133 articles on NYTimes.com in the past year. Can you use it in a sentence?

luminous \ ˈlü-mə-nəs \ adjective

1. softly bright or radiant

2. bringing understanding or clarity

The word luminous has appeared in 133 articles on NYTimes.com in the past year, including on Nov. 11 in “‘[*Belfast’ Review: A Boy’s Life*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/11/movies/belfast-review.html)” by Jeannette Catsoulis:

Romanticism reigns in “Belfast,” Kenneth Branagh’s cinematic memoir of his childhood in a turbulent Northern Ireland. From the lustrous, mainly black-and-white photography to the cozy camaraderie of its ***working-class*** setting, the movie softens edges and hearts alike. The family at its center might have health issues, money worries and an outdoor toilet, but this is no Ken Loach-style deprivation: In these streets, grit and glamour stroll hand-in-hand.

So when Ma (Caitriona Balfe) sits in her doorway to peel potatoes for dinner, what we notice is the soft afternoon light dancing on her luminous skin and brunette curls. And when Pa (Jamie Dornan), square of jaw and shoulder, strides toward home after a spell working in England, the camera shoots him like a returning hero. Which, of course, he is, at least to his younger son, Buddy (a wonderful Jude Hill), a smart, cheery 9-year-old and a fictional version of Branagh himself.

Daily Word Challenge

Can you correctly use the word luminous in a sentence?

Based on the definition and example provided, write a sentence using today’s Word of the Day and share it as a comment on this article. It is most important that your sentence makes sense and demonstrates that you understand the word’s definition, but we also encourage you to be creative and have fun.

Then, read some of the other sentences students have submitted and use the “Recommend” button to vote for two original sentences that stand out to you.

If you want a better idea of how luminous can be used in a sentence, read these usage examples [*on Vocabulary.com*](https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/luminous).

If you enjoy this daily challenge, try one of our [*monthly vocabulary challenges*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/13/learning/learn-vocabulary-all-year-with-the-new-york-times.html).

Students ages 13 and older in the United States and the United Kingdom, and 16 and older elsewhere, can comment. All comments are moderated by the Learning Network staff.

The Word of the Day is provided by [*Vocabulary.com*](http://www.vocabulary.com/). Learn more and see usage examples across a range of subjects in the [*Vocabulary.com Dictionary*](http://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/). See every Word of the Day in [*this column*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/learning-word-of-the-day).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Cindy Lozito FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 1, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In Boston, a Push for Big Changes Faces Major Pushback***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6892-4VW1-JBG3-6238-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 22, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1667 words

**Byline:** By Jenna Russell

**Body**

When Mayor Michelle Wu cracked down on outdoor dining in Boston's congested North End neighborhood last year, appeasing residents beleaguered by crowds, trash and blocked sidewalks, restaurant owners made their displeasure known, protesting at City Hall and filing a lawsuit.

In another era, their pressure campaign might have worked. For decades, the city's mayors were Boston natives, men of Italian or Irish descent who were tight with local business owners and powerful unions.

Ms. Wu, 38, is different: a daughter of Taiwanese immigrants who campaigned as a catalyst for change and became the first woman and person of color ever elected to lead the city. She made a few minor concessions to the restaurants and moved on -- but not before threatening to end outdoor dining altogether if they found her compromise unacceptable.

The clash revealed two things. True to her workhorse reputation, Ms. Wu is trying to avoid distractions as she hammers away at her campaign agenda, focused on ''racial, economic and climate justice.'' And true to Boston's reputation, some old-school power brokers are pushing back against their loss of influence.

A coalition of property owners and brokers, the Greater Boston Real Estate Board, is prepared to spend $400,000 to squash Ms. Wu's rent control plan, recently approved by the City Council. And the city's primary police union, the Boston Police Patrolmen's Association, has so far deflected her proposals, which include making it easier to fire officers for misconduct.

Union leaders say contract talks have reached an impasse, and they are seeking a move to arbitration, which in the past has resulted in favorable outcomes for the police.

Since Ms. Wu won election in 2021, her ambitious agenda endorsed by a sweeping 64 percent of voters, progressive leaders around the country have faced increasing scrutiny, in particular because of rising crime rates and homelessness.

Yet Boston remains its own ecosystem, and Ms. Wu still appears to have some running room. As the pandemic has ebbed, allowing her to focus more on her campaign priorities, some longtime political observers say the deepening resistance to her plans simply indicates that she is making headway.

Ms. Wu, who grew up in Chicago and moved to Boston in 2009 to attend Harvard Law School, has promised innovative approaches to climate change and a greener city, real advances on affordable housing, and long-sought checks and balances for the Police Department.

Her groundbreaking election, along with that of several new members on the Boston City Council -- younger, more liberal and more racially diverse than their predecessors -- signaled major shifts in the city of 650,000, where fewer than half the residents are white. The appetite for change has not diminished in the 18 months since then, said one of the new councilors, Kendra Lara.

''The cultural shift is salient; you can feel it,'' said Ms. Lara, 33, a socialist who previously worked at the Boston-based social justice foundation Resist.

At the same time, the emergence of more diverse leadership has spurred ugliness, as well as more discussion of race and racism.

During her first weeks in office, Ms. Wu was the target of racist and sexist vitriol from across the country after she adopted aggressive measures to fight a resurgence of Covid-19, including a vaccine mandate for city workers.

Local critics of the mandate descended on the mayor's home, staging noisy, early-morning protests that went on for months in 2022. The City Council president, Ed Flynn -- whose father, Raymond Flynn, served as Boston's mayor from 1984 to 1993 -- voiced concern at the time about the ''personal, vindictive'' tone taken by some protesters.

''The demonstration under the white mayors was professional, it was respectful,'' Mr. Flynn said at a meeting last year where a divided Council voted to prohibit residential demonstrations before 9 a.m.

This spring, Ms. Wu further restricted outdoor dining in the North End, barring it from streets and most sidewalks. In response, a handful of neighborhood restaurant owners returned to court with a new claim, now alleging that the mayor was discriminating against them because they were white men of Italian descent.

As evidence, they cited a joke she made at last year's St. Patrick's Day breakfast, an annual Boston tradition where politicians trade good-natured barbs. Ms. Wu quipped at the event that she was getting used to dealing with ''problems that are expensive, disruptive and white. I'm talking about snowflakes -- I mean snowstorms.''

One of the restaurant owners who sued her for discrimination, Christian Silvestri, said he could see no other explanation besides bias for the mayor to cripple his business, while allowing restaurants in the adjacent West End neighborhood to have tables on the street.

''The taxes we pay to the city are astronomical; we keep the city going,'' he said. ''She should be going to businesses, developers, labs, hotels, asking them, 'As mayor, what can I do to help you grow?' But that's not happening -- she has her own agenda.''

In an interview, Ms. Wu said her decision to curtail outdoor dining in the densely populated North End had been guided by pleas from residents, who had begged the city for relief.

''The people are our compass -- what is important to people living in the city, who are trying their hardest to make life livable and fulfilling,'' she said.

Her attention to quality of life and ***working-class*** concerns has shored up her support in some quarters. On Blue Hill Avenue in Roxbury, a woman trying to corral a stray dog outside a gas station said she liked what Ms. Wu had done to improve access to public transportation, eliminating fares on three city bus lines in low-income areas for a two-year trial.

Nemiah Brown, 60, a barber and part-time construction worker wearing a hard hat as he ate lunch outside in Dorchester, said he voted for Ms. Wu because she seemed focused on regular people. Told that the City Council had endorsed her plan for rent control, Mr. Brown nodded approvingly.

''I might be working over there,'' he said, gesturing at a construction project rising above Morrissey Boulevard, in a fast-changing corner of the city, ''but I can't afford to live there.''

A recent poll found that 65 percent of Boston voters supported rent control, as the median rent for a one-bedroom apartment in the city hovered around $3,000 per month. But Ms. Wu's proposal, which would limit annual rent hikes to between 6 and 10 percent, depending on inflation, still faces steep hurdles.

It must be approved by the state legislature and the governor, and Greg Vasil, the chief executive of the Greater Boston Real Estate Board, said the group will continue to fight it, convinced that it will do more long-term harm than good by driving developers away from the city.

Frequently typecast as a ''big ideas'' mayor, less interested in daily grit, Ms. Wu has recently announced a series of smaller, quicker innovations that could be seen as the millennial version of pothole repair: new bike lanes; a curbside composting program; a beer garden in Boston Common; and more dog-friendly restaurant options.

Such changes do not impress Jim Napolitano, 68, and other longtime East Boston residents who were holding court in the back of a neighborhood market on Wednesday morning, as Ms. Wu held a community coffee hour at a playground a few blocks away.

''The yuppies might like it, but we're all set on bike lanes,'' Mr. Napolitano said. ''We'd like her to fix the streets.''

In East Boston, as in the city's other old Irish and Italian American power centers, Mr. Napolitano and others said they felt forgotten by a mayor who seemed intent on nudging the city forward without them.

''We want her to know that there are other people in the city besides poor people and people of color,'' he said. ''You still have the base, the Italian people. You have conservatives, which she doesn't realize.''

The police, too, have dug in their heels against Ms. Wu's proposals. The mayor sent a strong message last summer by appointing a new police commissioner, Michael A. Cox Sr., who was himself a victim of misconduct by his fellow Boston officers 30 years ago. But bending the terms of the police contract will be exceedingly difficult.

''With an institution as entrenched as this Police Department, as set in its ways, you need a dragon slayer,'' said Jamarhl Crawford, a community activist who served on the city's Police Reform Task Force in 2020.

Crime has not surged in Boston as it has in other places, though there have been 17 murders in the city this year, compared with 10 in the same period in 2022. The rate remains among the lowest in decades, and the incidence of most other types of crimes has fallen or remained stable, making the issue less of a preoccupation for Ms. Wu than it has been for other big-city mayors in the pandemic's wake.

She takes a measured tone in her public comments about policing, emphasizing officers' morale and the difficulty of their work. That approach, along with her proposal for a modest increase to the police budget next year, has not been lost on the union, which saves its harshest criticism for the City Council. But Ms. Wu has also made it clear that there will be no contract deal without the changes she views as crucial, even if the police contract ends up in arbitration.

Greeting residents at the well-attended coffee hour in East Boston, bundled up in a hooded sweatshirt bearing the name of a neighborhood soup kitchen, Ms. Wu listened intently as one after another lined up to voice concerns.

Mary Berninger, a resident for decades, told Ms. Wu she was frustrated with continuing development and the loss of parking. She came away unsatisfied.

The mayor ''has a heart of gold,'' Ms. Berninger said. ''But she's surrounded herself with people who can't recognize that there is an established community in Boston that needs to be heard.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/21/us/michelle-wu-boston-mayor.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/21/us/michelle-wu-boston-mayor.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: MICHELLE WU, above, who in 2021 became the first woman and person of color to be elected mayor of Boston. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SOPHIE PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Michelle Wu put residents over business interests in restricting outdoor dining in the North End neighborhood. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN TLUMACKI/THE BOSTON GLOBE, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

Ms. Wu's aggressive measures to fight Covid-19 drew early-morning protests at her home that lasted for months in 2022. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CRAIG F. WALKER/THE BOSTON GLOBE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** May 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Democrats’ Bill Would Deny For-Profit College Students Extra Aid***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:642J-N631-JBG3-634S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 12, 2021 Friday 11:30 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1457 words

**Byline:** Erica L. Green

**Highlight:** Critics say a little-noticed provision would hurt the very constituencies — people of color, the ***working class***, low-income Americans — that the party typically champions.

**Body**

Critics say a little-noticed provision would hurt the very constituencies — people of color, the ***working class***, low-income Americans — that the party typically champions.

WASHINGTON — When Megan Kern decided she wanted to enroll in [*Pima Medical Institute, in Phoenix*](https://pmi.edu/locations/arizona/phoenix) last year, its tax status was the furthest thing from her mind.

The 37-year-old single mother was focused on finding a school that would prepare her for a stable career after struggling to raise her daughter on her own. She settled on Pima, a for-profit institution, after finding it a better match for her aspirations, and its staff more warm and welcoming, than the four-year and community colleges she had explored.

“Showing my daughter that even at 37 years old, you can still go out there, get a good education and follow your dreams, meant everything to me,” said Ms. Kern, who is studying to become a surgical technologist. “I chose Pima because they were very concerned about what I wanted to do, where I wanted to go and how I could get there.”

That choice may now come at a cost. Ms. Kern is one of about 900,000 low-income students attending for-profit colleges who get federal Pell Grants and could lose out on a $550 increase that House Democrats have proposed in the latest version of the social spending and climate package making its way through Congress. In a little-noticed provision, lawmakers have stipulated that the increase proposed for the grants, the largest federal aid program for low-income students, can only be used at public and private nonprofit colleges and universities, covering about five million students.

The exception tracks with Democrats’ longstanding efforts to limit the tax dollars flowing to the scandal-scarred for-profit college industry. The sector became notorious when two massive chains, ITT Technical Institute and Corinthian Colleges, collapsed and [*left hundreds of thousands of students saddled with debt, worthless degrees and bleak job prospects*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/21/us/politics/for-profit-universities-debt-relief-devos.html). Since then, a series of school closures, and multiple investigations that found the schools employed fraudulent and predatory practices, have cost the government billions in loan forgiveness and other remedies.

“Fraudulent and deceptive practices at certain for-profit institutions have already cost taxpayers more than $2.5 billion in this year alone,” said Representative Robert C. Scott, Democrat of Virginia and chair of the House Education and Labor Committee, which crafted the provision.

For-profit industry leaders and Republicans say the provision is misguided and discriminatory. Settling an ideological score with the institutions, they say, will penalize the very constituencies — people of color, the ***working class*** and low-income Americans — that Democrats typically champion.

The bill is still being negotiated and will need every Democrat’s support to pass the Senate under special budget rules. In a letter sent to congressional leaders last week, more than [*a dozen Democratic members of Congress*](http://www.career.org/uploads/7/8/1/1/78110552/pell_grant_award_bbb_letter-nov_5.pdf)agreed.

“Make no mistake, this proposal hurts students, not institutions,” the members wrote. “And worse yet, the proposal will have a disparate impact on minority and first-generation students, which runs contrary to the policy goals of the Build Back Better agenda.”

“We need to do more to bring accountability to all sectors of higher education,” they added. “However, punishing students does not accomplish that objective.”

Supporters of the provision argue that the Pell grant is a coveted pot of funding — it is for the poorest students, does not have to be paid back, and covers the gamut of college expenses, including tuition, fees and room and board — that for-profit schools already eat up, with high costs and little return on investment.

Research also shows that tuition at for-profits is four times as high as at public community colleges, and that their students carry significantly more debt that they are less likely to be able to pay back. Some students, for instance,[*who went to culinary school*](https://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/08/us/08default.html?smid=em-share)found themselves with as much as $50,000 in debt after graduation while earning only minimum wage.

The [*problem of high debt and low wages is by no means limited to*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/usc-online-social-work-masters-11636435900) proprietary schools. But unlike other sectors, for-profit colleges are beholden to shareholders and have been found to hike up tuition to match financial aid increases, according to Stephanie Riegg Cellini, a professor of public policy and economics at George Washington University. “We have research showing again and again that for-profits operate differently, their incentives are different and the response to student aid is different,” she said.

Democrats and some experts also stress that the long-awaited Pell increase in the social spending bill should be invested carefully; it is already less than half the $1,400 per student that President Biden had wanted.

“The Build Back Better Act’s investments in higher education are targeted to provide the greatest value to students and communities,” Mr. Scott said.

Jason Altmire, the president and chief executive of Career Education Colleges and Universities, a trade group, argued that the Pell provision stood to undermine a crucial part of Mr. Biden’s agenda: to rebuild the nation’s infrastructure.

The organization’s member institutions train and certify tens of thousands of nurses, welders, truck drivers and maintenance workers each year — just the type of workers who will be needed to fill the millions of jobs that Mr. Biden has promised to create through his plans.

“If you want to do a $1 trillion effort to rebuild America, those are our graduates,” Mr. Altmire said. “You’re going to disadvantage the very students you’re going to need to carry out this work.”

The decision has also divided some experts in the higher education community who have long advocated a Pell increase.

Kate Tromble, the vice president at the Institute for College Access and Success, which advocates making college more affordable, said it was time for Congress to start using its legislative levers to steer students toward higher-quality schools. She noted that since the 2009-10 school year, about $9 billion in Pell funding has gone to for-profit schools that have closed; Corinthian and ITT received more than $4 billion.

“The federal government is providing trillions of dollars in financial aid to help students attend school; it should have an opinion about the quality of the school, the amount of debt and the ability of the program to produce labor market outcomes,” she said. “The idea that we’re starting to articulate that in federal policy is not a bad thing.”

Justin Draeger, the president of the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators, said in a statement that the organization was concerned to see the Pell Grant increase limited to certain schools, saying it would “add new complexity to a financial-aid system on the verge of much-needed simplification.” He added that concerns about quality and accountability in the for-profit sector should be addressed through regulatory changes to the Higher Education Act; such changes are [*currently underway at the Education Department*](https://www2.ed.gov/policy/highered/reg/hearulemaking/2021/index.html?utm_content=&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_name=&amp;utm_source=govdelivery&amp;utm_term=).

Stacey Nottingham, the campus director of Pima’s Phoenix campus, where Ms. Kern attends, said she hoped that the 68 percent of its roughly 700 students who are Pell grant recipients were not penalized for others institutions’ past mistakes. “There’s a perception that private colleges are not good stewards of taxpayer dollars, when we’re held to the same, if not higher standards, as other institutions in higher ed,” Ms. Nottingham said.

According [*to the latest federal data*](https://collegescorecard.ed.gov/school/?486822-Pima_Medical_Institute-Phoenix&amp;fos_code=5107&amp;fos_credential=2), the average cost of Pima’s largest program is $18,715, and students graduate with a median debt of $7,600 to $9,500. Two years after entering repayment, 34 percent of borrowers are making progress on repaying their loans, 19 percent are not, and 9 percent have either defaulted or have delinquent accounts. The average income of its graduates is $20,000 to $29,000.

Ms. Kern, who has a job at Kohl’s, while also working on campus through the federal work-study program, said she struggled to see how Congress was acting in her best interest. Soon, she will start an externship in operating rooms and will not be able to hold other jobs, making the Pell grant crucial.

“That $550 may not seem like a lot to a lot of people, but that’s less money I have to worry about on my student loan, and less worry about what we’ll have to eat,” she said. “Life is hard enough as it is already. Why would they want to make it harder for those of us who want to better our lives, just based on the schools we choose?”

PHOTO: The ITT Technical Institute was one of Americas’s largest for-profit schools before it went under. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SANDY HUFFAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A13)

**Load-Date:** November 13, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The Best Genre Movies of 2022, All Ready to Stream***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:676B-H561-DXY4-X114-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 29, 2022 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 1018 words

**Byline:** By Elisabeth Vincentelli, Erik Piepenburg, Robert Daniels and Devika Girish

**Body**

We look at the best in horror, science fiction, action and international films, all available to stream.

Ready to go some gooey or gory places? Or see an expert performer navigate action films in an original way? Or perhaps you'd like to explore two knockout docs from around the world? Our genre movie streaming columnists have made their picks for the best of the year. Some movies you will have heard of. Others will be new to your view. Either way, prepare to head out on adventure with these across-the-spectrum offerings.

Science Fiction

For David Cronenberg, the call is always coming from inside the house: It is the body that attacks, betrays, seduces, takes over. Impervious to the subjects agitating current science-fiction movies (alternative universes, artificial intelligence, a dying Earth), the Canadian director went back to familiar turf with his latest, in which people mutate in unpredictable ways. Cronenberg has always known that the true frontier is not space but the evolution of flesh, consciousness and machine.

In ''Crimes of the Future,'' Saul Tenser (Viggo Mortensen) keeps growing new tumors that his acolyte, Caprice (Léa Seydoux), excises in public, via a repurposed autopsy device. The visual effects are not much more sophisticated than those in the director's similarly themed ''Videodrome'' (1983) and ''Existenz'' (1999), but the squishy organic feel is exactly what makes the new film stand out from run-of-the-mill C.G.I. fests. That and, of course, its tone, coldly detached and darkly comic, as exemplified by Kristen Stewart's deliciously arch turn as a fan of Tenser's body artistry.

''Everyone wants to be a performance artist these days,'' we are told, and the movie zeros in on our narcissism, need for attention and terminal cynicism. Beyond the gross-out close-ups of puckering organs, what is most striking here is a rare cinematic quality nowadays: perversity. -- ELISABETH VINCENTELLI

Stream ''Crimes of the Future'' on Hulu.

Horror

My favorite horror movies this year laid off the flashy effects and instead gave me the unshakable willies the unshowy way: with creeping dread and uncertain stillness. That's how ''Watcher,'' ''We're All Going to the World's Fair'' and ''The Innocents'' did it.

But oh man, ''The Sadness.'' Rob Jabbaz's transgressive zombie film was bombastically directed and exhaustingly gory -- in other words, the year's most gloriously brutal horror-watching experience.

It's set in Taipei, where two young lovers (Berant Zhu and Regina Lei) fight to reunite after a contagion turns people into sexually voracious flesh destroyers. The carnage almost never lets up, and it's jaw-dropping to watch -- like when the hungry infected turn a crowded subway car into a preposterously blood-slick Slip 'N Slide. This scene, like the film overall, is demented and repulsive but also -- and here's the curveball -- uncompromisingly feminist. It's not easy to get a message across when the mayhem surrounding it is this maximalist, but Jabbaz figured it out.

Listen to me carefully: If you're at all iffy about being grossed out, stay away from this film. But if your constitution is solid, I dare you to jump into its exquisitely gruesome, grimly satirical maelstrom. -- ERIK PIEPENBURG

Stream ''The Sadness'' on Shudder.

Action

Between Matt Reeves' gripping neo-noir ''The Batman'' and Steven Soderbergh's unnerving surveillance thriller ''KIMI,'' this year the actress Zoë Kravitz ruled the action genre. Her reign is uniquely impressive when one considers the disparate requirements of each role.

As Selina Kyle/Catwoman in ''The Batman,'' the agile, shadowy equal to the caped crusader, she moves with a slender yet muscular physicality. As seen in her knowing runway stride, sultry possibilities become real and hand-to-hand confrontations are rendered acrobatic as Kravitz gracefully leaps and dives against thugs.

Playing Angela, a blue-haired tech employee confined to her home office in ''KIMI,'' the actress turns in her former fluidity for an antisocial rigidity as she becomes the target of a predatory company intent on covering up the crime she discovered. In contrast to the skintight leather suit she wears as Catwoman, Kravitz packs a different but no less formidable punch in her long loose coat as she evades her pursuers during a series of arresting chase scenes.

And yet, what binds these seemingly conflicting performances is how Kravitz's expressive eyes translate the assuredness of Catwoman and the savviness of Angela. They're a confirmation of her range as today's premiere Black woman action hero. -- ROBERT DANIELS

Stream both ''The Batman'' and ''KIMI'' on HBO Max.

International

Every month, as I compile international films for my column, I confront the arbitrariness of the boundaries that determine what we consider familiar and foreign, the home and the world. My two favorite films this year, both documentaries by women, challenge these delineations. In ''A Night of Knowing Nothing'' by Payal Kapadia, a fictional voice-over narration, chronicling the dissolve of the speaker's inter-caste relationship, coalesces a series of twilit scenes of college life in India that range from nocturnal revels to protests against an increasingly repressive government. Culminating with CCTV footage of baton-wielding police descending upon a library full of students, the film shatters the fictions of democracy: The will of the people means little to the weapons of the state.

In Alice Diop's ''We,'' a train route that connects Paris's suburbs to the city center forms the spine for the film's intimate, itinerant glimpses of the ***working-class*** immigrants who live on the outskirts of France's capital. Diop's cinematic map bursts the contours of French identity and recenters them around those relegated to its margins.

Each film, a whole fashioned from disparate pieces, asks us to re-envision the nation itself: as a collective forged out of solidarity rather than superficial similarities. -- DEVIKA GIRISH

Stream ''A Night of Knowing Nothing'' on the Criterion Channel. Stream ''We'' on Mubi.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/19/movies/best-genre-movies-streaming.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/19/movies/best-genre-movies-streaming.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top left, Viggo Mortensen and Léa Seydoux in ''Crimes of the Future.'' Top right, Regina Lei in ''The Sadness.'' Center, a scene from the documentary ''We (Nous).'' Above, Zoë Kravitz and Robert Pattinson in ''The Batman,'' directed by Matt Reeves. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NIKOS NIKOLOPOULOS/NEON

FREDRICK LIU/MACHI XCELSIOR STUDIOS/SHUDDER/AMC

MUBI

JONATHAN OLLEY/WARNER BROS. PICTURES) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** December 29, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Israel’s Crisis Has a Distinctly American Flavor; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67W6-GF41-JBG3-62J5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 27, 2023 Monday 14:46 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1442 words

**Byline:** Aron Heller

**Highlight:** Israel has learned some unhealthy habits from the United States.

**Body**

TEL AVIV — Hours before Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu delayed a proposed [*judicial overhaul*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/israel-judiciary-crisis-explainer.html) that has prompted [*mass protests*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/03/27/world/israel-protests-netanyahu), the head of one of Israel’s most powerful unions made a small, seemingly off-topic remark as he announced a nationwide strike Monday.

“We are soldiers of the democratic state of Israel. Our country, and no one else’s,” hollered [*Arnon Bar-David*](https://global.histadrut.org.il/news/employers-and-employees-in-israel-join-forces-in-historic-strike-against-controversial-legislation/), the union leader. “This is not the country of Kohelet — this is a country that belongs to all its citizens.”

[*The Kohelet Policy Forum*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/20/business/israel-judges-kohelet.html) is a libertarian-leaning think tank reportedly funded by at least one American billionaire that has emerged as the ideological architect of the proposed overhaul. The plan’s intellectual backers have routinely pointed to the American model of elected leaders nominating and confirming Supreme Court justices as their inspiration. By invoking the forum, Mr. Bar-David touched on a key aspect of Israel’s social and judicial crisis that has been too often overlooked: American influence.

While [*many observers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/04/opinion/israel-netanyahu.html) have pointed to trends in Israel as harbingers for the United States, just as compelling an argument can be made that it is the other way around.

In many ways, the fight over the future of the judiciary marks the culmination of the Americanization of Israeli society. A segment of Israeli society has always admired the United States and has striven to reimagine itself in its image. Over the past few decades, though, it hasn’t been America’s grand traditions of democracy and multiculturalism that have infiltrated the psyche of many in the Jewish state but rather its less admirable attributes.

As in America, many on the Israeli right have stopped defining themselves based on policies and have resorted instead to nativism and resistance to democratic norms. The political wedge issues in Israel are no longer questions around Palestinian statehood but rather the independence of the courts, good governance and plain decency. It’s no surprise, then, that the heirs of Israel’s earlier generation of conservatives can no longer find their place in the ruling Likud party. They’ve become Israeli versions of so-called RINOs, or Republicans in name only.

Without the demarcation of the ideological rivalries of the past, Israel’s political map is now defined mostly along identity lines, with the ultra-Orthodox, nationalist settlers and ***working-class*** Mizrahi voters on one side (the “red” Israel) and the wealthier, mostly Ashkenazi, educated class of the coastal Tel Aviv and Haifa regions on the other (the “blue” Israel). Despite the socioeconomic gaps between them, the main points of contention tend to revolve around matters of decorum, tradition and grievances.

An example of Israel’s echoes of the United States can be found in the changes to the socialist kibbutz movement that helped shape the country’s identity and fueled its growth, which has been all but overrun [*by privatization*](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/feb/20/israel1) and rabid capitalism that has contributed to the country having among the [*highest rates of inequality*](https://shoresh.institute/graphs.html) among nations in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Israel’s collective and pioneering spirit has been ravaged by consumerism and commercialism.

Like America, Israel now finds itself hopelessly polarized along numerous societal fault lines: religious and secular, rural and urban, educated and not, traditional and progressive, hawks and doves. And, like the United States so often during the Trump years, those differences have spilled out into the streets. But for a small country in a tough neighborhood, one whose survival depends on an engaged citizenry and mandatory military service, the stakes in Israel are that much higher.

Make no mistake, Israeli politics has always been a blood sport. But only in recent years has this hyperpartisan discourse taken hold, one that transcends ideology and instead revolves around a wannabe strongman’s cult of personality.

Before Mr. Netanyahu attempted this power grab, Donald Trump tried it. Before Israel’s Channel 14 peddled some of its propaganda and misinformation, Fox News was doing the same.

There is a distinct taste of Americanism to this fresh conservative Israeli persona. Mr. Netanyahu, the country’s biggest panderer to identity politics, is Israel’s most American-style politician. He spent many years in the United States, and many of his pollsters and [*strategists*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/19/us/politics/arthur-finkelstein-innovative-influential-conservative-strategist-dies-at-72.html), not to mention his [*inner circle*](https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/israel-middle-east/articles/bibis-brain), came straight from right-wing Republican campaigns. Much of the appeal he has cultivated over the past decade owes to the backing of the free daily newspaper [*Israel Hayom*](https://www.timesofisrael.com/ex-aide-testifies-netanyahu-enlisted-sheldon-adelson-to-take-down-rival-paper/), the outlet of the late billionaire Republican megadonor Sheldon Adelson. (Mr. Adelson’s widow, Miriam, has [*recently criticized*](https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-03-12/ty-article/invoking-husband-miriam-adelson-says-israel-should-slow-down-judicial-overhaul/00000186-d63a-def2-a5b7-f63b68e20000) the rush toward judicial reform.)

It’s in the Jewish settlements of the West Bank, though, where the American import has been most devastating. In Israel’s version of the Wild West, he who captures the hilltop is king, and “God’s will” overrules the laws of man. This brazen flouting of the state’s authority over the years has often been delivered with the accent of an American gunslinger.

Israeli militancy has always existed. But it was the immigration of the Brooklyn-born rabbi Meir Kahane in the 1970s that helped introduce an American-tinged racism to it. Arabs were no longer just adversaries to overcome in war; they were vile enemies who had to be expelled or killed.

Is it any wonder that Kahane’s earliest and most ardent followers were also American immigrants, like the Boston-born [*Baruch Marzel*](https://www.timesofisrael.com/from-annexation-to-right-of-return-what-the-parties-say-about-the-palestinians/)? That some of the most radical of the Hilltop Youth West Bank anarchists today consider the St. Louis-born rabbi [*Yitzchak Ginsburgh*](https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-03-24/ty-article-magazine/.highlight/the-influential-rabbi-who-wants-to-turn-israel-into-an-iran-style-fundamentalist-state/00000187-0fe2-d4ca-afff-1fea051b0000) to be their spiritual leader?

Is it a coincidence that some of the most horrid acts of Jewish terrorism in Israel were carried out by the likes of the Florida-born [*Jack Teitel*](https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4365979,00.html) and the Brooklyn-born [*Baruch Goldstein*](https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-733523)

Their heirs are now key players in the current government.

Itamar Ben-Gvir, Israel’s ultranationalist minister of national security, once referred to the mass murderer Mr. Goldstein as a hero (but says he no longer thinks so) and until recently had [*a*](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/ben-gvir-responds-to-bennett-fine-ill-take-down-baruch-goldsteins-picture/) [*picture of him*](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/ben-gvir-responds-to-bennett-fine-ill-take-down-baruch-goldsteins-picture/) hanging in his home.

The far-right finance minister, Bezalel Smotrich, who recently made news for saying that an Arab village should be “[*wiped out*](https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-03-01/ty-article/.premium/palestinian-village-of-hawara-needs-to-be-wiped-out-israels-finance-minister/00000186-9d56-df48-ab96-bd576aac0000)” and that there was [*no such thing as Palestinians*](https://www.timesofisrael.com/far-right-lawmaker-bezalel-smotrich-declares-himself-his-family-real-palestinians/), was reportedly once arrested on suspicion of being a part of a cell planning to use [*700 liters of gasoline*](https://www.timesofisrael.com/former-shin-bet-deputy-chief-said-to-call-hardline-mk-smotrich-a-terrorist/) in his possession to blow up Tel Aviv’s main highway to protest Israel’s 2005 withdrawal from Gaza. (He denies this claim.)

The primary motivation for these cabinet ministers in neutering the courts seems to be to remove any future obstacles to their West Bank aspirations and to make sure that withdrawals never happen again. For the ultra-Orthodox, the aim is to perpetuate their avoidance of military service and maintain their preferred status. And for Mr. Netanyahu, who is on trial on corruption charges, the goal is most likely to stay in power and stay out of jail (even though he denies such a motive).

Now this unholy alliance of zealots, cynics and charlatans is following the lead of Republicans in the United States by trying to turn the Supreme Court into an explicitly political body.

But the American federal system has a written constitution, 50 state governments, two independent legislative bodies and other checks and balances that simply don’t exist in Israel’s parliamentary system.

The Americanization of the Israeli judicial system at the hands of extremist leaders, even if they are elected, would rupture the essential trust and faith that Israelis have put into their system of governance and end the country’s long-held belief that good-faith actors in government have the best interests of all of Israel at heart.

If there is one positive American influence to point to these days, it is the awakening of a civil resistance movement that seems as impressive as that of any democracy since the civil rights movement and anti-Vietnam protests of the 1960s.

But the larger issue boils down to this: Israel has enough problems of its own without also importing those of America.

[*Aron Heller*](https://www.aronheller.com/) (@aron\_heller) is an Israel-based feature writer, columnist and broadcaster. He was a longtime Associated Press correspondent and journalism lecturer.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

A feature writer, columnist and broadcaster.

This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** March 28, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Capturing the Anarchy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65H0-X6K1-DXY4-X16P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 21, 2022 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1225 words

**Byline:** By Roslyn Sulcas

**Body**

'Pistol,' a new mini-series directed by Danny Boyle, is based on a memoir by the punk band's bassist and founder, Steve Jones.

LONDON -- ''Are we doing any spitting?'' asked a man in the crowd at the 100 Club, a small, red-walled underground space, redolent of spilled beer, cigarette smoke and a thousand lost nights, just off London's Oxford Street.

Yes, there would be spitting. The club was the setting for an early Sex Pistols gig, which last June was being recreated for ''Pistol,'' a six-part series about the British band, directed by Danny Boyle and streaming on Hulu in the United States and Disney+ in other territories, starting May 31.

The Sex Pistols were the ''philosophers and the dress code'' of the punk revolution, said Boyle, who seemed to be everywhere on set, talking to the extras about crowd behavior, checking cameras and peering intently at monitors as the actors performed the song ''Bodies'' and the audience went wild.

''I tried to make the series in a way that was chaotic and true to the Pistols' manifesto,'' Boyle said in a recent interview. That meant taking an experimental approach to filming: ''We would just run whole scenes, whole performances, without knowing if we had captured the 'right' shot or not. It's everything you've been taught not to do.''

Thomas Brodie-Sangster, who plays Malcolm McLaren, the band's manager, with virtuosic panache, said Boyle's approach was unlike anything he had previously experienced on a set. ''You felt, this could go wrong, but you could trust in Danny and dive in and experiment -- very Sex Pistols!''

The result is a charged, visceral, Cubist portrait of the flamboyant rise and explosive fall of the Sex Pistols, whose brief existence from 1975 to 1978 made punk rock a worldwide phenomenon and whose anarchic songs (''God Save the Queen,'' ''Pretty Vacant'') became anthems for the disaffected.

The series, written by Craig Pearce, is based on the memoir ''Tales of a Lonely Boy'' by Steve Jones, the band's guitarist. But Boyle said that although Jones's story was ''a wonderful way in,'' he and Pearce had tried to paint a composite picture of the entire group, and the '70s world from which it emerged. (The band originally comprised Jones, the singer John Lydon, known as Johnny Rotten, the drummer Paul Cook, and Glen Matlock on bass, replaced in 1977 by Sid Vicious.)

The first episode opens with a montage of archival footage: The Queen waving politely to the crowd; a scene from the slapstick ''Carry On'' movies; David Bowie performing; striking workers and garbage piled in the streets. When we meet Steve (Toby Wallace), he is busy stealing sound equipment from a Bowie gig. (The singer's lipstick is still on the microphone.)

Steve and his bandmates are angry, bored, and ''trying to scrape enough together for another pint,'' he tells them as they discuss what their group should wear. ''So, no suits?'' asks the hapless Wally, who soon gets booted from the band.

''It's hard to overestimate how class-ridden and moribund British society was for these guys,'' said Pearce, who met Jones, Cook and other figures close to the band before writing most of the script in his native Australia during the first months of the pandemic.

''The promise of the Swinging Sixties didn't deliver; rock 'n' roll freedom didn't happen for most kids,'' Pearce said. ''There was a feeling that if you were born into a certain class, you couldn't escape. You had to accept what had been handed to you.''

Then, he said, came ''this group of kids who said, you are sleepwalking through life.''

Boyle, he added, was always his ''dream director'' for the series. ''We couldn't believe it when he immediately said he wanted to do it.''

It turned out that Boyle couldn't quite believe it either. ''I am very music-driven, but I never imagined doing the Pistols,'' he said. ''I had followed John Lydon's career closely, and the hostility he felt for the others wasn't a secret.'' But after reading Pearce's script, Boyle immediately said yes.

''Which was ridiculous,'' he said with a laugh, ''since I didn't even know if we would have the music, the most important thing.''

Lydon opposed both the use of the Sex Pistols's music and the series itself, but eventually lost his court case when a judge ruled that the terms of a band agreement gave Cook and Jones a majority vote. Boyle said he had attempted to contact Lydon during the dispute. He added that he hoped the series would ''reveal the genius and the humility'' in the frontman.

Boyle said that while he did extensive reading and research, talking to everyone he could find who had been involved with the band, he ultimately trusted his intuition in formulating an approach to the series.

''I grew up in a similar ***working-class*** environment to Steve and these guys,'' he said. ''We are exactly the same age and I am a music obsessive. I had to explain to the actors what the 1970s were like; they just don't recognize how little stimulation there was, how you waited all week for the lifeline of the New Musical Express to appear on a Thursday!''

Before filming began, the actors playing the band members spent two months in ''band camp,'' with a daily routine of music lessons, vocal coaching and movement practice. Sometimes Boyle would talk to them about the '70s and show them footage. Then, led by Karl Hyde and Rick Smith from the British electronic music group Underworld, they would spend hours playing together.

Boyle said he had mostly avoided casting trained musicians. ''I didn't want anyone locked into an expertise,'' he said, adding that Jacob Slater, who plays Cook, was an excellent guitarist, but had to learn drumming.

He also decided not to do any postproduction work on the music. ''Like the Pistols, we just had to get up and, however imperfect we were, go for it,'' said Sydney Chandler, who plays the American singer Chrissie Hynde. Chandler's character is one of several memorable women in the series, alongside the designer Vivienne Westwood (Talulah Riley), Nancy Spungen (Emma Appleton) and the punk icon Jordan (Maisie Williams).

When it came to the band members, ''we didn't want to be tributes or caricatures,'' said Anson Boon, who plays Lydon and, like his character, had never sung before. ''The Pistols produced a raw, angry wall of sound and we wanted to capture that essence without trying to do an impression.''

Playing a character who is also a real person was intimidating but fascinating, said Wallace, who spent time with Jones before filming began. ''We talked a lot about his family, then he gave me the first guitar lesson I really had.''

The series shows Steve's unhappy childhood, which Wallace saw as central to Jones's ''anger and frustration,'' he said, and led him to create ''a band that represents the unrepresented.

Working on the series, Boyle said, had made him aware of the Pistols' importance beyond music. ''They were a bunch of ***working class*** guys who broke the order of things, more than the Beatles,'' he said. ''It was especially resonant in the U.K., where the way you were expected to behave was so entrenched.''

The Pistols, he added, gave their fans permission to do whatever they wanted, to waste their time however they wanted, to shape their own lives in a singular way.

''They gave a sense of purpose to purposelessness,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/arts/television/sex-pistols-pistol.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/arts/television/sex-pistols-pistol.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The director Danny Boyle mostly avoided casting trained musicians to play the members of the Sex Pistols for ''Pistol,'' above, a six-part series that will be streaming soon on Hulu. (C1)

Toby Wallace, left, as Steve Jones and Louis Partridge as Sid Vicious in ''Pistol,'' a series on the Sex Pistols, directed by Danny Boyle, right. ''I tried to make the series in a way that was chaotic and true to the Pistols' manifesto,'' Boyle said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIYA MIZUNO/FX) (C4)

**Load-Date:** May 21, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘We’ve Experienced the Stories We’re Telling’: ‘The Jungle’ Is Back.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67NV-R4R1-JBG3-6555-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 2, 2023 Thursday 00:17 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 1154 words

**Byline:** Rachel Sherman

**Highlight:** Five years after its American premiere, the acclaimed play about migrants eking out lives in an encampment returns with a mix of new and original cast members.

**Body**

‘We’ve Experienced the Stories We’re Telling’: ‘The Jungle’ Is Back.

At the Afghan Cafe, the smell of fresh dough, soft and earthy, lingers as the bread makes its way to the oven. Boxy televisions with old Bollywood films on a loop perch in the corners where the walls meet the ceiling. The floor is hardened mulch, the menu handmade. And all the patrons are a long, long way from home.

“The Jungle” — an immersive play about the residents of a makeshift [*migrant camp*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/27/world/europe/calais-jungle-france-migrants.html?smid=pl-share) in Calais, France — is back at [*St. Ann’s Warehouse in Brooklyn*](https://stannswarehouse.org/show/the-jungle-2023/), where it had its American premiere in 2018. As the story unfolds against the backdrop of the improvised cafe, the audience meets characters from Eritrea, Syria, Sudan, Iraq and Iran, who describe their harrowing journeys while confronting treacherous living conditions and impending eviction.

When “The Jungle” last ran in New York (the critic Ben Brantley called it a [*“thrilling drama” and “a work of absorbing theater”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/09/theater/the-jungle-review-st-anns-warehouse.html)), President Donald J. Trump’s [*travel ban*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/01/world/americas/travel-ban-trump-how-it-works.html) had virtually [*blocked*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/31/us/politics/trump-travel-ban.html) citizens of many predominantly Muslim countries from entering the United States, which meant three of the actors [*nearly didn’t make it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/02/theater/the-jungle-st-anns-warehouse.html) to the stage.

This time, the production — featuring a mix of new and returning actors, many of whom are former refugees themselves — hoped for a smoother entry. Julie Hesmondhalgh, who portrays Paula, a do-gooder English volunteer dedicating her life to the women and children of the camp, and Mylène Gomera, who plays Helene, a Christian Eritrean traveling solo, are new to the company; Ammar Haj Ahmad returns as Safi, the show’s Syrian narrator, along with Mohamed Sarrar as Omar, a Sudanese refugee.

But the return to the Brooklyn set has been a bumpy one.

“We obviously had some trouble last time, but we did find a way to get here in a sort of timely manner,” said Justin Martin, who directs the play with Stephen Daldry. “This time, we’ve actually found it a bit more difficult.”

Once the show was scheduled for 2023, the visa problems began anew. Applications dragged on without explanation. One of the original cast members, Yasin Moradi, a Kurdish martial artist from Iran, is still waiting for his visa in London.

Others encountered obstacles upon arrival in the United States. Gomera, who is originally from Eritrea, was held at the airport for questioning.

“It took me a couple of days to let it go and shake it off,” she said.

The American political context may have shifted, but [*war*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/06/world/europe/ukraine-war-refugees-displaced.html), [*natural disaster*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/09/world/middleeast/earthquake-antakya-turkey.html?action=click&amp;pgtype=Article&amp;state=default&amp;module=styln-turkey-earthquake&amp;variant=show&amp;region=MAIN_CONTENT_1&amp;block=storyline_top_links_recirc) and [*economic collapse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/02/world/asia/afghanistan-migration-refugees.html) continue to displace communities around the world — and the story of desperate people seeking safe harbor still resonates.

“When does a place become a place?” Safi asks at the end of the first act. “When does a place become a home?”

We spoke with five cast members about their connections to the show and where they find a sense of home. These are edited excerpts from the conversations.

Ammar Haj Ahmad

I am from Syria, and I am British, but none of it, to be honest, means anything. And maybe it’s corny to say, but it’s the truth. I am context, and I am human.

Home for me now is people. After what happened to Damascus, I don’t have the same relationship to places. Anything you build you can lose. Sometimes safety comes from attitudes and thoughts. That’s where home is for me, when someone is kind in nature and has the appetite to understand.

It can be tricky sometimes, because I am performing and people are clapping, and my sisters are sleeping in cars in southern Turkey — the center of the earthquake.

The last time I was here, I didn’t enjoy any minute of it aside from the time I spent onstage. But I couldn’t wait to come back. The cast are amazing and the audience is there around you. There is always the potential for it to be magical.

Mylène Gomera

I’m Eritrean. As cliché as it sounds, I’m really a global nomad on so many levels.

The role I play, Helene, is essentially my story, my route. It’s such an honor to be a voice for Eritreans, especially Eritrean women. The responsibility I feel is immense.

The intention is never to leave your country. That’s what gets lost. And you figure out that it isn’t necessarily better, but it is safer. There is a constant battle of: Am I in a better place now?

To be in New York, to be onstage, to have come this far, to have no connections to the industry, to come from a tiny village in Eritrea — I’m constantly asking myself how this happened.

I’m new to the company, but I feel right at home. We’re all taking care of each other; this play requires that. We’ve experienced the stories we’re telling.

Mohamed Sarrar

I am one of the people who lived in the Jungle in Calais. I lived it in reality, and now I’m doing it again. I’ve moved on, but I go back in my mind to show others what it was like there.

My homeland is Sudan. I fled when I was 25 because of what was happening in Darfur. I fled violence and evil.

Sometimes, onstage, the tears come, because it’s not just about me, it’s about all of the people who are still working to come, who can’t leave.

Julie Hesmondhalgh

I’m U.K. born and bred. I come from a ***working class*** family in the north of England and I live in Manchester now, which is a city that is traditionally a city of protest and radicalism.

Back in my history there is Irish heritage, so with that always comes immigration and prejudice, for sure, but my connection to refuge and migration is purely as an activist. Let’s put it this way: It wasn’t me who was taken into a side room to be interviewed.

There’s always a crisis of refugees, and you have to ask the question, “Why?” And racism has to be part of that conversation. That’s why this play is so important: because it takes you right to the refugee stories, which we hear in a really real and personal way. And that’s where art steps in.

It’s an honor to play this role. I wanted this job more than any job I’ve ever wanted before.

Yasin Moradi

I am originally Kurdish from Iran. I am still in my home in London, unfortunately. It’s been a long process.

I thought with Biden in office, we would go to the U.S. more easily, but it seems like it’s harder than before. I am the only person who has been here for three weeks waiting without any explanation.

No one is forced to leave their land unless it is unsafe. I lived in the Jungle in 2015 for six weeks. We Kurdish people, we don’t have anywhere.

The more people see this play, the more sympathy people have. It is hard to hate someone when you hear their story or laugh at their joke.

I am not there, but my heart is with them.

PHOTOS: The Afghan Cafe on the set of “The Jungle,” which integrates the audience with the cast, features catwalklike runways throughout the makeshift restaurant. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TEDDY WOLFF) (C4); Cast members of “The Jungle,” clockwise, from top left: Ammar Haj Ahmad, Mylène Gomera, Mohamed Sarrar, Yasin Moradi and Julie Hesmondhalgh. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARA MESSINGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C5) This article appeared in print on page C4, C5.

**Load-Date:** March 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Capturing the Anarchy in the Sex Pistols***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65GV-D6B1-DXY4-X05H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 20, 2022 Friday 15:24 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1283 words

**Byline:** Roslyn Sulcas

**Highlight:** “Pistol,” a new mini-series directed by Danny Boyle, is based on a memoir by the punk band’s guitarist and founder, Steve Jones.

**Body**

“Pistol,” a new mini-series directed by Danny Boyle, is based on a memoir by the punk band’s guitarist and founder, Steve Jones.

LONDON — “Are we doing any spitting?” asked a man in the crowd at the [*100 Club*](https://www.the100club.co.uk/), a small, red-walled underground space, redolent of spilled beer, cigarette smoke and a thousand lost nights, just off London’s Oxford Street.

Yes, there would be spitting. The club was the setting for an early Sex Pistols gig, which last June was being recreated for “[*Pistol,” a six-part series*](https://www.fxnetworks.com/shows/pistol) about the British band, directed by Danny Boyle and streaming on Hulu in the United States and Disney+ in other territories, starting May 31.

The Sex Pistols were the “philosophers and the dress code” of the punk revolution, said Boyle, who seemed to be everywhere on set, talking to the extras about crowd behavior, checking cameras and peering intently at monitors as the actors performed [*the song “Bodies*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BOoDdD1fHFU)” and the audience went wild.

“I tried to make the series in a way that was chaotic and true to the Pistols’ manifesto,” Boyle said in a recent interview. That meant taking an experimental approach to filming: “We would just run whole scenes, whole performances, without knowing if we had captured the ‘right’ shot or not. It’s everything you’ve been taught not to do.”

Thomas Brodie-Sangster, who plays Malcolm McLaren, the band’s manager, with virtuosic panache, said Boyle’s approach was unlike anything he had previously experienced on a set. “You felt, this could go wrong, but you could trust in Danny and dive in and experiment — very Sex Pistols!”

The result is a charged, visceral, Cubist portrait of the flamboyant rise and explosive fall of the Sex Pistols, whose brief existence from 1975 to 1978 made punk rock a worldwide phenomenon and whose anarchic songs (“[*God Save the Queen*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RvMxqcgBhWQ),” “Pretty Vacant”) became anthems for the disaffected.

The series, written by Craig Pearce, is based on the memoir “Tales of a Lonely Boy” by Steve Jones, the band’s guitarist. But Boyle said that although Jones’s story was “a wonderful way in,” he and Pearce had tried to paint a composite picture of the entire group, and the ’70s world from which it emerged. (The band originally comprised Jones, the singer John Lydon, known as Johnny Rotten, the drummer Paul Cook, and Glen Matlock on bass, replaced in 1977 by Sid Vicious.)

The first episode opens with a montage of archival footage: The Queen waving politely to the crowd; a scene from the slapstick “Carry On” movies; David Bowie performing; striking workers and garbage piled in the streets. When we meet Steve (Toby Wallace), he is busy stealing sound equipment from a Bowie gig. (The singer’s lipstick is still on the microphone.)

Steve and his bandmates are angry, bored, and “trying to scrape enough together for another pint,” he tells them as they discuss what their group should wear. “So, no suits?” asks the hapless Wally, who soon gets booted from the band.

“It’s hard to overestimate how class-ridden and moribund British society was for these guys,” said Pearce, who met Jones, Cook and other figures close to the band before writing most of the script in his native Australia during the first months of the pandemic.

“The promise of the Swinging Sixties didn’t deliver; rock ’n’ roll freedom didn’t happen for most kids,” Pearce said. “There was a feeling that if you were born into a certain class, you couldn’t escape. You had to accept what had been handed to you.”

Then, he said, came “this group of kids who said, you are sleepwalking through life.”

Boyle, he added, was always his “dream director” for the series. “We couldn’t believe it when he immediately said he wanted to do it.”

It turned out that Boyle couldn’t quite believe it either. “I am very music-driven, but I never imagined doing the Pistols,” he said. “I had followed John Lydon’s career closely, and the hostility he felt for the others wasn’t a secret.” But after reading Pearce’s script, Boyle immediately said yes.

“Which was ridiculous,” he said with a laugh, “since I didn’t even know if we would have the music, the most important thing.”

[*Lydon opposed both the use of the Sex Pistols’s music and the series itself*](https://www.theguardian.com/music/2021/aug/31/john-lydon-court-decision-on-danny-boyle-film-so-destructive-for-sex-pistols), but eventually lost his court case when a judge ruled that the terms of a band agreement gave Cook and Jones a majority vote. Boyle said he had attempted to contact Lydon during the dispute. He added that he hoped the series would “reveal the genius and the humility” in the frontman.

Boyle said that while he did extensive reading and research, talking to everyone he could find who had been involved with the band, he ultimately trusted his intuition in formulating an approach to the series.

“I grew up in a similar ***working-class*** environment to Steve and these guys,” he said. “We are exactly the same age and I am a music obsessive. I had to explain to the actors what the 1970s were like; they just don’t recognize how little stimulation there was, how you waited all week for the lifeline of the New Musical Express to appear on a Thursday!”

Before filming began, the actors playing the band members spent two months in “band camp,” with a daily routine of music lessons, vocal coaching and movement practice. Sometimes Boyle would talk to them about the ’70s and show them footage. Then, led by Karl Hyde and Rick Smith from the British electronic music group Underworld, they would spend hours playing together.

Boyle said he had mostly avoided casting trained musicians. “I didn’t want anyone locked into an expertise,” he said, adding that Jacob Slater, who plays Cook, was an excellent guitarist, but had to learn drumming.

He also decided not to do any postproduction work on the music. “Like the Pistols, we just had to get up and, however imperfect we were, go for it,” said Sydney Chandler, who plays the American singer Chrissie Hynde. Chandler’s character is one of several memorable women in the series, alongside the designer Vivienne Westwood (Talulah Riley), Nancy Spungen (Emma Appleton) and the punk icon Jordan (Maisie Williams).

When it came to the band members, “we didn’t want to be tributes or caricatures,” said Anson Boon, who plays Lydon and, like his character, had never sung before. “The Pistols produced a raw, angry wall of sound and we wanted to capture that essence without trying to do an impression.”

Playing a character who is also a real person was intimidating but fascinating, said Wallace, who spent time with Jones before filming began. “We talked a lot about his family, then he gave me the first guitar lesson I really had.”

The series shows Steve’s unhappy childhood, which Wallace saw as central to Jones’s “anger and frustration,” he said, and led him to create “a band that represents the unrepresented.

Working on the series, Boyle said, had made him aware of the Pistols’ importance beyond music. “They were a bunch of ***working class*** guys who broke the order of things, more than the Beatles,” he said. “It was especially resonant in the U.K., where the way you were expected to behave was so entrenched.”

The Pistols, he added, gave their fans permission to do whatever they wanted, to waste their time however they wanted, to shape their own lives in a singular way.

“They gave a sense of purpose to purposelessness,” he said.

PHOTOS: The director Danny Boyle mostly avoided casting trained musicians to play the members of the Sex Pistols for “Pistol,” above, a six-part series that will be streaming soon on Hulu. (C1); Toby Wallace, left, as Steve Jones and Louis Partridge as Sid Vicious in “Pistol,” a series on the Sex Pistols, directed by Danny Boyle, right. “I tried to make the series in a way that was chaotic and true to the Pistols’ manifesto,” Boyle said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIYA MIZUNO/FX) (C4)

**Load-Date:** May 23, 2022

**End of Document**



[***European Cinema Has Still Got It; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6764-6R41-JBG3-64Y8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 28, 2022 Wednesday 23:16 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1118 words

**Byline:** Emilie Bickerton

**Highlight:** Even after the deaths of Jean-Luc Godard and Jean-Marie Straub, the medium thrums with life.

**Body**

PARIS — So that’s the end of that. With the deaths of [*Jean-Luc Godard*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/13/movies/jean-luc-godard-dead.html) and [*Jean-Marie Straub*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/24/movies/jean-marie-straub-dead.html) this year, the curtain has come down on two of the most radical filmmakers of the 20th century. In their wake, a great era of European cinema has drawn to a close.

Their unclassifiable films interrogated the nature of image-making past and present, encompassing a whole sweep of historical, philosophical and musical references. While Mr. Godard remained famous, largely thanks to his early 1960s features that are among world cinema’s most recognized classics, Mr. Straub and his partner Danièle Huillet’s films were barely seen, though consistently championed by art house filmgoers. What these directors gave us, in their different but extreme works, were among the deepest reflections of what cinema was and can be.

They leave European cinema, buffeted by the pandemic, in a parlous state. Attendance numbers across the continent are [*in decline*](https://www.obs.coe.int/en/web/observatoire/home/-/asset_publisher/wy5m8bRgOygg/content/eu-uk-cinema-attendance-down-by-70-7-in-2020-amid-global-pandem-1?inheritRedirect=false), the range of films is diminishing, and ticket prices are rising. Streaming platforms, which offer a model for movie watching that is cheaper, simpler and often more comfortable than a trip out to the movie theater, are generally held responsible for this state of affairs. While a reprise of a common argument that technological innovation — from the emergence of sound to television — would bring the demise of cinema, the charge has plenty of ammunition. The ubiquity of readily accessible movies and television series has undeniably dented the willingness of people to seek out more challenging films.

And yet, to judge from the array of films released this year, there’s nothing wrong with the quality of European filmmaking. Often I emerged from a movie theater surprised, moved, disturbed and encouraged. Cinema may be threatened by changing habits of consumption, underfunding for nonblockbuster fare, narrow aesthetic codes and limited exposure, but it continues — more than 100 years after the Lumière brothers pronounced the form’s imminent death — to thrum with life.

Much of that vitality emerges from the work of female directors. “One Fine Morning,” by the French director Mia Hansen-Løve, is certainly up there with her best, bringing together all the admirable qualities of her filmmaking — quiet emotional drama, subtle observation of human interaction and character evolution, stories rooted in cities and spaces — in a simple tale of one woman’s new relationship developing in parallel with her aging father’s mental decline.

Germany’s Angela Schanelec also added a fine, beguiling film to her already impressive filmography. “I Was at Home, But” tells the story, through a series of domestic scenes from a charming dance routine to negotiations over a defective bike, of a mother’s complicated response to her son’s return home after a weeklong absence. Originally released in 2019, the film — delayed by the pandemic, like many others — went on general release in French cinemas only in 2022.

The year also saw the continued flourishing of ***working-class*** films, or proletkino, a genre born in the Soviet Union of the 1920s. The proletariat was far more empowered than it is today in postindustrial Europe, yet in recent decades there has been an impressive and surprising resurgence of films in this genre across the continent. This new proletkino, as [*I’ve called it*](https://newleftreview.org/issues/ii109/articles/emilie-bickerton-a-new-proletkino), had another bumper year.

The Dardenne brothers, Belgian filmmakers who have made a career out of social dramas set in an old steel town, produced one of their strongest — and bleakest — films to date, “Tori and Lokita,” about two child migrants from Benin landing in France and the new hell they enter when one of them cannot get the required papers. Pedro Costa, a Portuguese auteur, also returned to his long-running subject of Cape Verde migrants in the Lisbon slums with his painterly and poetic “Vitalina Varela.”

In France, Stéphane Brizé concluded his superb trilogy of films reflecting on the modern world of labor. In “Another World,” he focuses on the pressures felt by a middle manager, once close to his workers but now forced to deliver on increasingly impossible demands for greater efficiency and enforce massive layoffs. As a chronicle of the changing nature of work in the past few decades, there’s little better than Mr. Brizé’s trilogy.

It’s been a fine year for feature documentaries, too, including Jonàs Trueba’s ambitious “Who’s Stopping Us.” Across five years and in more than three hours, the film charts the lives of young people in Madrid as they transition from their teens to their 20s. It continues an intriguing lineage of recent works mixing documentary and fiction that has its roots in Michael Apted’s classic British TV series “Seven Up!,” which began in 1964, and includes Richard Linklater’s “Boyhood” (2014) and Sébastien Lifshitz’s “Adolescents” (2019). In their marriage of sociological interest with formal experimentation, films like Mr. Trueba’s offer an exciting new route for documentary cinema, exploring and expanding the possibilities of the form.

Perhaps no one better exemplifies that blending of reality and fiction than Alice Diop, the French documentarian whose first feature film, “Saint Omer,” is on the [*Oscar shortlist*](https://www.screendaily.com/features/screens-guide-to-the-2023-international-feature-oscar-shortlist/5177714.article) for best international film. The courthouse drama, based on the true story of an infanticide, deserves its recognition — and so does Ms. Diop, whose documentary “We,” released in cinemas earlier in the year, insightfully and sensitively brings to light the experience of second- and third-generation immigrants in suburban France.

Adieu, then, Mr. Godard and Mr. Straub. The world of cinema has lost two titans. Beyond the loss, there are major reasons for concern, especially about distribution — which relegates ever fewer films to limited runs in exclusive locations — and a lack of cinema education that ideally would start in school. Mr. Godard, in particular, was a wonderful guide here: His films are a lesson in the history of cinema. There is currently no pretender to his throne in the 21st century. But we still have time. For now, a few new ghosts have joined us in the auditorium.

Emilie Bickerton is a journalist at Agence France-Presse, a screenwriter and the author of “A Short History of Cahiers du Cinema.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: A scene from “One Fine Morning,” a film directed by Mia Hansen-Løve. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLE BETHUEL/LES FILMS PELLÉAS, VIA SONY PICTURES CLASSICS) This article appeared in print on page SR8.

**Load-Date:** December 30, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The DeSantis Model***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:681D-3C81-JBG3-63XS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 16, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 8; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1682 words

**Byline:** By Sam Adler-Bell

**Body**

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida is in a trap of his own devising. His path to the Republican presidential nomination depends on convincing Donald Trump's base that he represents a more committed and disciplined version of the former president, that he shares their populist grievances and aims only to execute the Trump agenda with greater forcefulness and skill. But it also depends on convincing a G.O.P. elite grown weary of Mr. Trump's erratic bombast (not to mention electoral losses and legal jeopardy) that he, Mr. DeSantis, represents a more responsible alternative: shrewd where Mr. Trump is reckless; bookish where Mr. Trump is philistine; scrupulous, cunning and detail-oriented where Mr. Trump is impetuous and easily bored. In short, to the base, Mr. DeSantis must be more Trump than Trump, and to the donors, less.

Thus far, Mr. DeSantis has had greater success with party elites. By pairing aggressive stances on the culture wars with free-market economics and an appeal to his own competence and expertise, Mr. DeSantis has managed to corral key Republican megadonors, Murdoch media empire executives and conservative thought leaders from National Review to the Claremont Institute. He polls considerably higher than Mr. Trump with wealthy, college-educated, city- and suburb-dwelling Republicans. Mr. Trump, meanwhile, retains his grip on blue-collar, less educated and rural conservatives. For the G.O.P., the primary fight has begun to tell an all-too-familiar story: It's the elites vs. the rabble.

Mr. Trump, for his part, appears to have taken notice of this incipient class divide (and perhaps of the dearth of billionaires rushing to his aid). In the past few weeks, he has skewered Mr. DeSantis as a tool for ''globalist'' plutocrats and the Republican old guard. Since his indictment by a Manhattan grand jury, Mr. Trump has sought to further solidify his status as the indispensable people's champion, attacked on all sides by a conspiracy of liberal elites. While donors and operatives may prefer a more housebroken populism, it is Mr. Trump's surmise that large parts of the base still want the real thing, warts and all.

If his wager pays off, it will be a sign not just of his continued dominance over the Republican Party but also of something deeper: an ongoing revolt against ''the best and brightest,'' the notion that only certain people, with certain talents, credentials and subject matter expertise, are capable of governing.

During his second inaugural speech in Tallahassee in January, Mr. DeSantis embraced the culture wars pugilism that has made him a Fox News favorite; he railed against ''open borders,'' ''identity essentialism,'' the ''coddling'' of criminals and ''attacking'' of law enforcement. ''Florida,'' he reminded his audience, with a favored if clunky applause line, ''is where woke goes to die!''

But the real focus -- as with his speech at the National Conservatism conference in Miami in September -- was on results (a word he repeated). Mr. DeSantis promised competent leadership; ''sanity'' and ''liberty'' were his motifs. For most of the speech, the governor sounded very much the Reaganite conservative from central casting. ''We said we would ensure that Florida taxed lightly, regulated reasonably and spent conservatively,'' he said, ''and we delivered.''

In general, Mr. DeSantis's populism is heavy on cultural grievances and light on economic ones. The maneuvers that tend to endear him to the nationalist crowd -- flying a few dozen Venezuelan migrants from Texas to Martha's Vineyard, attempting to ban ''critical race theory'' at public colleges and retaliating against Disney for criticizing his ''Don't Say Gay'' bill -- are carefully calibrated to burnish his populist bona fides without unduly provoking G.O.P. elites who long for a return to relative conservative normalcy.

Indeed, Republican megadonors like the Koch family and the hedge fund billionaire Ken Griffin appear to admire Mr. DeSantis in spite of the populist firebrand he periodically plays on TV. Mr. Griffin recently told Politico's Shia Kapos he aims, as Ms. Kapos described it, to ''blunt'' the populism that has turned some Republican politicians against the corporate world. Mr. Griffin gave $5 million to Mr. DeSantis's re-election campaign.

Mr. DeSantis's principal claim to being Mr. Trump's legitimate heir, perhaps, is his handling of the Covid pandemic in Florida. Mr. DeSantis depicts his decision to reopen the state and ban mask mandates as a bold move against technocrats and scientists, denizens of what he calls the ''biomedical security state.''

But his disdain for experts is selective. While deciding how to address the pandemic, Mr. DeSantis collaborated with the Stanford epidemiologist Jay Bhattacharya (''He'd read all the medical literature -- all of it, not just the abstracts,'' Dr. Bhattacharya told The New Yorker) and followed the recommendations of a group of epidemiologists from Stanford, Harvard and Oxford who pushed for a swifter reopening. Mr. DeSantis's preference for their recommendations over those of Dr. Anthony Fauci and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention doesn't signify a rejection of expertise as such, only an embrace of alternative expertise. Mr. DeSantis wanted to save Florida's tourism economy, and he found experts who would advise him to do so.

In reality, Mr. DeSantis is not against elites, exactly; he aims merely to replace the current elite (in academia, corporations and government) with a more conservative one, with experts who have not been infected, as Mr. DeSantis likes to say, by ''the woke mind virus.'' The goal is not to do away with the technocratic oligarchy, but to repopulate it -- with people like Ron DeSantis.

Earlier generations of American thinkers had higher aspirations. ''The reign of specialized expertise,'' wrote the historian Christopher Lasch in 1994, ''is the antithesis of democracy.'' In the 19th century, European visitors were impressed (and unnerved) to find even farmers and laborers devouring periodicals and participating in the debating societies of early America. The defining feature of America's democratic experiment, Mr. Lasch insisted, was ''not the chance to rise in the social scale'' but ''the complete absence of a scale that clearly distinguished commoners from gentlemen.''

Twentieth-century capitalism, Mr. Lasch thought, had resulted in a perilous maldistribution of intelligence and competence; experts had usurped governance, while the value of practical experience had plummeted.

Mr. Lasch briefly came into vogue among conservatives during the Trump years, but they never grasped his central claim: that generating equality of competence would require economic redistribution.

In his 2011 book, Mr. DeSantis railed against the '''leveling' spirit'' that threatens to take hold in a republic, especially among the lower orders. His principal target in the book is ''redistributive justice,'' by which he apparently means any effort at all to share the benefits of economic growth more equitably -- whether using government power to provide for the poor or to guarantee health care, higher wages or jobs.

The essential ingredients of his worldview remain the same. Mr. DeSantis has adopted a populist idiom, but he has no more sympathy now than he did 12 years ago for the '''leveling' spirit'' -- the ethos of disdain for expertise that Mr. Trump embodied when he burst onto the national political stage in 2015. In fact, Mr. DeSantis's posture represents a bulwark against it: an effort to convince G.O.P. voters that their enemies are cultural elites, rather than economic ones; that their liberty is imperiled, not by the existence of an oligarchy but by the oligarchs' irksome cultural mores.

Mr. DeSantis has honed an agenda that attacks progressive orthodoxies where they are most likely to affect and annoy conservative elites: gay and trans inclusion in suburban schools, diversity and equity in corporate bureaucracies, Black studies in A.P. classes and universities. None of these issues have any appreciable impact on the opportunities afforded to ***working-class*** people. And yet conservative elites treat it as an article of faith that these issues will motivate the average Republican voter.

The conservative movement has staked its viability on the belief that Americans resent liberal elites because they're ''woke'' and not because they wield so much power over other people's lives. Their promise to replace the progressive elite with a conservative one -- with men like Ron DeSantis -- is premised on the idea that Americans are comfortable with the notion that only certain men are fit to rule.

Mr. Trump, despite what he sometimes represents, is no more likely than Mr. DeSantis to disrupt the American oligarchy. (As president, he largely let the plutocrats in his cabinet run the country.)

Few politicians on either side appear eager to unleash -- rather than contain -- America's leveling spirit, to give every American the means and not merely the right to rule themselves.

To break through the elite standoff that is our culture war, politicians must resist the urge to designate a single leader or group of leaders, distinguished by their brilliance, to shoulder the hard work of making America great. It would mean taking seriously a proverb frequently quoted by Barack Obama but hardly embodied by his presidency: ''We are the ones we've been waiting for.'' It would also mean, to quote a line from the Scottish essayist Thomas Carlyle favored by Mr. Lasch, that the goal of our republic -- of any republic -- should be to build ''a whole world of heroes.''

Sam Adler-Bell (@SamAdlerBell) is a writer and a host of ''Know Your Enemy,'' a podcast about the conservative movement.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/10/opinion/trump-feud-ron-desantis.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/10/opinion/trump-feud-ron-desantis.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR8.

**Load-Date:** April 16, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Fifty Years and the Mood Still Hasn't Lifted***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67NJ-PSN1-DXY4-X47H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 1, 2023 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 1306 words

**Byline:** By Jon Pareles

**Body**

Pink Floyd's enduring blockbuster merged grandeur and malaise. Very much a product of its era, it became one of the best-selling albums of all time.

Glum, ponderous songs about madness, mortality and greed, punctuated with tense instrumentals. Was that a blueprint for a blockbuster? It hardly sounds like the makings of one of the best-selling albums of all time.

But there's no denying the popularity and tenacity of ''The Dark Side of the Moon,'' the indelible album that Pink Floyd released 50 years ago, on March 1, 1973. Looming like an inscrutable monolith, ''Dark Side'' spent nearly all of the next 14 years -- through punk, disco, early hip-hop and the pop heyday of MTV -- lodged in Billboard's Top 200 album chart. It arrived during the analog, material days of record stores and vinyl LPs, when an album purchase was a commitment. And no matter how familiar ''Dark Side'' went on to become as an FM radio staple, people still wanted their own copy, or perhaps a new copy to replace a scratched-up one. In the digital era, ''The Dark Side of the Moon'' album returned to the charts on CD, selling and then streaming more millions.

The success of ''Dark Side'' stoked the ambitions of Pink Floyd and its leader, Roger Waters, who has toured arenas and stadiums ever since; Waters, 79, is playing his ''first ever farewell'' dates this year. He conceived the ''The Wall,'' a narrative rock opera released in 1979, that would foreground his anti-authority reflexes, from schoolmasters to heads of state; he has performed it against the backdrop of the Berlin Wall. Decades later, Waters would go on to spout cranky, conspiracy-theory-minded, pro-Russia political statements that many former fans abhorred. When ''Dark Side'' appeared, all that was far in the future.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

There will, of course, be another deluxe edition for the latest ''Dark Side'' anniversary. Arriving March 24, the new boxed set has high-resolution and surround-sound remixes and other extras, though it's largely redundant after the exhaustive ''Immersion Edition'' reissue in 2011. Both ''Immersion'' and the new set include a worthy 1974 concert performance of ''Dark Side,'' with brawny live sound and extended onstage jams.

Waters has also announced his own full-length remake of ''Dark Side,'' that will have his own lead vocals -- not the husky, doleful voice of Pink Floyd's guitarist, David Gilmour -- with Waters's spoken words over the album's instrumentals, along with ''no rock 'n' roll guitar solos.''

Uh-oh.

In 1973, ''Dark Side'' was an album that worked equally well to show off a new stereo -- or, for a few early adopters, a quadraphonic system -- or to be contemplated in private communion with headphones and a joint. The ticking clocks, alarms and chimes that open ''Time'' are startlingly realistic even when they're no longer a surprise, and the perpetual-motion synthesizers and desperate footfalls of ''On the Run'' are eternally dizzying.

Stately tempos, cavernous tones and solemn framing announce the high seriousness of ''Dark Side,'' which begins and ends with the sound of a heartbeat. The album juxtaposes overarching sonics and grand pronouncements with human-scale experience. Its tracks are punctuated with voices from Pink Floyd's road crew and friends, dispensing loop-ready tidbits like ''I've always been mad'' in ***working-class*** accents.

Like other overwhelming best sellers of the 1970s and 1980s -- Michael Jackson's ''Thriller,'' the Eagles' ''Hotel California,'' Fleetwood Mac's ''Rumours'' -- ''Dark Side'' deals with disillusionment, fear and resentment despite the polish of its production. It's troubled and obsessive at heart, not tidy. Countless bands and producers would learn from Pink Floyd how to fuse grandeur and malaise, how a few well-placed sounds can say far more than a showy display of virtuosity.

''Dark Side'' was very much a product of its era. The early 1970s were prog-rock's heyday, particularly in Britain, where bands like Genesis, King Crimson and Yes were constructing suite-length songs and unveiling elaborate conceits. But the early 1970s were also a time when the utopian promises of the hippie era were fading, pushed back by entrenched interests and corporate co-optation. ''Dark Side'' captures naïve hopes falling away.

It was Pink Floyd's eighth album, the continuation of a cult career that had been synonymous with psychedelia and progressive rock: with extended structures and open-ended jams, with verbal conundrums and with an oh-wow appreciation of reverberant textures and spatial effects.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Pink Floyd's founding songwriter, Syd Barrett, left the band in 1968 with mental health problems, taking its sense of whimsy with him. Waters emerged as its new, more saturnine leader. But it took a string of uneven albums, full of amorphous studio jams, before the relative concision and clarity of ''Dark Side'' came into focus. While the album unfolds as a 42-minute prog-rock suite -- despite the necessity, in 1973, of flipping over an LP -- it also features clearly delineated verse-chorus-verse songs that radio stations could play. Waters deliberately made his lyrics blunter and more down-to-earth than he had before: ''Money, it's a gas/Grab that cash with both hands and make a stash.''

Waters tackled big topics: ''Time,'' ''Money,'' war, the inevitability of death, the triviality of daily life, the importance of seizing the moment. His perspective is dour. In ''Breathe (in the Air),'' he describes life as a ''race towards an early grave''; in ''Time, he observes that every sunrise brings you ''One day closer to death.'' But the reason ''Dark Side'' became a blockbuster is that Pink Floyd's music -- the full band, with Richard Wright's self-effacing but fundamental keyboards, Waters on bass, Nick Mason's steadfast drumming and Gilmour's probing, slashing, keening guitar -- defies all that miserabilism.

The album builds dramatically and inexorably toward the songs that close each side of the LP. ''The Great Gig in the Sky,'' which ends Side 1, is a progression of tolling, processional keyboard chords from Wright, topped by spoken words denying fear of death -- ''You've got to go sometime'' -- followed by Clare Torry's leaping, soaring, riveting vocal improvisation. She's a pure life force, with pain and freedom and determination in her voice, refusing to accept oblivion. (Torry only received composer credit for her top line in 2005, along with an undisclosed settlement, after suing the band.)

The album's conclusion -- ''Brain Damage'' seguing into ''Eclipse,'' both written by Waters -- reads as bleak but feels like transcendence. In ''Brain Damage,'' the singer feels himself succumbing to mental illness. ''The lunatic is in my head,'' he warns, answered by a snippet of maniacal laughter; in the chorus, he sings, ''If your head explodes with dark forebodings too/I'll see you on the dark side of the moon.''

Then, in ''Eclipse,'' he makes his way toward a revelatory oneness -- ''All that is now and all that is gone/And all that's to come and everything under the sun is in tune'' -- only to see it swallowed by darkness as ''the sun is eclipsed by the moon.'' But in both songs, the music swells behind him, with churchy organ and robust major chords, pealing guitar and gospelly choir harmonies. As the album ends, tidings of catastrophe sound like triumph; it's a fist-pumping arena-rock finale.

In recent interviews, Waters has described the message of the album more positively. ''What is really important is the connection between us as human beings, the whole human community,'' he told Berliner Zeitung in February. That's revisionist; ''Dark Side'' luxuriates in alienation, futility and desperation. Its persistence reveals just how many listeners feel the same.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/28/arts/music/pink-floyd-dark-side-of-the-moon-50th-anniversary.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/28/arts/music/pink-floyd-dark-side-of-the-moon-50th-anniversary.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From far left: Nick Mason, David Gilmour, Roger Waters and Richard Wright of Pink Floyd. The group's 1973 album, ''The Dark Side of the Moon,'' has had a long life on radio playlists and the Billboard chart. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** March 1, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A House in hiding***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67VX-PHM1-DXY4-X0P6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 26, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section M2; Column 0; T: Design Magazine; Pg. 95

**Length:** 1302 words

**Byline:** By Hussein Omar and Simon Watson

**Body**

THE ARCHITECTURAL CONSERVATOR Alaa el-Habashi had been restoring a 190-room 15th-century palace for years in the historic Cairo neighborhood of al-Darb al-Ahmar when, in 2007, he and his engineer wife, Ola Said, stumbled on a spectacularly bedraggled house nearby that would consume the next decade and a half of their lives. At the time, it was occupied by a butcher and his family, who were operating a slaughterhouse in the enormous ramshackle mansion that could be traced to the 19th century. Part of the 13,000-square-foot structure had collapsed in 2005, and the family had erected a new domicile in the courtyard, leaving the rest to their livestock: Cows roamed outside; sheep circulated around the dilapidated second floor. Locals called it ''the dump yard,'' el-Habashi says. By 2009, a few years after he and Said first encountered the place, the butcher's family had an offer from a contractor who intended to bulldoze the remains and build concrete high-rise apartments.

Yet the house's history compelled its inhabitants to try to preserve it: Might the conservator and his wife buy it instead? As el-Habashi would learn, the building was perhaps the only remnant of several houses in the neighborhood that Muhammad Ali Pasha, who came to power in 1805 and is often considered the founder of the modern Egyptian state, had reportedly seized and given to his nephews in the mid-19th century; locals referred to the area as al-Yakaniya -- yakan from yeÄŸen, the Turkish word for ''nephew.'' The nephews' descendants had lived there until the 1960s, when the final heir bequeathed it to her nurse, a relative of the butcher.

El-Habashi and Said knew they wanted to save the historic property but, after spending time with community members, imagined not just a home but a cultural hub. An encyclopedic text from the 1880s had documented 600 houses with courtyards in Cairo; el-Habashi estimates only 30 or so remain. The couple felt undaunted by the complexities of the restoration, which involved securing a permit to conserve a building that the municipality had designated ''imminent for collapse''; officials at first suggested they replace it with a modern replica. The bureaucratic stalemate was resolved in 2011 after el-Habashi, who is an architecture professor at Egypt's Menoufia University, and Said, who's also an expert in traditional Egyptian crafts, agreed to assume liability if the structure imploded while they renovated it.

IT TOOK TWO more years to fortify the structure, which they named Bayt Yakan (bayt is Arabic for ''house''). In the process, they discovered that the residence was a palimpsest that actually dated to around 1640. Thought to be built by a military official named Hasan Agha Koklian, it was originally designed in the style of his ancestors, who were Mamelukes -- non-Arab, ethnically diverse originally enslaved soldiers, mostly from the Caucasus and Turkic regions, who established a sultanate in Egypt and throughout the Levant. They favored elaborately carved stone surfaces, geometric patterns and vegetal arabesques. Once Muhammad Ali took over the property and handed it to his nephews, they obscured any sign of the former owners' structural and decorative choices, walling up ornate columns and closing off entire rooms where they didn't like the original painted wood ceilings. In other places, atop some of the Mameluke ornamentation, they added then-fashionable Baroque, European-inspired details.

The latest owners, however, decided to restore the house in a way that made transparent the many lives it had lived, and that reflected Cairo's layered culture, which has been influenced by both colonial occupation and multiethnic immigration: They wanted the building's Mameluke origins and its 19th-century interventions to exist in counterpoint, punctuated by contemporary juxtapositions. Beyond antiquities and monuments, Cairo has never invested much in its architectural legacy, but el-Habashi hopes that the resurrection of Bayt Yakan will draw interest to the city's less ancient history. Eleven years after the project began, the house, now powered by solar panels, opened this past June as a rare books library focusing on architecture, as well as a cultural center; additionally, it holds el-Habashi's offices and several spaces for researchers.

The home is also a study in how a historic restoration, especially in a residential area, must consider present-day inhabitants, too. At first, el-Habashi and Said were met with resistance in the ***working-class*** neighborhood: Some were afraid construction would further destabilize their already precarious homes, says el-Habashi, and others were accustomed to leaving trash at the site. But once the structure was safe, the couple were vigilant about including their neighbors, inviting them in for meals and meetings.

EVEN ON A sweltering summer afternoon, the house's thick masonry keeps the space hushed and cool. Today, the 17th-century foundation is newly visible, including the worn stone and brick remains of long-demolished walls and a central water fountain. El-Habashi salvaged several dozen stones from the carved facade of another old house nearby that was being bulldozed, which he rebuilt into a 20-foot-tall arched gateway with reclaimed double wooden doors that open onto the courtyard. Locals use the ground floor as their own, hosting crafts workshops and picking thyme, lemongrass and rosemary from the small enclosed garden.

Among the conservator's most complicated changes was an intervention on a second-floor exterior section. It had once held three huge Mameluke-style columned archways crowned with geometric carvings but, during the nephews' era, they were bricked in, the stabilizing columns removed to accommodate four windows and a door. The carvings were covered up with lime plaster that had been tinted vermilion with brick dust.

Instead of restoring the archways as he might have typically done, el-Habashi decided to replace two of the windows with weight-bearing minimalist columns, set inside the 19th-century window frames like sculptures. He then chipped away just enough of the red plaster to render the Mameluke decoration visible. (Such a layered approach is reminiscent of the historical interventions pioneered by the mid-20th-century Modernist Venetian architect Carlo Scarpa.)

Inside, el-Habashi and Said concentrated their efforts on the formerly decimated palatial central hall on the second floor, which now holds some 20,000 volumes. Shelves of weathered books -- some from Bulaq Press, Egypt's first government-owned printing press, established in 1820 -- fill triangle-topped niches, reached by a new steel staircase. Furniture, mostly from the early 20th century with some chinoiserie mixed in (much of it from the Alexandria apartments of el-Habashi's relatives), sits on a concrete floor inlaid with an expanse of teak wood.

But it's the 25-foot-high ceiling that best embodies the home's complexities. When the ceiling collapsed, the enormous 19th-century Italianate painted center medallion fell to the floor and shattered; el-Habashi had to reconstruct it, piecing it together like a puzzle. It adjoins a section of the original Mameluke ceiling, newly exposed and framed by 17th-century muqarnas, stalactite-shaped painted wood elements that had been hidden in a wall and unearthed during restoration. Now, before the beginning of lectures held in the room, students, architects and historians cast their gaze upward at the vivid, ingeniously engineered meeting of two cultures, forever imprinted on Cairo's tangled urban fabric. While some think that a city can be revitalized through commercial enterprises, the truth is more complex, says el-Habashi: ''If the market is the blood of a city, the historic residences are its soul.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/15/t-magazine/cairo-mansion-bayt-yakan.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/15/t-magazine/cairo-mansion-bayt-yakan.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: In the library of Bayt Yakan, a building renovated over the past 12 years by Alaa el-Habashi and his wife, Ola Said, a restored 19th-century ceiling that collapsed in 2005. Architectural drawings of the space surround the upper window, and many of the furnishings come from the couple's relatives. In a hall where el-Habashi and Said hold their workshops, a desk and a floor lamp purchased from antiques stores in Cairo. In the library, a steel-and-wood staircase designed by el-Habashi. An Art Deco gate leads to the courtyard of the house. The early 20th-century turned-wood bench is draped in an Egyptian carpet. At the far end of the library, a self-portrait by el-Habashi's mother and her 1960s dining room furniture. In the central courtyard, where sections of the original 17th-century wall masonry are now restored, furniture from el-Habashi's grandmother. A view of the library from the west. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SIMON WATSON) This article appeared in print on page M295, M296, M297, M298, M299, M2100, M2101.

**Load-Date:** March 26, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Trump Is Finally Finished***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66W5-S3N1-DXY4-X518-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 16, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23; BRET STEPHENS

**Length:** 875 words

**Byline:** By Bret Stephens

**Body**

Whether or not Donald Trump's hat is in the ring, he's finished as a serious contender for high office.

That's not a line to write lightly. First, because he has been written off so often in the past -- after mocking John McCain's military record; after the ''Access Hollywood'' tape; after Jan. 6; after the Jan. 6 committee hearings -- that it seems foolhardy to do it again. Second, because every time he is written off, his supporters seem to draw energy from their purported irrelevance. And third, because the line will surely be hung around my neck if I'm wrong.

But I'm not.

Last week, the realization finally dawned on his devoted supporters that Trump can no longer deliver what they want most: power. Or, let me put it in language more congenial to them: Whatever purpose they believe he was meant to serve -- bringing ***working-class*** voters back to the Republican fold; restoring nationalism to conservative ideology; rejecting the authority of supposed experts -- has been served. Others can now do the same thing better, without the drama and divisiveness. He's yesterday's man.

This is an observation made from an objective reading of political reality: Trump cost Republicans dearly in the midterms.

In key Senate and gubernatorial races, the former president proffered his endorsements based on fealty over electability. He turned election denialism into a loyalty oath. Primary victories became Pyrrhic ones. In the same states where mainstream Republicans won handily (Chris Sununu in New Hampshire, Brian Kemp in Georgia, Mike DeWine in Ohio), Trump's candidates either underperformed or lost -- a contrast that again gives the lie to the notion that Democrats somehow won thanks only to cheating, bending rules or taking advantage of early voting.

But none of this alone would be enough to turn off Trump's devotees -- just as Republican losses of the House in 2018, the White House in 2020 and the Senate in 2021 weren't enough. Three additional factors were required.

The first is shock.

Republicans expected a blowout win last week every bit as much as Democrats expected one for Hillary Clinton in 2016. Many of the polls predicted one, as did the normal ebb and flow of American politics. Joe Biden is an unpopular incumbent presiding over an inflationary economy and a border crisis. For the G.O.P. to underperform so badly is a No Excuses moment for the party, and the only coherent explanation for it is the specter of Trump.

The second is that Trump is finally being abandoned by many of his usually unflagging apologists and enablers in right-wing media, whose influence will be felt downstream.

That includes Fox News's Laura Ingraham: ''If the voters conclude that you're putting your own ego or your own grudges ahead of what's good for the country, they're going to look elsewhere.'' It includes Townhall's Kurt Schlichter: ''Trump presents problems and we need to face them,'' he admitted. ''We owe Trump nothing. He's a politician.'' It includes Victor Davis Hanson: ''Will an unapologetic Trump instead now escalate his slurs, bray at the moon, play out his current angry Ajax role to the bitter end, and thus himself end up a tragic hero -- appreciated for past service but deemed too toxic for present company?''

None of these are full-on repudiations, though they come close. And they bring us to the third reason Trump is finally finished: his gratuitous pre-election swipe at Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, whose 19-point victory over the Democrat Charlie Crist was one of the G.O.P.'s few unequivocal highlights of election night.

The sin here was not that Trump violated Ronald Reagan's famous Eleventh Commandment: ''Thou shalt not speak ill of any fellow Republican.'' Trump has violated that commandment as freely as he has so many of the others. It's that he was a loser criticizing a winner -- and what Trump's base wants most of all is a winner.

A wiser Trump would have made DeSantis's victory his own, treating the governor as his star student and designated successor. But Trump couldn't, and can't, help himself. And what the Republican base sees in DeSantis is everything it likes about Trump -- the combativeness and self-belief and disdain for elite opinion -- minus the personal baggage and habits of self-sabotage. In the battle for the affections of American conservatives, the ex-president increasingly feels like the jealous paunchy spouse, the governor like the attractive and successful neighbor.

The field of possible primary contenders might still move aside for Trump, much as Hillary Clinton mostly cleared the field the last time she ran. But with his midterm rout, Trump has proved once again that he's toxic and can never again win a general election. He would be no match for a younger, charismatic primary candidate, just as Clinton proved no match for Barack Obama in 2008.

The field is open for a real Republican contender. It's time someone stepped up to the plate.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/15/opinion/donald-trump-republicans-underperformance.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/15/opinion/donald-trump-republicans-underperformance.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Blood, Sweat and Fears on the Factory Floor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:633M-4D81-JBG3-63MY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 9, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 6; REWIND

**Length:** 677 words

**Byline:** By J. Hoberman

**Body**

His 1978 debut, which features quick-witted performances by Richard Pryor and Harvey Keitel, now has a short run at Film Forum.

The robber baron Jay Gould supposedly bragged that he could hire one half of the ***working class*** to kill the other half. That quote, likely apocryphal, is the essence of Paul Schrader's ''Blue Collar,'' a harshly garish morality play in which -- squeezed between the Scylla of a factory's exploitative management and the Charybdis of their corrupt union -- three autoworkers go rogue.

''Blue Collar'' has been revived for a week at Film Forum in a 35-millimeter print. It was timely in 1978 and, in its expression of rust-belt alienation, prescient as well.

Perhaps because it was Schrader's first movie as a director, ''Blue Collar'' communicates the thrill of breaking new ground, albeit showing the influence of Martin Scorsese (for whom, a few years earlier, Schrader wrote ''Taxi Driver''). It echoes both the prole-drama ''Car Wash'' (1976) and the mode's classic example, ''On the Waterfront'' (1954).

The most daringly uncommercial move in Schrader's screenplay, co-written with his brother, Leonard Schrader, was constituting his larcenous trio as the so-called ''Oreo Gang'' -- two Black workers, played by Richard Pryor and Yaphet Kotto, and one white, Harvey Keitel. (The reverse would have been conventional Hollywood wisdom.) Schrader's boldest strategy was to allow each then-hungry actor to believe himself the star. Call it a form of ''method'' direction. In his history of '70s film, Peter Biskind describes the set as a ''powder keg.''

Thus, while Keitel and Kotto smolder with suppressed rage, Pryor (who, like Marlon Brando, rarely gave the same line-reading twice) is incandescent as a quick-minded trickster with a jittery strut and an answer for everything. In his mixed review, the New York Times critic Vincent Canby noted that, for the first time, Pryor had a role utilizing ''the wit and fury that distinguishes his straight comedy routines.''

Pryor's improvisations heighten the movie's dialectic of oppressive reality and imaginary escape. While the factory scenes, shot at a Checker cab plant in Kalamazoo, Mich., have a documentary quality, fantasy is furnished by the Norman Lear TV sitcoms that punctuate the domestic scenes. The movie's resident realist is the wily president of the union local. Nicknamed Eddie Knuckles, he's embodied by Harry Bellaver, a veteran (and genuine) ***working-class*** actor who, no less than Pryor, gives the impression of conjuring his dialogue on the spot.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

''Blue Collar'' has a few weak bits, notably one where, interrupting Pryor's critique of ''The Jeffersons,'' an I.R.S. examiner pays an unexpected house call. And just as the Oreo Gang fail to think through their robbery, the movie glosses over a worse crime that could not have been committed without management collusion. Still, this portrait of frustration is powerfully framed. The opening credits -- an assembly-line montage scored to the pounding first chords of the blues song ''I'm a Man,'' sung with new lyrics by Captain Beefheart -- provide a brutal annunciation. And, following a gripping finale, Schrader redeems the cliché of ending on a freeze frame by returning the struggle to the factory floor.

Interviewed by the leftist film journal Cineaste, Schrader asserted his apolitical intentions while congratulating himself as having come to ''a very specific Marxist conclusion.'' Be that as it may, ''Blue Collar'' is less Marxist than it is Hobbesian, as expressed by Kotto's indictment of the powers that be: ''They'll do anything to keep you on their line. They pit the lifers against the new boys, the old against the young, the Black against the white -- everybody -- to keep us in our place.''

Collective action is futile.

Blue Collar

July 9-15 at Film Forum, 209 West Houston Street, Manhattan; filmforum.org.Rewind is an occasional column covering revived, restored and rediscovered movies.Blue CollarThrough July 15 at Film Forum, Manhattan; filmforum.org.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/08/movies/blue-collar-paul-schrader.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/08/movies/blue-collar-paul-schrader.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: From left, Yaphet Kotto, Richard Pryor and Harvey Keitel in ''Blue Collar,'' directed by Paul Schrader. The movie, which focused on factory life, was filmed at a Checker cab plant in Kalamazoo, Mich. (PHOTOGRAPH BY UNIVERSAL PICTURES)

**Load-Date:** July 9, 2021

**End of Document**



[***As Boston’s New Mayor Seeks Big Changes, Old Power Brokers Push Back***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:688W-1WR1-DXY4-X2PG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 21, 2023 Sunday 13:30 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1743 words

**Byline:** Jenna Russell

**Highlight:** Mayor Michelle Wu is striving to keep her campaign promises, but powerful lobbies are throwing up roadblocks.

**Body**

When Mayor Michelle Wu cracked down on outdoor dining in Boston’s congested North End neighborhood last year, appeasing residents beleaguered by crowds, trash and blocked sidewalks, restaurant owners made their displeasure known, protesting at City Hall and filing a lawsuit.

In another era, their pressure campaign might have worked. For decades, the city’s mayors were Boston natives, men of Italian or Irish descent who were tight with local business owners and powerful unions.

Ms. Wu, 38, is different: a daughter of Taiwanese immigrants who campaigned as a catalyst for change and became the first woman and person of color ever elected to lead the city. She made a few minor concessions to the restaurants and moved on — but not before [*threatening to end*](https://whdh.com/news/mayor-wu-threatens-to-shut-down-outdoor-dining-in-north-end-as-restaurant-owners-mull-lawsuit/) outdoor dining altogether if they found her compromise unacceptable.

The clash revealed two things. True to her workhorse reputation, Ms. Wu is trying to avoid distractions as she hammers away at [*her campaign agenda*](https://www.michelleforboston.com/issues), focused on “racial, economic and climate justice.” And true to Boston’s reputation, some old-school power brokers are pushing back against their loss of influence.

A coalition of property owners and brokers, the Greater Boston Real Estate Board, is prepared to spend $400,000 to squash Ms. Wu’s rent control plan, recently approved by the City Council. And the city’s primary police union, the Boston Police Patrolmen’s Association, has so far deflected her proposals, which include making it easier to fire officers for misconduct.

Union leaders say contract talks have reached an impasse, and they are seeking a move to arbitration, which in the past has resulted in favorable outcomes for the police.

Since [*Ms. Wu won election in 2021*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/03/us/michelle-wu-boston-progressives.html), her ambitious agenda endorsed by a sweeping 64 percent of voters, progressive leaders around the country have faced increasing scrutiny, in particular because of rising crime rates and homelessness.

Yet Boston remains its own ecosystem, and Ms. Wu still appears to have some running room. As the pandemic has ebbed, allowing her to focus more on her campaign priorities, some longtime political observers say the deepening resistance to her plans simply indicates that she is making headway.

Ms. Wu, [*who grew up in Chicago*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/28/us/michelle-wu-boston-election.html) and moved to Boston in 2009 to attend Harvard Law School, has promised innovative approaches to climate change, a greener city, real advances on affordable housing, and long-sought checks and balances for the Police Department.

Her groundbreaking election, along with that of several new members on the Boston City Council — younger, more liberal and more racially diverse than their predecessors — signaled major shifts in the city of 650,000, where [*fewer than half the residents are white*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/12/us/boston-population-growth.html). The appetite for change has not diminished in the 18 months since then, said one of the new councilors, Kendra Lara.

“The cultural shift is salient; you can feel it,” said Ms. Lara, 33, a socialist who previously worked at the Boston-based social justice foundation Resist.

At the same time, the emergence of more diverse leadership has spurred ugliness, as well as more discussion of race and racism.

During her first weeks in office, Ms. Wu was the target of racist and sexist vitriol from across the country after she adopted aggressive measures to fight a resurgence of Covid-19, including a vaccine mandate for city workers.

Local critics of the mandate descended on the mayor’s home, [*staging noisy, early-morning protests*](https://www.bostonglobe.com/2022/01/12/metro/rallies-wus-doorstep-over-vaccine-mandate-are-latest-example-political-protests-hitting-close-home/?p1=Article_Inline_Related_Link) that went on for months in 2022. The City Council president, Ed Flynn — whose father, Raymond Flynn, served as Boston’s mayor from 1984 to 1993 — voiced concern at the time about the “personal, vindictive” tone taken by some protesters.

“The demonstration under the white mayors was professional, it was respectful,” Mr. Flynn said at a meeting last year where a divided Council voted to prohibit residential demonstrations before 9 a.m.

This spring, Ms. Wu further restricted outdoor dining in the North End, barring it from streets and most sidewalks. In response, a handful of neighborhood restaurant owners returned to court with a new claim, now alleging that the mayor was discriminating against them because they were white men of Italian descent.

As evidence, they cited a joke she made at last year’s St. Patrick’s Day breakfast, an annual Boston tradition where politicians trade good-natured barbs. Ms. Wu quipped at the event that she was getting used to dealing with “problems that are expensive, disruptive and white. I’m talking about snowflakes — I mean snowstorms.”

One of the restaurant owners who sued her for discrimination, Christian Silvestri, said he could see no other explanation besides bias for the mayor to cripple his business, while allowing restaurants in the adjacent West End neighborhood to have tables on the street.

“The taxes we pay to the city are astronomical; we keep the city going,” he said. “She should be going to businesses, developers, labs, hotels, asking them, ‘As mayor, what can I do to help you grow?’ But that’s not happening — she has her own agenda.”

In an interview, Ms. Wu said her decision to curtail outdoor dining in the densely populated North End had been guided by pleas from residents, who had begged the city for relief.

“The people are our compass — what is important to people living in the city, who are trying their hardest to make life livable and fulfilling,” she said.

Her attention to quality of life and ***working-class*** concerns has shored up her support in some quarters. On Blue Hill Avenue in Roxbury, a woman trying to corral a stray dog outside a gas station said she liked what Ms. Wu had done to improve access to public transportation, eliminating fares on three city bus lines in low-income areas for a two-year trial.

Nemiah Brown, 60, a barber and part-time construction worker wearing a hard hat as he ate lunch outside in Dorchester, said he voted for Ms. Wu because she seemed focused on regular people. Told that the City Council had endorsed her plan for rent control, Mr. Brown nodded approvingly.

“I might be working over there,” he said, gesturing at a construction project rising above Morrissey Boulevard, in a fast-changing corner of the city, “but I can’t afford to live there.”

A recent poll found that [*65 percent of Boston voters supported rent control*](http://northwindstrategies.com/turns-out-rent-control-is-pretty-popular/), as the median rent for a one-bedroom apartment in the city hovered around $3,000 per month. But Ms. Wu’s proposal, which would limit annual rent hikes to between 6 and 10 percent, depending on inflation, still faces steep hurdles.

It must be approved by the state legislature and the governor, and Greg Vasil, the chief executive of the Greater Boston Real Estate Board, said the group will continue to fight it, convinced that it will do more long-term harm than good by driving developers away from the city.

Frequently typecast as a “big ideas” mayor, less interested in daily grit, Ms. Wu has recently announced a series of smaller, quicker innovations that could be seen as the millennial version of pothole repair: new bike lanes; a curbside composting program; a beer garden in Boston Common; and more dog-friendly restaurant options.

Such changes do not impress Jim Napolitano, 68, and other longtime East Boston residents who were holding court in the back of a neighborhood market on Wednesday morning, as Ms. Wu held a community coffee hour at a playground a few blocks away.

“The yuppies might like it, but we’re all set on bike lanes,” Mr. Napolitano said. “We’d like her to fix the streets.”

In East Boston, as in the city’s other old Irish and Italian American power centers, Mr. Napolitano and others said they felt forgotten by a mayor who seemed intent on nudging the city forward without them.

“We want her to know that there are other people in the city besides poor people and people of color,” he said. “You still have the base, the Italian people. You have conservatives, which she doesn’t realize.”

The police, too, have dug in their heels against Ms. Wu’s proposals. The mayor sent a strong message last summer by appointing a new police commissioner, Michael A. Cox Sr., who [*was himself a victim of misconduct by his fellow Boston officers 30 years ago*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/19/us/michael-cox-boston-police-commissioner.html). But bending the terms of the police contract will be exceedingly difficult.

“With an institution as entrenched as this Police Department, as set in its ways, you need a dragon slayer,” said Jamarhl Crawford, a community activist who served on the city’s Police Reform Task Force in 2020.

Crime has not surged in Boston as it has in other places, though there have been 17 murders in the city this year, compared with 10 in the same period in 2022. The rate remains among the lowest in decades, and the incidence of most other types of crimes has fallen or remained stable, making the issue less of a preoccupation for Ms. Wu than it has been for other big-city mayors in the pandemic’s wake.

She takes a measured tone in her public comments about policing, emphasizing officers’ morale and the difficulty of their work. That approach, along with her proposal for a modest increase to the police budget next year, has not been lost on the union, which saves its harshest criticism for the City Council. But Ms. Wu has also made it clear that there will be no contract deal without the changes she views as crucial, even if the police contract ends up in arbitration.

Greeting residents at the well-attended coffee hour in East Boston, bundled up in a hooded sweatshirt bearing the name of a neighborhood soup kitchen, Ms. Wu listened intently as one after another lined up to voice concerns.

Mary Berninger, a resident for decades, told Ms. Wu she was frustrated with continuing development and the loss of parking. She came away unsatisfied.

The mayor “has a heart of gold,” Ms. Berninger said. “But she’s surrounded herself with people who can’t recognize that there is an established community in Boston that needs to be heard.”

PHOTOS: MICHELLE WU, above, who in 2021 became the first woman and person of color to be elected mayor of Boston. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SOPHIE PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Michelle Wu put residents over business interests in restricting outdoor dining in the North End neighborhood. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN TLUMACKI/THE BOSTON GLOBE, VIA GETTY IMAGES); Ms. Wu’s aggressive measures to fight Covid-19 drew early-morning protests at her home that lasted for months in 2022. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CRAIG F. WALKER/THE BOSTON GLOBE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** May 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***In Paul Schrader’s ‘Blue Collar,’ the Factory Floor Is Brutal; Rewind***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:633F-V181-DXY4-X31X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 8, 2021 Thursday 00:39 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 707 words

**Byline:** J. Hoberman

**Highlight:** His 1978 debut, which features quick-witted performances by Richard Pryor and Harvey Keitel, now has a short run at Film Forum.

**Body**

His 1978 debut, which features quick-witted performances by Richard Pryor and Harvey Keitel, now has a short run at Film Forum.

The robber baron Jay Gould supposedly bragged that he could hire one half of the ***working class*** to kill the other half. That quote, likely apocryphal, is the essence of Paul Schrader’s “Blue Collar,” a harshly garish morality play in which — squeezed between the Scylla of a factory’s exploitative management and the Charybdis of their corrupt union — three autoworkers go rogue.

“Blue Collar” has been revived for a week at Film Forum in a 35-millimeter print. It was timely in 1978 and, in its expression of rust-belt alienation, prescient as well.

Perhaps because it was Schrader’s first movie as a director, “Blue Collar” communicates the thrill of breaking new ground, albeit showing the influence of Martin Scorsese (for whom, a few years earlier, Schrader wrote “Taxi Driver”). It echoes both the prole-drama “Car Wash” (1976) and the mode’s classic example, “On the Waterfront” (1954).

The most daringly uncommercial move in Schrader’s screenplay, co-written with his brother, Leonard Schrader, was constituting his larcenous trio as the so-called “Oreo Gang” — two Black workers, played by Richard Pryor and Yaphet Kotto, and one white, Harvey Keitel. (The reverse would have been conventional Hollywood wisdom.) Schrader’s boldest strategy was to allow each then-hungry actor to believe himself the star. Call it a form of “method” direction. In his history of ’70s film, Peter Biskind describes the set as a “powder keg.”

Thus, while Keitel and Kotto smolder with suppressed rage, Pryor (who, like Marlon Brando, rarely gave the same line-reading twice) is incandescent as a quick-minded trickster with a jittery strut and an answer for everything. In his mixed review, the New York Times critic Vincent Canby [*noted*](https://www.nytimes.com/1978/02/10/archives/film-on-the-auto-frontthe-assembly-line.html) that, for the first time, Pryor had a role utilizing “the wit and fury that distinguishes his straight comedy routines.”

Pryor’s improvisations heighten the movie’s dialectic of oppressive reality and imaginary escape. While the factory scenes, shot at a Checker cab plant in Kalamazoo, Mich., have a documentary quality, fantasy is furnished by the Norman Lear TV sitcoms that punctuate the domestic scenes. The movie’s resident realist is the wily president of the union local. Nicknamed Eddie Knuckles, he’s embodied by [*Harry Bellaver*](https://www.nytimes.com/1978/02/10/archives/film-on-the-auto-frontthe-assembly-line.html), a veteran (and genuine) ***working-class*** actor who, no less than Pryor, gives the impression of conjuring his dialogue on the spot.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.nytimes.com/1978/02/10/archives/film-on-the-auto-frontthe-assembly-line.html)]

“Blue Collar” has a few weak bits, notably one where, interrupting Pryor’s critique of “The Jeffersons,” an I.R.S. examiner pays an unexpected house call. And just as the Oreo Gang fail to think through their robbery, the movie glosses over a worse crime that could not have been committed without management collusion. Still, this portrait of frustration is powerfully framed. The opening credits — an assembly-line montage scored to the pounding first chords of the blues song “I’m a Man,” sung with new lyrics by Captain Beefheart — provide a brutal annunciation. And, following a gripping finale, Schrader redeems the cliché of ending on a freeze frame by returning the struggle to the factory floor.

Interviewed by the leftist film journal Cineaste, Schrader asserted his apolitical intentions while congratulating himself as having come to “a very specific Marxist conclusion.” Be that as it may, “Blue Collar” is less Marxist than it is Hobbesian, as expressed by Kotto’s indictment of the powers that be: “They’ll do anything to keep you on their line. They pit the lifers against the new boys, the old against the young, the Black against the white — everybody — to keep us in our place.”

Collective action is futile.

Blue Collar

July 9-15 at Film Forum, 209 West Houston Street, Manhattan; [*filmforum.org*](https://www.nytimes.com/1978/02/10/archives/film-on-the-auto-frontthe-assembly-line.html).

Rewind is an occasional column covering revived, restored and rediscovered movies. Blue Collar Through July 15 at Film Forum, Manhattan; filmforum.org.

PHOTO: From left, Yaphet Kotto, Richard Pryor and Harvey Keitel in “Blue Collar,” directed by Paul Schrader. The movie, which focused on factory life, was filmed at a Checker cab plant in Kalamazoo, Mich. (PHOTOGRAPH BY UNIVERSAL PICTURES)

**Load-Date:** July 9, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Le Pen’s message found a strong audience in the north.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6598-V9X1-JBG3-64SC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 24, 2022 Sunday 15:26 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 507 words

**Byline:** Norimitsu Onishi

**Highlight:** The far-right candidate, Marine Le Pen, has focused on kitchen-table issues, crime and immigration.

**Body**

The far-right candidate, Marine Le Pen, has focused on kitchen-table issues, crime and immigration.

HARDECOURT-AUX-BOIS, France — [*Marine Le Pen*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/marine-le-pen) spent the last two days of her campaign in the deindustrialized, economically struggling areas in the north of France that, along with a Mediterranean stretch in the south, form her strongholds.

Exhorting her core supporters to vote on Sunday, Ms. Le Pen held events in the Somme department, home to towns and villages where her attacks against her rival, Emmanuel Macron, as an “arrogant” president full of “disdain” for ordinary people resonated powerfully.

“To me, Emmanuel Macron is a president who has made the rich richer,” said Gaëtan François, 40, a construction tractor operator and a village councilor, outside the City Hall in Hardecourt-aux-Bois. “Marine Le Pen is the only one to defend the workers.”

In [*Hardecourt-aux-Bois*](https://www.annuaire-mairie.fr/mairie-hardecourt-aux-bois.html), a village of 85 people in the Somme, only three people voted for Mr. Macron in the first round earlier this month. Ms. Le Pen got 78 percent of the votes, her highest score nationwide.

The village, like the rest of the region, has drifted rightward in the past decade.

Maurice Clément, 82, a retired truck driver, said he had voted for Socialists most of his life. In 2017, he voted for Ms. Le Pen in the first round, but for Mr. Macron in the runoff because he was worried about the extreme right.

This time, he had no such worries. Mr. Macron’s policies, he said, had plunged France in a “hole,” citing the record government debt accumulated during his presidency. He was angry about Mr. Macron’s proposal to raise the retirement age to 65 from 62 as part of his plans to overhaul the pension system. For those who had done hard manual labor all their lives, retiring at 65 was the equivalent of retiring in “crutches,” he said.

Ms. Le Pen, he said, “is the only choice.”

About 24 miles away, Ham, a town of about 5,000 people, has also shifted rightward in recent years. In the 2012 presidential election, people in Ham voted like the rest of the nation by choosing François Hollande, the Socialist Party candidate, over the center-right Nicolas Sarkozy.

But in 2017, Ham picked Ms. Le Pen over Mr. Macron. Ms. Le Pen won 56 percent of the votes in Ham, compared with only 34 percent nationwide.

On Sunday, Ms. Le Pen was expected to handily defeat Mr. Macron in Ham once again. In the first round of voting two weeks ago, she had 41 percent of the votes, with Mr. Macron getting only 24 percent.

Beyond Ms. Le Pen’s focus on the ***working class***, her longstanding tough talk on crime and immigration appealed to voters like Hubert Bekaert, 68, a retired optician.

“I’m sick of using taxpayer money to house terrorists in prison,” he said, adding that he wanted the death penalty restored. “Marine Le Pen is the only one who’s tough on crime.”

PHOTO: In the village of Hardecourt-aux-Bois, in northern France, Marine Le Pen received 78 percent of the vote in the first round of the presidential elections. (PHOTOGRAPH BY James Hill for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 24, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Trump Voters Can See Right Through DeSantis; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:690W-TC11-DXY4-X0J3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 23, 2023 Wednesday 15:21 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3226 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** “They are not going to settle for the second-best Trump.”

**Body**

Earlier this year, Ron DeSantis, the governor of Florida, appeared to be a formidable challenger to Donald Trump — on paper at least.

He didn’t back down from fights with the left; he started them.

“I will be able to destroy leftism in this country and leave woke ideology on the dustbin of history,” DeSantis said.

He has thumbed his nose at blue state governors, shipping them [*planeloads*](https://www.politico.com/newsletters/florida-playbook/2022/09/15/desantis-ships-migrants-to-marthas-vineyard-00056842) of immigrants. He has removed locally elected Democratic [*prosecutors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/11/us/politics/desantis-andrew-warren-liberal-prosecutor.html). Whenever he sees what he believes to be an excess on the left, he stamps it out — from [*drag*](https://apnews.com/article/desantis-florida-lgbtq-education-health-c68a7e5fe5cf22ab8cca324b00644119) shows to [*critical race theory*](https://www.wptv.com/news/education/floridas-governor-to-sign-critical-race-theory-education-bill-into-law).

He is not just a supporter of the hard-right agenda; he has personally weaponized it. Unlike traditional conservatives, wary of the abuse of state power, DeSantis relishes using his authority to enforce his version of what is moral and what is not.

Since declaring his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination, however, DeSantis has lost traction: Support for him has fallen from 31.3 percent on Jan. 20 to 20.7 percent on May 15, the day he announced, all the way down to 14.9 percent on Aug. 21, according to [*RealClearPolitics*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2024/president/us/2024_republican_presidential_nomination-7548.html).

As DeSantis prepares for the first Republican presidential debate on Wednesday night, the central question he faces is why his support collapsed and whether he can get his campaign back on track.

There are a lot of answers to the first question, most of them with a grain or more of truth. DeSantis has turned out to be a stiff on the stump, a man without affect. He speaks in alphabet talk: C.R.T., D.E.I., E.S.G. His attempts to outflank Trump from the right — “We’re going to have all these deep state people, you know, we’re going to start slitting throats on day one” — seem to be more politically calculated than based on conviction. In terms of executive competence, attention to detail and commitment to an agenda, DeSantis stands head and shoulders above Trump, but he has so far been unable to capitalize on these strengths.

That much is understood, but is DeSantis burdened by a larger liability? I posed the following question to a cross section of political operatives and political scientists:

Ron DeSantis has been noticeably unsuccessful in his challenge to Trump. Why? Is it because DeSantis does not or cannot demonstrate the visceral animosity that Trump exudes?

Trump has a talent for embedding language more common to a Queens street corner — in either long, rambling speeches covering a host of subjects, some controversial, some not, or in having seemingly unacceptable rhetoric leaked from private meetings.

The net result is that his supporters get to realize Trump is willing to refer to “[*shithole countries”*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/trump-referred-haiti-african-countries-shithole-nations-n836946) in Africa and Latin America, to say about immigrants that “[*They’re bringing drugs. They’re bringing crime. They’re rapists*](https://time.com/3923128/donald-trump-announcement-speech/)” or to describe Latino gang members: “[*These aren’t people, these are animals, and we’re taking them out of the country at a level and at a rate that’s never happened before*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/18/us/politics/fact-check-trump-animals-immigration-ms13-sanctuary-cities.html).”

The response to my inquiries was illuminating.

“Trump’s speech style,” [*Joan C. Williams*](https://uclawsf.edu/people/joan-williams/), a professor at the University of California Law School-San Francisco, wrote by email, “adeptly channels the talk traditions of blue-collar men who pride themselves on not having to suck up and self-edit to get ahead, which is the way they see professionals’ traditions of decorum.”

Not only that, Williams continued, “Trump is way ahead of DeSantis in his perceived ability to get things done as a strong leader — that’s Trump cashing in on his enactment of blue-collar traditions of tough, straight-talking manliness. Also Trump is fun while DeSantis is a drip.”

Like many Democrats, Williams argued, “DeSantis holds the delusion that politics is chiefly about policy differences” when in practice it is more often about identity and self-affirmation. Trump understands instinctively that non-college Americans feel distinctly dissed: Non-college grads are [*73 percentage points lower*](https://iro.uiowa.edu/esploro/outputs/journalArticle/Measuring-and-Explaining-a-College-Dignity/9984438960302771) than grads to believe they’re treated with dignity.”

Williams described DeSantis’s approach to campaigning as “a clumsy color-by-numbers culture-wars formula” accompanied by a speaking style “more Harvard than hard hat, as when he talked about ‘[*biomedical security restrictions*](https://www.c-span.org/video/?528628-1/governor-ron-desantis-speaks-north-carolina-republican-party-convention)’ in his speech to the Republican Party convention in North Carolina (whatever those are??).”

Williams cautioned against categorizing all Trump voters as racist:

[*In 2016*](https://www.voterstudygroup.org/publication/the-five-types-trump-voters), 20 percent of Trump voters were true “grievance voters” who were very identified with being white and Christian and had cold feelings toward people of color and immigrants. But 19 percent were “anti-elites” with economically progressive views and moderate views on race, immigration, the environment and gay marriage. Writing off all Trump voters as mere racists is one of the many ways, alas, the left helps the right.

Williams cited a paper published earlier this year, “Measuring the Contribution of Voting Blocs to Election Outcomes” by [*Justin Grimmer*](https://politicalscience.stanford.edu/people/justin-ryan-grimmer), [*William Marble*](https://williammarble.co/) and [*Cole Tanigawa-Lau*](https://politicalscience.stanford.edu/people/cole-tanigawa-lau), that “showed that, while racial resentment strongly predicts Trump voting, that’s [*not why he won*](https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/c9fkg): He won because he also attracted a much larger group of voters with only moderate levels of racial resentment.”

Taking a different, but parallel, tack, [*Linda Skitka*](https://psch.uic.edu/profiles/skitka-linda/), a professor of psychology at the University of Illinois-Chicago, wrote by email: “Another alternative is that Trump tends to be all reaction and hot rhetoric, but weak or inconsistent on policy. People can therefore project their preferred policy preferences on him and believe he represents them via ‘gist.’”

In Skitka’s view,

DeSantis, in contrast, is very specific and consistent about policy, and he is too extreme for many on the right. To ice the cake, he appears to be really bad at retail politics — he just isn’t likable, and certainly isn’t charismatic. Together, I don’t think DeSantis can compete to overcome these obstacles, even if he were to start using Trump-like rhetoric.

In a particularly devastating comparison of DeSantis with Trump, [*David Bateman,*](https://government.cornell.edu/david-alexander-bateman) a political scientist at Cornell, wrote: “Trump is able to speak the language of hate and resentment in a way that everyone believes is real, and not just a calculated act.”

Everything about DeSantis,

by contrast, seems calculated. He’s the Yale and Harvard guy now complaining about intellectuals and elites. He’s talking about wokism and critical race theory, when no one knows what those are (even Trump noted no one can define woke, though he yells against it himself). When he tries to be as visceral as Trump, he just comes off as weird. DeSantis saying he’s going to start “slitting throats” reminded me of Romney’s “severely conservative.” While DeSantis’s is a dangerous escalation of violent imagery, they both sound bizarre and unnatural.

At a more fundamental level, Bateman wrote:

It’s not at all clear that what most Republican voters (rather than donors) want is a mainstream and party-credentialed version of Trump. The fact that Trump legitimately was an outsider to Republican politics was a core part of his appeal. So too was the calculation by donors and party activists that Trump’s being simultaneously aligned with social and racial conservatives, but able to present himself as not tied to Republican orthodoxy, made him a more attractive candidate in a national election.

Bateman suggested that insofar as DeSantis is seen as “an establishment Trump, who I expect most voters will see as fully aligned with G.O.P. orthodoxy but even more focused on the priorities of racial and social conservatives (taking over universities, banning books, or attacking transpersons), he starts to look more like a general election loser.”

[*David O. Sears*](https://www.psych.ucla.edu/faculty-page/sears/), a professor of psychology at U.C.L.A., wrote by email that he “was inspired by your inquiry to do a free association test” on himself to see what he linked with both Trump and DeSantis.

The result for Trump was:

Archie Bunker, trash-talking, insulting people, entertaining, male, white, older, angry, impolite on purpose, Roller Derby, raucous, uninhibited, tell it like it is, high school locker room, dirty socks thrown in a corner, telling his locker room buddies that he threw his mom the finger when she told him to clean up his room for the millionth time (but of course didn’t dare).

For DeSantis:

Serious, boring, no sense of humor, Wimbledon, ladies’ tea party, PBS/NPR, civics class, lecture, Ivy League, expensive suit neatly pressed hanging in the closet. “Yes, Mom.”

DeSantis’s drive to displace Trump from his position as the party’s top dog faces a combination of personal and structural hurdles.

[*Whit Ayres*](https://www.northstaropinion.com/about/our-team), a Republican pollster, argued in an email that DeSantis has adopted an approach to the nomination fight that was bound to fail:

DeSantis’s strategy, and that of any candidate not named Trump, should be to consolidate the Maybe Trump voters. But DeSantis has seemed like he was going after the Always Trump voters with his aggressive language (“slitting throats”), his comment that Ukraine was just a “territorial dispute,” his suggestion that vaccine conspiracy theorist RFK Jr. would be a good candidate to head the Centers for Disease Control, and his doubling down on whether slavery might have been beneficial to some enslaved people.

The problem with this approach, Ayres continued, is that “the Always Trump voters are ‘Always Trump’ for a reason — they are not going to settle for the second-best Trump if they can get the real thing.”

[*Geoff Garin*](https://hartresearch.com/team/geoffrey-garin/), a Democratic pollster, wrote:

There is no room for DeSantis or anyone else to outflank Trump on the right, where Trump has his most loyal base. Candidates can argue that Trump is insufficiently conservative on some issues, but that it not the point for Trump loyalists. Candidates can try to echo the ugliness of Trump’s rhetoric, but that too misses what really draws these voters to Trump.

What other candidates cannot replicate, in Garin’s view,

is Trump’s persona and style. Nobody else (especially DeSantis) has his performance skills, and no one else conveys the same boldness, naturalness, and authenticity in voicing the grievances of MAGA voters. Trump makes hatred entertaining for his supporters. DeSantis, by contrast, is a boring drag in his meanness.

[*Frances Lee*](https://politics.princeton.edu/people/frances-lee), a political scientist at Princeton, places even more emphasis on the built-in challenges facing a Republican running against Trump: “It is extremely difficult to unseat an incumbent party leader in a primary,” Lee wrote by email. “Approval of Trump among Republicans is still high enough to make it extraordinarily difficult for any alternative candidate to make a case against him.”

As if that were not daunting enough, Lee added,

DeSantis’s difficulties are compounded by the fact that the roughly one third of Republicans who disapprove of Trump disapprove of him for different reasons. Some Republicans would like to see a more moderate alternative, in the mode of the pre-Trump Republican Party. Other Republicans fully embrace the changes Trump brought to the party, but oppose him for various reasons relating to him personally (such as his behavior on Jan. 6, his crude and offensive style, or doubts about his electability). It is extremely difficult for any alternative to consolidate the support of all the Republicans who would like an alternative to Trump. Even if a candidate succeeds in doing so, he or she still would not have a majority among Republicans, unless Trump drops further in support.

[*Robert Y. Shapiro*](https://polisci.columbia.edu/content/robert-y-shapiro), a political scientist at Columbia, elaborated on the difficulties facing DeSantis’s bid to position himself to the right of Trump. “The DeSantis strategy is weak in that there are not enough Republican voters to be gained to the right of Trump,” he wrote in an email. In addition, Shapiro contended, “Trump’s style and language are more authentic and natural.” Trump’s “Queens street-rhetoric style may help, but the point is that Trump sounds real and not staged for political purposes, in contrast to DeSantis’s endless use of ‘woke,’ which is very vague and has had more meaning in liberal-left and educated elite circles and does not have the clear meaning that Trump’s position-taking has. DeSantis sounds staged and forced in discussing this.”

[*Robert Erikson*](http://www.columbia.edu/~rse14/index.html), a colleague of Shapiro’s in the Columbia political science department, wrote by email:

DeSantis appears about to become the latest in a long line of promising candidates who failed to convince their party’s base that they should be president. The list includes many seasoned politicians who were otherwise successful at their craft. For the G.O.P., the line runs from George Romney (1968) through Rudy Giuliani (2008) to Jeb Bush and Scott Walker (2016). Democratic examples include Ed Muskie (1972) and John Glenn (1984). All saw an early collapse of their seemingly strong position, with some dropping out before Iowa or New Hampshire.

“Can DeSantis overcome this challenge?” Erikson asked in his email. “Underdogs often surprise and win nominations by arousing enthusiasm among a sizable bloc of primary and caucus voters. Jimmy Carter was an example. The more contemporary list includes Obama and Trump.”

So far, DeSantis shows no signs of following in the footsteps of past insurgents.

[*Martin Carnoy*](https://ed.stanford.edu/faculty/carnoy), a professor at Stanford’s graduate school of education, argued that Trump has successfully carved out a special place in the Republican universe and there is no room left for a challenger like DeSantis.

“DeSantis’s main problem,” Carnoy wrote by email,

is that he is not Trump and Trump is still around largely filling the space that Trump himself has defined and continues to define. This is the “victim” space, where the “victims” are the “forgotten core Americans,” besieged by liberals who want to help everyone but them — migrants, blacks, LGBTQIA, homeless, foreign countries in fights for democracy.

Carnoy argued that “large blocs of the U.S. population have not been swept up in the economic growth of the past 40 years, which has largely enriched the top 1 percent of income earners.” Blame Ronald Reagan, he added, “but also blame Democrats, who left this political space to the very Republicans that created it.”

While Democrats failed to compete for this space, Carnoy contended that “Trump figured out in 2015 that he could continue to help the rich (including himself) economically through traditional tax reduction policies — stoking inequality — and simultaneously enthuse the forgotten by throwing rich red ‘victim identity’ meat to this bloc of white (and Hispanic) ***working class*** voters.”

[*Dianne Pinderhughes*](https://politicalscience.nd.edu/people/dianne-pinderhughes/), a political scientist at Notre Dame, wrote by email that an image of DeSantis at a campaign event captured for her the weakness of his campaign for the nomination.

“He has no affect,” Pinderhughes wrote. “My favorite example is a photo of him. He’s surrounded by a group of people, campaign supporters, but every face in the photo is flat, unexcited, unsmiling (including of course the candidate).”

DeSantis’s interests, according to Pinderhughes, “are similar to Trump’s but his persona doesn’t allow or facilitate his emotional engagement with his public, who also want to align with him, but there’s no arousal there. He’s not emotionally down and dirty in the way that Trump’s wild stump speeches arouse support in the broader public.”

The 2024 contest for the Republican nomination is exceptional in that the leading candidate is a once successful, once failed candidate seeking to represent his party for the third time.

[*Daniel Hopkins*](https://live-sas-www-polisci.pantheon.sas.upenn.edu/people/standing-faculty/daniel-hopkins), a political scientist at the University of Pennsylvania, pointed out in an email that “the Republican presidential primary is not a typical open-seat race, because Donald Trump occupies an unusual position as a quasi-incumbent. He has extraordinary name recognition and familiarity, having served a term as president and dominated headlines for eight years.”

Because of that, “DeSantis needs to do more than simply taking positions that are popular with Republican voters — he needs to give G.O.P. primary voters a reason to leave behind Trump, a figure who remains popular among the party’s activists and voters,” according to Hopkins’s analysis of the contest.

It will be very difficult to persuade Republican primary voters to abandon Trump, Hopkins wrote, citing “a nationwide survey I conducted [*earlier this summer*](https://danhopkins.substack.com/p/trump-up-on-desantis-nationwide). I found that on key issues from immigration to health care and climate changes, the differences between all Republicans, Trump supporters, and DeSantis supporters were typically fairly minimal. On issues alone, it’s hard to envision DeSantis convincing G.O.P. voters to abandon Trump.”

DeSantis’s best shot, Hopkins suggested, “may be to follow Biden’s lead from 2020 and convince primary voters that he’s the most likely to win a general election.”

One of the questions I posed to the people I queried for this column was “whether the willingness to give undiluted expressions of views on race and immigration has become the equivalent of a threshold issue on the right” — a must for anyone seeking the Republican nomination.

[*Vincent Hutchings*](https://lsa.umich.edu/polisci/people/faculty/vincenth.html), a political scientist at the University of Michigan, expressed a jaundiced view of the question itself:

The premise of the question implies that this is a new phenomenon and I would dispute this characterization. Issues of race and immigration have been significant partisan issues for at least the last 150 years. Trump has not created these issues in the G.O.P., but he has simply harnessed them more effectively than his co-partisan competitors.

Trump, in Hutchings’s view, is more than a match for DeSantis:

Trump — unlike DeSantis — can perhaps communicate more effectively with the average G.O.P. voter. Also, whatever else one thinks about the former president, as a onetime television personality he is also more telegenic than your typical politician. And, finally, Trump’s status as the primary target of liberals and progressives makes him all the more appealing to many G.O.P. supporters. In short, if the left hates him (Trump) so much, then he must be doing something right from the vantage point of these voters. DeSantis simply can’t match Trump on these various dimensions.

[*Jacob Grumbach*](https://gspp.berkeley.edu/research-and-impact/faculty/jacob-jake-grumbach), a political scientist at Berkeley, succinctly summed up DeSantis’s predicament. “The Republican primary electorate is not especially interested in candidates’ policy positions,” Grumbach wrote by email, citing a 2018 paper, “[*Does Party Trump Ideology?*](https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-political-science-review/article/does-party-trump-ideology-disentangling-party-and-ideology-in-america/B5BAD0AE947BD3CF18D51D399263C8D3) Disentangling Party and Ideology in America,” by [*Michael Barber*](http://michaeljaybarber.com/) and [*Jeremy C. Pope*](https://politicalscience.byu.edu/jeremypope).

So, Grumbach continued, “it’s unlikely that an alternative policy platform would’ve had DeSantis in the lead at this point. Instead Republican voters see Trump as more effective at combating liberals and Democrats.”

Finally, Grumbach added: “You don’t need research to tell you that Trump has charisma, wit, and humor (though it’s not always clear it’s intentional) in a way that DeSantis does not.”

Not everybody thinks Trump has charisma, wit and humor, but many of his supporters remain captivated. They want the show to go on.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Joe Buglewicz for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 24, 2023

**End of Document**



[***How Not to Panic About Social Security; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67ND-K0G1-JBG3-63RN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 28, 2023 Tuesday 16:16 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1212 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** No, it’s not going to go bankrupt.

**Body**

“The days of our years are threescore and ten,” says Psalm 90 in the [*King James Bible*](https://www.bible.com/bible/1/PSA.90.10-12.KJV). So right now I’m about to [keels over].

OK, actually, I’m feeling fine, and because both high education and high income are strongly correlated with life expectancy (more on that in a minute) I could easily be looking at two decades or more ahead, although obviously nothing is guaranteed. But one thing will change: Since there’s no longer any payoff to a delay, I’m about to start receiving Social Security payments.

Which, along with the fact that Social Security and Medicare are in the news, makes this seem like a good occasion to write about some common misconceptions about the program, mostly on the right but to some extent also on the left.

The thing about Social Security is that from the beginning it was designed to encourage misconceptions. It looks, on casual inspection, like a giant version of a private pension plan. You pay into such a plan during your working years, contributing to a pension fund, and when you retire, you receive payments from that fund in proportion to the amount you put in.

That, by the way, is also the reason the payroll tax applies only up to a maximum income, currently $160,200: There’s a limit to how much you can contribute to a tax-advantaged pension plan, so there’s a seemingly analogous limit on contributions to Social Security.

I haven’t studied the detailed history of the program’s origins, but I’m pretty sure that it was set up to look like an ordinary pension fund because that made it politically easier to sell. But in reality, Social Security has never been run like a private pension plan.

For one thing, for the first half-century of the program’s existence, it had almost no assets; in 1985, the [*trust fund*](https://www.ssa.gov/oact/STATS/table4a3.html) was only large enough to pay around two months’ worth of benefits. So it has always operated mainly on a pay-as-you-go basis, with today’s payroll taxes paying for today’s retiree benefits, not tomorrow’s.

I often get mail from people claiming that this makes Social Security a Ponzi scheme. But it isn’t. It’s just a government program supported by a dedicated tax, which is fairly common — for example, that’s how we pay for [*roads and bridges*](https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-22-104299#:~:text=The%20Highway%20Trust%20Fund%E2%80%94the,fuel%20vehicles%20travel%20the%20roads.), which are funded by gas taxes.

The other way Social Security is unlike a private pension is that what you get out isn’t at all proportional to what you put in. Workers with low earnings get a [*much higher share*](https://www.ssa.gov/oact/cola/bendpoints.html) of those earnings replaced than higher-wage workers. In the past, this made the program strongly redistributive — a much better deal for workers with low pay than for workers with high pay.

By the late 1970s, it was clear, however, that Social Security was facing financial trouble down the road. The baby boom ended in 1964, so the working-age population, which grew rapidly as long as boomers were still entering the labor market, would grow more slowly in the decades ahead; this meant that the program’s tax base would grow more slowly than the number of beneficiaries, especially once the boomers began retiring.

So in 1981 a bipartisan commission set out to secure Social Security’s future. It tried to do so with two measures. First, it increased the [*payroll tax rate*](https://www.ssa.gov/oact/progdata/taxRates.html); the idea was to make Social Security a bit more like a “real” pension fund by taking in more than it was spending, building up a serious trust fund that could help defray costs once the baby boomers hit the system. It also set in motion a gradual rise in the [*age of eligibility*](https://www.ssa.gov/pressoffice/IncRetAge.html) for full benefits, which started at 65 and will reach 67 for those born after 1960.

All of this was supposed to secure the system’s finances until 2060. It did, in fact, buy the system a number of decades, but the Social Security Administration currently [*expects*](https://www.ssa.gov/oact/trsum/) the trust fund to be exhausted by 2035. The main reason for the shortfall, as I understand it, is that taxable wages have grown more slowly than expected, which in turn is largely the result of rising inequality: A growing share of overall income has gone to people with really high earnings, and much of that income isn’t subject to the payroll tax with its limit.

So what happens once the trust fund is exhausted? The system doesn’t collapse — but payroll tax receipts are [*expected*](https://www.ssa.gov/oact/TR/2022/IV_B_LRest.html#462733) to be only about 80 percent of promised benefits. So if nothing is done, benefits will suddenly have to be slashed by 20 percent.

That, however, almost certainly won’t be allowed to happen. These programs are both immensely popular and deeply relied on, after all.

One obvious course of action would be to provide the system with more money. I get a lot of mail from people saying that we should simply eliminate the upper limit on the payroll tax. That would certainly raise a lot of money. But bear in mind that there’s no fundamental reason Social Security has to be financed with payroll taxes; we do it that way only because back in 1935, F.D.R.’s advisers thought it would be a good idea to dress Social Security up to look like a private pension fund. And Social Security isn’t the only program that’s going to need more money unless we cut expenses. So we should be trying to figure out the best way to raise a [*few more percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/21/opinion/medicare-social-security.html) of G.D.P. in taxes. To achieve that, raising the payroll cap may not be the best way to go.

The other idea I hear a lot is that we should raise the retirement age — which has already been increased, from 65 to 67. After all, people are living longer, so they can work longer, right?

Well, some people are living longer. But one key point in thinking about Social Security is that the number of years you can expect to spend collecting benefits has become [*increasingly linked*](https://sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/R44846.pdf) to the income you earned earlier in your life. Here’s a chart everyone discussing retirement ages should know about, although many don’t. It shows how life expectancy at age 65 has changed for Americans with different levels of income:

Life expectancy has indeed risen a lot for the affluent, but for the less well-paid members of the ***working class***, it has hardly risen at all.

What this means is that [*calling for an increase in the retirement age*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/04/opinion/medicare-social-security-cuts-republicans.html) is, in effect, saying that janitors can’t be allowed to retire because lawyers are living longer. Not a very nice position to take.

Growing disparities in life expectancy also mean, by the way, that Social Security isn’t as redistributive as it used to be. Low earners get more of their income replaced than high earners, but this is increasingly offset by the fact that they have fewer years to collect benefits.

In any case, I hope we don’t raise the retirement age further. As I [*wrote last week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/21/opinion/medicare-social-security.html), what we need is medical cost control plus moderate tax hikes.

And meanwhile, don’t worry too much about your future benefits. Social Security isn’t a Ponzi scheme, it isn’t going bankrupt, and it will probably continue much as it has.

Quick Hits

The original 1983 report and recommendations of the [*Greenspan Commission*](https://www.ssa.gov/history/reports/gspan.html).

“The myth that people have [*paid for their benefits*](https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/65126/2000323-Myth-and-Reality-of-the-Safety-Net-The-1983-Social-Security-Reforms.pdf) is very powerful.”

“Social Security benefits are [*modest*](https://www.cbpp.org/research/social-security/social-security-benefits-are-modest).”

Why Social Security privatization [*failed*](https://www.brookings.edu/research/why-the-2005-social-security-initiative-failed-and-what-it-means-for-the-future/).

Facing the Music

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/Vef03k5i8VI)]

[*This song*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vef03k5i8VI) gets more powerful when you get older yourself.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; photographs by Douglas Sacha and Ronnie Kaufman/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Donald Trump Is Finally Finished; Bret Stephens***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66W4-GTB1-JBG3-61YK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 15, 2022 Tuesday 04:37 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 873 words

**Byline:** Bret Stephens

**Highlight:** The only coherent explanation for Republicans’ underperformance is the ex-president.

**Body**

Whether or not Donald Trump’s hat is in the ring, he’s finished as a serious contender for high office.

That’s not a line to write lightly. First, because he has been written off so often in the past — after mocking John McCain’s military record; after the “Access Hollywood” tape; after Jan. 6; after the Jan. 6 committee hearings — that it seems foolhardy to do it again. Second, because every time he is written off, his supporters seem to draw energy from their purported irrelevance. And third, because the line will surely be hung around my neck if I’m wrong.

But I’m not.

Last week, the realization finally dawned on his devoted supporters that Trump can no longer deliver what they want most: power. Or, let me put it in language more congenial to them: Whatever purpose they believe he was meant to serve — bringing ***working-class*** voters back to the Republican fold; restoring nationalism to conservative ideology; rejecting the authority of supposed experts — has been served. Others can now do the same thing better, without the drama and divisiveness. He’s yesterday’s man.

This is an observation made from an objective reading of political reality: Trump cost Republicans dearly in the midterms.

In key Senate and gubernatorial races, the former president proffered his endorsements based on fealty over electability. He turned election denialism into a loyalty oath. Primary victories became Pyrrhic ones. In the same states where mainstream Republicans won handily (Chris Sununu in New Hampshire, Brian Kemp in Georgia, Mike DeWine in Ohio), Trump’s candidates either underperformed or lost — a contrast that again gives the lie to the notion that Democrats somehow won thanks only to cheating, bending rules or taking advantage of early voting.

But none of this alone would be enough to turn off Trump’s devotees — just as Republican losses of the House in 2018, the White House in 2020 and the Senate in 2021 weren’t enough. Three additional factors were required.

The first is shock.

Republicans expected a blowout win last week every bit as much as Democrats expected one for Hillary Clinton in 2016. Many of the polls predicted one, as did the normal ebb and flow of American politics. Joe Biden is an unpopular incumbent presiding over an inflationary economy and a border crisis. For the G.O.P. to underperform so badly is a No Excuses moment for the party, and the only coherent explanation for it is the specter of Trump.

The second is that Trump is finally being abandoned by many of his usually unflagging apologists and enablers in right-wing media, whose influence will be felt downstream.

That includes Fox News’s [*Laura Ingraham*](https://www.msn.com/en-us/video/news/laura-ingraham-seems-to-hit-trump-warns-2024-candidates-not-to-put-%E2%80%98your-own-ego-or-your-own-grudges%E2%80%99-above-the-country/vi-AA13W3OB?t=2&amp;category=foryou): “If the voters conclude that you’re putting your own ego or your own grudges ahead of what’s good for the country, they’re going to look elsewhere.” It includes Townhall’s [*Kurt Schlichter*](https://townhall.com/columnists/kurtschlichter/2022/11/14/lets-talk-about-trump-n2615884): “Trump presents problems and we need to face them,” he admitted. “We owe Trump nothing. He’s a politician.” It includes [*Victor Davis Hanson*](https://amgreatness.com/2022/11/13/tragically-trump/): “Will an unapologetic Trump instead now escalate his slurs, bray at the moon, play out his current angry Ajax role to the bitter end, and thus himself end up a tragic hero — appreciated for past service but deemed too toxic for present company?”

None of these are full-on repudiations, though they come close. And they bring us to the third reason Trump is finally finished: his gratuitous pre-election swipe at Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida, whose 19-point victory over the Democrat Charlie Crist was one of the G.O.P.’s few unequivocal highlights of election night.

The sin here was not that Trump violated Ronald Reagan’s famous [*Eleventh Commandment*](https://politicaldictionary.com/words/eleventh-commandment/): “Thou shalt not speak ill of any fellow Republican.” Trump has violated that commandment as freely as he has so many of the others. It’s that he was a loser criticizing a winner — and what Trump’s base wants most of all is a winner.

A wiser Trump would have made DeSantis’s victory his own, treating the governor as his star student and designated successor. But Trump couldn’t, and can’t, help himself. And what the Republican base sees in DeSantis is everything it likes about Trump — the combativeness and self-belief and disdain for elite opinion — minus the personal baggage and habits of self-sabotage. In the battle for the affections of American conservatives, the ex-president increasingly feels like the jealous paunchy spouse, the governor like the attractive and successful neighbor.

The field of possible primary contenders might still move aside for Trump, much as Hillary Clinton mostly cleared the field the last time she ran. But with his midterm rout, Trump has proved once again that he’s toxic and can never again win a general election. He would be no match for a younger, charismatic primary candidate, just as Clinton proved no match for Barack Obama in 2008.

The field is open for a real Republican contender. It’s time someone stepped up to the plate.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***After Half a Century, ‘The Dark Side of the Moon’ Still Reverberates***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67ND-N9P1-JBG3-63RS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 28, 2023 Tuesday 09:42 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 1332 words

**Byline:** Jon Pareles

**Highlight:** Pink Floyd’s enduring blockbuster merged grandeur and malaise. Very much a product of its era, it became one of the best-selling albums of all time.

**Body**

Pink Floyd’s enduring blockbuster merged grandeur and malaise. Very much a product of its era, it became one of the best-selling albums of all time.

Glum, ponderous songs about madness, mortality and greed, punctuated with tense instrumentals. Was that a blueprint for a blockbuster? It hardly sounds like the makings of one of the best-selling albums of all time.

But there’s no denying the popularity and tenacity of [*“The Dark Side of the Moon,”*](https://music.youtube.com/playlist?list=OLAK5uy_mXoi-FuQb9Gw7Mguhdx5F4jltT0L1qOCw) the indelible album that Pink Floyd released 50 years ago, on March 1, 1973. Looming like an inscrutable monolith, “Dark Side” spent nearly all of the next 14 years — through punk, disco, early hip-hop and the pop heyday of MTV — [*lodged in Billboard’s Top 200*](https://twitter.com/billboardcharts/status/1493242601453019137) album chart. It arrived during the analog, material days of record stores and vinyl LPs, when an album purchase was a commitment. And no matter how familiar “Dark Side” went on to become as an FM radio staple, people still wanted their own copy, or perhaps a new copy to replace a scratched-up one. In the digital era, “The Dark Side of the Moon” album returned to the charts on CD, selling and then streaming more millions.

The success of “Dark Side” stoked the ambitions of Pink Floyd and its leader, Roger Waters, who has toured arenas and stadiums ever since; Waters, 79, is playing his [*“first ever farewell” dates*](https://rogerwaters.com/) this year. He conceived the “The Wall,” a narrative rock opera released in 1979, that would foreground his anti-authority reflexes, from schoolmasters to heads of state; he has performed it against the backdrop of the Berlin Wall. Decades later, Waters would go on to spout [*cranky, conspiracy-theory-minded, pro-Russia political statements*](https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-features/roger-waters-ukrainian-kill-list-1234604081/) that many former fans abhorred. When “Dark Side” appeared, all that was far in the future.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/JwYX52BP2Sk)]

There will, of course, be another deluxe edition for the latest “Dark Side” anniversary. Arriving March 24, the new boxed set has high-resolution and surround-sound remixes and other extras, though it’s largely redundant after the exhaustive “Immersion Edition” reissue in 2011. Both “Immersion” and the new set include a worthy 1974 concert performance of “Dark Side,” with brawny live sound and extended onstage jams.

Waters has also announced his [*own full-length remake*](https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-news/roger-waters-re-recording-pink-floyd-the-dark-side-of-the-moon-1234676350/) of “Dark Side,” that will have his own lead vocals — not the husky, doleful voice of Pink Floyd’s guitarist, David Gilmour — with Waters’s spoken words over the album’s instrumentals, along with [*“no rock ’n’ roll guitar solos.”*](https://www.pressenza.com/2023/02/roger-waters-questioned-in-depth-about-ukraine-russia-israel-u-s/)

Uh-oh.

In 1973, “Dark Side” was an album that worked equally well to show off a new stereo — or, for a few early adopters, a quadraphonic system — or to be contemplated in private communion with headphones and a joint. The ticking clocks, alarms and chimes that open “Time” are startlingly realistic even when they’re no longer a surprise, and the perpetual-motion synthesizers and desperate footfalls of [*“On the Run”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2sUyk5zSbhM) are eternally dizzying.

Stately tempos, cavernous tones and solemn framing announce the high seriousness of “Dark Side,” which begins and ends with the sound of a heartbeat. The album juxtaposes overarching sonics and grand pronouncements with human-scale experience. Its tracks are punctuated with voices from Pink Floyd’s road crew and friends, dispensing loop-ready tidbits like “I’ve always been mad” in ***working-class*** accents.

Like other overwhelming best sellers of the 1970s and 1980s — Michael Jackson’s “Thriller,” Eagles’ “Hotel California,” Fleetwood Mac’s “Rumours” — “Dark Side” deals with disillusionment, fear and resentment despite the polish of its production. It’s troubled and obsessive at heart, not tidy. Countless bands and producers would learn from Pink Floyd how to fuse grandeur and malaise, how a few well-placed sounds can say far more than a showy display of virtuosity.

“Dark Side” was very much a product of its era. The early 1970s were prog-rock’s heyday, particularly in Britain, where bands like Genesis, King Crimson and Yes were constructing suite-length songs and unveiling elaborate conceits. But the early 1970s were also a time when the utopian promises of the hippie era were fading, pushed back by entrenched interests and corporate co-optation. “Dark Side” captures naïve hopes falling away.

It was Pink Floyd’s eighth album, the continuation of a cult career that had been synonymous with psychedelia and progressive rock: with extended structures and open-ended jams, with verbal conundrums and with an oh-wow appreciation of reverberant textures and spatial effects.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/msiEYm28OHs)]

Pink Floyd’s founding songwriter, [*Syd Barrett*](https://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/12/arts/music/12barrett.html), left the band in 1968 with mental health problems, taking its sense of whimsy with him. Waters emerged as its new, more saturnine leader. But it took a string of uneven albums, full of amorphous studio jams, before the relative concision and clarity of “Dark Side” came into focus. While the album unfolds as a 42-minute prog-rock suite — despite the necessity, in 1973, of flipping over an LP — it also features clearly delineated verse-chorus-verse songs that radio stations could play. Waters deliberately made his lyrics blunter and more down-to-earth than he had before: “Money, it’s a gas/Grab that cash with both hands and make a stash.”

Waters tackled big topics: “Time,” “Money,” war, the inevitability of death, the triviality of daily life, the importance of seizing the moment. His perspective is dour. In “Breathe (in the Air),” he describes life as a “race towards an early grave”; in “Time, he observes that every sunrise brings you “One day closer to death.” But the reason “Dark Side” became a blockbuster is that Pink Floyd’s music — the full band, with [*Richard Wright*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/16/arts/music/16wright.html)’s self-effacing but fundamental keyboards, Waters on bass, Nick Mason’s steadfast drumming and Gilmour’s probing, slashing, keening guitar — defies all that miserabilism.

The album builds dramatically and inexorably toward the songs that close each side of the LP. [*“The Great Gig in the Sky,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mPGv8L3a_sY) which ends Side 1, is a progression of tolling, processional keyboard chords from Wright, topped by spoken words denying fear of death — “You’ve got to go sometime” — followed by Clare Torry’s leaping, soaring, riveting vocal improvisation. She’s a pure life force, with pain and freedom and determination in her voice, refusing to accept oblivion. (Torry only received composer credit for her top line in 2005, along with an undisclosed settlement, after [*suing the band*](https://www.vulture.com/2020/01/clare-torry-pink-floyd-dark-side-of-the-moon.html).)

The album’s conclusion — “Brain Damage” seguing into “Eclipse,” both written by Waters — reads as bleak but feels like transcendence. In [*“Brain Damage,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BhYKN21olBw) the singer feels himself succumbing to mental illness. “The lunatic is in my head,” he warns, answered by a snippet of maniacal laughter; in the chorus, he sings, “If your head explodes with dark forebodings too/I’ll see you on the dark side of the moon.”

Then, in [*“Eclipse,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9wjZrswriz0) he makes his way toward a revelatory oneness — “All that is now and all that is gone/And all that’s to come and everything under the sun is in tune” — only to see it swallowed by darkness as “the sun is eclipsed by the moon.” But in both songs, the music swells behind him, with churchy organ and robust major chords, pealing guitar and gospelly choir harmonies. As the album ends, tidings of catastrophe sound like triumph; it’s a fist-pumping arena-rock finale.

In recent interviews, Waters has described the message of the album more positively. “What is really important is the connection between us as human beings, the whole human community,” he told [*Berliner Zeitung*](https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/kultur-vergnuegen/debatte/roger-waters-vom-rockstar-zur-unerwuenschten-person-li.312575) in February. That’s revisionist; “Dark Side” luxuriates in alienation, futility and desperation. Its persistence reveals just how many listeners feel the same.

PHOTOS: From far left: Nick Mason, David Gilmour, Roger Waters and Richard Wright of Pink Floyd. The group’s 1973 album, “The Dark Side of the Moon,” has had a long life on radio playlists and the Billboard chart. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** March 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***McCarthy Officially Backs Stefanik to Replace Cheney in House Leadership***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62MP-JMM1-DXY4-X1K1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 9, 2021 Sunday 10:23 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 648 words

**Byline:** Luke Broadwater and Chris Cameron

**Highlight:** “We need to be united,” said the Republican leader Kevin McCarthy, who worked behind the scenes for days on behalf of Representative Elise Stefanik of New York.

**Body**

“We need to be united,” said the Republican leader Kevin McCarthy, who worked behind the scenes for days on behalf of Representative Elise Stefanik of New York.

WASHINGTON — Representative Kevin McCarthy, the minority leader, on Sunday officially endorsed Representative [*Elise Stefanik*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/house-republicans-stefanik-cheney.html) in her bid to oust the No. 3 House Republican, Representative [*Liz Cheney*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/house-republicans-stefanik-cheney.html), who has hemorrhaged support over her repudiation of former President Donald J. Trump’s lies about election fraud.

“Yes, I do,” Mr. McCarthy told the Fox News host Maria Bartiromo when she asked whether he supported Ms. Stefanik’s push to become the Republican conference chairwoman.

“We need to be united, and that starts with leadership,” Mr. McCarthy said. “That’s why we will have a vote next week.”

The endorsement from Mr. McCarthy — who had been working behind the scenes on Ms. Stefanik’s behalf for days — came after Mr. Trump and Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the No. 2 House Republican, endorsed Ms. Stefanik.

The move made clear that fealty to Mr. Trump and [*willingness to embrace his false claims of election fraud*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/house-republicans-stefanik-cheney.html) have become the ultimate litmus tests among Republicans for holding a leadership position in the House. Ms. Cheney, who represents Wyoming and was once considered a future speaker, has a more conservative voting record than Ms. Stefanik. But Ms. Stefanik, a fourth-term congresswoman from New York, has [*joined in Mr. Trump’s efforts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/house-republicans-stefanik-cheney.html) to cast doubt on the legitimacy of President Biden’s victory in the 2020 election.

Representative Jim Banks of Indiana, the chairman of the conservative Republican Study Committee, made the case against Ms. Cheney on “Fox News Sunday.”

“Right now it’s clear that she doesn’t represent the views of the majority of our conference,” Mr. Banks, who has co-sponsored legislation with Ms. Cheney opposing troop reductions in Afghanistan, told the show’s host, Chris Wallace.

Mr. Banks — who like Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Scalise joined in objections to certifying Mr. Biden’s victory — added that his split from Ms. Cheney came after she criticized a memo he had written outlining a strategy for winning ***working-class*** voters.

“Liz Cheney is the only Republican leader who attacked the memo about making the Republican Party the party of the ***working class***,” he said.

Some House Republicans tried to oust Ms. Cheney from her leadership post in February after she voted to impeach Mr. Trump for his role in inciting the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol. Ms. Cheney easily turned back that challenge — winning a 145-to-61 caucus vote — after Mr. McCarthy delivered an impassioned speech in her defense.

But now it is other Republicans who are rallying to her side.

Senator Bill Cassidy of Louisiana, who voted to convict Mr. Trump in his second impeachment trial, argued that the party needed to adopt a bigger-tent philosophy in which both supporters and critics of Mr. Trump were welcome.

“You look at polls, there’s a whole group of folks that agree with Liz Cheney, and so for us to win in 2022 and 2024, we need everybody,” Mr. Cassidy said Sunday on NBC’s “Meet the Press.”

Representative Adam Kinzinger, Republican of Illinois, pointed out that Mr. McCarthy had said Mr. Trump bore responsibility for the Capitol riot — only to later insist that others stop talking about it.

“It is incredible,” Mr. Kinzinger said on CBS’s “Face the Nation.” “Liz Cheney is saying exactly what Kevin McCarthy said the day of the insurrection. She has just consistently been saying it.”

“For me, I’m a conservative,” he added. “I’m going to fight for the soul of this party. But every member, not just leadership, every congressman, every state representative, every member of the party that pulls a ballot in the primary has to decide, are we going to exist on lies or exist on the truth?”

PHOTO: Representative Kevin McCarthy, the House minority leader. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RON HARRIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** May 14, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Night Moves***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67F0-GT21-JBG3-640W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 29, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 7; SCREENLAND

**Length:** 1178 words

**Byline:** By Niela Orr

**Body**

In video after viral video, fast-food employees keep being forced to punch above their weight. You can find the disquieting energy of these clips in classic art, too.

If there is a quintessential hub of subterranean America, it's Waffle House. Like many 24-hour enterprises, the chain tends to be associated with the cranked-up energy of its after-hours patrons, from long-distance truckers to inebriated clubgoers. It is a site of boundary-crossing and clashing, one of the last settings where people of truly different social milieus and motivations intersect, scrape and sometimes scrap -- a twilight zone for the twilight set, the real-life analogue of a chaotic internet forum. (Fun fact: Alexis Ohanian, the founder of Reddit, partly credits Waffle House for helping him come up with the idea.)

Waffle House is also, accordingly, a reliable producer of wild viral videos. The latest, which circulated widely in December, features a little less than two minutes of shaky cellphone footage depicting a Texas Waffle House employee fighting with several customers. It starts in medias res: There are only a few seconds of shouting before we see a customer standing on the counter. Judging by the sky beyond the restaurant's customary wall of windows, it's either very late or very early. A different woman is already in the workers' area, where the clip's star, a Waffle House employee, threatens to throw an empty coffee carafe, then hurls a sugar dispenser. Other diners cross into the kitchen area, pummeling the worker and yanking her hair. Other workers join the fracas. Bystanders gawk and record from outside the enormous window. Even after the customers are pushed back to their side of the counter, they won't give up. They start throwing things: dishware, an aluminum chair.

Then it happens. A second chair is thrown. It floats over to the worker, the one who has had her hair pulled and her body beaten. She moves her left arm to block it, and seems to freeze the chair in place for one time-stopping second before slamming it down to the side.

It is a miracle how she dispenses with the chair. ''Dispenses'' is not even the right word: She repels it. She parries the chair like an anime character deflecting a beam of supernatural power, like Neo dodging bullets in ''The Matrix,'' like King Kong swatting away a helicopter.

This footage, it turns out, was shot in September 2021; its recirculation only adds to its legend. It is only the latest in a long series of similar clips to make the rounds online. In these videos, people -- some drunk or high, others destabilized in other ways -- behave violently toward fast-food workers. They yell, taunt, abuse, attack. The most popular of these videos, the ones that move beyond fight aficionados and into the mainstream, tend to be those with a specific moral outcome: The fast-food employees, pushed beyond their limits while just trying to get through the day, step up to deck, manhandle or beat down the offending patron. You can watch this happen, over and over, at all sorts of restaurants. A seemingly intoxicated customer grabs a McDonald's cashier's collar and receives punches instead of change. A fight pops off at a Jersey Mike's Subs, at a Popeyes. Sometimes the workers are worn down by dehumanizing pranks; in one video a drive-through worker, subjected to a horn scare, tosses a full drink into the prankster's car. Sometimes there are racialized undertones, with Black workers defending themselves against white customers. Jokes circulate online about fast-food workers as battle-tested veterans, about the last people you want to mess with being the night shift at a Waffle House.

Halie Booth, the chair-proof cook in that video -- she has been called Waffle House Wendy online -- could represent any number of things. She could be an avatar for every fast-food employee harassed by rude, unruly customers, her response amplified by an effect that wouldn't look out of place in a Marvel movie. She could be a symbol of the American ***working class*** and its imperviousness to all kinds of assaults. She could be the answer to pandemic-era questions about why Americans aren't leaping to perform low-wage, public-facing labor, or a bridge between the start of the pandemic (when such workers were considered essential) and the present (when they are disregarded again). In an interview with Tucker Carlson, she said that, far from being commended at work, she was written up for breaking the sugar canister and later ''blacklisted'' by the company. When asked what caused the ruckus, she said she was the only cook working that night, and there were up to 40 diners waiting to be served. She summed up with a line that might make a good slogan for late-night dining: ''Drunken impatience creates a volatile situation.''

Earlier this month, I went to the Whitney Museum of American Art to view ''Edward Hopper's New York,'' an exhibition that promised to reveal the artist's focus on the city's ''unsung utilitarian structures and out-of-the-way corners, drawn to the awkward collisions of new and old, civic and residential, public and private that captured the paradoxes of the changing city.'' You could see this attention to under-the-rug places in many of Hopper's works, including the illustrations he made for trade publications. (Some of this commercial work was for the hospitality industry; the museum's wall text described it as ''minimizing the labor required for their successful operation and reinforcing their racially coded workplaces.'') Uneasy nightlife abounds. ''Automat'' shows a woman sitting alone in what is essentially a precursor to today's fast-food restaurant, lamps reflecting in the window behind her. Hopper's famous ''Nighthawks'' was not part of the exhibit, but its icy tableau sprang to mind: three night owls and a waiter enveloped in a diner's faintly seedy light, a devastatingly empty street beyond the window.

There's something about this haunting insomniac aesthetic that seems to live on in videos like the Waffle House melee. They, too, contain something awkward about labor and racial binaries, and even those shot in daylight have a kind of existential darkness, an anarchy associated with late nights. Their collisions are physical. Hopper's isolated figures hunch quietly while raucous modern diners have to be held back from the staff, but in looking at both you can see an essential American estrangement, the same quality of noirish alienation under jaundiced light. (That nighthawk with his back to the viewer: Is he drunk? Impatient? Eyeing the server and the saltshaker?) Eighty years later, the distance between Hopper's strangers has collapsed, and the subtle menace surrounding them has spouted. Today's portrayal of restlessness is like the post-postmodern scene at that Waffle House: People watching violence while also recording it, adding their documents to an outrageous archive, ready for the rest of us to marvel at.

Source photograph: Elijah Nouvelage/Bloomberg, via Getty Images.

Niela Orr is a story editor for the magazine.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/magazine/the-waffle-house-brawl-belongs-in-a-museum.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/25/magazine/the-waffle-house-brawl-belongs-in-a-museum.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (MM7)

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NAJEEBAH AL-GHADBAN

DOMINIC BUGATTO/GETTY IMAGES

ELIJAH NOUVELAGE/BLOOMBERG, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (MM8-MM9) This article appeared in print on page MM7, MM8, MM9, MM10.

**Load-Date:** January 29, 2023

**End of Document**



[***McCarthy Endorses Bid to Replace Cheney***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62MV-90T1-DXY4-X1RS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 10, 2021 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 17

**Length:** 641 words

**Byline:** By Luke Broadwater and Chris Cameron

**Body**

''We need to be united,'' said the Republican leader Kevin McCarthy, who worked behind the scenes for days on behalf of Representative Elise Stefanik of New York.

WASHINGTON -- Representative Kevin McCarthy, the minority leader, on Sunday officially endorsed Representative Elise Stefanik in her bid to oust the No. 3 House Republican, Representative Liz Cheney, who has hemorrhaged support over her repudiation of former President Donald J. Trump's lies about election fraud.

''Yes, I do,'' Mr. McCarthy told the Fox News host Maria Bartiromo when she asked whether he supported Ms. Stefanik's push to become the Republican conference chairwoman.

''We need to be united, and that starts with leadership,'' Mr. McCarthy said. ''That's why we will have a vote next week.''

The endorsement from Mr. McCarthy -- who had been working behind the scenes on Ms. Stefanik's behalf for days -- came after Mr. Trump and Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the No. 2 House Republican, endorsed Ms. Stefanik.

The move made clear that fealty to Mr. Trump and willingness to embrace his false claims of election fraud have become the ultimate litmus tests among Republicans for holding a leadership position in the House. Ms. Cheney, who represents Wyoming and was once considered a future speaker, has a more conservative voting record than Ms. Stefanik. But Ms. Stefanik, a fourth-term congresswoman from New York, has joined in Mr. Trump's efforts to cast doubt on the legitimacy of President Biden's victory in the 2020 election.

Representative Jim Banks of Indiana, the chairman of the conservative Republican Study Committee, made the case against Ms. Cheney on ''Fox News Sunday.''

''Right now it's clear that she doesn't represent the views of the majority of our conference,'' Mr. Banks, who has co-sponsored legislation with Ms. Cheney opposing troop reductions in Afghanistan, told the show's host, Chris Wallace.

Mr. Banks -- who like Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Scalise joined in objections to certifying Mr. Biden's victory -- added that his split from Ms. Cheney came after she criticized a memo he had written outlining a strategy for winning ***working-class*** voters.

''Liz Cheney is the only Republican leader who attacked the memo about making the Republican Party the party of the ***working class***,'' he said.

Some House Republicans tried to oust Ms. Cheney from her leadership post in February after she voted to impeach Mr. Trump for his role in inciting the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol. Ms. Cheney easily turned back that challenge -- winning a 145-to-61 caucus vote -- after Mr. McCarthy delivered an impassioned speech in her defense.

But now it is other Republicans who are rallying to her side.

Senator Bill Cassidy of Louisiana, who voted to convict Mr. Trump in his second impeachment trial, argued that the party needed to adopt a bigger-tent philosophy in which both supporters and critics of Mr. Trump were welcome.

''You look at polls, there's a whole group of folks that agree with Liz Cheney, and so for us to win in 2022 and 2024, we need everybody,'' Mr. Cassidy said Sunday on NBC's ''Meet the Press.''

Representative Adam Kinzinger, Republican of Illinois, pointed out that Mr. McCarthy had said Mr. Trump bore responsibility for the Capitol riot -- only to later insist that others stop talking about it.

''It is incredible,'' Mr. Kinzinger said on CBS's ''Face the Nation.'' ''Liz Cheney is saying exactly what Kevin McCarthy said the day of the insurrection. She has just consistently been saying it.''

''For me, I'm a conservative,'' he added. ''I'm going to fight for the soul of this party. But every member, not just leadership, every congressman, every state representative, every member of the party that pulls a ballot in the primary has to decide, are we going to exist on lies or exist on the truth?''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/09/us/politics/mccarthy-stefanik-cheney-republicans.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/09/us/politics/mccarthy-stefanik-cheney-republicans.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Representative Kevin McCarthy, the House minority leader. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RON HARRIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** May 10, 2021

**End of Document**



[***What Does All This Rain Mean for California’s Drought?; California today***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67V8-XNK1-DXY4-X1Y3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 23, 2023 Thursday 09:00 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1383 words

**Byline:** Elena Shao

**Highlight:** Despite all the rain, experts are hesitant to say the drought is over.

**Body**

Despite all the rain, experts are hesitant to say the drought is over.

As you’re well aware, California has had an extremely wet winter, replete with severe flooding, snowed-in mountain communities and a massive snowpack accumulating in the Sierra Nevada.

So what does that mean for the state’s drought?

In January, after back-to-back atmospheric river storms, it was still largely unknown whether the downpours could reverse our drought, which began in 2020 and has stretched through the three driest years on record in the state.

At the time, many experts said that it could very likely take multiple wet months, or even multiple wet seasons, to end the drought — and there was no telling whether the wet weather early in the season would be followed by a dry spell, which is exactly what happened [*last year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/01/us/california-fires.html).

But this winter has continued to bring torrents of rain and snow through March, which has changed the drought outlook.

I worked with my colleagues Mira Rojanasakul and Nadja Popovich on [*a set of maps and charts*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/climate/california-drought.html) that illustrates just how big of an effect these very wet months have had on the Golden State’s longer-term drought conditions.

When you look at how much precipitation California received over the past three years, excluding this winter, you’ll notice that almost the entire state experienced levels far below what’s normal, with normal defined as the average precipitation received between 1991 and 2020.

But when you include this winter’s rain and snow, the picture shifts: The precipitation that California received between December and mid-March has offset much of the shortfall that accumulated over the past three years.

The rains have helped replenish reservoirs, many of which have quickly returned to their historical averages, or surpassed them. Snow has built up snowpack levels statewide to the highest they’ve been in decades — more than three times what they were at the same time in each of the last three years.

This is undoubtedly a silver lining to our extreme weather of late. But experts are still hesitant to say definitively that California’s drought is over, for a number of reasons.

First, even though storms may temporarily ease the dry conditions, drought is likely to return relatively soon. California has [*long cycled through spells of deluge and drought*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/11/climate/california-drought-rain.html), in part because of natural climate variability. But research suggests that a warmer climate has supercharged the “whiplash” between these extremes.

Second, even an extremely wet winter isn’t a magic bullet for the long-term water concerns in the state, which have been exacerbated by years of extreme aridity, rising temperatures and unsustainable water use.

California’s groundwater aquifers have huge potential for storing water; they can hold eight to 12 times as much as all of the state’s major reservoirs combined. But, they have been badly depleted by decades of heavy pumping, especially in the agriculture-heavy Central Valley. Data suggests that groundwater supplies in the region decline precipitously during dry periods, recovering only modestly during wet ones.

When it comes to replenishing those aquifers, the state [*has had trouble*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/21/climate/california-storms-groundwater-aquifer-recharge.html) capturing water from downpours and redirecting it to fields and sandy basins where it can seep underground, experts say. That means we still have a long way to go in restoring our groundwater supplies.

Heavy influxes of rain and snow during the winter can also have destructive repercussions later in the year. The state’s record-level snowpack could mean more flooding in the spring as the snow melts, especially if much of the soil is already saturated with water and can’t absorb much more of it.

And, as Alex Hall, the director of the Center for Climate Science at the University of California, Los Angeles, pointed out to me, disputes over the dwindling Colorado River still loom. Seven western states, including California, depend on the river for water, but those states have [*struggled to reduce their water use*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/27/climate/colorado-river-biden-cuts.html) even as the river’s flow has plummeted because of climate change, drought and population growth.

Recent rains are not nearly enough to alleviate a crisis that has been decades in the making, Hall said. “We would need multiple years of good and healthy water inputs to recover.”

For more:

* [*Read our full story.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/climate/california-drought.html)

Elena Shao is a climate reporting fellow for The New York Times.

The rest of the news

* Big tech: A new bill would [*make sites like Facebook and Google pay publishers a “journalism usage fee”*](https://www.latimes.com/business/story/2023-03-22/california-bill-would-force-big-tech-to-pay-for-news-content) when they sell advertisements next to news articles, The Los Angeles Times reports.

1. Condom availability: California legislators proposed a new bill that would require public high schools to [*provide free condoms to students*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-03-22/california-bill-public-high-schools-free-condoms-legislature), The Los Angeles Times reports.

* Los Angeles schools strike: The walkout among Los Angeles Unified employees has illustrated the economic divide in modern Los Angeles, and, for the most part, [*the district’s* ***working-class*** *parents and school workers are on the same side.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/22/us/la-schools-strike.html)

1. Earthquake retrofit law: A new poll found that a [*majority of Los Angeles residents supported a law*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-03-22/poll-large-majority-los-angeles-residents-back-earthquake-retrofit) that would make owners remodel buildings that are vulnerable to earthquakes, contrary to conventional wisdom that such a rule would be politically unpopular, The Los Angeles Times reports.
2. Montebello tornado: A possible tornado may be responsible for [*ripping a roof off a building*](https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-03-22/possible-tornado-rips-roof-off-montebello-building-as-wild-weather-continues) in Montebello, and the National Weather Service is investigating, The Los Angeles Times reports.

* Evacuating Tulare: Flooding in Tulare County has forced [*nearly 100 residents into evacuation shelters*](https://www.visaliatimesdelta.com/story/news/2023/03/20/tulare-county-floods-damage-683-structures-destroy-7/70029370007/), with over 680 structures damaged by flood water and the possibility of more rain, Visalia Times-Delta reports.

1. Gas for sale: The Cambria General Store, one of the oldest gas and convenience stores in San Luis Obispo County, is selling its property and business [*for $2.7 million*](https://www.sanluisobispo.com/news/business/real-estate-news/article273424200.html#storylink=mainstage_card6), The San Luis Obispo Tribune reports.
2. Pajaro floods: A levee break in Monterey County has affected 2,500 residents, [*leaving nearly 500 people in shelters*](https://www.sfchronicle.com/california/article/pajaro-flood-farmworkers-residents-17851797.php) and many others without access to clean water or sewers, The San Francisco Chronicle reports.

* Storm damage: At least [*five people were killed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/us/california-storm-evacuations-weather.html) in the Bay Area by falling trees during this week’s strong winds and precipitation.

What we’re eating

[*Spiced red lentils.*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/7517-masoor-dal-spiced-red-lentils)

Where we’re traveling

Today’s tip comes from Mame Kell, who recommends [*a hike to Potato Chip Rock*](https://hikingguy.com/hiking-trails/hiking-san-diego/potato-chip-rock-hike-san-diego/) near San Diego: “The hike to the rock isn’t anything to write home about, but standing on the potato chip is amazing!”

Tell us about your favorite places to visit in California. Email your suggestions to [*CAtoday@nytimes.com*](mailto:CAtoday@nytimes.com). We’ll be sharing more in upcoming editions of the newsletter.

What we’re reading

In “Guardians of the Valley,” [*Dean King chronicles the friendship*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/books/review/guardians-of-the-valley-dean-king.html) between the naturalist John Muir and the journalist Robert Underwood Johnson.

And before you go, some good news

Beverly Bao Ngoc Pham and Brett Andrew Lynch met in March 2021 in Palm Springs, where Pham was on vacation with a friend. Lynch, 30, a first lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps, was on assignment in Twentynine Palms at the time.

“I’m pretty sure the first thing I said was, ‘I don’t date Marines,’” Pham recalled, laughing.

Pham graduated with a degree in broadcast and digital journalism from the University of Southern California and now works as an editorial designer for Fox Sports. She grew up in Westminster in Orange County.

Lynch graduated from the University of San Diego with a degree in economics. He began his career in television before deciding to join the Marine Corps at 27, inspired by his father, who served in the Navy.

Lynch said he was quickly enamored with Pham.

“Just talking with her that first night, everything was so effortless,” he said. “I knew I wanted to at least take her on a date.”

Last year, the couple got engaged. And a video of the engagement ceremony went viral.

[*Read more in The Times.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/03/style/beverly-pham-brett-lynch-wedding.html)

Thanks for reading. We’ll be back tomorrow.

P.S. Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini).

Soumya Karlamangla, Briana Scalia, Fariha Rahman and Isabella Grullón Paz contributed to California Today. You can reach the team at [*CAtoday@nytimes.com*](mailto:CAtoday@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/california-today).

PHOTO: Water Team 11 of the California Governor’s Office of Emergency Services helped with flooding rescue efforts in Tipton last weekend. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mark Abramson for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 23, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘Oliver!’ Returns, With Darker Twists Intact***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:684K-4D61-JBG3-60MT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 1, 2023 Monday 14:21 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 1624 words

**Byline:** Sarah Bahr

**Highlight:** The emphasis Encores! puts on words and music rather than spectacle allows the cruel realities of Dickensian London to stand out amid the bouncy tunes.

**Body**

The emphasis Encores! puts on words and music rather than spectacle allows the cruel realities of Dickensian London to stand out amid the bouncy tunes.

It was 10 a.m. on a recent morning in a rehearsal room at New York City Center, and nine boys scurried around the space, clutching parasols of red and white lace, tin cups and jaunty pocket squares.

“OK, everyone!” said Lorin Latarro, the choreographer of the show, a new staging of “Oliver!,” the Lionel Bart musical opening at City Center on Wednesday for a two-week run as part of the Encores! series. “Today we’re going to work on ‘I’d Do Anything.’”

The boys gathered around Raúl Esparza, who is playing Fagin, the lovable London crime lord, in a battered brown hat with a buckle, tan overcoat and black fingerless gloves.

“Would you risk the ‘drop’?” he sang, his eyes bugging as he grabbed his scarf and mimed a noose tightening around his neck. (Translation: Are you willing to go out and commit robbery and possibly face the gallows if you’re caught?) All nine pickpockets in training nodded enthusiastically.

“Oliver!,” based on the Charles Dickens novel “Oliver Twist,” is the story of an orphan’s search for belonging in that band of young pickpockets in 1830s London. It mixes fun, candy-coated musical theater crowd-pleasers like “Food, Glorious Food” and “Consider Yourself” with darker Dickensian themes including poverty and domestic violence.

“The show has these really harrowing lyrics even in songs that are upbeat,” said the production’s director, Lear deBessonet. “And I think that in some productions, you may just be bobbing along with the rhythm of the song, and you might not really hear those words.”

But that’s generally not the case in the concert-like stagings that Encores! is known for. Although there is an orchestra onstage, props and sets are minimal.

“Because you strip away some of those other production elements, it really puts a new focus on the lyric,” deBessonet said. “It’s meaty work for me as a director to figure out how to tell the story with so few elements.”

When deBessonet, now in her third year as the artistic director of Encores!, was setting the season lineup in late 2021, just before the Omicron surge of Covid-19, she was struck by the parallels between the uncertain present and the perilous world of Dickens’s day.

“It’s interesting that ‘Oliver!’ is generally thought of as a family musical,” she said in a recent conversation in her office at City Center. “It certainly has these very winsome tunes, and the cast of children is delightful beyond measure, but there are dark edges of the story that we’re very much leaning into and exploring in this production.”

MANY OF THE SONGS FROM ‘OLIVER!’ have become well known, thanks to the popular 1968 film adaptation, which starred Ron Moody as Fagin. This crowd-pleasing musical is a staple of school stages across Britain, where it debuted in London’s West End in 1960, and the United States, where it opened on Broadway in 1963 and won three Tony Awards, including one for the score. But “Oliver!,” like many of the shows staged by Encores!, whose mission is to offer revivals of seldom-seen work, is rarely produced in full.

It hasn’t been professionally staged in its entirety on a New York City stage in nearly 40 years, since the short-lived 1984 Broadway revival that starred Patti LuPone as Nancy. In fact, neither deBessonet, nor any of the five main cast members except for Benjamin Pajak (“The Music Man”), who plays Oliver, had ever seen a live performance of the show.

In addition to Esparza (“Company”), the show also stars Lilli Cooper as Nancy, the romantic partner of the brutal Bill Sikes (Tam Mutu, recently of “Moulin Rouge! The Musical”), and Julian Lerner, who plays the Artful Dodger, the leader of the gang that takes Oliver in.

Underscoring the musical’s darker bits, deBessonet said, like the fear and loneliness the orphaned Oliver experiences, was a matter of subtraction rather than addition. Without elaborate sets or showstopping production numbers there are fewer elements competing to divert the audience’s attention from the words of the actors.

But neither did the production need to amp up the grim with foreboding lighting or a fog machine, she said — the darkness is already inherent in Dickens’s text, and in Bart’s book, score and lyrics.

“We’re trying to have those words be heard with the belief that the complexity is in the lyric itself,” she said.

One example, she said, is the titular tune “[*Oliver!*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nlJugdk4OGc),” a song familiar to many, even those who haven’t seen the show, for its high-spirited chorus.

“It’s this really bouncy song,” deBessonet said, “but the actual lyrics are:

There’s a dark, thin, winding stairway

Without any banister

Which we’ll throw him down and feed him on cockroaches

Served in a canister.

The show does preserve many of the musical’s more lighthearted elements. Every song from the original Broadway production remains, including bouncy numbers like “I’d Do Anything” and “You’ve Got to Pick a Pocket or Two.” The dreamlike sequence “Food, Glorious Food,” with its visions of sausages and mustards, jelly and custard. And 20 additional performers, all New York City public school students, will join the company onstage for “Consider Yourself,” the boys’ full-voiced embrace of Oliver into their ranks — the first true family he has known.

“The show is incredibly challenging — the domestic violence, the treatment of children at that time in general is truly harrowing,” deBessonet said. “And yet there’s this buoyant joy about these numbers.”

And the emotional core is still the camaraderie that springs up between the striving, ***working-class*** characters.

“The whole narrative question of the show is ‘Where is the love?’ and Fagin is one answer,” deBessonet said. “But it’s complicated.”

Even though the Fagin of the Bart musical is more of a lovable curmudgeon than the child-exploiting criminal in the Dickens novel, deBessonet and Esparza said that they wanted the audience to remain cognizant of the less-savory context of his mentorship.

“I fully believe Fagin loves those children, and he is exploiting them,” deBessonet said. “He’s sending them out to rob for him, to keep him alive, and he knows that every time he sends them out, there’s a possibility that they could get caught or killed.”

Less complex is Bill Sikes, who is objectively the show’s most loathsome character.

“Bill Sikes is a sociopath, and there is no end to his cruelty,” deBessonet said of Nancy’s abusive boyfriend. “The show ends with him murdering her brutally in front of us and in front of a kid.”

But Mutu knew he didn’t want to play a one-note villain. Instead he searched for the humanity within the character, to add nuances to his portrayal without offering redemption.

“People aren’t black and white,” he said. “There are levels to each of us. Yes, I am playing a sociopath who has violent tendencies —”

“— but he has redeeming qualities,” Esparza interjected. “Which are?”

They both laughed.

“The love between Nancy and Bill is genuine,” Mutu said, referring to their codependency as fascinating. “I’m trying to find the sense of the complexity of our relationship, which I think gets brushed under the carpet.”

Normally, deBessonet said, she would have no interest in doing a production that includes violence toward a woman — “I’ve already seen enough of that for a lifetime” — but she was impressed by Nancy’s bravery, how she risked everything to save the life of Oliver.

And Cooper and deBessonet said they wanted to make sure Nancy’s murder was not the final word on her story. “Her life is about her heroism and choosing to lay down her life to save this child who not too long ago was a stranger to her,” deBessonet said.

Though Nancy allows others to see her as a passive player in her own life, Cooper wanted her performance to underscore the power Nancy wields in moments like the “Oom-Pah-Pah” number, in which her lively and somewhat risqué dance is actually a means of distracting Bill Sikes and Fagin so she can help Oliver escape.

“She has this innate maternal nature to her,” Cooper said, “especially with all the boys in Fagin’s den and wanting to protect them. Even with Bill, the man that she loves, she feels needed by those who are wounded and fragile and need help.”

“She herself was a child thief, and she’s managed to grab hold of life with this force,” deBessonet said. “In the face of all that difficulty, she’s been able to say, ‘I’m still going to love life.”

BACK IN THE REHEARSAL ROOM, the boys continued their run-through of “I’d Do Anything.” Two stood on either side at the front, wielding red parasols, while two with white ones flanked them from behind. As the boys spun the parasols to imitate wheels, Nancy and the Artful Dodger walked to center.

“Would you climb a hill?” she sang, as the human “carriage” began to roll.

“Anything!” he responded.

“Wear a daffodil?”

He nodded. “Anything!”

“Leave me all your will?”

He nodded more vigorously. “Anything!”

“Even fight my Bill?” she asked pointedly.

He recoiled slightly.

“Stop!” Latarro called. She walked over to Lerner. “Bill Sikes is really tall and really scary — he’s like a boxer,” she said. “So you all jump back like ‘No way!’”

They tried again.

This time when Nancy asked, all nine pickpockets sprung back as though they had just realized they were standing on the third rail. Their eyes hardened.

“Anything!”

PHOTOS: Above, Raúl Esparza, center, as Fagin in a rehearsal for the Encores! production of “Oliver!” at New York City Center. Below, a model of David Rockwell’s set and, bottom, Lilli Cooper, left, as Nancy and Angelica Beliard, right, dancing with Benjamin Pajak, who plays Oliver. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page AR8.

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Bloomberg's New $5 Million Cause: Helping Hochul's Budget Goals***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67V1-XPK1-JBG3-60M3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 22, 2023 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1426 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Fandos

**Body**

Mr. Bloomberg, the billionaire former mayor of New York City, has quietly bankrolled a group that is flooding the airwaves with ads to support Gov. Kathy Hochul's budget plans.

The slick campaign-style ads have been running on repeat during telecasts of ''Jeopardy!'' and March Madness basketball. They trumpet, at great expense, the agenda of New York's governor, Kathy Hochul. And at the end of each, a tiny message says they are paid for by a vanilla-sounding group, American Opportunity.

But beneath a maze of shell groups and indirection, the real source of most of the funding for the mysterious new multimillion-dollar campaign to shape the state's gargantuan budget is a familiar billionaire who once ran New York City and had all but disappeared from state politics: Michael R. Bloomberg.

The emerging alliance between Mr. Bloomberg, a business leader and three-term mayor, and Ms. Hochul, a Buffalo Democrat still struggling to forge a connection with New York voters, could be as significant as it is unforeseen. Though he has become one of the Democrats' most prolific donors nationally, Mr. Bloomberg did not open his wallet for Ms. Hochul's 2022 campaign, and sat out some of the state's most pressing recent policy disputes.

Now, he has given $5 million in seed money to help fund a blitz of television advertising, social media influence campaigns and rounds of mailers targeting individual lawmakers as they grapple with Ms. Hochul over the shape of the budget, according to two people briefed on his giving. Two more people, who also insisted on anonymity, confirmed the gift but not the amount.

Mr. Bloomberg, who has not spoken publicly about the contribution, is not intended to be Ms. Hochul's only benefactor. A fund-raising consultant for the governor has approached some of New York's wealthiest political donors in recent weeks looking for smaller contributions and pitching American Opportunity as a way to help her keep the more progressive forces in the party in check.

The group has already reserved close to $3 million in TV airtime ahead of the April 1 budget deadline.

In some ways, Mr. Bloomberg's role is surprising. He has not been a vocal ally of Ms. Hochul in the past and most of his giving has focused on candidates and causes beyond New York (including his own 2020 presidential campaign).

But the pair share a centrist political outlook, are both close allies of New York City business interests and fashion themselves as bulwarks against their party's left flank, which has greater say in the State Assembly and Senate. When they appeared together in September 2021, Mr. Bloomberg publicly advised Ms. Hochul ''to be a leader, not a panderer,'' and prioritize moving mentally ill people off the city's streets and subways.

There is a lot in Ms. Hochul's budget proposal for Mr. Bloomberg to like, most notably on issues where she faces opposition from the Legislature. She would not increase income taxes on the wealthy. She proposes eliminating the cap on New York City charter schools, one of Mr. Bloomberg's favorite causes. And the governor is pushing to give judges more latitude when setting bail.

The financial infusion also puts the former mayor in a familiar role. Mr. Bloomberg, who has switched party allegiances over the years, donated large sums to Republicans in the State Senate while he was mayor in an effort to balance out the influence of dominant Democrats.

Ms. Hochul's allies are hoping the spending will provide a lifeline at a rocky moment for her governorship. After winning a full term last November by a narrower-than-expected margin, Ms. Hochul is facing an emboldened Assembly and Senate that have shown little interest in deferring to her wishes despite their shared party affiliation.

Already this year, Democratic senators rejected Ms. Hochul's nominee to lead the state's highest court as too conservative. Now, they are trying to quash her proposals to use the budget to sharply increase the production of new housing and tweak the bail law again. They also want to hike income taxes on the rich, which Ms. Hochul opposes in her $227 billion budget proposal.

Government watchdogs immediately denounced the group, which uses a tax classification reserved for social welfare groups to effectively allow rich donors to exercise outsize influence over Albany's most important annual legislative process without being immediately identified.

''Its most immediate impact is that it adds to cynicism among voters,'' said Susan Lerner, the executive director of Common Cause New York. ''The more money that floods into our system, the more people feel like their interests aren't heard.''

In this case, the effort appears to have been organized by strategists who run the Democratic Governors Association with the blessing of Ms. Hochul's political team. American Opportunity shares an address, a treasurer, a spokeswoman and an executive with the Democratic Governors Association, a national organization that previously helped steer millions of dollars in dark money to Ms. Hochul's election last fall. One of the governor's top campaign fund-raisers, Tucker Green, has also been calling donors to promote the group.

Christina Amestoy, a spokeswoman for the Democratic Governors Association who identified herself as a senior adviser for American Opportunity, would not share details about the group's plans or its funders. She said in a written statement that New York law did not require the group to disclose contributions until July, as part of a regular report to the state.

''American Opportunity is committed to supporting policies of governors across the country that strengthen communities and create opportunities for all families,'' she said. ''Gov. Kathy Hochul's budget does just that.''

Howard Wolfson, an aide to Mr. Bloomberg, declined to comment on the contribution.

Hazel Crampton-Hays, a spokeswoman for the governor, highlighted parts of Ms. Hochul's budget and said she would ''welcome support for those proposals.'' But she did not address Mr. Bloomberg's involvement. Mr. Green did not reply to an email seeking comment.

Details about the group were reported earlier by Politico and others, but the involvement of Mr. Bloomberg has not been.

The group's first television ad, which has been running in markets across the state, highlights parts of the governor's budget proposal such as increases in government spending on child care, education and policing, and her vow not to raise income taxes. American Opportunity has reserved $2.93 million in TV spending across the state so far, according to AdImpact, a media tracking firm.

''You want to live in a New York that's safe and not get priced out,'' a male narrator says in the ad. ''Kathy Hochul understands that and her budget helps make it happen.''

The same issues are featured in a series of social media ads and mail pieces that reached voters in recent days. The mailers include a QR code prompting recipients to write a message to their state senator in support of the governor's budget.

The influence campaign has not explicitly mentioned Ms. Hochul's attempt to change the state's divisive bail law, which was one of the brightest flashpoints of last year's campaign, or her housing plan, which has drawn intense backlash from localities averse to Albany exerting too much influence over the issue.

Ms. Hochul is not the first New York governor to encourage outside spending to strengthen her negotiating position. Allies of her predecessor, Andrew M. Cuomo, put roughly $17 million into an advocacy group called the Committee to Save New York after he was elected governor. It spent most of it on television and radio ads that helped neutralize the influence of labor unions.

Other interest groups -- and sometimes political parties -- have spent more modest sums trying to influence budget fights over the years. This year, for example, dueling groups have already run TV ads for and against Ms. Hochul's proposed ban on the sale of flavored tobacco products.

It remains to be seen if American Opportunity's spending will have the desired effect. Progressive lawmakers vowed to strengthen their resolve after learning about Mr. Bloomberg's involvement.

''This is an absolutely disgusting show of financial power from Michael Bloomberg and doesn't do the governor any favors,'' said State Senator Jabari Brisport, a democratic socialist from Brooklyn. ''This sort of cements that narrative that her ties and allies are the one percent and not everyday ***working-class*** people.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/nyregion/bloomberg-hochul-tv-ads.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/nyregion/bloomberg-hochul-tv-ads.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A group backed by Michael R. Bloomberg has reserved nearly $3 million in TV airtime to support Gov. Kathy Hochul's agenda. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LEV RADIN/SIPA USA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** March 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Michael Bloomberg Has Found a New $5 Million Cause: Helping Hochul***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67TW-S2K1-JBG3-64VY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 21, 2023 Tuesday 15:00 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1451 words

**Highlight:** Mr. Bloomberg, the billionaire former mayor of New York City, has quietly bankrolled a group that is flooding the airwaves with ads to support Gov. Kathy Hochul’s budget plans.

**Body**

Mr. Bloomberg, the billionaire former mayor of New York City, has quietly bankrolled a group that is flooding the airwaves with ads to support Gov. Kathy Hochul’s budget plans.

The slick campaign-style ads have been running on repeat during telecasts of “Jeopardy!” and March Madness basketball. They trumpet, at great expense, the agenda of New York’s governor, Kathy Hochul. And at the end of each, a tiny message says they are paid for by a vanilla-sounding group, American Opportunity.

But beneath a maze of shell groups and indirection, the real source of most of the funding for the mysterious new multimillion-dollar campaign to shape the state’s gargantuan budget is a familiar billionaire who once ran New York City and had all but disappeared from state politics: Michael R. Bloomberg.

The emerging alliance between Mr. Bloomberg, a business leader and three-term mayor, and Ms. Hochul, a Buffalo Democrat still struggling to forge a connection with New York voters, could be as significant as it is unforeseen. Though he has become one of the Democrats’ most prolific donors nationally, Mr. Bloomberg did not open his wallet for Ms. Hochul’s 2022 campaign, and sat out some of the state’s most pressing recent policy disputes.

Now, he has given $5 million in seed money to help fund a blitz of television advertising, social media influence campaigns and rounds of mailers targeting individual lawmakers as they grapple with Ms. Hochul over the shape of the budget, according to two people briefed on his giving. Two more people, who also insisted on anonymity, confirmed the gift but not the amount.

Mr. Bloomberg, who has not spoken publicly about the contribution, is not intended to be Ms. Hochul’s only benefactor. A fund-raising consultant for the governor has approached some of New York’s wealthiest political donors in recent weeks looking for smaller contributions and pitching American Opportunity as a way to help her keep the more progressive forces in the party in check.

The group has already reserved close to $3 million in TV airtime ahead of the April 1 budget deadline.

In some ways, Mr. Bloomberg’s role is surprising. He has not been a vocal ally of Ms. Hochul in the past and most of his giving has focused on candidates and causes beyond New York (including his own 2020 presidential campaign).

But the pair share a centrist political outlook, are both close allies of New York City business interests and fashion themselves as bulwarks against their party’s left flank, which has greater say in the State Assembly and Senate. When they [*appeared together*](https://nypost.com/2021/09/08/michael-bloomberg-has-advice-for-new-york-gov-kathy-hochul/) in September 2021, Mr. Bloomberg publicly advised Ms. Hochul “to be a leader, not a panderer,” and prioritize moving mentally ill people off the city’s streets and subways.

There is a lot in Ms. Hochul’s budget proposal for Mr. Bloomberg to like, most notably on issues where she faces opposition from the Legislature. She would not increase income taxes on the wealthy. She proposes eliminating the cap on New York City charter schools, one of Mr. Bloomberg’s favorite causes. And the governor is pushing to give judges more latitude when setting bail.

The financial infusion also puts the former mayor in a familiar role. Mr. Bloomberg, who has switched party allegiances over the years, [*donated large sums to Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/12/nyregion/12-million-to-help-cuomo-came-from-just-20-people.html) in the State Senate while he was mayor in an effort to balance out the influence of dominant Democrats.

Ms. Hochul’s allies are hoping the spending will provide a lifeline at a rocky moment for her governorship. After winning a full term last November by a narrower-than-expected margin, Ms. Hochul is facing an emboldened Assembly and Senate that have shown little interest in deferring to her wishes despite their shared party affiliation.

Already this year, Democratic senators [*rejected Ms. Hochul’s nominee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/15/nyregion/hector-lasalle-chief-judge-vote.html) to lead the state’s highest court as too conservative. Now, they are [*trying to quash her proposals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/15/nyregion/parking-permit-budget-ny.html) to use the budget to sharply increase the production of new housing and tweak the bail law again. They also want to hike income taxes on the rich, which Ms. Hochul opposes in her [*$227 billion budget*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/01/nyregion/hochul-budget-taxes-bail.html) proposal.

Government watchdogs immediately denounced the group, which uses a tax classification reserved for social welfare groups to effectively allow rich donors to exercise outsize influence over Albany’s most important annual legislative process without being immediately identified.

“Its most immediate impact is that it adds to cynicism among voters,” said Susan Lerner, the executive director of Common Cause New York. “The more money that floods into our system, the more people feel like their interests aren’t heard.”

In this case, the effort appears to have been organized by strategists who run the Democratic Governors Association with the blessing of Ms. Hochul’s political team. American Opportunity shares an address, a treasurer, a spokeswoman and an executive with the Democratic Governors Association, a national organization that previously helped steer millions of dollars in dark money to Ms. Hochul’s election last fall. One of the governor’s top campaign fund-raisers, Tucker Green, has also been calling donors to promote the group.

Christina Amestoy, a spokeswoman for the Democratic Governors Association who identified herself as a senior adviser for American Opportunity, would not share details about the group’s plans or its funders. She said in a written statement that New York law did not require the group to disclose contributions until July, as part of a regular report to the state.

“American Opportunity is committed to supporting policies of governors across the country that strengthen communities and create opportunities for all families,” she said. “Gov. Kathy Hochul’s budget does just that.”

Howard Wolfson, an aide to Mr. Bloomberg, declined to comment on the contribution.

Hazel Crampton-Hays, a spokeswoman for the governor, highlighted parts of Ms. Hochul’s budget and said she would “welcome support for those proposals.” But she did not address Mr. Bloomberg’s involvement. Mr. Green did not reply to an email seeking comment.

Details about the group were reported earlier [*by Politico*](https://www.politico.com/newsletters/new-york-playbook/2023/03/10/hochuls-budget-director-drama-underscores-staffing-woes-00086522) and others, but the involvement of Mr. Bloomberg has not been.

The group’s [*first television ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=4&amp;v=hLu207qDtWY&amp;embeds_euri=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.opportunityforamerica.com%2F&amp;embeds_origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.opportunityforamerica.com&amp;source_ve_path=MzY4NDIsMzY4NDIsMjg2NjIsMzY4NDIsMjM4NTE&amp;feature=emb_title), which has been running in markets across the state, highlights parts of the governor’s budget proposal such as increases in government spending on child care, education and policing, and her vow not to raise income taxes. American Opportunity has reserved $2.93 million in TV spending across the state so far, according to AdImpact, a media tracking firm.

“You want to live in a New York that’s safe and not get priced out,” a male narrator says in the ad. “Kathy Hochul understands that and her budget helps make it happen.”

The same issues are featured in a series of social media ads and mail pieces that reached voters in recent days. The mailers include a QR code prompting recipients to write a message to their state senator in support of the governor’s budget.

The influence campaign has not explicitly mentioned Ms. Hochul’s attempt to change the state’s divisive bail law, which was one of the brightest flashpoints of last year’s campaign, or her housing plan, which has drawn intense backlash from localities averse to Albany exerting too much influence over the issue.

Ms. Hochul is not the first New York governor to encourage outside spending to strengthen her negotiating position. Allies of her predecessor, Andrew M. Cuomo, [*put roughly $17 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/12/nyregion/12-million-to-help-cuomo-came-from-just-20-people.html) into an advocacy group called the Committee to Save New York after he was elected governor. It spent most of it on television and radio ads that helped neutralize the influence of labor unions.

Other interest groups — and sometimes political parties — have spent more modest sums trying to influence budget fights over the years. This year, for example, dueling groups have already run TV ads for and against Ms. Hochul’s proposed ban on the sale of flavored tobacco products.

It remains to be seen if American Opportunity’s spending will have the desired effect. Progressive lawmakers vowed to strengthen their resolve after learning about Mr. Bloomberg’s involvement.

“This is an absolutely disgusting show of financial power from Michael Bloomberg and doesn’t do the governor any favors,” said State Senator Jabari Brisport, a democratic socialist from Brooklyn. “This sort of cements that narrative that her ties and allies are the one percent and not everyday ***working-class*** people.”

PHOTO: A group backed by Michael R. Bloomberg has reserved nearly $3 million in TV airtime to support Gov. Kathy Hochul’s agenda. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LEV RADIN/SIPA USA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** February 1, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Falling for Figaro***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63RH-JY91-DXY4-X51W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 1, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 331 words

**Byline:** By Beatrice Loayza

**Body**

An American finance executive leaves behind her cushy life in favor of a musical career in this humdrum romance set in the Scottish Highlands.

I must admit it's refreshing to see a plus-size woman not only nab the promotion and the hunky guy, but throw it all away within the first 15 minutes. Unfortunately, my plaudits for ''Falling for Figaro'' mostly end there.

Directed by Ben Lewis, this thoroughly generic and often monotonous romance about an aspiring opera singer who falls in love with the competition does, on another positive note, have the virtue of never succumbing to played-out body image commentary.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Millie (Danielle Macdonald), a whip-smart but unfulfilled finance executive whose boyfriend worships the ground she walks on, runs off to the Scottish Highlands to study with a renowned vocal coach, the sharp-tongued Meghan (Joanna Lumley). Millie demonstrates potential, drawing the jealous irritation of Meghan's longtime pupil, Max (Hugh Skinner), a ***working-class*** chap who bristles at his wealthy American rival's sense of entitlement. Millie, after all, pays an abnormally high rate for to study with Meghan.

Like too many movies about singers, ''Falling for Figaro'' builds toward a shot at fame and glory. Naturally, Millie and Max start to get cozy just as the big ''Singer of Renown'' contest approaches, complicating their plans to stay focused on their training. Good thing their (relatively muted) emotional turmoil actually spices up the quality of their performances, and kudos to Skinner for bolstering the film's only convincing character arc when Max's infatuation with Millie veers into fittingly operatic territory. As for Millie, well, she had it all in the beginning and she has it all in the end, not that you'd expect anything different.

Falling for FigaroNot rated. Running time: 1 hour 44 minutes. In theaters and available to rent or buy on Apple TV, Google Play and other streaming platforms and pay TV operators.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/30/movies/falling-for-figaro-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/30/movies/falling-for-figaro-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: From left, Joanna Lumley and Danielle Macdonald in ''Falling for Figaro,'' directed by Ben Lewin. (PHOTOGRAPH BY IFC Films FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 1, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Your Friday Evening Briefing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67MK-9GB1-JBG3-63GB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 24, 2023 Friday 17:50 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1348 words

**Byline:** Matthew Cullen

**Highlight:** Here’s what you need to know at the end of the day.

**Body**

Here’s what you need to know at the end of the day.

(Want to get this newsletter in your inbox? Here’s [*the sign-up*](http://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/nyt-now-evening-briefing?module=inline).)

Good evening. Here’s the latest at the end of Friday.

1. On the war’s anniversary, the U.S. announced more aid for Ukraine and sanctions on Russia.

The Pentagon said it would [*spend $2 billion to supply Ukrainian troops with drones*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/02/24/world/russia-ukraine-zelensky-news/the-us-says-it-will-spend-another-2-billion-on-new-drones-and-weapons-for-ukraine?smid=url-share) and other advanced weapons as the first anniversary of Russia’s invasion prompted shows of solidarity from around the world.

The White House [*unveiled new sanctions*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/02/24/world/russia-ukraine-zelensky-news/the-us-announces-new-sanctions-on-over-200-individuals-and-entities-found-to-be-helping-russias-war?smid=url-share) on those supporting Russia, joining other Western countries in boosting the war effort [*as they brace for a prolonged conflict*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/world/europe/russia-ukraine-war-next-steps.html).

In Kyiv, Ukraine’s president, [*Volodymyr Zelensky, said that his country could defeat Russia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/world/europe/zelensky-press-conference.html) this year, as long as Ukraine’s allies remain united “like a fist” and continue to deliver weapons. The war has already done untold damage: Tens of thousands of people have been killed on both sides, and millions of Ukrainians have been made homeless.

Its effects have [*reverberated around the globe*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/02/24/world/russia-ukraine-anniversary-news/ukraine-war-global-impact?smid=url-share), reshaping alliances and affecting everything from grain prices to energy policy. Over the past year, Zelensky and President Biden [*have forged a critical partnership*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/us/politics/biden-zelensky-ukraine-russia.html) that at times has been fraught with friction, according to officials in both camps.

Our correspondents and photographers on the ground [*recalled moments from the war that are etched in their memory*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/02/24/world/russia-ukraine-zelensky-news/new-york-times-reporters-reflect-on-the-moments-from-the-war-that-are-seared-in-their-minds?smid=url-share), and [*images that they can’t forget*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/world/europe/ukraine-war-anniversary-photos.html).

For more: Read the [*text messages sent by Ukrainians*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/02/24/world/europe/ukraine-war-texts.html) in the first hours of the invasion. They capture the fear, anger and love shared by many at the time.

2. Southern California is getting hit by a rare winter storm.

Strong winds and heavy snow created [*blizzard conditions over high terrain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/us/winter-storm-california-weather.html) and mountain passes. A blizzard warning is in effect until tomorrow afternoon for the mountains of Los Angeles, Ventura, Santa Barbara and San Bernardino Counties.

Several inches of rain were expected to fall along the coasts and valleys, and the heaviest snow, up to seven feet, was forecast in areas of high elevation. The storm has snarled transportation, causing flight delays and road closures. Drivers were advised to use chains on their tires.

Some areas could see their first measurable snowfall in decades. [*Here are maps tracking the storm*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/us/california-snow-tracker-map.html), and [*photos of the California snow*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/us/snow-california-photos.html).

In Michigan, more than 700,000 customers [*remained without electricity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/23/us/winter-storm-weather-forecast.html) after snow, freezing rain and heavy wind helped bring down power lines.

3. Inflation may be speeding back up.

The Federal Reserve’s preferred measure of inflation [*unexpectedly sped up last month*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/business/economy/inflation-spending-fed.html), underscoring the challenge facing central bankers as they try to rein in price increases.

The measure, the Personal Consumption Expenditures price index, was up 5.4 percent in January from a year earlier, the Commerce Department said. That was up from 5.3 percent in December. The figures are the latest evidence that neither price increases nor the broader economy are cooling as much as expected, and they raise the question as to whether the Fed will need to do even more to bring inflation to heel.

The S&amp;P 500 fell by more than 1 percent today, concluding its [*worst week of the year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/business/stocks-sink-for-third-straight-week.html).

4. Nigerians head to the polls tomorrow in a crucial presidential election.

The race is considered to be one of the most important elections happening anywhere in the world this year. Not since the rebirth of Nigeria’s democracy in 1999 has the country faced an election [*as nail-biting — and as wide open — as this one*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/nigeria-election.html).

Many Nigerians see the country as being at a potential inflection point. With more than 60 percent of the country in poverty, and [*a plague of kidnappings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/world/africa/nigeria-election-kidnappings.html) terrorizing its residents, some voters are planning to break with the two traditional parties to vote for a surprise third-party challenger.

5. The Ohio train derailment is putting J.D. Vance in the spotlight for the first time since he became a senator.

When Donald Trump traveled to East Palestine, Ohio, this week to visit the scene of the derailment, and to criticize the Biden administration for its response, Vance was the one Washington figure the former president singled out with praise.

The incident, which caused fear and frustration among locals, was the first major crisis in the freshman senator’s tenure. Vance has used it as an opportunity to [*tap into a theme that first brought national attention to his Senate ambitions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/us/politics/east-palestine-ohio-jd-vance.html): speaking up for ***working-class*** Ohioans who he has suggested have been victimized by the politics of the left.

6. Baseball is back, and it looks different.

M.L.B. held its first spring training games of the year this afternoon, giving players a chance to shake off off-season rust in the comfortable weather of Arizona and Florida. But more important, players will have to adapt to some of [*the most significant reforms in the sport’s history*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/02/24/sports/baseball/mlb-rule-changes.html).

The biggest shift is the creation of a pitch clock: Pitchers will have only 15 seconds to throw the ball when the bases are empty. Other changes, including a ban on defensive shifts, larger bases and a limit on pickoff attempts, will also take some getting used to.

For more: The Yankees are now paying Aaron Judge $40 million per year. [*Can he repeat last year’s performance?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/21/sports/baseball/aaron-judge-yankees.html)

7. With so much of our lives on our computers, digital clutter can become overwhelming.

Many of us don’t realize just how much data we have accumulated on our devices until we hit a limit or we need to find something hidden among the mess. And while the clutter may be digital, the anxiety it induces is real.

We talked to experts [*about decluttering our digital lives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/well/live/digital-clutter.html). They suggested cleaning in bursts and organizing what’s left into easily identifiable folders. They also advised tackling photos, which are often filled with cherished memories, last.

For more cleaning tips: Here’s a guide to [*when it’s best to swap out different household items*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/02/24/smarter-living/wirecutter/replace-household-essentials.html).

8. From Moscow to the Met.

A new staging of Wagner’s “Lohengrin,” led by the tenor Piotr Beczala, will arrive at the Metropolitan Opera on Sunday [*after a tumultuous year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/23/arts/music/lohengrin-met-opera-ukraine-russia.html).

The performance, developed in scattered homes and studios during the coronavirus pandemic, premiered last year in Moscow on Feb. 24 — the day Russia invaded Ukraine. The show went on, and was greeted by cheering ovations, but the director fled the country within days. Now, a year later — and with a set rebuilt from scratch — it’s ready for audiences again.

Also this weekend, the Screen Actors Guild Awards will be handed out on Sunday. [*Here are the nominees*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/11/movies/sag-awards-nominations.html).

9. Could you squeeze your life into 450 square feet?

Michael Ingram Jones did when he moved from San Francisco to a prewar apartment housed in the West Village of New York City. He hired an architecture firm to help him make the most of every inch — [*including placing his bed smack in the middle of the room*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/realestate/west-village-apartment-nyc.html).

If you’re looking for a studio yourself, here are [*the most (and least) affordable cities to rent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/23/realestate/single-tenants-apartments-rent.html).

Also in the West Village, four local newspapers are vying for supremacy. [*It’s become vicious*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/nyregion/newspaper-war-nyc.html).

10. And finally, the sound of dinosaurs.

Blockbuster movies have left millions of viewers with the impression that dinosaurs once roamed the world roaring like lions.

But new research suggests that they may have sounded [*more like modern-day birds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/24/science/dinosaur-sounds-fossils.html). While very little is understood about dinosaur vocals, scientists have drawn clues from what might be the first known fossilized larynx of a dinosaur. The larynx, from a spiky ankylosaur, suggests that the dinosaur could open its airway wide to make loud calls that could be heard far away.

Have an unexpected night.

Elizabeth Bristow compiled photos for this briefing.

Your Evening Briefing is posted at 6 p.m. Eastern.

Want to catch up on past briefings? [*You can browse them here*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-evening-briefing).

What did you like? What do you want to see here? Let us know at [*briefing@nytimes.com*](mailto:briefing@nytimes.com?subject=Evening%20Briefing%20Feedback).

Here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee) and [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). If you’re in the mood to play more, [*find all our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/games).

Elizabeth Bristow compiled photos for this briefing.

PHOTO: “We will be victorious,” President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine said at a news conference. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Roman Pilipey/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 24, 2023

**End of Document**



[***If You Don’t Use Your Land, These Marxists May Take It***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:684C-N4G1-JBG3-64CJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 30, 2023 Sunday 18:10 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1719 words

**Byline:** Jack Nicas and Maria Magdalena Arréllaga

**Highlight:** The Landless Workers Movement organizes Brazil’s poor to take land from the rich. It is perhaps the largest — and most polarizing — social movement in Latin America.

**Body**

They arrived just before midnight, carrying machetes and hoes, hammers and sickles, with plans to seize the land.

When the 200 activists and farm workers got there, the ranch was vacant, overgrown with weeds, and the farm headquarters empty, except for a stray cow.

Now, three months later, it is a bustling village. On a recent Sunday, children rode bicycles on new dirt paths, women tilled soil for gardens and men pulled tarps onto shelters. About 530 families live at the encampment in Itabela, a town in northeast Brazil, and they have already joined together to plow and plant the field with beans, corn and cassava.

The siblings who inherited the 370-acre ranch want the squatters gone. The new tenants say they aren’t going anywhere.

“Occupation is a process of struggle and confrontation,” said Alcione Manthay, 38, the effective leader of the encampment, who grew up on several like it. “And there is no settlement if there is no occupation.”

Ms. Manthay and the other uninvited settlers are part of the Landless Workers Movement, perhaps the world’s largest Marxist-inspired movement operating within a democracy and, after 40 years of sometimes bloody land occupations, a major political, social and cultural force in Brazil.

The movement, led by activists who call themselves militants, organizes hundreds of thousands of Brazil’s poor to take unused land from the rich, settle it and farm it, often as large collectives. They are reversing, they say, the deep inequality fed by Brazil’s historically uneven distribution of land.

While leftists embrace the cause — the movement’s red hats depicting a couple holding a machete aloft have become commonplace at hipster bars — many Brazilians view it as communist and criminal. That has created a dilemma for the new leftist president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, a longtime movement supporter who is now trying to build bridges in Congress and the powerful agriculture industry.

Across Latin America, other movements inspired by the tenets of Marxism — workers rising up in a class struggle against capitalism — have sought to tackle systemic inequities, but none have ever approached the size, ambition or sophistication of Brazil’s landless movement.

Group organizers and outside researchers estimate that 460,000 families now live in encampments and settlements started by the movement, suggesting an informal membership approaching nearly two million people, or almost 1 percent of Brazil’s population. It is, by some measures, Latin America’s largest social movement.

Under Brazil’s former right-wing president, Jair Bolsonaro, the movement lost steam. Occupations largely stopped during the pandemic and then returned slowly in the face of opposition from Mr. Bolsonaro and farmers who became more heavily armed under his more permissive gun policies.

But now, emboldened by the election of Mr. Lula, a longtime political ally, the movement’s followers are ratcheting up their land seizures.

“We elected Lula, but that’s not enough,” João Pedro Stédile, a movement co-founder, said in a message broadcast to members on Easter Sunday, announcing a “Red April” push to invade new land.

There have been 33 occupations in less than four months of Mr. Lula’s presidency, including eight in one weekend this month. Under Mr. Bolsonaro, there were about 15 occupations a year, according to government statistics. (About two decades ago, when land was even less equally distributed, there were hundreds of invasions a year.)

Mr. Lula has said little about the new invasions, though two of his cabinet ministers have criticized them.

The new occupations have given rise to a countermovement: “Invasion Zero.” Thousands of farmers who say they do not trust the government to protect their land are organizing to confront squatters and remove them, though so far, there has been little violence.

“No one wants to go into battle, but no one wants to lose their property either,” said Everaldo Santos, 72, a cattle rancher who leads a local farmers’ union and owns a 1,000-acre ranch near the Itabela encampment. “You bought it, paid for it, have the documents, pay the taxes. So you don’t let people invade and leave it at that,” he said. “You defend what’s yours.”

Despite the landless movement’s aggressive tactics, the Brazilian courts and government have recognized thousands of settlements as legal under laws that say farmland must be productive.

The proliferation of legal settlements has turned the movement into a major food producer, selling hundreds of thousands of tons of milk, beans, coffee and other commodities each year, much of it organic after the movement pushed members to ditch pesticides and fertilizers years ago. The movement is now Latin America’s largest supplier of organic rice, according to a large rice producers’ union.

Still, opinion surveys have shown that many Brazilians oppose the movement’s land occupations. Some of the movement’s more militant members have invaded active farms run by large agribusinesses, destroyed crops and even briefly occupied the family farm of a former Brazilian president.

On the ground, the conflict pits hundreds of thousands of impoverished farm laborers and a network of leftist activists against wealthy families, large corporations and many small family farms.

Conservative lawmakers accused Mr. Stédile, the movement co-organizer, of inciting crimes with his call for new occupations, and have opened a congressional investigation.

The day after Mr. Stédile called for invasions, he joined Mr. Lula on a state visit to China. (The government brought representatives of several large food producers.)

Mr. Lula has long had close ties to the movement. Brazil’s first ***working-class*** president, he supported it in his first administration two decades ago. Later, while he was imprisoned on corruption charges that were later thrown out, movement activists camped outside the jailhouse for his entire 580-day incarceration.

The inequity over land ownership in Brazil is rooted in colonial-era land-distribution policies that consolidated land in the hands of powerful white men.

The government has sought to tilt the balance by essentially confiscating arable, unused land and giving it to people who need it. The landless movement has sought to force such reallocations by occupying unproductive land.

Bernardo Mançano Fernandes, a São Paulo State University professor who has studied the movement for decades, said the government has legalized about 60 percent of the movement’s occupations, a rate he attributed to organizers’ success at identifying unused land.

But critics say the government is encouraging invasions by rewarding squatters with land, instead of forcing them to get in line, like others who must go through bureaucratic channels to apply for property. Movement leaders say they seize land because the government does not act unless pressured.

That is what the people camped in Itabela are hoping for.

The encampment’s residents had varied paths but all shared the same goal: their own slice of land. A homeless man arrived with his belongings in a wheelbarrow. A middle-aged couple abandoned a shack on the farm where they worked, for a chance at their own. And newlyweds making minimum wage decided to squat because they thought they would never be able to afford to buy land.

“The city is not good for us,” said Marclésio Teles, 35, a coffee picker standing outside the shack he built for his family of five, his disabled daughter in a wheelchair beside him. “A place like this is a place of peace.”

That peace nearly ended a few weeks ago.

The siblings who inherited the land from their father in 2020 successfully petitioned a local judge to order the encampment dismantled. They argued that the land was productive and therefore should not be turned over to the occupiers. Movement activists admitted there were still some cattle on the land, which they were trying to keep away from their new crops.

The police went to evict the settlers, joined by dozens of angry farmers, and were met by about 60 encampment residents, some carrying farm tools.

Instead of a fight, however, the residents resisted by singing landless movement hymns, Ms. Manthay said. The police, worried about a clash, paused the eviction.

The movement’s lawyers have since appealed and asked for a permanent settlement on more than 2,000 acres the siblings own. A state agency has said the government should analyze the movement’s claims. The case is still pending.

“If they remove us, we’ll occupy again,” Mr. Teles said. “The struggle is constant.”

About 90 minutes down the road, there is a window into what the future could be: a 5,000-acre settlement that was ruled legal in 2016 after six years of occupation. The 227 families there each have 20 to 25 acres, spread across rolling hills of farmland and grazing cattle. They share tractors and plows, but otherwise farm their own parcel. Together they produce roughly two tons of food a month.

Daniel Alves, 54, used to work in someone else’s fields before he began squatting on this land in 2010. Now he grows 27 different crops on 20 acres, showing off bananas, peppercorns, bright pink dragon fruit and the Amazonian fruit cupuaçu — all organic. He sells the produce at local fairs.

He said he remained poor — his shack was lined with tarps — but was happy.

“This movement takes people out of misery,” he said.

His granddaughter, Esterfany Alves, 11, followed him around the farm, petting their donkey and picking ripe fruit. She attends a public school on the settlement partly run by the movement, one of roughly 2,000 movement schools across Brazil.

The schools make protests part of the curriculum and teach students about farming, land rights and inequality.

In other words, Esterfany said, the school had taught her “about the struggle.”

Flávia Milhorance and Lis Moriconi contributed reporting from Rio de Janeiro.

Flávia Milhorance and Lis Moriconi contributed reporting from Rio de Janeiro.

PHOTOS: More than 500 families with the Landless Workers Movement have set up camp on a farm in Itabela, Brazil, top. Everaldo Santos, a cattle rancher who leads a local farmers’ union, above left. Residents of the occupied farm held a meeting in February, above right. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARIA MAGDALENA ARRÉLLAGA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A8) This article appeared in print on page A1, A8.

**Load-Date:** May 5, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Brazilian Group Occupies Land Unused by Rich***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:684C-P151-JBG3-64JM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 30, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1675 words

**Byline:** By Jack Nicas and Maria Magdalena Arréllaga

**Body**

They arrived just before midnight, carrying machetes and hoes, hammers and sickles, with plans to seize the land.

When the 200 activists and farm workers got there, the ranch was vacant, overgrown with weeds, and the farm headquarters empty, except for a stray cow.

Now, three months later, it is a bustling village. On a recent Sunday, children rode bicycles on new dirt paths, women tilled soil for gardens and men pulled tarps onto shelters. About 530 families live at the encampment in Itabela, a town in northeast Brazil, and they have already joined together to plow and plant the field with beans, corn and cassava.

The siblings who inherited the 370-acre ranch want the squatters gone. The new tenants say they aren't going anywhere.

''Occupation is a process of struggle and confrontation,'' said Alcione Manthay, 38, the effective leader of the encampment, who grew up on several like it. ''And there is no settlement if there is no occupation.''

Ms. Manthay and the other uninvited settlers are part of the Landless Workers Movement, perhaps the world's largest Marxist-inspired movement operating within a democracy and, after 40 years of sometimes bloody land occupations, a major political, social and cultural force in Brazil.

The movement, led by activists who call themselves militants, organizes hundreds of thousands of Brazil's poor to take unused land from the rich, settle it and farm it, often as large collectives. They are reversing, they say, the deep inequality fed by Brazil's historically uneven distribution of land.

While leftists embrace the cause -- the movement's red hats depicting a couple holding a machete aloft have become commonplace at hipster bars -- many Brazilians view it as communist and criminal. That has created a dilemma for the new leftist president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, a longtime movement supporter who is now trying to build bridges in Congress and the powerful agriculture industry.

Across Latin America, other movements inspired by the tenets of Marxism -- workers rising up in a class struggle against capitalism -- have sought to tackle systemic inequities, but none have ever approached the size, ambition or sophistication of Brazil's landless movement.

Group organizers and outside researchers estimate that 460,000 families now live in encampments and settlements started by the movement, suggesting an informal membership approaching nearly two million people, or almost 1 percent of Brazil's population. It is, by some measures, Latin America's largest social movement.

Under Brazil's former right-wing president, Jair Bolsonaro, the movement lost steam. Occupations largely stopped during the pandemic and then returned slowly in the face of opposition from Mr. Bolsonaro and farmers who became more heavily armed under his more permissive gun policies.

But now, emboldened by the election of Mr. Lula, a longtime political ally, the movement's followers are ratcheting up their land seizures.

''We elected Lula, but that's not enough,'' João Pedro Stédile, a movement co-founder, said in a message broadcast to members on Easter Sunday, announcing a ''Red April'' push to invade new land.

There have been 33 occupations in less than four months of Mr. Lula's presidency, including eight in one weekend this month. Under Mr. Bolsonaro, there were about 15 occupations a year, according to government statistics. (About two decades ago, when land was even less equally distributed, there were hundreds of invasions a year.)

Mr. Lula has said little about the new invasions, though two of his cabinet ministers have criticized them.

The new occupations have given rise to a countermovement: ''Invasion Zero.'' Thousands of farmers who say they do not trust the government to protect their land are organizing to confront squatters and remove them, though so far, there has been little violence.

''No one wants to go into battle, but no one wants to lose their property either,'' said Everaldo Santos, 72, a cattle rancher who leads a local farmers' union and owns a 1,000-acre ranch near the Itabela encampment. ''You bought it, paid for it, have the documents, pay the taxes. So you don't let people invade and leave it at that,'' he said. ''You defend what's yours.''

Despite the landless movement's aggressive tactics, the Brazilian courts and government have recognized thousands of settlements as legal under laws that say farmland must be productive.

The proliferation of legal settlements has turned the movement into a major food producer, selling hundreds of thousands of tons of milk, beans, coffee and other commodities each year, much of it organic after the movement pushed members to ditch pesticides and fertilizers years ago. The movement is now Latin America's largest supplier of organic rice, according to a large rice producers' union.

Still, opinion surveys have shown that many Brazilians oppose the movement's land occupations. Some of the movement's more militant members have invaded active farms run by large agribusinesses, destroyed crops and even briefly occupied the family farm of a former Brazilian president.

On the ground, the conflict pits hundreds of thousands of impoverished farm laborers and a network of leftist activists against wealthy families, large corporations and many small family farms.

Conservative lawmakers accused Mr. Stédile, the movement co-organizer, of inciting crimes with his call for new occupations, and have opened a congressional investigation.

The day after Mr. Stédile called for invasions, he joined Mr. Lula on a state visit to China. (The government brought representatives of several large food producers.)

Mr. Lula has long had close ties to the movement. Brazil's first ***working-class*** president, he supported it in his first administration two decades ago. Later, while he was imprisoned on corruption charges that were later thrown out, movement activists camped outside the jailhouse for his entire 580-day incarceration.

The inequity over land ownership in Brazil is rooted in colonial-era land-distribution policies that consolidated land in the hands of powerful white men.

The government has sought to tilt the balance by essentially confiscating arable, unused land and giving it to people who need it. The landless movement has sought to force such reallocations by occupying unproductive land.

Bernardo Mançano Fernandes, a São Paulo State University professor who has studied the movement for decades, said the government has legalized about 60 percent of the movement's occupations, a rate he attributed to organizers' success at identifying unused land.

But critics say the government is encouraging invasions by rewarding squatters with land, instead of forcing them to get in line, like others who must go through bureaucratic channels to apply for property. Movement leaders say they seize land because the government does not act unless pressured.

That is what the people camped in Itabela are hoping for.

The encampment's residents had varied paths but all shared the same goal: their own slice of land. A homeless man arrived with his belongings in a wheelbarrow. A middle-aged couple abandoned a shack on the farm where they worked, for a chance at their own. And newlyweds making minimum wage decided to squat because they thought they would never be able to afford to buy land.

''The city is not good for us,'' said Marclésio Teles, 35, a coffee picker standing outside the shack he built for his family of five, his disabled daughter in a wheelchair beside him. ''A place like this is a place of peace.''

That peace nearly ended a few weeks ago.

The siblings who inherited the land from their father in 2020 successfully petitioned a local judge to order the encampment dismantled. They argued that the land was productive and therefore should not be turned over to the occupiers. Movement activists admitted there were still some cattle on the land, which they were trying to keep away from their new crops.

The police went to evict the settlers, joined by dozens of angry farmers, and were met by about 60 encampment residents, some carrying farm tools.

Instead of a fight, however, the residents resisted by singing landless movement hymns, Ms. Manthay said. The police, worried about a clash, paused the eviction.

The movement's lawyers have since appealed and asked for a permanent settlement on more than 2,000 acres the siblings own. A state agency has said the government should analyze the movement's claims. The case is still pending.

''If they remove us, we'll occupy again,'' Mr. Teles said. ''The struggle is constant.''

About 90 minutes down the road, there is a window into what the future could be: a 5,000-acre settlement that was ruled legal in 2016 after six years of occupation. The 227 families there each have 20 to 25 acres, spread across rolling hills of farmland and grazing cattle. They share tractors and plows, but otherwise farm their own parcel. Together they produce roughly two tons of food a month.

Daniel Alves, 54, used to work in someone else's fields before he began squatting on this land in 2010. Now he grows 27 different crops on 20 acres, showing off bananas, peppercorns, bright pink dragon fruit and the Amazonian fruit cupuaçu -- all organic. He sells the produce at local fairs.

He said he remained poor -- his shack was lined with tarps -- but was happy.

''This movement takes people out of misery,'' he said.

His granddaughter, Esterfany Alves, 11, followed him around the farm, petting their donkey and picking ripe fruit. She attends a public school on the settlement partly run by the movement, one of roughly 2,000 movement schools across Brazil.

The schools make protests part of the curriculum and teach students about farming, land rights and inequality.

In other words, Esterfany said, the school had taught her ''about the struggle.''

Flávia Milhorance and Lis Moriconi contributed reporting from Rio de Janeiro.Flávia Milhorance and Lis Moriconi contributed reporting from Rio de Janeiro.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/29/world/americas/brazil-land-occupation.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/29/world/americas/brazil-land-occupation.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: More than 500 families with the Landless Workers Movement have set up camp on a farm in Itabela, Brazil, top. Everaldo Santos, a cattle rancher who leads a local farmers' union, above left. Residents of the occupied farm held a meeting in February, above right. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARIA MAGDALENA ARRÉLLAGA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A8) This article appeared in print on page A1, A8.

**Load-Date:** April 30, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Waffle House Brawl Belongs in a Museum; Screenland***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67D4-3FG1-DXY4-X0KG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 25, 2023 Wednesday 21:56 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 1207 words

**Byline:** Niela Orr

**Highlight:** In video after viral video, fast-food employees keep being forced to punch above their weight. You can find the disquieting energy of these clips in classic art, too.

**Body**

In video after viral video, fast-food employees keep being forced to punch above their weight. You can find the disquieting energy of these clips in classic art, too.

If there is a quintessential hub of subterranean America, it’s Waffle House. Like many 24-hour enterprises, the chain tends to be associated with the cranked-up energy of its after-hours patrons, from long-distance truckers to inebriated clubgoers. It is a site of boundary-crossing and clashing, one of the last settings where people of truly different social milieus and motivations intersect, scrape and sometimes scrap — a twilight zone for the twilight set, the real-life analogue of a chaotic internet forum. (Fun fact: Alexis Ohanian, the founder of Reddit, [*partly credits Waffle House*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/04/business/alexis-ohanian-talks-reddit-serena-williams-and-metallica.html) for helping him come up with the idea.)

Waffle House is also, accordingly, a reliable producer of wild viral videos. The latest, which circulated widely in December, features a little less than two minutes of shaky cellphone footage depicting [*a Texas Waffle House employee fighting with several customers*](https://twitter.com/rbaylor_74/status/1606059774130278400). It starts in medias res: There are only a few seconds of shouting before we see a customer standing on the counter. Judging by the sky beyond the restaurant’s customary wall of windows, it’s either very late or very early. A different woman is already in the workers’ area, where the clip’s star, a Waffle House employee, threatens to throw an empty coffee carafe, then hurls a sugar dispenser. Other diners cross into the kitchen area, pummeling the worker and yanking her hair. Other workers join the fracas. Bystanders gawk and record from outside the enormous window. Even after the customers are pushed back to their side of the counter, they won’t give up. They start throwing things: dishware, an aluminum chair.

Then it happens. A second chair is thrown. It floats over to the worker, the one who has had her hair pulled and her body beaten. She moves her left arm to block it, and seems to freeze the chair in place for one time-stopping second before slamming it down to the side.

It is a miracle how she dispenses with the chair. “Dispenses” is not even the right word: She repels it. She parries the chair like an anime character deflecting a beam of supernatural power, like Neo dodging bullets in “The Matrix,” like King Kong swatting away a helicopter.

This footage, it turns out, was shot in September 2021; its recirculation only adds to its legend. It is only the latest in a long series of similar clips to make the rounds online. In these videos, people — some drunk or high, others destabilized in other ways — behave violently toward fast-food workers. They yell, taunt, abuse, attack. The most popular of these videos, the ones that move beyond fight aficionados and into the mainstream, tend to be those with a specific moral outcome: The fast-food employees, pushed beyond their limits while just trying to get through the day, step up to deck, manhandle or beat down the offending patron. You can watch this happen, over and over, at all sorts of restaurants. A seemingly intoxicated customer grabs a McDonald’s cashier’s collar and receives punches instead of change. A fight pops off at a Jersey Mike’s Subs, at a Popeyes. Sometimes the workers are worn down by dehumanizing pranks; in one video a drive-through worker, subjected to a horn scare, [*tosses a full drink*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cbkLgNVuKto) into the prankster’s car. Sometimes there are racialized undertones, with Black workers defending themselves against white customers. Jokes circulate online about fast-food workers as battle-tested veterans, about the last people you want to mess with being the night shift at a Waffle House.

Halie Booth, the chair-proof cook in that video — she has been called Waffle House Wendy online — could represent any number of things. She could be an avatar for every fast-food employee harassed by rude, unruly customers, her response amplified by an effect that wouldn’t look out of place in a Marvel movie. She could be a symbol of the American ***working class*** and its imperviousness to all kinds of assaults. She could be the answer to pandemic-era questions about why Americans aren’t leaping to perform low-wage, public-​facing labor, or a bridge between the start of the pandemic (when such workers were considered essential) and the present (when they are disregarded again). In [*an interview with Tucker Carlson*](https://www.foxnews.com/video/6318161884112), she said that, far from being commended at work, she was written up for breaking the sugar canister and later “blacklisted” by the company. When asked what caused the ruckus, she said she was the only cook working that night, and there were up to 40 diners waiting to be served. She summed up with a line that might make a good slogan for late-night dining: “Drunken impatience creates a volatile situation.”

Earlier this month, I went to the Whitney Museum of American Art to view [*“Edward Hopper’s New York,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/22/arts/design/edward-hopper-whitney-museum.html) an exhibition that promised to reveal the artist’s focus on the city’s “unsung utilitarian structures and out-of-the-way corners, drawn to the awkward collisions of new and old, civic and residential, public and private that captured the paradoxes of the changing city.” You could see this attention to under-the-rug places in many of Hopper’s works, including the illustrations he made for trade publications. (Some of this commercial work was for the hospitality industry; the museum’s wall text described it as “minimizing the labor required for their successful operation and reinforcing their racially coded workplaces.”) Uneasy nightlife abounds. “Automat” shows a woman sitting alone in what is essentially a precursor to today’s fast-food restaurant, lamps reflecting in the window behind her. Hopper’s famous “Nighthawks” was not part of the exhibit, but its icy tableau sprang to mind: three night owls and a waiter enveloped in a diner’s faintly seedy light, a devastatingly empty street beyond the window.

There’s something about this haunting insomniac aesthetic that seems to live on in videos like the Waffle House melee. They, too, contain something awkward about labor and racial binaries, and even those shot in daylight have a kind of existential darkness, an anarchy associated with late nights. Their collisions are physical. Hopper’s isolated figures hunch quietly while raucous modern diners have to be held back from the staff, but in looking at both you can see an essential American estrangement, the same quality of noirish alienation under jaundiced light. (That nighthawk with his back to the viewer: Is he drunk? Impatient? Eyeing the server and the saltshaker?) Eighty years later, the distance between Hopper’s strangers has collapsed, and the subtle menace surrounding them has spouted. Today’s portrayal of restlessness is like the post-postmodern scene at that Waffle House: People watching violence while also recording it, adding their documents to an outrageous archive, ready for the rest of us to marvel at.

Source photograph: Elijah Nouvelage/Bloomberg, via Getty Images.

Niela Orr is a story editor for the magazine.

PHOTOS: PHOTO (MM7); PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NAJEEBAH AL-GHADBAN; DOMINIC BUGATTO/GETTY IMAGES; ELIJAH NOUVELAGE/BLOOMBERG, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (MM8-MM9) This article appeared in print on page MM7, MM8, MM9, MM10.

**Load-Date:** January 25, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘The Royal Treatment’ Review: Heavy is the Head (and Shoulders)***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64K7-5H11-JBG3-62P1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 20, 2022 Thursday 22:52 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 402 words

**Byline:** Amy Nicholson

**Highlight:** Laura Marano and Mena Massoud star in a romantic comedy that tweaks a familiar formula but still feels inane.

**Body**

Laura Marano and Mena Massoud star in a romantic comedy that tweaks a familiar formula but still feels inane.

Cinderella stories don’t die, they mutate.

In “The Royal Treatment,” Izzy (Laura Marano), a New York hairdresser with major attitude, gets a happily-ever-after story that justifies itself by offering two tweaks to the familiar formula. First, the screenwriter Holly Hester swaps the fairy godmother for a smartphone — one that mistakenly directs the valet of a dimpled royal, Prince Thomas ([*Mena Massoud*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/26/movies/aladdin-mena-massoud.html)), to Izzy’s salon. Second, this candy-floss flick embraces today’s trend toward populism by having the girl initially reject the prince because his kingdom, a Euro-spritzed fantasyland called Lavania where folk-dancing peasants speak fluent English, has perpetrated human rights abuses.

Here, the prince — not his ***working-class*** crush — must be made over. This is because of ignominies including his ignorance of the number of gardeners on the royal estate (18, for the record) and his failure to question why his parents have betrothed him to the daughter of a Texas real estate tycoon. (Let’s just say that the reason is not good for the poorest Lavanians, who live in a gray warren called Über die Gleise, or “Over the Tracks.”)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/KWxJXZ3S3-g)]

The movie comes across as a deliberately, almost defensively, inane trifle; a cupcake whose icing reads, “Enjoy the tooth decay.” Not only can’t the Lavanians agree on an accent, but the structures that make up the king’s castle can’t agree on an architecture style, settling on a bizarre mix of mildewed gargoyles and modernist solariums. Given the director Rick Jacobson’s sheer insouciance, it feels petty to sniff that the couple has the chemistry of tap water. The lovebirds chatter and smile — Massoud with a graham-cracker blandness, Marano with a roiling, unfiltered and eventually exhausting extroversion — as time ticks by until a climactic kiss. There’s no swooning, but at least there’s a fun subplot where Izzy’s salon co-workers (played by Grace Bentley-Tsibuah and Chelsie Preston Crayford) suffer a royal re-education camp that trains the brassy glamour girls to put down their nail glitter. Sobs one, “I’m losing my pizazz!”

The Royal Treatment

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 36 minutes. [*Watch on Netflix.*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81228331)

PHOTO: Mena Massoud and Laura Marano in “The Royal Treatment.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kirsty Griffin/Netflix FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** January 20, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Polls in Swing Districts Offer Deeper Insights On Direction of House***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66R4-50W1-JBG3-60D9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 28, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

**Length:** 1908 words

**Byline:** By Shane Goldmacher and Nate Cohn

**Body**

President Biden is unpopular everywhere. Economic concerns are mounting. Abortion rights are popular but social issues are more often secondary.

A new series of House polls by The New York Times and Siena College across four archetypal swing districts offers fresh evidence that Republicans are poised to retake Congress this fall as the party dominated among voters who care most about the economy.

Democrats continue to show resilience in places where abortion is still high on the minds of voters, and where popular incumbents are on the ballot. Indeed, the Democrats were still tied or ahead in all four districts -- three of which were carried by Mr. Biden in 2020. But the party's slim majority -- control could flip if just five seats change hands -- demands that it essentially run the table everywhere, at a moment when the economy has emerged as the driving issue in all but the country's wealthier enclaves.

The poll results in the four districts -- an upscale suburb in Kansas, the old industrial heartland of Pennsylvania, a fast-growing part of Las Vegas and a sprawling district along New Mexico's southern border -- offer deeper insights beyond the traditional Republican and Democratic divide in the race for Congress. They show how the midterm races are being shaped by larger and at times surprising forces that reflect the country's ethnic, economic and educational realignment.

''The economy thing affects everyone while the social thing affects a minority,'' said Victor Negron, a 30-year-old blackjack dealer who lives in Henderson, Nev., and who was planning to vote for the Republican vying to flip the seat from a Democratic incumbent. ''If everyone's doing good, then who cares what else everyone else is doing.''

In a polarized nation where more than 80 percent of House seats are entirely uncompetitive, the swing districts are, almost by definition, the competitive outliers. They are the rare places where Latino residents might vote Republican. Or blue-collar white voters are still winnable for Democrats. Or red-state suburbs could vote blue, or blue-state exurbs could go red.

In all four seats in Kansas, Pennsylvania, Nevada and New Mexico, the Democratic candidates were leading overwhelmingly among people who were more concerned with societal issues, garnering roughly 8 in 10 votes among voters who thought issues like abortion, guns and the state of democracy were most important to their vote. Similarly, the Republican candidates each won around 70 percent of the vote of those chiefly focused on the economy.

Which party was ahead on the ballot test was often a matter of what issues voters there prioritized.

In all four seats, most voters said they would prefer to vote for a candidate who thinks abortion should be mostly or always legal. But the issue's power, relative to the economy, has appeared to fade in recent Times/Siena polling -- except in the mostly highly educated and suburban battleground districts, and perhaps especially in the states where voters perceive abortion access at risk.

The challenge for Democrats is that resilience in well-educated suburbs or any other single kind of district will not be enough to hold the House. Weakness in just one kind of district, like rural Hispanic districts, could prove to be their undoing.

In 2020, Mr. Biden carried three of the four districts that were polled, yet today his approval rating does not top 44 percent in any of them, though the Democrats in all four seats were running ahead of the president's poor ratings.

Voters in three of the four districts were more focused on economics than social issues. The lone exception -- Kansas' Third District, a suburban area outside Kansas City that is one of the most highly educated in the country -- is the only seat where a majority of voters hold a college degree, a group that is generally more insulated from economic hardship. Across all four districts, voters with a college degree were 11 to 15 percentage points more likely to prioritize social issues than those who did not graduate from college.

''Even if a candidate now is not promising me low taxes or financial incentive, the social issues right now are just too big,'' said Deborah Hoffman, a 56-year-old Republican and database administrator who lives in Shawnee, Kan. This year, she's planning to vote for the Democrat: Representative Sharice Davids, who was leading her Republican challenger, Amanda Adkins, in the survey, 55 to 41 percent.

Years ago, no political observer would have guessed that the suburbs of Kansas City would count as a bright spot for Democrats. The area had voted for every Republican presidential candidate dating back nearly a century, including Mitt Romney in 2012.

The Kansas district was at the epicenter of the fallout from the Supreme Court's decision overturning Roe v. Wade, as Kansas residents voted overwhelmingly to reject an initiative that would have ended abortion rights in the state. By a 61 to 25 percent margin, voters in the district say they would rather vote for a candidate who thinks abortion should be legal than illegal.

Over the last decade, American politics has realigned along educational lines, with highly educated areas lurching to the left and ***working-class*** districts trending to the right, opening the door for Republican breakthroughs in eastern Las Vegas, southern New Mexico and northeastern Pennsylvania. All of these areas backed Barack Obama in 2012 and countless Democrats before him.

In each of those three districts, around one-third of likely voters have a college degree. The economy was rated as the top issue.

Erika Horvath, 46, a single parent of two who has lived in downtown Las Vegas for five years, called this ''the worst economy I've seen.'' She said she was splitting her ticket this year but voting against Representative Dina Titus, the Democrat, and for her Republican challenger, Mark Robertson.

''It's scary out here,'' she added. ''I haven't seen this many looking for housing or jobs. Rents are way up.''

The survey showed that race tied at 47 percent -- a stark turn for Ms. Titus, whose once solidly Democratic seat at the heart of Las Vegas has morphed into a battleground through a confluence of unfavorable demographic trends, a tough midterm environment and new district lines.

Hispanic voters in Las Vegas's eastside neighborhoods swung as much as 15 or 20 points toward Donald J. Trump in 2020. Mr. Biden still carried the boundaries of Ms. Titus's new seat, which is Nevada's most Hispanic, by 8 points that year.

But the survey showed Ms. Titus leading only narrowly among nonwhite voters in the diverse district, 51 percent to 40 percent, well beneath the margins that traditionally made Nevada's First a Democratic-leaning district.

In New Mexico's Second District, Representative Yvette Herrell, a Republican, is hoping that trend will help her hang on, too. Her district was redrawn to be more Democratic. Donald Trump carried the old district by 12 points, and under the new lines, Mr. Biden would have won the seat by 6 points.

Ms. Herrell has depicted her Democratic challenger, Gabriel Vasquez, as prioritizing environmental goals over the oil and gas jobs held by many Hispanics in the region. The poll showed a virtual tie, with Mr. Vasquez ahead 48 percent to 47 percent.

''I have four kids and I have a wife and a family that I take care of,'' said Isaiah Hernandez, a 32-year-old cleaner who lives in Albuquerque. ''It's a lot different when you have to provide for a family than when you're on your own.'' He is planning to vote for Ms. Herrell.

Tony Sena, a 52-year-old plumber who lives in Albuquerque, is also planning to vote Republican next month. ''If you don't have a good economy, nothing else is going to matter as much,'' he said.

The results in another district suggest that strong House candidates can still defy national trends.

Pennsylvania's Eighth District has been at the epicenter of the realignment of traditionally Democratic, white ***working-class*** voters to the Trump-led Republican Party, and Mr. Trump carried the district by 3 percentage points in 2020.

The district, which includes the city of Scranton, prioritized the economy the most of all four districts polled, which should benefit Republicans. And Mr. Biden's approval rating was the lowest here, too, despite his Scranton roots.

Yet Representative Matt Cartwright, a Democrat, leads his repeat Republican challenger, Jim Bognet, 50 percent to 44 percent.

Mr. Cartwright held 13 percent support among voters who said they backed Mr. Trump in the last presidential election, the most crossover support of any candidate in the polls. And he pulled off something else unusual: Across all four races, Mr. Cartwright was the Democrat who was winning the largest share of the vote both among voters focused on social issues and those focused on the economy.

After Mr. Cartwright, Ms. Herrell had the second most crossover support, drawing 11 percent of Biden voters despite voting against certifying the 2020 presidential election. She claimed that the 2018 race was stolen from her, too.

Ms. Herrell's election denialism might seem like a deal-breaker in a district that voted for Mr. Biden. But issues related to democracy did not appear to be a strong motivator in any of the districts surveyed.

Around one-third of voters in every district said it didn't matter whether a candidate thought Mr. Biden or Mr. Trump won in 2020, including around half of independents. Relatively few voters preferred a candidate that believed Mr. Trump won the election, though the 22 percent who said as much in Ms. Herrell's district was the highest of any of the four polls.

And while New Mexico's Second may have voted for Mr. Biden, it is also conservative and rural in parts -- one where the right kind of Republican can make a pitch.

Ms. Herrell ''understands the struggles and she also understands that we are wanting to keep the culture,'' said Katana Wolf, a 39-year-old who works in behavioral health and lives in Las Cruces. ''It's a culture that's just Las Cruces here.''

The increasing educational divide that the poll showed also was apparent in interviews.

Kelly Lieberman, a 58-year-old who lives in Overland Park, a leafy Kansas City suburb, is hoping Democrats prevail this fall, just as progressives did in her state's abortion referendum. ''We showed the country: We are not all crazies over here,'' she said. ''We can make rational scientific based choices.'' She added, ''Republicans are so unscientific.''

In Shavertown, Pa., Eugene Gingo, a 79-year-old Republican retiree, expressed resentment about those who went to college and who might look down on him.

''They think that they've got a degree and they're experts,'' Mr. Gingo said. ''You get some of these Ivy League graduates that know nothing about the Civil War but yet they're going to tell me. Again, it's insulting.''

Ms. Lieberman is voting Democrat. Mr. Gingo is going Republican.

Reporting was contributed by Kimberley McGee in Las Vegas; Carey Gillam in Overland Park, Kan.; and Jon Hurdle in Scranton, Pa. Ruth Igielnik, Kristen Bayrakdarian and Sadiba Hasan also contributed reporting and analysis.Reporting was contributed by Kimberley McGee in Las Vegas; Carey Gillam in Overland Park, Kan.; and Jon Hurdle in Scranton, Pa. Ruth Igielnik, Kristen Bayrakdarian and Sadiba Hasan also contributed reporting and analysis.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/us/politics/polls-swing-district-house-republicans-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/us/politics/polls-swing-district-house-republicans-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** October 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***No New Trial in 1991 Murder Mystery That Gripped France, Appeals Court Rules***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66M4-JHC1-JBG3-6210-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 14, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 844 words

**Byline:** By Aurelien Breeden

**Body**

Omar Raddad was convicted in the 1991 killing of a wealthy widow, but scant evidence and a grammatical error sowed doubts about his guilt. He sought a retrial based on new DNA evidence.

PARIS -- A Moroccan-born man convicted three decades ago in the grisly killing of a wealthy widow on the French Riviera will not get a new trial, a top French court ruled on Thursday, the latest twist in one of France's most enduring murder mysteries.

Omar Raddad had been found guilty of the 1991 murder of Ghislaine Marchal, 65, who lived by herself in a large villa north of Cannes. Police found her dead in the locked basement of an annex to the villa, where a message written in Ms. Marchal's own blood seemed to accuse Mr. Raddad, her gardener at the time.

Mr. Raddad, now 60, has always maintained his innocence. He was released from prison more than two decades ago, but sought a new trial to reverse his conviction and clear his name.

France was long captivated by the unresolved mysteries of the brutal murder and by the social undertones of the case, which involved two protagonists from starkly different backgrounds: a wealthy victim from a prominent family, and a ***working-class*** Arab immigrant who was unable to read or write and spoke little French.

The case proved particularly gripping because of a strange grammatical error in the message supposedly scrawled by Ms. Marchal, who was found with multiple bruises and cuts behind a barricaded door. While she appeared to have written ''Omar killed me,'' the sentence contained a glaring mistake -- in the original French, ''Omar m'a tuer,'' instead of ''m'a tuée,'' using the infinitive rather than a form of past tense.

Mr. Raddad's defenders argued that a woman of Ms. Marchal's background would not have made such an error, even in her dying moments.

His DNA and fingerprints were never found at the crime scene. Mr. Raddad's supporters suggested that he was framed and easily convicted because of his background, and famous intellectuals took up his cause.

His lawyers succeeded in partially reopening the case last year and requested a retrial, after presenting new DNA evidence that they said exonerated him. Judges on France's top appeals court ordered further analysis of the new evidence, in what Mr. Raddad's supporters had hoped was the first step toward a new trial.

But on Thursday, the court rejected the request.

Sylvie Noachovitch, Mr. Raddad's lawyer, told reporters at the courthouse in Paris that she was ''absolutely scandalized'' and said she would appeal before the European Court of Human Rights.

''I will never abandon Omar Raddad,'' Ms. Noachovitch said. ''My determination is even stronger, stronger than ever.''

Retrials are rare in France, and retrials where convictions are overturned are even rarer. In 2002, a similar request by Mr. Raddad, based on new testimony and earlier DNA evidence, had already been rejected.

Ms. Marchal's family has always maintained that Mr. Raddad is guilty and had opposed a new trial. In a statement issued on Thursday by Sabine du Granrut, Ms. Marchal's niece, the family said it hoped the decision would ''put a definitive end to a case that it has painfully experienced.''

''The family regrets that for the past 30 years this affair has been the subject of media agitation,'' the statement said.

At his trial, in 1994, prosecutors said that Mr. Raddad had a gambling problem and had killed his employer in a fit of rage when she refused to give him an advance on his wages. Mr. Raddad's supporters argued that he got along well with Ms. Marchal and had no reason to kill her.

Mr. Raddad was convicted and sentenced to 18 years in prison, although he was freed after four years following a request from King Hassan II of Morocco, where the case was followed closely, and a partial pardon from France's president at the time, Jacques Chirac.

In 2015, advances in DNA technology placed the DNA of four unidentified men -- none of them Mr. Raddad -- at the crime scene, including one whose genetic traces were mixed with the victim's blood.

Mr. Raddad's supporters said the new evidence would help identify the real murderer. Ms. Marchal's family countered that evidence was handled with less care three decades ago and that the DNA traces were contamination from an unrelated source.

In its ruling on Thursday, the court said that the discovery of new DNA at the scene did not constitute sufficient grounds to order a new trial. There was too much uncertainty about where it came from and it was impossible to establish when it had been left there, the court said.

The newly discovered DNA ''is not sufficient, in itself, to establish their connection with the case, as these traces may have been left before or after the murder,'' the court wrote in its ruling.

Ms. Noachovitch, Mr. Raddad's lawyer, disputed that reasoning, arguing that the judges had ignored a 2014 law that relaxed the criteria for retrials and that the new evidence, even if impossible to date, cast enough doubt on Mr. Raddad's conviction to justify a new hearing.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/13/world/europe/france-murder-raddad-marchal.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/13/world/europe/france-murder-raddad-marchal.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** October 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Adams Says He's a Progressive. New York's Left Begs to Differ.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:687J-BMS1-JBG3-64BX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 15, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1776 words

**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Body**

Left-leaning New Yorkers say the mayor is moving the city in a more conservative direction on issues like policing, rent and providing shelter to those in need.

When a homeless man was choked to death on the New York City subway earlier this month by another passenger, Mayor Eric Adams had an uncharacteristically guarded response. For more than a week, he did not denounce the killing, as many of his Democratic colleagues immediately had, or express much sympathy for the victim, Jordan Neely.

Instead, the mayor chose a more detached view, noting that there were ''serious mental issues in play here.''

''I was a former transit police officer, and I responded to many jobs where you had a passenger assisting someone,'' he said on CNN. ''And so we cannot just blatantly say what a passenger should or should not do in a situation like that.''

The mayor's response was the most recent example of him tacking away from the city's left, creating a wedge with some of his Democratic colleagues. Mr. Adams has been pushing more moderate, sometimes even conservative, views on issues like rent, religion and his signature theme, improving public safety -- a sharp turn from his Democratic predecessor, Bill de Blasio, and from progressive leaders who have recently won mayoral elections in cities like Chicago and Los Angeles.

The latest example came on Wednesday, when Mr. Adams issued an executive order temporarily suspending some of the rules related to the city's longstanding right-to-shelter mandate, as officials struggle to find housing for asylum seekers arriving from the southern border. The move was criticized by advocates for the homeless and Democratic officials like Adrienne Adams, the City Council speaker.

The mayor has spoken ruefully about the separation of church and state, supported charter school expansion and called for reducing the flow of migrants in rhetoric that critics have called xenophobic. He has also proposed budget cuts that could hurt key services such as libraries, arguing that all city agencies must be fiscally prudent at a time when the city's cost of the spiraling migrant crisis is expected to be well over $1 billion -- a factor that was not in play for previous mayors.

And last week, the mayoral-controlled Rent Guidelines Board proposed another year of sizable increases for the city's roughly one million rent-stabilized apartments -- the highest back-to-back increases since Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg was in office.

Left-leaning Democrats question whether Mr. Adams's approach -- sometimes more akin to Mr. Bloomberg or even the former Republican mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani -- is appropriate for New York, one of the most liberal cities in the nation. But the mayor says that his brand of pragmatic politics is exactly what the city needs, and what his core constituency of ***working-class*** New Yorkers wants.

''It's not comfortable for people when they can't put you in this box,'' Mr. Adams, the city's second Black mayor, said in an interview. ''I said from the time that I was running that people are not going to be able to fit me in a box.''

He acknowledged that some of his views are considered conservative, but said that others were ''extremely liberal,'' pointing to his support for free buses and tax credits for poor New Yorkers. Mr. Adams, who grew up in the Church of Christ, said that many Democrats were religious and that his supporters agreed with his beliefs on faith and other issues.

''The overwhelming number of New Yorkers know that this guy is trying his darnedest to fix the problems in this city and that's what we're focused on,'' he said.

Mr. Adams emerged from a crowded field of Democratic contenders in the 2021 mayoral race as the most prominent and well-funded moderate candidate, focusing almost exclusively on a public safety message at a time when New Yorkers were anxious about crime. He won the primary by a slim margin -- only 7,197 votes -- under a new ranked-choice voting system where Mr. Adams was spared a primary runoff.

As mayor, Mr. Adams has mostly lived up to his campaign promises. He has been a charismatic cheerleader for the city as it recovers from the pandemic, keeping a relentless schedule of news conferences and community events. He has pushed for tighter bail restrictions, increased the city's police presence, delighted in killing rats and is not bashful about enjoying a night on the town.

Many Democrats in New York City are Black and Latino voters who may well support much of the mayor's agenda, including his emphasis on faith. Mr. Adams has maintained strong support among Black voters at 52 percent, even as his overall approval rating fell to 37 percent, according to a Quinnipiac University poll in February. Black voters were also more supportive of the mayor's handling of crime and homelessness than white voters.

But some voters have been disappointed by his new direction for the city. Mr. Adams has removed homeless encampments, pledged to remove mentally ill people from the streets involuntarily, defended the use of stop-and-frisk policing and resisted calls to close the Rikers Island jail complex by 2027. He was also endorsed by the city's major police union, only a year after the group backed President Donald J. Trump's re-election bid, and recently provided officers with generous raises as part of a new eight-year, $5.5 billion labor contract.

In the Crown Heights and East New York neighborhoods of Brooklyn, reaction to Mr. Adams's performance was mixed. Older voters tended to support the mayor, praising his effort, his energy and his devotion to public safety.

''He's fighting for the city, keeping the city cleaner, there's plenty of police all around,'' said Garfield Miller, 65, a carpenter who lives in East New York, and said he voted for Mr. Adams. Vibert David, 66, and his brother, Asworth David, 65, also voted for Mr. Adams, and said they would enthusiastically do so again.

''You got to be visible,'' Vibert David said. ''As an old officer, he's doing good.''

But others accused the mayor of trying to solve everything with more police, and said he was not doing enough to ease the city's problems with homelessness, mental illness and lack of affordable housing.

''He parties at 3 a.m. when he's supposed to be helping the city,'' said Ineze Thompson, 25, a barista who lives in Washington Heights in Manhattan.

On Friday, Mr. Adams was confronted with more direct blowback: When he began speaking at the CUNY School of Law graduation ceremony, many graduates turned their backs to him.

''When the mayor is cutting things like libraries and schools, it really begs the question: Who is the constituency who he feels accountable to, and what is the legacy he wants to leave behind?'' said Sochie Nnaemeka, the director of the Working Families Party in New York.

The Working Families Party and other progressive Democrats have made great strides in New York, winning seats and pushing a left-leaning agenda on the City Council and in the State Legislature. Earlier this year, progressive lawmakers were even were able to nix Gov. Kathy Hochul's nominee for the state's top judge, Justice Hector D. LaSalle, because of fears that he was too conservative. But they have also been frustrated on some key issues because the two most influential elected officials in New York, Ms. Hochul and Mr. Adams, often do not align with their views.

Mr. Adams, who was a registered Republican in the 1990s, is friendly with Republicans and the real estate industry, appearing regularly on a conservative radio show. He chides ''woke'' members of his party and recently named Jimmy Oddo, a Republican, to head the Buildings Department, replacing another Republican who held the job.

The mayor has quarreled with left-leaning leaders, including Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, though they appeared to reach a détente in March when Ms. Ocasio-Cortez visited Gracie Mansion for dinner. But after Mr. Neely's death, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez accused Mr. Adams of reaching a ''new low'' in his stoic response.

''Killing the mentally ill is wrong,'' Ms. Ocasio-Cortez wrote on Twitter. ''Why is that so hard to say?''

Some Democrats believe that Mr. Adams will face a challenge from the left in 2025, and their hopes were buoyed by recent mayoral victories by Karen Bass in Los Angeles and Brandon Johnson in Chicago, who were both endorsed by the progressive Working Families Party. Running against a ''tough on crime'' candidate, Mr. Johnson won on a public safety message that went beyond policing, focusing on youth employment and mental health services.

''Eric Adams's bluster and rhetorical style has caught a lot of people's attention, but his policy positions are deeply out of step with what most big, blue-city voters want,'' said Anna Bahr, a Democratic political strategist who worked on the Bass and Johnson campaigns.

Some of Mr. Adams's rhetoric may have frayed his relationship with President Biden. After the mayor harshly criticized the president's handling of the migrant crisis, his name was quietly removed this week from an initial list of national surrogates for Mr. Biden's re-election campaign.

The mayor has, at times, seemed to acquiesce to the criticism. On Wednesday, the mayor delivered a speech designed to soften his stance on Mr. Neely's death, called for more help for homeless New Yorkers, and said clearly for the first time that ''Jordan Neely did not deserve to die.''

Two days later, Daniel Penny, a Marine veteran who applied the chokehold to Mr. Neely, was charged with second-degree manslaughter, and Mr. Adams welcomed the news, saying, ''now justice can move forward against Daniel Penny.''

In the interview, Mr. Adams said that he identifies as progressive -- just not the brand embodied by the Democratic Socialists of America. In fact, he said that the ''far left'' had won major successes during his administration on issues like the environment, including citywide composting, and programs to assist young people involved in the justice system.

Mr. Adams has also been a vocal supporter of abortion rights and Democratic social issues. During his campaign, he crafted a plan to help poor people, through tax credits, low cost child care and a new website to access city benefits, and he is following through on those measures.

''I am a combination of just about every mayor, from Koch to Dinkins -- I'm skipping over Giuliani -- to Bloomberg to de Blasio,'' he said. ''I'm a combination of all those guys because I learned from all of them.''

Liset Cruz and Nate Schweber contributed reporting.Liset Cruz and Nate Schweber contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/14/nyregion/eric-adams-conservative-migrants.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/14/nyregion/eric-adams-conservative-migrants.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Mayor Eric Adams says that some people find him objectionable because they can't ''fit me in a box.'' Right, a memorial for Jordan Neely, a homeless man who was choked to death on the subway. Mr. Adams had been criticized for failing to condemn the killing. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AHMED GABER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

**Load-Date:** May 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Elvis Broke Fashion Boundaries, Too***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65S1-WYN1-JBG3-60GF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 23, 2022 Thursday 10:43 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 1403 words

**Byline:** Guy Trebay

**Highlight:** He was many things, as a new biopic illustrates, but one of the least appreciated was his role as a gender pioneer.

**Body**

He was many things, as a new biopic illustrates, but one of the least appreciated was his role as a gender pioneer.

Everybody has a personal Elvis. He is there for us all, lodged in the collective unconscious, one of few humans who can legitimately be termed an icon, although it is not always certain of what.

There is musical Elvis and race-reckoning Elvis and sex symbol Elvis and Las Vegas Elvis and Mississippi Elvis and rockabilly Elvis and Hollywood Elvis and Warhol Elvis and imperial Elvis and impersonator Elvis. There is, too, cautionary Elvis: the bloated, pill-addicted burnout [*dead at 42*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/99/01/03/specials/presley-obit.html?scp=4&amp;sq=99%2520Anthems&amp;st=cse).

There is foremost Elvis, the legend, a man whose humble origins and meteoric rise have been rehearsed so often the details hardly seem to describe a human that breathed the same air as the rest of us. Resurrecting that figure is no easy task, and so, for many, the Elvis in Baz Luhrmann’s dreamily overwrought historical biopic “Elvis” will inevitably fall short. How could it not? To capture Elvis is like describing a quasar — a remote and intensely luminous object from an early universe.

It has been four and a half decades since Mr. Presley’s death, nearly 87 years since he was born in a modest frame house in Tupelo, Miss. Yet somehow he remains as potent a figure as ever. He is instantly identifiable and simultaneously obscure, a symbol of the ***working-class*** South he emerged from; a pop world he transformed; a culture of erasure that even now leaves in doubt how much of Elvis was his own creation and how much borrowed from the Black culture that is still the barely acknowledged American mother lode.

There is, more simply, Elvis, a creature of style and fashion — and that Elvis should be easiest to pin down. Yet even here Elvis remains tantalizingly elusive, the person inside the clothes clinging stubbornly to his mystery. Although we cannot know with much certainty how Elvis arrived at and evolved his indelible image, at least we can track what he wore.

In the beginning there were surprisingly conservative stage suits and jackets cut fuller than was the custom of the ’50s, although less for reasons of style than to accommodate Elvis’s the Pelvis’s scandalous gyrations.

As his fame grew and club dates became arenas, visibility demanded of him greater flamboyance. One result was an all but radioactive gold lamé suit his manager Colonel Tom Parker commissioned from the rodeo tailor Nudie Cohn that was featured on the cover of the 1959 album “50,000,000 Elvis Fans Can’t Be Wrong.”

Anyone who has ever visited Graceland knows that Elvis’s domestic tastes — Jungle Room aside — tended more to bourgeois gentility than his public image would suggest. True, he owned a lot of flashy cars (by some accounts more than 260 over his brief lifetime), a private jet and had a penchant for diamond-encrusted gumball rings and pendants (most famously with his Taking Care of Business logo, TCB).

But the get-ups we most often associate with him, and that have influenced artists as unalike as Tupac Shakur, Bruno Mars and Brandon Flowers and continue to inspire, if that is the word, designers at labels like Versace, Cavalli, Costume National and Gucci, were a far cry from the bathrobes Elvis lounged in at home.

If that lamé suit, more than any other single garment, argued a case for Elvis as a sartorial rebel, pushing the limits of convention in a Brooks Brothers era, when lines of demarcation between the sexes were clearly drawn, it was unquestionably his pompadour that established him as a gender radical. American men in the monochrome Brooks Brothers ’50s did not wear shiny gold suits. Assuredly, they did not dye their hair.

Yet under the clear influence of Black musicians like Little Richard, whose teased bouffant tresses even today look radically, daringly queer, Elvis not only colored his locks but trained them into swooping volutes that he then waxed and pomaded to lacquered immobility.

Without the pompadour, no Elvis costume can be considered complete. Impersonators would never consider going without Elvis’s patent leather coiffure. Austin Butler’s hair in Mr. Luhrmann’s film is shoe-blacked just as Elvis’s was. What each has in common with the other is hair that in its natural state is some shade of blonde.

In civilian life, and as his income grew, Elvis became an early adopter of fashions. Like many hipsters and countless musicians of the late 1950s, he favored Cuban-collared shirts, wide-legged, pleated trousers, slip-on loafers and blouson jackets — a style that men’s wear labels like Prada revisit with clocklike regularity.

Unlike millions of other Americans then and now, Elvis seldom wore jeans outside of the films he starred in once Hollywood discovered the handsome ***working class*** Southern hero and put him to work making 31 movies in 13 years. Elvis disliked denim, it was said, because it was too sharp a reminder of his humble origins.

Because Elvis was in certain ways less an innovator than a force magnifier, it seems like a stretch to credit him, as many do, with originating trends for floral print aloha shirts (which enjoyed a vogue after the release of his 1961 film “Blue Hawaii”) or skintight cowhide suits, like the black leather one he wore for a 1968 television comeback special, or a rockabilly style already well entrenched among fans of the rural subculture by the time he came to fame.

Yet for anyone tracing the lineage of men’s wear styles, whether for snap-button Western shirts, winkle-picker shoes, argyle socks, penny loafers or quiffs, Elvis is inevitably there in the pedigree.

Is it perverse to find magnificence in the most parodied element of Elvis’s style evolution? That is, his famous jumpsuits, the costume default of impersonators and trick-or-treaters on Halloween. Typically treated as sartorial jokes, these jumpsuits emblematize the star at his apogee, that moment before his fame and his life collapsed on him and he crumpled to earth. Those glittering garments with their embroideries and nailhead patterns or paste gem barnacles were precursors to the stage-wear worn by every pop star — Prince, David Bowie, Harry Styles — who ever invited his fans to feast their eyes on him erotically.

Oddly, at their core, the one-piece unisex garments were a practical solution devised by Bill Belew, Elvis’s costume designer, to allow him to move freely onstage while maintaining his silhouette. The standup collars, like the lace neck ruffs on a Spanish infanta in a Velázquez portrait, not only framed Elvis’s classical profile, but also seemed to hold up his noble head.

They did something else, though. Dressed in those jumpsuits, Elvis not only cemented an image destined to endure far beyond that of any other pop star but rendered him a near divinity.

If proof is needed, just [*watch the final concert,*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sp3Lo8XjRYY) in 1977. Though puffy and paunchy, short of breath and with sweat rivulets streaking a face stuccoed with pancake, his trademark hairdo stiff as a wig, Elvis nevertheless rouses himself from a lackluster opening number to achieve a state resembling exaltation.

Dressed in his white Mexican Sundial suit, bedecked front and back with an image of the Aztec sunstone depicting five consecutive worlds of the sun, Elvis moves slowly across the stage like a sacred idol, trailed by a stage hand with a bundle of snowy white scarves draped across one arm. One by one, the helper hands them to Elvis, who drapes each briefly around his neck for consecration before tossing it to eager supplicants.

At this point Elvis has surpassed the limits of fashion and stardom. And, while very soon he would be dead, at this precise moment Elvis Presley was apotheosized.

PHOTOS: Clockwise, from far left: Elvis Presley in Memphis, 1956; in Miami, 1956; at “The Milton Berle Show,” 1956; an album from 1959; being outfitted by the clothier Bernard Lansky at Lansky’s Men’s Store in Memphis in 1956. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES; ELVIS PRESLEY ESTATE, VIA REUTERS; EARL LEAF/MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES, VIA GETTY IMAGES; RCA VICTOR; BERNARD J. LANSKY COLLECTION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS ); Clockwise, from above: in the front yard of his Memphis home, 1956; in Las Vegas in 1969, after his first performance at the International Hotel; onstage, 1972; during the filming of “Love Me Tender,” 1956; performing on his comeback television special in 1968. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ELVIS PRESLEY ESTATE, VIA REUTERS; MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** June 23, 2022

**End of Document**



[***There Was a Loser Last Night. It Was America.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6170-YHC1-DXY4-X565-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 4, 2020 Wednesday 10:05 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1228 words

**Byline:** Thomas L. Friedman

**Highlight:** Trump’s ugly speech told us exactly where we’re going — and it’s nowhere good.

**Body**

We still do not know who is the winner of the presidential election. But we do know who is the loser: the United States of America.

We have just experienced four years of the most divisive and dishonest presidency in American history, which attacked the twin pillars of our democracy — truth and trust. Donald Trump has not spent a single day of his term trying to be president of all the people, and he has broken rules and trashed norms in ways that no other president ever dared — right up to Tuesday night, when he falsely claimed election fraud and summoned the Supreme Court to step in and stop the voting, as if such a thing were even remotely possible.

“Frankly, we did win this election,” Trump declared, while millions of ballots remained to be counted in Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Arizona and Nevada.

“We’ll be going to the U.S. Supreme Court,” Trump added, without explaining how or on what basis. “We want all voting to stop.”

We want all voting to stop? Really?

But if Joe Biden wins — and we may not know for days — it may be by just a sliver of votes in several key battleground states. Although he’ll likely win the popular vote, there will be no landslide, no overwhelming majority telling Trump and those around him that enough was enough: Be gone with you and never bring that kind of politics of division back to this country again.

“Whatever the final vote, it is already clear that the number of Americans saying, ‘Enough is enough’ was not enough,” said Dov Seidman, an [*expert on leadership*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/covid-dov-seidman.html) and author of the book “How: Why How We Do Anything Means Everything.”

“There was no blue political wave,” he noted. “But, more importantly, there was no moral wave. There was no widespread rejection of the kind of leadership that divides us, especially in a pandemic.”

We are a country with multiple compound fractures, and so we simply cannot do anything ambitious anymore — like put a man on the moon — because ambitious things have to be done together. We can’t even come together to all wear masks in a pandemic, when health experts tell us it would absolutely save lives. It would be so simple, so easy and so patriotic to say, “I protect you and you protect me.” And yet, we can’t do it.

This election, if anything, highlighted the fault lines. The president, using many different dog whistles during the campaign, presented himself as the leader of America’s shrinking white majority. It is impossible to explain his continued support, despite his unprecedented poisonous behavior in office, without reference to two numbers:

The U.S. Census Bureau projects that by the middle of this year, nonwhites will constitute [*a majority of the nation’s 74 million children*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/covid-dov-seidman.html). And it is estimated that by sometime in the 2040s, whites will make up 49 percent of the U.S. population, and Latinos, Blacks, Asians and multiracial populations 51 percent.

Among many whites, particularly white ***working-class*** males without college degrees, there is clearly a discomfort with the fact, and even a resistance to it, that our nation is in a steady process of becoming “minority white.” They see Trump as a bulwark against the social, cultural and economic implications of that change.

What many Democrats see as a good trend — a country reckoning with structural racism and learning to embrace and celebrate increasing diversity — many white people see as a fundamental cultural threat.

And that is fueling another lethal trend that this election only reinforced.

“Many Republican senators and congressional representatives — like Lindsey Graham in South Carolina and John Cornyn in Texas — won by hugging Trump,” said Gautam Mukunda, author of “[*Indispensable: When Leaders Really Matter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/covid-dov-seidman.html).” “That means that Trumpism is the future of the G.O.P.

“The tactically unique thing about Trumpism is that it never even tries to get the support of the majority of Americans. So the G.O.P. will continue with the strategy of using every legal, but democratically deeply harmful, way to control power even though most Americans vote against them — like the way they just crammed through two Supreme Court justices.”

That means all the stresses on the American system of government will continue to grow, Mukunda added, because in our antiquated electoral system, Republicans theoretically can control both the White House and the Senate despite the desires of a large majority of the American people. “No system can survive that kind of stress,” he concluded. “It will break at some point.”

Nothing has happened, even if Biden wins, that suggests Republicans will fundamentally rethink this political strategy that they perfected under Trump.

But Democrats have a lot to rethink, said Michael Sandel, a professor at Harvard and author of “[*The Tyranny of Merit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/covid-dov-seidman.html): What’s Become of the Common Good.”

“Even though Joe Biden emphasized his ***working-class*** roots and sympathies,” Sandel told me, “the Democratic Party continues to be more identified with professional elites and college-educated voters than with the blue-collar voters who once constituted its base. Even so epochal an event as a pandemic, bungled by Trump, did not change this.

“Democrats need to ask themselves: Why do many working people embrace a plutocrat-populist whose policies do little to help them? Democrats need to address the sense of humiliation felt by working people who feel the economy has left them behind and that credentialed elites look down on them.”

Again, while Biden made small inroads with ***working-class*** voters, there seems to be no huge shift. Maybe because many ***working-class*** Trump voters not only feel looked down upon, but they also resent what they see as cultural censorship from liberal elites, coming out of college campuses.

As Rich Lowry, the editor of National Review, [*wrote in an Oct. 26 essay*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/covid-dov-seidman.html), “Trump is, for better or worse, the foremost symbol of resistance to the overwhelming woke cultural tide that has swept along the media, academia, corporate America, Hollywood, professional sports, the big foundations, and almost everything in between.”

“To put it in blunt terms,” he continued, “for many people, he’s the only middle finger available — to brandish against the people who’ve assumed they have the whip hand in American culture. This may not be a very good reason to vote for a president, and it doesn’t excuse Trump’s abysmal conduct and maladministration.”

I confess that the hardest conversations I had Tuesday night were with my daughters. I so badly want to tell them that all is going to be OK, that we’ve been through bad patches as a country before. And I hope that will turn out to be the case — that whoever wins this election will draw the right conclusion that we simply cannot go on tearing one another apart.

But I could not, in all honesty, tell them that with any confidence. I am certain “the better angels of our nature” are still out there. But our politics and our political system right now are not inspiring them to emerge at the scale and speed that we so desperately need.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/covid-dov-seidman.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/covid-dov-seidman.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/covid-dov-seidman.html).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/covid-dov-seidman.html), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/covid-dov-seidman.html) and [*Instagram*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/21/opinion/covid-dov-seidman.html).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Devin Oktar Yalkin for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Even Before a Winner, America Was the Loser***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6175-VD31-JBG3-61Y8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 5, 2020 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1232 words

**Byline:** By Thomas L. Friedman

**Body**

We still do not know who is the winner of the presidential election. But we do know who is the loser: the United States of America.

We have just experienced four years of the most divisive and dishonest presidency in American history, which attacked the twin pillars of our democracy -- truth and trust. Donald Trump has not spent a single day of his term trying to be president of all the people, and he has broken rules and trashed norms in ways that no other president ever dared -- right up to Tuesday night, when he falsely claimed election fraud and summoned the Supreme Court to step in and stop the voting, as if such a thing were even remotely possible.

''Frankly, we did win this election,'' Trump declared, while millions of ballots remained to be counted in Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Arizona and Nevada.

''We'll be going to the U.S. Supreme Court,'' Trump added, without explaining how or on what basis. ''We want all voting to stop.''

We want all voting to stop? Really?

But if Joe Biden wins -- and we may not know for days -- it may be by just a sliver of votes in several key battleground states. Although he'll likely win the popular vote, there will be no landslide, no overwhelming majority telling Trump and those around him that enough was enough: Be gone with you and never bring that kind of politics of division back to this country again.

''Whatever the final vote, it is already clear that the number of Americans saying, 'Enough is enough' was not enough,'' said Dov Seidman, an expert on leadership and author of the book ''How: Why How We Do Anything Means Everything.''

''There was no blue political wave,'' he noted. ''But, more importantly, there was no moral wave. There was no widespread rejection of the kind of leadership that divides us, especially in a pandemic.''

We are a country with multiple compound fractures, and so we simply cannot do anything ambitious anymore -- like put a man on the moon -- because ambitious things have to be done together. We can't even come together to all wear masks in a pandemic, when health experts tell us it would absolutely save lives. It would be so simple, so easy and so patriotic to say, ''I protect you and you protect me.'' And yet, we can't do it.

This election, if anything, highlighted the fault lines. The president, using many different dog whistles during the campaign, presented himself as the leader of America's shrinking white majority. It is impossible to explain his continued support, despite his unprecedented poisonous behavior in office, without reference to two numbers:

The U.S. Census Bureau projects that by the middle of this year, nonwhites will constitute a majority of the nation's 74 million children. And it is estimated that by sometime in the 2040s, whites will make up 49 percent of the U.S. population, and Latinos, Blacks, Asians and multiracial populations 51 percent.

Among many whites, particularly white ***working-class*** males without college degrees, there is clearly a discomfort with the fact, and even a resistance to it, that our nation is in a steady process of becoming ''minority white.'' They see Trump as a bulwark against the social, cultural and economic implications of that change.

What many Democrats see as a good trend -- a country reckoning with structural racism and learning to embrace and celebrate increasing diversity -- many white people see as a fundamental cultural threat.

And that is fueling another lethal trend that this election only reinforced.

''Many Republican senators and congressional representatives -- like Lindsey Graham in South Carolina and John Cornyn in Texas -- won by hugging Trump,'' said Gautam Mukunda, author of ''Indispensable: When Leaders Really Matter.'' ''That means that Trumpism is the future of the G.O.P.

''The tactically unique thing about Trumpism is that it never even tries to get the support of the majority of Americans. So the G.O.P. will continue with the strategy of using every legal, but democratically deeply harmful, way to control power even though most Americans vote against them -- like the way they just crammed through two Supreme Court justices.''

That means all the stresses on the American system of government will continue to grow, Mukunda added, because in our antiquated electoral system, Republicans theoretically can control both the White House and the Senate despite the desires of a large majority of the American people. ''No system can survive that kind of stress,'' he concluded. ''It will break at some point.''

Nothing has happened, even if Biden wins, that suggests Republicans will fundamentally rethink this political strategy that they perfected under Trump.

But Democrats have a lot to rethink, said Michael Sandel, a professor at Harvard and author of ''The Tyranny of Merit: What's Become of the Common Good.''

''Even though Joe Biden emphasized his ***working-class*** roots and sympathies,'' Sandel told me, ''the Democratic Party continues to be more identified with professional elites and college-educated voters than with the blue-collar voters who once constituted its base. Even so epochal an event as a pandemic, bungled by Trump, did not change this.

''Democrats need to ask themselves: Why do many working people embrace a plutocrat-populist whose policies do little to help them? Democrats need to address the sense of humiliation felt by working people who feel the economy has left them behind and that credentialed elites look down on them.''

Again, while Biden made small inroads with ***working-class*** voters, there seems to be no huge shift. Maybe because many ***working-class*** Trump voters not only feel looked down upon, but they also resent what they see as cultural censorship from liberal elites, coming out of college campuses.

As Rich Lowry, the editor of National Review, wrote in an Oct. 26 essay, ''Trump is, for better or worse, the foremost symbol of resistance to the overwhelming woke cultural tide that has swept along the media, academia, corporate America, Hollywood, professional sports, the big foundations, and almost everything in between.''

''To put it in blunt terms,'' he continued, ''for many people, he's the only middle finger available -- to brandish against the people who've assumed they have the whip hand in American culture. This may not be a very good reason to vote for a president, and it doesn't excuse Trump's abysmal conduct and maladministration.''

I confess that the hardest conversations I had Tuesday night were with my daughters. I so badly want to tell them that all is going to be OK, that we've been through bad patches as a country before. And I hope that will turn out to be the case -- that whoever wins this election will draw the right conclusion that we simply cannot go on tearing one another apart.

But I could not, in all honesty, tell them that with any confidence. I am certain ''the better angels of our nature'' are still out there. But our politics and our political system right now are not inspiring them to emerge at the scale and speed that we so desperately need.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/opinion/trump-biden-election-2020.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/opinion/trump-biden-election-2020.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Devin Oktar Yalkin for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2020

**End of Document**



[***The One Thing Trump Has That DeSantis Never Will; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6803-RKV1-JBG3-61TC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 10, 2023 Monday 22:28 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1678 words

**Byline:** Sam Adler-Bell

**Highlight:** The Florida governor’s populism is heavy on cultural grievances and light on economic ones.

**Body**

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida is in a trap of his own devising. His path to the Republican presidential nomination depends on convincing Donald Trump’s base that he represents a more committed and disciplined version of the former president, that he shares their populist grievances and aims only to execute the Trump agenda with greater forcefulness and skill. But it also depends on convincing a G.O.P. elite grown weary of Mr. Trump’s erratic bombast (not to mention electoral losses and legal jeopardy) that he, Mr. DeSantis, represents a more responsible alternative: shrewd where Mr. Trump is reckless; bookish where Mr. Trump is philistine; scrupulous, cunning and detail-oriented where Mr. Trump is impetuous and easily bored. In short, to the base, Mr. DeSantis must be more Trump than Trump, and to the donors, less.

Thus far, Mr. DeSantis has had greater success with party elites. By pairing aggressive stances on the culture wars with free-market economics and an appeal to his own competence and expertise, Mr. DeSantis has managed [*to corral key Republican megadonors*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/11/06/gop-megadonor-desantis-24-ken-griffin-00065274), Murdoch media empire executives and conservative thought leaders from National Review to the Claremont Institute. He polls considerably higher than Mr. Trump with wealthy, college-educated, city- and suburb-dwelling Republicans. Mr. Trump, meanwhile, [*retains his grip*](https://www.politico.com/news/2023/03/25/trump-desantis-gop-primary-00088730) on blue-collar, less educated and rural conservatives. For the G.O.P., the primary fight has begun to tell an all-too-familiar story: It’s the elites vs. the rabble.

Mr. Trump, for his part, appears to have taken notice of this incipient class divide (and perhaps of the dearth of billionaires rushing to his aid). In the past few weeks, he has skewered Mr. DeSantis as a tool for “[*globalist*](https://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/3839233-trump-knocks-desantis-as-rino-globalist/)” plutocrats and the Republican old guard. Since his indictment by a Manhattan grand jury, Mr. Trump has sought to further solidify his status as the indispensable people’s champion, attacked on all sides by a conspiracy of liberal elites. While donors and operatives may prefer a more housebroken populism, it is Mr. Trump’s surmise that large parts of the base still want the real thing, warts and all.

If his wager pays off, it will be a sign not just of his continued dominance over the Republican Party but also of something deeper: an ongoing revolt against “the best and brightest,” the notion that only certain people, with certain talents, credentials and subject matter expertise, are capable of governing.

During his second inaugural speech in Tallahassee in January, Mr. DeSantis [*embraced*](https://www.flgov.com/2023/01/03/governor-desantis-delivers-inaugural-address-sets-priorities-for-second-term/) the culture wars pugilism that has made him a Fox News favorite; he railed against “open borders,” “identity essentialism,” the “coddling” of criminals and “attacking” of law enforcement. “Florida,” he reminded his audience, with a favored if clunky applause line, “is where woke goes to die!”

But the real focus — as with his speech at the National Conservatism conference in Miami in September — was on results (a word he repeated). Mr. DeSantis promised competent leadership; “sanity” and “liberty” were his motifs. For most of the speech, the governor sounded very much the Reaganite conservative from central casting. “We said we would ensure that Florida taxed lightly, regulated reasonably and spent conservatively,” he said, “and we delivered.”

In general, Mr. DeSantis’s populism is heavy on cultural grievances and light on economic ones. The maneuvers that tend to endear him to the nationalist crowd — [*flying a few dozen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/02/us/migrants-marthas-vineyard-desantis-texas.html) Venezuelan migrants from Texas to Martha’s Vineyard, [*attempting to ban*](https://www.wptv.com/news/education/floridas-governor-to-sign-critical-race-theory-education-bill-into-law) “critical race theory” at public colleges and [*retaliating against*](https://www.politico.com/news/2023/04/06/desantis-disney-hotel-taxes-toll-rodes-00090959) Disney for criticizing his “Don’t Say Gay” bill — are carefully calibrated to burnish his populist bona fides without unduly provoking G.O.P. elites who long for a return to relative conservative normalcy.

Indeed, Republican megadonors like the Koch family and the hedge fund billionaire Ken Griffin appear to admire Mr. DeSantis in spite of the populist firebrand he periodically plays on TV. Mr. Griffin [*recently told*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/11/06/gop-megadonor-desantis-24-ken-griffin-00065274) Politico’s Shia Kapos he aims, as Ms. Kapos described it, to “blunt” the populism that has turned some Republican politicians against the corporate world. Mr. Griffin gave $5 million to Mr. DeSantis’s re-election campaign.

Mr. DeSantis’s principal claim to being Mr. Trump’s legitimate heir, perhaps, is his handling of the Covid pandemic in Florida. Mr. DeSantis depicts his decision to reopen the state and ban mask mandates as a bold move against technocrats and scientists, denizens of what he calls the “biomedical security state.”

But his disdain for experts is selective. While deciding how to address the pandemic, Mr. DeSantis collaborated with the Stanford epidemiologist Jay Bhattacharya (“He’d read all the medical literature — all of it, not just the abstracts,” Dr. Bhattacharya [*told The New Yorker*](https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2022/06/27/can-ron-desantis-displace-donald-trump-as-the-gops-combatant-in-chief)) and followed the recommendations of a group of epidemiologists from Stanford, Harvard and Oxford who pushed for a swifter reopening. Mr. DeSantis’s preference for their recommendations over those of Dr. Anthony Fauci and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention doesn’t signify a rejection of expertise as such, only an embrace of alternative expertise. Mr. DeSantis wanted to save Florida’s tourism economy, and he found experts who would advise him to do so.

In reality, Mr. DeSantis is not against elites, exactly; he aims merely to replace the current elite (in academia, corporations and government) with a more conservative one, with experts who have not been infected, as Mr. DeSantis likes to say, by “the woke mind virus.” The goal is not to do away with the technocratic oligarchy, but to repopulate it — with people like Ron DeSantis.

Earlier generations of American thinkers had higher aspirations. “The reign of specialized expertise,” wrote the historian Christopher Lasch in 1994, “is the antithesis of democracy.” In the 19th century, European visitors were impressed (and unnerved) to find even farmers and laborers devouring periodicals and participating in the debating societies of early America. The defining feature of America’s democratic experiment, Mr. Lasch insisted, was “not the chance to rise in the social scale” but “the complete absence of a scale that clearly distinguished commoners from gentlemen.”

Twentieth-century capitalism, Mr. Lasch thought, had resulted in a perilous maldistribution of intelligence and competence; experts had usurped governance, while the value of practical experience had plummeted.

Mr. Lasch briefly came into vogue among conservatives during the Trump years, but they never grasped his central claim: that generating equality of competence would require economic redistribution.

In his 2011 book, Mr. DeSantis railed against the “‘leveling’ spirit” that threatens to take hold in a republic, especially among the lower orders. His principal target in the book is “redistributive justice,” by which he apparently means any effort at all to share the benefits of economic growth more equitably — whether using government power to provide for the poor or to guarantee health care, higher wages or jobs.

The essential ingredients of his worldview remain the same. Mr. DeSantis has adopted a populist idiom, but he has no more sympathy now than he did 12 years ago for the “‘leveling’ spirit” — the ethos of disdain for expertise that Mr. Trump embodied when he burst onto the national political stage in 2015. In fact, Mr. DeSantis’s posture represents a bulwark against it: an effort to convince G.O.P. voters that their enemies are cultural elites, rather than economic ones; that their liberty is imperiled, not by the existence of an oligarchy but by the oligarchs’ irksome cultural mores.

Mr. DeSantis has honed an agenda that attacks progressive orthodoxies where they are most likely to affect and annoy conservative elites: gay and trans inclusion in suburban schools, diversity and equity in corporate bureaucracies, Black studies in A.P. classes and universities. None of these issues have any appreciable impact on the opportunities afforded to ***working-class*** people. And yet conservative elites treat it as an article of faith that these issues will motivate the average Republican voter.

The conservative movement has staked its viability on the belief that Americans resent liberal elites because they’re “woke” and not because they wield so much power over other people’s lives. Their promise to replace the progressive elite with a conservative one — with men like Ron DeSantis — is premised on the idea that Americans are comfortable with the notion that only certain men are fit to rule.

Mr. Trump, despite what he sometimes represents, is no more likely than Mr. DeSantis to disrupt the American oligarchy. (As president, he largely let the plutocrats in his cabinet run the country.)

Few politicians on either side appear eager to unleash — rather than contain — America’s leveling spirit, to give every American the means and not merely the right to rule themselves.

To break through the elite standoff that is our culture war, politicians must resist the urge to designate a single leader or group of leaders, distinguished by their brilliance, to shoulder the hard work of making America great. It would mean taking seriously a proverb frequently quoted by Barack Obama but hardly embodied by his presidency: “We are the ones we’ve been waiting for.” It would also mean, to quote a line from the Scottish essayist Thomas Carlyle favored by Mr. Lasch, that the goal of our republic — of any republic — should be to build “a whole world of heroes.”

Sam Adler-Bell ([*@SamAdlerBell*](https://twitter.com/SamAdlerBell)) is a writer and a host of “Know Your Enemy,” a podcast about the conservative movement.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR8.

**Load-Date:** April 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The 2022 Race for the House, in Four Districts, and Four Polls***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66R0-WS01-JBG3-605H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 27, 2022 Thursday 12:57 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1894 words

**Byline:** Shane Goldmacher and Nate Cohn

**Highlight:** Swing-district polls by The New York Times and Siena College show how the midterm races are being shaped by larger, surprising forces, beyond the traditional red and blue divide.

**Body**

President Biden is unpopular everywhere. Economic concerns are mounting. Abortion rights are popular but social issues are more often secondary.

[*A new series of House polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/10/27/upshot/poll-crosstabs-ks03-nm02-nv01-pa08.html) by The New York Times and Siena College across four archetypal swing districts offers fresh evidence that Republicans are poised to retake Congress this fall as the party dominated among voters who care most about the economy.

Democrats continue to show resilience in places where abortion is still high on the minds of voters, and where popular incumbents are on the ballot. Indeed, the Democrats were still tied or ahead in all four districts — three of which were carried by Mr. Biden in 2020. But the party’s slim majority — control could flip if just five seats change hands — demands that it essentially run the table everywhere, at a moment when the economy has emerged as the driving issue in all but the country’s wealthier enclaves.

The poll results in the four districts — an upscale suburb in Kansas, the old industrial heartland of Pennsylvania, a fast-growing part of Las Vegas and a sprawling district along New Mexico’s southern border — offer deeper insights beyond the traditional Republican and Democratic divide in the race for Congress. They show how the midterm races are being shaped by larger and at times surprising forces that reflect the country’s ethnic, economic and educational realignment.

“The economy thing affects everyone while the social thing affects a minority,” said Victor Negron, a 30-year-old blackjack dealer who lives in Henderson, Nev., and who was planning to vote for the Republican vying to flip the seat from a Democratic incumbent. “If everyone’s doing good, then who cares what else everyone else is doing.”

In a polarized nation where more than 80 percent of House seats are entirely uncompetitive, the swing districts are, almost by definition, the competitive outliers. They are the rare places where Latino residents might vote Republican. Or blue-collar white voters are still winnable for Democrats. Or red-state suburbs could vote blue, or blue-state exurbs could go red.

In all four seats in Kansas, Pennsylvania, Nevada and New Mexico, the Democratic candidates were leading overwhelmingly among people who were more concerned with societal issues, garnering roughly 8 in 10 votes among voters who thought issues like abortion, guns and the state of democracy were most important to their vote. Similarly, the Republican candidates each won around 70 percent of the vote of those chiefly focused on the economy.

Which party was ahead on the ballot test was often a matter of what issues voters there prioritized.

In all four seats, most voters said they would prefer to vote for a candidate who thinks abortion should be mostly or always legal. But the issue’s power, relative to the economy, has appeared to fade in recent Times/Siena polling — except in the mostly highly educated and suburban battleground districts, and perhaps especially in the states where voters perceive abortion access at risk.

The challenge for Democrats is that resilience in well-educated suburbs or any other single kind of district will not be enough to hold the House. Weakness in just one kind of district, like rural Hispanic districts, could prove to be their undoing.

In 2020, Mr. Biden carried three of the four districts that were polled, yet today his approval rating does not top 44 percent in any of them, though the Democrats in all four seats were running ahead of the president’s poor ratings.

Voters in three of the four districts were more focused on economics than social issues. The lone exception — Kansas’ Third District, a suburban area outside Kansas City that is one of the most highly educated in the country — is the only seat where a majority of voters hold a college degree, a group that is generally more insulated from economic hardship. Across all four districts, voters with a college degree were 11 to 15 percentage points more likely to prioritize social issues than those who did not graduate from college.

“Even if a candidate now is not promising me low taxes or financial incentive, the social issues right now are just too big,” said Deborah Hoffman, a 56-year-old Republican and database administrator who lives in Shawnee, Kan. This year, she’s planning to vote for the Democrat: Representative Sharice Davids, who was leading her Republican challenger, Amanda Adkins, in the survey, 55 to 41 percent.

Years ago, no political observer would have guessed that the suburbs of Kansas City would count as a bright spot for Democrats. The area had voted for every Republican presidential candidate dating back nearly a century, including Mitt Romney in 2012.

The Kansas district was at the epicenter of the fallout from the Supreme Court’s decision overturning Roe v. Wade, as Kansas residents voted overwhelmingly to reject an initiative that would have ended abortion rights in the state. By a 61 to 25 percent margin, voters in the district say they would rather vote for a candidate who thinks abortion should be legal than illegal.

Over the last decade, American politics has realigned along educational lines, with highly educated areas lurching to the left and ***working-class*** districts trending to the right, opening the door for Republican breakthroughs in eastern Las Vegas, southern New Mexico and northeastern Pennsylvania. All of these areas backed Barack Obama in 2012 and countless Democrats before him.

In each of those three districts, around one-third of likely voters have a college degree. The economy was rated as the top issue.

Erika Horvath, 46, a single parent of two who has lived in downtown Las Vegas for five years, called this “the worst economy I’ve seen.” She said she was splitting her ticket this year but voting against Representative Dina Titus, the Democrat, and for her Republican challenger, Mark Robertson.

“It’s scary out here,” she added. “I haven’t seen this many looking for housing or jobs. Rents are way up.”

The survey showed that race tied at 47 percent — a stark turn for Ms. Titus, whose once solidly Democratic seat at the heart of Las Vegas has morphed into a battleground through a confluence of unfavorable demographic trends, a tough midterm environment and new district lines.

Hispanic voters in Las Vegas’s eastside neighborhoods swung as much as 15 or 20 points toward Donald J. Trump in 2020. Mr. Biden still carried the boundaries of Ms. Titus’s new seat, which is Nevada’s most Hispanic, by 8 points that year.

But the survey showed Ms. Titus leading only narrowly among nonwhite voters in the diverse district, 51 percent to 40 percent, well beneath the margins that traditionally made Nevada’s First a Democratic-leaning district.

In New Mexico’s Second District, Representative Yvette Herrell, a Republican, is hoping that trend will help her hang on, too. Her district was redrawn to be more Democratic. Donald Trump carried the old district by 12 points, and under the new lines, Mr. Biden would have won the seat by 6 points.

Ms. Herrell has depicted her Democratic challenger, Gabriel Vasquez, as prioritizing environmental goals over the oil and gas jobs held by many Hispanics in the region. The poll showed a virtual tie, with Mr. Vasquez ahead 48 percent to 47 percent.

“I have four kids and I have a wife and a family that I take care of,” said Isaiah Hernandez, a 32-year-old cleaner who lives in Albuquerque. “It’s a lot different when you have to provide for a family than when you’re on your own.” He is planning to vote for Ms. Herrell.

Tony Sena, a 52-year-old plumber who lives in Albuquerque, is also planning to vote Republican next month. “If you don’t have a good economy, nothing else is going to matter as much,” he said.

The results in another district suggest that strong House candidates can still defy national trends.

Pennsylvania’s Eighth District has been at the epicenter of the realignment of traditionally Democratic, white ***working-class*** voters to the Trump-led Republican Party, and Mr. Trump carried the district by 3 percentage points in 2020.

The district, which includes the city of Scranton, prioritized the economy the most of all four districts polled, which should benefit Republicans. And Mr. Biden’s approval rating was the lowest here, too, despite his Scranton roots.

Yet Representative Matt Cartwright, a Democrat, leads his repeat Republican challenger, Jim Bognet, 50 percent to 44 percent.

Mr. Cartwright held 13 percent support among voters who said they backed Mr. Trump in the last presidential election, the most crossover support of any candidate in the polls. And he pulled off something else unusual: Across all four races, Mr. Cartwright was the Democrat who was winning the largest share of the vote both among voters focused on social issues and those focused on the economy.

After Mr. Cartwright, Ms. Herrell had the second most crossover support, drawing 11 percent of Biden voters despite voting against certifying the 2020 presidential election. She claimed that the [*2018 race*](https://www.lcsun-news.com/story/news/2020/02/14/yvette-herrell-ad-claims-democrats-took-election-her-2018/4739095002/) was stolen from her, too.

Ms. Herrell’s election denialism might seem like a deal-breaker in a district that voted for Mr. Biden. But issues related to democracy did not appear to be a strong motivator in any of the districts surveyed.

Around one-third of voters in every district said it didn’t matter whether a candidate thought Mr. Biden or Mr. Trump won in 2020, including around half of independents. Relatively few voters preferred a candidate that believed Mr. Trump won the election, though the 22 percent who said as much in Ms. Herrell’s district was the highest of any of the four polls.

And while New Mexico’s Second may have voted for Mr. Biden, it is also conservative and rural in parts — one where the right kind of Republican can make a pitch.

Ms. Herrell “understands the struggles and she also understands that we are wanting to keep the culture,” said Katana Wolf, a 39-year-old who works in behavioral health and lives in Las Cruces. “It’s a culture that’s just Las Cruces here.”

The increasing educational divide that the poll showed also was apparent in interviews.

Kelly Lieberman, a 58-year-old who lives in Overland Park, a leafy Kansas City suburb, is hoping Democrats prevail this fall, just as progressives did in her state’s abortion referendum. “We showed the country: We are not all crazies over here,” she said. “We can make rational scientific based choices.” She added, “Republicans are so unscientific.”

In Shavertown, Pa., Eugene Gingo, a 79-year-old Republican retiree, expressed resentment about those who went to college and who might look down on him.

“They think that they’ve got a degree and they’re experts,” Mr. Gingo said. “You get some of these Ivy League graduates that know nothing about the Civil War but yet they’re going to tell me. Again, it’s insulting.”

Ms. Lieberman is voting Democrat. Mr. Gingo is going Republican.

Reporting was contributed by Kimberley McGee in Las Vegas; Carey Gillam in Overland Park, Kan.; and Jon Hurdle in Scranton, Pa. Ruth Igielnik, Kristen Bayrakdarian and Sadiba Hasan also contributed reporting and analysis.

Reporting was contributed by Kimberley McGee in Las Vegas; Carey Gillam in Overland Park, Kan.; and Jon Hurdle in Scranton, Pa. Ruth Igielnik, Kristen Bayrakdarian and Sadiba Hasan also contributed reporting and analysis.

This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** April 27, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Eric Adams Says He’s a Progressive. Democrats Beg to Differ.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:687C-7KC1-DXY4-X434-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 14, 2023 Sunday 14:04 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1817 words

**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Highlight:** Left-leaning New Yorkers say the mayor is moving the city in a more conservative direction on issues like policing, rent and providing shelter to those in need.

**Body**

Left-leaning New Yorkers say the mayor is moving the city in a more conservative direction on issues like policing, rent and providing shelter to those in need.

When a homeless man was choked to death on the New York City subway earlier this month by another passenger, Mayor Eric Adams had an uncharacteristically guarded response. For more than a week, he did not denounce the killing, as many of his Democratic colleagues immediately had, or express much sympathy for the victim, Jordan Neely.

Instead, the mayor chose a more detached view, noting that there were “serious mental issues in play here.”

“I was a former transit police officer, and I responded to many jobs where you had a passenger assisting someone,” he said on CNN. “And so we cannot just blatantly say what a passenger should or should not do in a situation like that.”

The mayor’s response was the most recent example of him tacking away from the city’s left, creating a wedge with some of his Democratic colleagues. Mr. Adams has been pushing more moderate, sometimes even conservative, views on issues like rent, religion and his signature theme, improving public safety — a sharp turn from his Democratic predecessor, Bill de Blasio, and from progressive leaders who have recently won mayoral elections in cities like Chicago and Los Angeles.

The latest example came on Wednesday, when Mr. Adams [*issued an executive order*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/10/nyregion/nyc-right-to-shelter-migrants.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&amp;referringSource=articleShare) temporarily suspending some of the rules related to the city’s longstanding right-to-shelter mandate, as officials struggle to find housing for asylum seekers arriving from the southern border. The move was criticized by advocates for the homeless and Democratic officials like Adrienne Adams, the City Council speaker.

The mayor has spoken ruefully about the [*separation of church and state*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/28/nyregion/eric-adams-religion-church.html), [*supported charter school expansion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/21/nyregion/nyc-charter-schools.html) and called for reducing the flow of migrants in [*rhetoric that critics have called xenophobic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/02/nyregion/adams-migrants-asylum-nyc.html). He has also proposed budget cuts that could [*hurt key services such as libraries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/11/nyregion/library-funding-cuts-eric-adams.html), arguing that all city agencies must be fiscally prudent at a time when the city’s cost of the spiraling migrant crisis is expected to be well over $1 billion — a factor that was not in play for previous mayors.

And last week, the mayoral-controlled Rent Guidelines Board proposed another year of sizable increases for the city’s roughly one million rent-stabilized apartments — the highest back-to-back increases since Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg was in office.

Left-leaning Democrats question whether Mr. Adams’s approach — sometimes more akin to Mr. Bloomberg or even the former Republican mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani — is appropriate for New York, one of the most liberal cities in the nation. But the mayor says that his brand of pragmatic politics is exactly what the city needs, and what his core constituency of ***working-class*** New Yorkers wants.

“It’s not comfortable for people when they can’t put you in this box,” Mr. Adams, the city’s second Black mayor, said in an interview. “I said from the time that I was running that people are not going to be able to fit me in a box.”

He acknowledged that some of his views are considered conservative, but said that others were “extremely liberal,” pointing to his [*support for free buses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/19/nyregion/free-buses-nyc.html) and tax credits for poor New Yorkers. Mr. Adams, who grew up in the Church of Christ, said that many Democrats were religious and that his supporters agreed with his beliefs on faith and other issues.

“The overwhelming number of New Yorkers know that this guy is trying his darnedest to fix the problems in this city and that’s what we’re focused on,” he said.

Mr. Adams emerged from a crowded field of Democratic contenders in the 2021 mayoral race as the most prominent and well-funded moderate candidate, focusing almost exclusively on a public safety message at a time when New Yorkers were anxious about crime. He won the primary by a slim margin — only 7,197 votes — under a new ranked-choice voting system where Mr. Adams was spared a primary runoff.

As mayor, Mr. Adams has mostly lived up to his campaign promises. He has been a charismatic cheerleader for the city as it recovers from the pandemic, keeping a relentless schedule of news conferences and community events. He has pushed for tighter bail restrictions, increased the city’s police presence, [*delighted in killing rats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/nyregion/rat-czar-kathleen-corradi.html) and is not bashful about enjoying [*a night on the town*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/22/nyregion/eric-adams-la-baia-zero-bond.html).

Many Democrats in New York City are Black and Latino voters who may well support much of the mayor’s agenda, including his emphasis on faith. Mr. Adams has maintained strong support among Black voters at 52 percent, even as his overall approval rating fell to 37 percent, according to a [*Quinnipiac University poll in February*](https://poll.qu.edu/poll-release?releaseid=3865). Black voters were also more supportive of the mayor’s handling of crime and homelessness than white voters.

But some voters have been disappointed by his new direction for the city. Mr. Adams has [*removed homeless encampments*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/30/nyregion/nyc-homeless-eric-adams.html), pledged to [*remove mentally ill people from the streets involuntarily*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/29/nyregion/nyc-mentally-ill-involuntary-custody.html), defended the use of stop-and-frisk policing and [*resisted calls to close the Rikers Island jail complex*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/08/nyregion/ny-city-council-rikers-budget-adams.html) by 2027. He was also endorsed by the city’s major police union, only a year after the [*group backed President Donald J. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/14/nyregion/ny-police-unions-racial-disparity-trump.html)’s re-election bid, and recently provided officers with generous raises as part of a new eight-year, $5.5 billion labor contract.

In the Crown Heights and East New York neighborhoods of Brooklyn, reaction to Mr. Adams’s performance was mixed. Older voters tended to support the mayor, praising his effort, his energy and his devotion to public safety.

“He’s fighting for the city, keeping the city cleaner, there’s plenty of police all around,” said Garfield Miller, 65, a carpenter who lives in East New York, and said he voted for Mr. Adams. Vibert David, 66, and his brother, Asworth David, 65, also voted for Mr. Adams, and said they would enthusiastically do so again.

“You got to be visible,” Vibert David said. “As an old officer, he’s doing good.”

But others accused the mayor of trying to solve everything with more police, and said he was not doing enough to ease the city’s problems with homelessness, mental illness and lack of affordable housing.

“He parties at 3 a.m. when he’s supposed to be helping the city,” said Ineze Thompson, 25, a barista who lives in Washington Heights in Manhattan.

On Friday, Mr. Adams was confronted with more direct blowback: When he began speaking at the CUNY School of Law graduation ceremony, many graduates [*turned their backs*](https://twitter.com/taliaotg/status/1657049086971850752?s=61&amp;t=e_PKPD5mSSlAeNnsQP5ujA) to him.

“When the mayor is cutting things like libraries and schools, it really begs the question: Who is the constituency who he feels accountable to, and what is the legacy he wants to leave behind?” said Sochie Nnaemeka, the director of the Working Families Party in New York.

The Working Families Party and other progressive Democrats have made great strides in New York, winning seats and pushing a left-leaning agenda on the City Council and in the State Legislature. Earlier this year, progressive lawmakers were even were able to nix Gov. Kathy Hochul’s nominee for the state’s top judge, Justice Hector D. LaSalle, [*because of fears*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/18/nyregion/chief-judge-lasalle-hearing.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&amp;referringSource=articleShare) that he was too conservative. But they have also been frustrated on some key issues because the two most influential elected officials in New York, Ms. Hochul and Mr. Adams, often do not align with their views.

Mr. Adams, who was a registered Republican in the 1990s, is friendly with Republicans and the real estate industry, appearing regularly on a conservative radio show. He chides “woke” members of his party and recently named Jimmy Oddo, a Republican, to head the Buildings Department, replacing another Republican who held the job.

The mayor has [*quarreled with left-leaning leaders*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/09/nyregion/aoc-eric-adams.html), including Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, though they appeared to reach a détente in March when Ms. Ocasio-Cortez visited Gracie Mansion for dinner. But after Mr. Neely’s death, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez accused Mr. Adams of reaching a “new low” in his stoic response.

“Killing the mentally ill is wrong,” Ms. Ocasio-Cortez [*wrote on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/AOC/status/1654171759736651776?s=20). “Why is that so hard to say?”

Some Democrats believe that Mr. Adams will face a challenge from the left in 2025, and their hopes were buoyed by recent mayoral victories by Karen Bass in Los Angeles and Brandon Johnson in Chicago, who were both endorsed by the progressive Working Families Party. Running against a “tough on crime” candidate, Mr. Johnson [*won on a public safety message that went beyond policing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/04/us/elections/chicago-mayor-election-brandon-johnson.html), focusing on youth employment and mental health services.

“Eric Adams’s bluster and rhetorical style has caught a lot of people’s attention, but his policy positions are deeply out of step with what most big, blue-city voters want,” said Anna Bahr, a Democratic political strategist who worked on the Bass and Johnson campaigns.

Some of Mr. Adams’s rhetoric may have frayed his relationship with President Biden. After the mayor harshly criticized the president’s handling of the migrant crisis, his name was quietly removed this week from an initial list of [*national surrogates for Mr. Biden’s re-election campaign*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2023/03/02/biden-democratic-stars-unity-campaign/).

The mayor has, at times, seemed to acquiesce to the criticism. On Wednesday, the mayor delivered a speech designed to soften his stance on Mr. Neely’s death, called for more help for homeless New Yorkers, and said clearly for the first time that “Jordan Neely did not deserve to die.”

Two days later, Daniel Penny, a Marine veteran who applied the chokehold to Mr. Neely, [*was charged*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/12/nyregion/daniel-penny-arrest-jordan-neely.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&amp;referringSource=articleShare) with second-degree manslaughter, and Mr. Adams welcomed the news, saying, “now justice can move forward against Daniel Penny.”

In the interview, Mr. Adams said that he identifies as progressive — just not the brand embodied by the Democratic Socialists of America. In fact, he said that the “far left” had won major successes during his administration on issues like the environment, including citywide composting, and programs to assist young people involved in the justice system.

Mr. Adams has also been a vocal supporter of abortion rights and Democratic social issues. During his campaign, he [*crafted a plan to help poor people*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/20/nyregion/nyc-mayor-candidates-ideas.html), through tax credits, low cost child care and a new website to access city benefits, and he is [*following through on those measures*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/nyregion/mycity-child-care-adams.html).

“I am a combination of just about every mayor, from Koch to Dinkins — I’m skipping over Giuliani — to Bloomberg to de Blasio,” he said. “I’m a combination of all those guys because I learned from all of them.”

Liset Cruz and Nate Schweber contributed reporting.

Liset Cruz and Nate Schweber contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Mayor Eric Adams says that some people find him objectionable because they can’t “fit me in a box.” Right, a memorial for Jordan Neely, a homeless man who was choked to death on the subway. Mr. Adams had been criticized for failing to condemn the killing. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AHMED GABER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

**Load-Date:** May 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Best Genre Movies of 2022***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6747-5K71-JBG3-612C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 19, 2022 Monday 11:17 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1073 words

**Byline:** Elisabeth Vincentelli, Erik Piepenburg, Robert Daniels and Devika Girish

**Highlight:** We look at the best in horror, science fiction, action and international films, all available to stream.

**Body**

We look at the best in horror, science fiction, action and international films, all available to stream.

Ready to go some gooey or gory places? Or see an expert performer navigate action films in an original way? Or perhaps you’d like to explore two knockout docs from around the world? Our genre movie streaming columnists have made their picks for the best of the year. Some movies you will have heard of. Others will be new to your view. Either way, prepare to head out on adventure with these across-the-spectrum offerings.

Science Fiction

For David Cronenberg, the call is always coming from inside the house: It is the body that attacks, betrays, seduces, takes over. Impervious to the subjects agitating current science-fiction movies (alternative universes, artificial intelligence, a dying Earth), the Canadian director went back to familiar turf with his latest, in which people mutate in unpredictable ways. Cronenberg has always known that the true frontier is not space but the evolution of flesh, consciousness and machine.

In [*“Crimes of the Future,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eSVG5Ar4674&amp;feature=youtu.be) Saul Tenser (Viggo Mortensen) keeps growing new tumors that his acolyte, Caprice (Léa Seydoux), excises in public, via a repurposed autopsy device. The visual effects are not much more sophisticated than those in the director’s similarly themed “Videodrome” (1983) and “Existenz” (1999), but the squishy organic feel is exactly what makes the new film stand out from run-of-the-mill C.G.I. fests. That and, of course, its tone, coldly detached and darkly comic, as exemplified by Kristen Stewart’s deliciously arch turn as a fan of Tenser’s body artistry.

“Everyone wants to be a performance artist these days,” we are told, and the movie zeros in on our narcissism, need for attention and terminal cynicism. Beyond the gross-out close-ups of puckering organs, what is most striking here is a rare cinematic quality nowadays: perversity. — ELISABETH VINCENTELLI

[*Stream “Crimes of the Future” on Hulu.*](https://www.hulu.com/movie/crimes-of-the-future-ad499c6b-8223-4caa-b533-8ad173a9fcea)

Horror

My favorite horror movies this year laid off the flashy effects and instead gave me the unshakable willies the unshowy way: with creeping dread and uncertain stillness. That’s how [*“Watcher,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awZTfjPrYJw) [*“We’re All Going to the World’s Fair”*](https://youtu.be/y0AnGfzgh_w) and [*“The Innocents”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hm45yGSwArY) did it.

But oh man, [*“The Sadness.”*](https://www.shudder.com/movies/watch/the-sadness/3dac068cf7971998) Rob Jabbaz’s transgressive zombie film was bombastically directed and exhaustingly gory — in other words, the year’s most gloriously brutal horror-watching experience.

It’s set in Taipei, where [*two young lovers*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BWFXnF5ClWQ) (Berant Zhu and Regina Lei) fight to reunite after a contagion turns people into sexually voracious flesh destroyers. The carnage almost never lets up, and it’s jaw-dropping to watch — like when the hungry infected turn a crowded subway car into a preposterously blood-slick Slip ‘N Slide. This scene, like the film overall, is demented and repulsive but also — and here’s the curveball — uncompromisingly feminist. It’s not easy to get a message across when the mayhem surrounding it is this maximalist, but Jabbaz figured it out.

Listen to me carefully: If you’re at all iffy about being grossed out, stay away from this film. But if your constitution is solid, I dare you to jump into its exquisitely gruesome, grimly satirical maelstrom. — ERIK PIEPENBURG

[*Stream “The Sadness” on Shudder*](https://www.shudder.com/movies/watch/the-sadness/3dac068cf7971998).

Action

Between Matt Reeves’ gripping neo-noir [*“The Batman”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u34gHaRiBIU) and Steven Soderbergh’s unnerving surveillance thriller [*“KIMI,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Gr2zXuEBL0) this year the actress Zoë Kravitz ruled the action genre. Her reign is uniquely impressive when one considers the disparate requirements of each role.

As Selina Kyle/Catwoman in “The Batman,” the agile, shadowy equal to the caped crusader, she moves with a slender yet muscular physicality. As seen in her knowing runway stride, sultry possibilities become real and hand-to-hand confrontations are rendered acrobatic as Kravitz gracefully leaps and dives against thugs.

Playing Angela, a blue-haired tech employee confined to her home office in “KIMI,” the actress turns in her former fluidity for an antisocial rigidity as she becomes the target of a predatory company intent on covering up the crime she discovered. In contrast to the skintight leather suit she wears as Catwoman, Kravitz packs a different but no less formidable punch in her long loose coat as she evades her pursuers during a series of arresting chase scenes.

And yet, what binds these seemingly conflicting performances is how Kravitz’s expressive eyes translate the assuredness of Catwoman and the savviness of Angela. They’re a confirmation of her range as today’s premiere Black woman action hero. — ROBERT DANIELS

Stream both [*“The Batman”*](https://play.hbomax.com/page/urn:hbo:page:GYiDbSAmIpMNvYAEAAAAI:type:feature) and [*“KIMI”*](https://play.hbomax.com/page/urn:hbo:page:GYeB2LgKJ1cIOjAEAAABQ:type:feature) on HBO Max.

International

Every month, as I compile international films for my column, I confront the arbitrariness of the boundaries that determine what we consider familiar and foreign, the home and the world. My two favorite films this year, both documentaries by women, challenge these delineations. In [*“A Night of Knowing Nothing”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3PTimpr_W8) by Payal Kapadia, a fictional voice-over narration, chronicling the dissolve of the speaker’s inter-caste relationship, coalesces a series of twilit scenes of college life in India that range from nocturnal revels to protests against an increasingly repressive government. Culminating with CCTV footage of baton-wielding police descending upon a library full of students, the film shatters the fictions of democracy: The will of the people means little to the weapons of the state.

In Alice Diop’s [*“We,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7CizkuFXQXg) a train route that connects Paris’s suburbs to the city center forms the spine for the film’s intimate, itinerant glimpses of the ***working-class*** immigrants who live on the outskirts of France’s capital. Diop’s cinematic map bursts the contours of French identity and recenters them around those relegated to its margins.

Each film, a whole fashioned from disparate pieces, asks us to re-envision the nation itself: as a collective forged out of solidarity rather than superficial similarities. — DEVIKA GIRISH

Stream [*“A Night of Knowing Nothing” on the Criterion Channel*](https://www.criterionchannel.com/a-night-of-knowing-nothing). Stream [*“We” on Mubi*](https://mubi.com/films/nous-2021).

PHOTOS: Top left, Viggo Mortensen and Léa Seydoux in “Crimes of the Future.” Top right, Regina Lei in “The Sadness.” Center, a scene from the documentary “We (Nous).” Above, Zoë Kravitz and Robert Pattinson in “The Batman,” directed by Matt Reeves. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NIKOS NIKOLOPOULOS/NEON; FREDRICK LIU/MACHI XCELSIOR STUDIOS/SHUDDER/AMC; MUBI; JONATHAN OLLEY/WARNER BROS. PICTURES) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** December 29, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Politics, Police, Pozole: The Battle for Sunset Park***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:687C-7KC1-DXY4-X43S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 14, 2023 Sunday 14:02 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1719 words

**Byline:** John Leland and Lexi Parra

**Highlight:** An impromptu street market in a Brooklyn park was a lifeline for immigrants during the pandemic. But then came complaints and conflicts, and then the police.

**Body**

For Sonia Cortes, the battle for Sunset Park began with soup. Two years ago, after the pandemic wiped out her job as a seamstress, Ms. Cortes started selling [*pozole*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1016476-pozole), a brothy Mexican soup, in the [*park*](https://www.nycgovparks.org/parks/sunset-park), a 25-acre swath of green in southwestern Brooklyn. On a good Sunday, she could make $600 or $700. “I was able to pay my rent,” she said.

By last fall, the Sunday market had grown to more than 80 vendors, mostly immigrant women selling Mexican street food and wares to large weekend crowds. They called it [*Plaza Tonatiuh*](https://www.instagram.com/plazatonatiuh/), after an Aztec sun god. Every Sunday, there were musicians and children’s activities; there were political education sessions, led by the market’s organizers, members of an activist group called Mexicanos Unidos, discussing Mao Zedong’s “Five Golden Rays” or Frantz Fanon’s anticolonialist “[*The Wretched of the Earth*](https://groveatlantic.com/book/the-wretched-of-the-earth/).”

Then last month, police and parks enforcement officers moved to shut down the market, citing community complaints and the fact that Plaza Tonatiuh did not have a permit. On Easter Sunday, dozens of officers [*clashed violently with vendors and organizers*](https://twitter.com/i/status/1645566156743544833), who locked arms in resistance. Two people were arrested.

“The police hurt us,” said Ms. Cortes, who said she got pushed around in the fray. “They were violent toward us,” she said. “We weren’t selling, and they still took us out.” A police spokesperson said the crowd blocked efforts to reach one of the Plaza members, and someone punched a parks officer.

Without the market, Ms. Cortes said she now has $2,000 in bills she cannot pay. As she saw it, the closing of the Plaza pitted the city against some of its most vulnerable residents, who were simply trying to survive.

“They’ve taken bread off our table,” she said.

Samuel Sierra, who has been using the park for five decades, took a different view of the Plaza. Last summer, he was distributing get-out-the-vote pamphlets for the Democratic County Committee when three of the Plaza Tonatiuh organizers told him he had to leave.

“They were very aggressive,” Mr. Sierra said. “There’s a feeling like they own the area.” He added that he was not against vendors. “They have a right to prosper,” he said. “But it shouldn’t be at the expense of the community.”

In a city where shared resources are scarce, who controls public space? Is a market of 80 vendors a bootstrap response to economic hardship? Or is it a private takeover of a neighborhood park?

The neighborhood Sunset Park is home to large ***working-class*** Asian and Latino populations, bordered by Park Slope on the north and Bay Ridge on the south. The development known as Industry City, along the neighborhood’s western edge, has brought an influx of new money and tensions over gentrification. The park itself brings together all the population groups, with grassy expanses and views of the Statue of Liberty and Lower Manhattan.

Following the Easter confrontation, Alexa Avilés, who represents Sunset Park on the City Council, called a community meeting that quickly became contentious. Vendors and organizers waved signs reading “Decriminalize Street Vendors” and “We Want Cops Out of Our Park,” and called upon elected officials to come up with a solution. Two young children started to describe being in the park during the police sweep, but they stopped in tears.

Then at a signal from Brian Garita, a founder of Plaza Tonatiuh, the vendors and organizers all walked out.

“Comrades, we said what we wanted to say,” Mr. Garita told the group outside the meeting. “There was no reason for us to stay there.”

Mr. Garita, 26, sees the Plaza as a step toward a broader radical movement. Critics say he is the problem, an outsider pursuing an ideological agenda.

Mr. Garita, who also uses the first name Leo, has a master’s degree in public administration and urban development and sustainability, and he works four days a week as a barista in Prospect Heights, Brooklyn. Though he said he grew up in Sunset Park, he now lives in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn. “I was displaced,” he said.

In the park, he is the guy with the bullhorn.

In the spring of 2020, he was working at a nonprofit organization in the Bronx when the murder of a Mexican American soldier named [*Vanessa Guillén*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/vanessa-guillen-fort-hood.html) at Fort Hood in Texas set off demonstrations around the country. From these demonstrations, Mr. Garita helped start Mexicanos Unidos to connect the protests over Ms. Guillén’s murder with other movements, including Black Lives Matter.

The following March, he focused on the vendors in Sunset Park, organizing them into a unified market and holding political education sessions.

“We talk about the things that are going on around us, these patterns of colonialism, gentrification, oppressor and oppressed,” said Roy Baizan, one of the organizers, who comes to the park from the Bronx.

But as the market grew, neighbors started to complain, Ms. Avilés said. Many vendors used open flames, which are banned in the park, and she said that residents objected that it was hard to pass through the market.

“Also, we started to get some vendors who felt intimidated by the tactics of the organizers,” she added. Some vendors complained that they had to pay to be part of the Plaza.

“I’m sympathetic,” said Ms. Avilés, a Democrat who belongs to the [*Democratic Socialists of America*](https://bklyner.com/brooklyns-democratic-socialists-who-are-they-and-what-do-they-want/). “My aunt used to make clothes and we would sell them on the street. But this is public space, and there were real tensions with commandeering public space and controlling it. You can’t do that.”

Benito Bravo, who runs children’s folkloric dance performances in the park, said a Plaza Tonatiuh organizer told him last year during a Day of the Dead performance that he had to leave.

“He told me, ‘If you don’t go out, I’ll have to call my people,” Mr. Bravo said. “Thirty people came up to me saying, ‘If you don’t go, it will be problems for you.’ They were in my face, and all my kids are crying.”

During one clash with parks enforcement officers last year, Mr. Garita threw a plate of food and was charged with assault in the second degree. The charge was dismissed this month because he was not given a speedy trial.

Mr. Garita said the Plaza does not charge vendors to participate, but all had to be approved to be part of the Plaza. He made no apologies for keeping some people out of the market. But despite his vocal presence within Plaza Tonatiuh, Mr. Garita has no authority over who may or may not use the park.

“The people that we have been confrontational with have only been opportunistic people,” Mr. Garita said. “People who are electioneering, who come to the park and press these candidates that no one’s ever seen. We don’t support that type of electioneering tactic. We’ve been confrontational with people who come to promote themselves. This is a collective thing, and we have to support the whole before the parts.”

Critics of the Plaza say the organizers are putting vendors — many of them undocumented immigrants — at risk, provoking clashes with law enforcement.

“They’re using these vendors to make a broader point about law enforcement, about bureaucratic processes, a whole bunch of things,” said Andrew Gounardes, the Democratic state senator whose district includes Sunset Park. “And the vendors are the ones caught in the middle.”

Edwin Rodriguez, NYC Parks’s assistant commissioner for urban park service, said that for the past two years, outreach to vendors on the permitting process has been met with aggression, particularly from several of the organizers. “From an enforcement perspective,” Mr. Rodriguez said, “the vendors have been very peaceful, while the organizers have not, playing an oversized role in crowd agitation.”

Vendors say the city’s permitting process is too onerous. The city capped the number of permits back in the 1980s, with little growth since then, said Mohamed Attia, managing director of the [*Street Vendor Project*](http://streetvendor.org/) at the Urban Justice Center, so most of the city’s estimated 20,000 vendors operate without the required permits or licenses. Since the pandemic, he said, the number of vendors has soared, and so has the number of tickets issued, which can carry a fine of $1,000.

On a recent Sunday, a few dozen vendors and organizers gathered in an industrial building near Sunset Park for a private version of the Plaza, with children’s activities and food. A D.J. played Latin and pop music, vendors offered food and T-shirts, and a woman led a tea-making workshop. Without the park’s crowds — or exposure to police — the gathering was more social than economic.

Blanca Nicolas and her daughter, Ariana Garcia, prepared elotes — ears of corn slathered with lime juice and mayonnaise, then sprinkled with red chili pepper and cheese — for sale to other vendors and organizers.

Ms. Nicolas said she appreciated the organizers’ political agenda. “We learn more about what we can do,” she said. And selling in the market had made her 12-year-old son more outgoing, she said.

Ms. Avilés, the City Council member, said she was working to find other places for the Plaza — maybe a closed street, maybe smaller-scale markets in different parts of the neighborhood.

Mr. Garita said he, too, was looking for other venues. But in the meantime, he was working with lawyers to expand the project to include a workers’ cooperative, and then an ad hoc credit union, or [*tanda*](https://www.thebalancemoney.com/how-do-tandas-work-4582180). “We’re even looking ahead to seeing if we can run a candidate in Sunset Park in the future,” he said.

Ms. Cortes, with her $2,000 in unpaid bills, tried to remain optimistic. For two years, she and the other vendors had managed to survive the turmoil caused by the pandemic. Now, if they returned to the market that had sustained them, they risked arrest or confrontation. Yet they needed the income to stay afloat.

“We’re going to go back to selling,” she said. “God willing.”

Jo Corona and Lexi Parra contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top right: fresh tortillas; a traditional Mexican necklace; churros in a vendor’s cart; bows on a vendor’s table. (MB1); Top, a birthday celebration last Sunday at the indoor Plaza Tonatiuh location. Center row: Brian Garita, right, a founder of Plaza Tonatiuh who also goes by Leo, at a protest in Sunset Park last month; and a vendor, left, showing support for the Plaza. Above, Sonia Cortes selling pozole last Sunday (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LEXI PARRA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MB5) This article appeared in print on page MB1, MB5.

**Load-Date:** May 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Where Do Republicans Go From Here?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60JD-NBB1-DXY4-X0B6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 9, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 2780 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

Jonathan V. Last thinks President Trump is here forever. Last, the editor of The Bulwark, a conservative site that's been hostile to Trump, argues that if Trump loses in November, he'll claim he was cheated out of the election. He'll force other Republicans to back up his claim. He'll get a TV show, hold rallies, be coy about running again in 2024.

He'll still be the center of everything Republican. Ambitious Republicans will have to lash themselves to the husk of the dying czar if they want to have any future in the party. The whole party will go Trump-crazed and brain-dead for another four years.

I salute Last for coming up with a post-2020 scenario even more pessimistic than my own!

My guess is that if Trump gets crushed in the election, millions of Republicans will decide they never liked that loser and jerk anyway. He'll get relegated to whatever bargain basement they are using to hold Sarah Palin. But something will remain: Trumpism.

The basic Trump worldview -- on immigration, trade, foreign policy, etc. -- will shape the G.O.P. for decades, the way the basic Reagan worldview did for decades. A thousand smarter conservatives will be building a new party after 2020, but one that builds from the framework Trump established.

I think Trumpism will survive Trump because the history of the modern Republican Party is the history of paradigm shifts.

If you came of age with conservative values and around Republican politics in the 1980s and 1990s, you lived within a certain Ronald Reagan-Margaret Thatcher paradigm. It was about limiting government, spreading democracy abroad, building dynamic free markets at home and cultivating people with vigorous virtues -- people who are energetic, upright, entrepreneurial, independent-minded, loyal to friends and strong against foes.

For decades conservatives were happy to live in that paradigm. But as years went by many came to see its limits. It was so comprehensively anti-government that it had no way to use government to solve common problems. It was so focused on cultivating strong individuals that it had no language to cultivate a sense of community and belonging. So, if you were right of center, you leapt. You broke from the Reagan paradigm and tried to create a new, updated conservative paradigm.

My own leap came early. On Sept. 15, 1997, William Kristol and I wrote a piece for The Wall Street Journal on what we called National Greatness Conservatism. We argued that the G.O.P. had become too anti-government. ''How can Americans love their nation if they hate its government?'' we asked. Only a return to the robust American nationalism of Alexander Hamilton, Henry Clay and Theodore Roosevelt would do: ambitious national projects, infrastructure, federal programs to increase social mobility.

The closest National Greatness Conservatism came to influencing the party was John McCain's 2000 presidential bid. He was defeated by a man, George W. Bush, who made his own leap, to Compassionate Conservatism. (You know somebody has made a paradigm leap when he or she starts adding some modifying word or phrase before ''Conservatism.'') This was an attempt to meld Catholic social teaching to conservatism.

There were many other leaps over the decades. Sam's Club Republicans, led by Reihan Salam and my Times colleague Ross Douthat, pointed a way to link the G.O.P. to ***working-class*** concerns. Front Porch Republicans celebrated small towns and local communities. The Reformicons tried to use government to build strong families and neighborhoods. The Niskanen Center is an entire think tank for people who have leapt from libertarianism.

Most actual Republican politicians rejected all of this. They stuck, mostly through dumb inertia, to an anti-government zombie Reaganism long after Reagan was dead and even though the nation's problems were utterly different from what they were when he was alive. Year after year, G.O.P. politicians clung to a dead paradigm, ran the same anti-Washington campaigns and had no positive governing philosophy once they got there.

Steve Bannon's leap finally did what none of us could do. Donald Trump and Bannon took a low-rent strand of conservatism -- class-based ethnic nationalism -- that had always been locked away in the basement of the American right, and overturned the Reagan paradigm.

Bannon and Trump got the emotions right. They understood that Republican voters were no longer motivated by a sense of hope and opportunity; they were motivated by a sense of menace, resentment and fear. At base, many Republicans felt they were being purged from their own country -- by the educated elite, by multiculturalism, by militant secularism.

During the 2016 presidential campaign, Trump and Bannon discarded the Republican orthodoxy -- entitlement reform, fiscal restraint, free trade, comprehensive immigration reform. They embraced a European-style blood-and-soil conservatism. Close off immigration. Close trade. We have nothing to offer the world and should protect ourselves from its dangers.

It would have been interesting if Trump had governed as a big-government populist. But he tossed Bannon out and handed power to Jared Kushner and a bunch of old men locked in the Reagan paradigm. We got bigotry, incompetence and tax cuts for the wealthy.

But by defeating the Reagan paradigm, Trump and Bannon gave permission to a lot of Republican politicians to make their own leaps. Over the last three years, it's been interesting to watch a series of Republican officeholders break free from old orthodoxies and begin to think afresh. You could see their eyes get wider: Suddenly I can think for myself. The range of possibilities is wider than I thought it was.

Their newfound liberation didn't extend to crossing Trump, but because the president's political vision isn't exactly what you'd call fleshed out, there's a lot of running room within his paradigm.

The post-2020, post-Trump Republican future is contained in those leaps. And that future is embodied by a small group of Republican senators in their 40s, including Marco Rubio, Josh Hawley, Tom Cotton and Ben Sasse. They all came of age when Reaganism was already in the rearview mirror. Though populist, three of them have advanced degrees from Harvard or Yale. They are not particularly close to one another. They may be joined by a common experience, but they are divided by ambition.

Each has a different vision of where the country should go, but they start with certain common Trumpian premises:

Everything is not OK. The free market is not working well. Wages are stagnant. Too much power is in the hands of the corporate elites. Middle America is getting screwed. Finance capitalism is unbalanced. American society is in abject decline. If Reaganism was ''Let's be free,'' the new mood is ''Take control.''

Economic libertarianism is not the answer. Free markets alone won't solve our problems. G.D.P. growth alone is not the be-all and end-all of politics. We need policies to shore up the conservative units of society -- family, neighborhood, faith, nation. We need policies that build solidarity, not just liberty.

The ***working class*** is the heart of the Republican Party. Once, businesspeople and entrepreneurs were at the center of the Republican imagination. Now it's clear that the party needs to stop catering to the corporate class and start focusing on the shop owners, the plumbers, the salaried workers. It needs to emphasize the dignity of work and honor those who are not trying to make millions, not looking for handouts, but just want to build middle-class lives in a stable social order. In Britain, the Conservative Party has built a majority around the ***working class***, and that's what Republicans need to do here.

China changes everything. The rise of a 1.4-billion-person authoritarian superpower means that free trade no longer works because the Chinese are not playing by the same rules. The U.S. government cannot just stand back and let China control the new technologies. ''Republicans are going to have to get used to the idea of industrial policy to counter China, at least in a few key industries,'' Mike Gallagher, a rising star among House Republicans, told me.

The managerial class betrays America. Many of the post-Reagan positions seem like steps to the left. But these Republicans combine a greater willingness to use government with a greater hostility to the managerial class. The solution to too much corporate power is not handing power to Elizabeth Warren and a cloud of federal regulators. There's a difference between empowering workers and empowering the Washington elite.

From these common premises the four senators go off in different directions.

Rubio bases his vision in Catholic social teaching. A year ago, he wrote an essay for First Things titled, ''What Economics Is For,'' arguing that the purpose of markets is not growth but allowing each person to find dignity in work. He followed that up with a speech at Catholic University calling for ''common-good capitalism'' (remember what I said about modifying phrases) in which he criticized contemporary capitalism for its obsessive focus on maximizing shareholder value.

His basic position is that American capitalism has become too much about finance. It needs to be balanced toward manufacturing. He, too, supports a ''pro-American industrial policy'' to meet the Chinese challenge.

Hawley is the most populist of the group. His core belief is that middle-class Americans have been betrayed by elites on every level -- political elites, cultural elites, financial elites. The modern leadership class has one set of values -- globalization, cosmopolitanism -- and the Middle Americans have another set -- family, home, rootedness, nation. Corporate elites have concentrated so much power that they now crush the yeomen masses.

Last November, Hawley gave a speech in which he sought to overturn the last 70 years of Republican foreign policy. He contended that the right had erred in trying to spread American values abroad. ''Imperial domination violates our principles and it threatens our character. Our aim must be to prevent imperialism, not to exercise it; to stop domination, not foster it,'' he said.

Cotton has a less developed political vision but a more developed attitude: hawkishness. Whether it's China, the left, immigration or Big Tech, Cotton is hawkish. He sees a world threatened by disorder and gravitates toward the toughest positions in order to ward off threat. He is the most vocal foe of the Chinese ''pariah state.'' He wants sharp reductions in legal immigration.

Sasse is the most sociological of the crew. He is a Tocquevillian localist, who notes that most normal Americans go days without thinking of national politics. His vision is centered on the small associations -- neighborhood groups, high school football teams, churches and community centers -- where people find their greatest joys, satisfactions and supports. Government's job, he says, is to ''create a framework of ordered liberty'' so that people can make their family and neighborhood the center of their lives.

He is the most suspicious of government and politics today. ''I think politicians are arsonists,'' he told me over the phone last month. ''The main thing the G.O.P. does is try to light the Democrats on fire, and the main thing the Democrats do is light the Republicans on fire. That's why there's so little trust in politics.''

Behind these public figures there is a posse of policy wonks and commentators supporting a new ***Working-Class*** Republicanism, including Oren Cass, Henry Olsen, J.D. Vance, Michael Brendan Dougherty, Saagar Enjeti, Samuel Hammond and, in his own way, Tucker Carlson.

Cass, for example, has created a new think tank, the American Compass, to push the G.O.P. in a post-Trump direction. Cass, a former adviser to Mitt Romney, argues that free-market economists pay too much attention to G.D.P. growth. What matters is the kind of growth and whether it allows people to lead stable lives. He says there's too much emphasis on consumption. People should be seen as producers, and government should create the kind of jobs that allow people to earn dignity through work.

He says the core of the economy is the industrial economy: manufacturing, transportation, infrastructure -- making things in the physical world. ''Investment in our economy has completely discounted the making of stuff,'' he told me in a recent interview. ''You have a V.C. industry that goes entirely to software. Private equity financial flow is about buying and trading companies.'' Government needs to engage in ''predistribution,'' to steer investment to manufacturing, and also to those Middle American parts of the country that are currently left out.

''The American labor force cannot be changed into what the economy wants,'' Cass says. ''We have to change the economy to what the American labor force can be successful in.''

The intellectual future of conservatism will be wrestled over at a series of forums at the Center for Social, Cultural and Constitutional Studies at the American Enterprise Institute that are being organized by Yuval Levin, a scholar there. Right now, the various factions are exchanging sarcastic one-liners on Twitter. Levin is bringing the players together. ''People should be talking to each other, not about each other,'' he told me.

Levin thinks the prevailing post-Trump viewpoints define the problem too much in economic terms. The crucial problem, he argues, is not economic; it's social: alienation. Millions of Americans don't feel part of anything they can trust. They feel no one is looking out for them. Trump was a false answer to their desire for social solidarity, but the desire can be a force for good.

''What's needed,'' Levin says, ''is not just to expand economic conservatism beyond growth to also prioritize family, community and nation, but also to expand social conservatism beyond sexual ethics and religious liberty to prioritize family, community and nation. The coalition can be a powerful political force again if its different wings converge on these priorities, without each giving up on its longstanding aims.''

The Republican Party looks completely brain-dead at every spot Trump directly reaches. Off in the corners, though, there's a lot of intellectual ferment on the right. But if there is one thing I've learned over the decades, it is never to underestimate the staying power of the dead Reagan paradigm.

The Wall Street Journal editorial page stands as a vigilant guardian of the corpse, eager to rebut all dissenters. The former U.N. ambassador Nikki Haley and Senator Pat Toomey of Pennsylvania are staunch defenders of Minimal-Government Conservatism. Senator Ted Cruz seems to be positioning himself for a 2024 presidential run that seeks to triangulate all the pre-Trump and pro-Trump versions of the party into one stew.

And if Joe Biden defeats Trump and begins legislating, as seems more and more likely, there's also the possibility that Republicans will abandon any positive vision and revert to being a simple anti-government party -- a party of opposition to whatever Biden is doing.

But over the long term, some version of ***Working-Class*** Republicanism will redefine the G.O.P. In the first place, that's where Republican voters are. When push comes to shove, Republican politicians are going to choose their voters over their donor class.

Second, the ***working-class*** emphasis is the only way out of the demographic doom loop. If the party sticks with its old white high school-educated base, it will die. They just aren't making enough old white men. To have any shot of surviving as a major party, the G.O.P. has to build a cross-racial alliance among ***working-class*** whites, ***working-class*** Hispanics and some ***working-class*** Blacks.

None of this works unless Republicans can deracialize their appeal -- by which I mean they must stop pandering to the racists in the party and stop presenting themselves and seeing themselves as the party of white people -- and wage a class struggle between diverse workers in their coalition and the highly educated coastal manager and professional class in the Democratic coalition.

Rubio, Hawley, Sasse and Cotton are inching toward a G.O.P. future. What are the odds they'll succeed? They've got to be way under 50-50.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/07/opinion/sunday/republican-party-trump-2020.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/07/opinion/sunday/republican-party-trump-2020.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tim Enthoven FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 9, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Largest Black City in U.S. Unlikely to Elect Black Representative***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66PG-7KT1-JBG3-60YW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2022 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1906 words

**Byline:** By Clyde McGrady

**Body**

DETROIT -- On a recent sunny Saturday afternoon in a neighborhood park in the middle of this sprawling city, residents were distributing free backpacks for students heading back to school. Girls sat patiently under a pop-up tent to get their hair braided, while other children gleefully leaped and collided in an inflated bounce castle.

One person stood out in the mostly African American crowd: a slim, 67-year-old Indian immigrant in a white T-shirt and dark pants, hopping from tent to tent and chatting with parents and neighbors, who seemed excited to see him.

The man, State Representative Shri Thanedar, had beaten eight Black candidates in a primary to become the Democratic candidate for Michigan's 13th Congressional District -- meaning that for the first time in almost 70 years, the nation's largest majority Black city is unlikely to have a Black representative in Congress.

His victory set off waves of anxiety among Detroit's Black political leaders, who tried desperately to prevent Mr. Thanedar from winning. (A primary win in such a heavily Democratic district is tantamount to being elected.) Black leaders describe it as ''embarrassing'' and ''disappointing,'' and argue that Detroit should have representation that reflects its population, which is 77 percent Black. Three quarters of Detroit voters supported a Black candidate.

The outcome is also testing the limits of racial representation in a city with a long tradition of Black political power -- at a time when that power is being challenged and drained on other fronts. In Los Angeles, the City Council was recently shaken by the release of secret recordings of racist remarks and efforts by Latino leaders to shrink Black influence in the city.

Detroit began sending two Black delegates to Congress in the 1960s, and elected its first Black mayor in 1973. By the 1980s, Black membership and status in the state legislature was rising, and half the City Council was Black.

Now, the challenge to Black political power in Detroit comes from divisions within its own leadership and from constituents. Reapportionment cost Michigan a House seat last year, and the newly redrawn district maps reduced the number of Black voters in the 13th District. After years of severe economic insecurity and a string of political scandals, some residents are showing a willingness to try something new.

In 2013, Detroit elected Mike Duggan, its first white mayor since the 1970s -- the same year that a former mayor, Kwame Kilpatrick, was convicted of charges including racketeering and extortion. Five years later, Rashida Tlaib became the first woman of Palestinian descent to be elected to Congress, when she won the seat once occupied by John Conyers Jr. -- a towering figure in Detroit politics who resigned over sexual harassment allegations.

Those victories and Mr. Thanedar's point to an emerging sense among some Black constituents that the psychic, emotional and symbolic benefits of racial representation may not have materially improved their lives.

''Well, let's go back years and years and years, and see that when we had those people in office, they all didn't meet up to what they said they met up to,'' said Kimball Gaskinsel, a 58-year-old Black man who helped organize the backpack giveaway in the park. He said of Mr. Thanedar, ''Let's give the man a chance.''

Detroit's population has fallen by more than one million since 1950, and for decades, its leaders have been promising a renaissance. Since emerging from bankruptcy in 2014, the city's core has managed an impressive revival: Its downtown sparkles with new restaurants, shops and hotels. But Detroit's comeback is limited and uneven, highlighting racial and economic disparities that have long frustrated residents.

Between 2010 and 2020 the city lost about 93,000 Black residents, many of whom departed for metro area suburbs, while gaining slightly more Asian and white residents, and people who identify by more than one race.

In 2021, the unemployment rate among Black residents of Detroit was 20 percent, compared with 11 percent among white residents, according to research based on census data. The median Black household earned a little less than $35,000, when rising rents and inflation began to eat into family budgets.

''It kind of irritates me to see downtown being built up and the neighborhoods being neglected,'' said M. Lewis Bass, a 71-year-old tenant organizer.

Mr. Bass, who is Black, voted for Mr. Thanedar in the primary. He said he liked Mr. Thanedar's tendency to pop up at community events. ''It shows a genuine interest in the citizen,'' he said. Mr. Bass expressed hope that Mr. Thanedar would work to curb landlord power and address rising rents and evictions.

Other Detroiters say that residents will be worse off. ''It's disgusting'' for the city to be without a Black representative, said Stevetta Johnson, 73. A retired social worker who leads the Trade Union Leadership Council, Ms. Johnson said she was concerned that a representative of another race wouldn't look out for Black Detroiters when it comes to bringing money and resources into the city.

On the surface, Mr. Thanedar, who arrived in the United States in 1979 and later started a successful chemical business, might seem to be an unlikely politician to represent the newly redrawn 13th District, whose population is now 45 percent Black.

He is a wealthy man who lived in Ann Arbor before moving to Detroit three years ago. He spent $10.6 million of his own money on an unsuccessful run for governor in 2018, and has so far spent around $6 million from his own pocket on his congressional campaign.

Activists and voters in the district's poor and ***working-class*** neighborhoods point to how Mr. Thanedar seems to show up everywhere -- at jazz concerts, at tenant meetings -- repeatedly, and sometimes unannounced.

At the backpack giveaway, Mr. Thanedar told a mostly Black audience that students deserve a quality education ''no matter what ZIP code they live in,'' because ''we are all children of the same God.'' He encouraged voters to hold him to his promises. ''You can have my cellphone number,'' he said. ''Call me.''

He ended his talk with, ''I love you all.'' The small crowd erupted in applause.

Mr. Thanedar often reminds Detroit voters of his humble beginnings. He said he wants to increase Black entrepreneurship, close the racial wealth gap and improve the quality of education.

For Leslie Ford, 50, a born and raised Black Detroiter who runs a nonprofit group, racial representation isn't much of a concern. ''It's all about the person that's showing that they care for real,'' she said.

Mr. Thanedar's supporters say that financing his campaign himself shows how much he cares, and that he isn't beholden to special interests. ''He did everything with his own money,'' Ms. Ford said.

Mr. Thanedar says he is not naïve about the challenges he would face in representing such a diverse district. It includes part of Detroit, several white, ***working-class*** ''Downriver'' communities, and the wealthier suburbs of the Grosse Pointes, with tree-lined streets of brick houses with lawns as manicured as Centre Court on the first day of Wimbledon.

He said he contacted the Congressional Black Caucus about joining once he is elected, but he learned that the caucus's bylaws allow only Black members to join, a restriction that he says he understands.

Political observers say that many factors contributed to Mr. Thanedar's victory. The district's newly drawn boundaries take in some whiter, more conservative communities outside Detroit. Low voter turnout and a crowded primary allowed Mr. Thanedar to squeak through with just 28 percent of the ballots cast. Even so, political leaders say ignoring Mr. Thanedar's ability to appeal to Black voters would be a mistake.

''I don't think we can say, 'Next time, if it's just one Black person and Shri, it'll be different,' said Portia Roberson, a former Obama administration Justice Department official who lost to Mr. Thanedar in the primary. ''I think that's naïve on our part.''

Detroit elected Charles Diggs to be Michigan's first Black member of Congress in 1954, and stood by him even after he was charged with taking kickbacks from employees. Since then, the city has elected Black leaders who became major figures in national and state politics, like Mr. Conyers, Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick and Brenda Lawrence, all of whom represented parts of Detroit. In Washington, Black leaders from Detroit became prominent in the Civil Rights movement. At home, Mr. Conyers led the political establishment, selecting candidates and wielding influence over party loyalists and voters.

But corruption scandals and years of economic stagnation left many voters disappointed with machine politics and open to letting pragmatism rather than loyalty sway their choices.

Much of that sentiment came from the downfall of former Mayor Kilpatrick, who was first elected in 2001 and resigned in 2008 following a bribery scandal.

''Kwame Kilpatrick broke my heart. I can't take another chance,'' state Senator Adam Hollier recalled a voter telling him. Mr. Hollier, who came in second to Mr. Thanedar in the primary, said he tried to position himself as someone other young Black men could look up to.

The lack of a clear succession plan when Brenda Lawrence decided to retire from her seat in Congress led to some disarray among the city's political establishment.

As candidates leaped into the race, competing camps backed two different contenders, in an effort to whittle the field. Only one candidate dropped out, and the endorsement process inflamed tensions over gender dynamics.

The Legacy Committee for United Leadership, a coalition of religious, business and political leaders, endorsed Mr. Hollier. But Ms. Lawrence and the local Democratic Party organization threw their support behind Ms. Roberson, the former Obama administration official.

The fracture helped Mr. Thanedar win the primary. It left the Republican nominee, Martell Bivings, as one of only two Black candidates on the ballot in the general election.

Mr. Bivings, 35, has been making the case that Black representation matters, in ways both subtle and explicit. He poses questions on his Facebook page like ''Do you play spades?'' and has tweeted that he's the only candidate who ''knows what it feels like to be Black in America.''

Mr. Bivings said in an interview that his message is being well-received by Black voters, and centers on ''family values, praying in schools'' as well as gun rights and lower taxes. ''Your auntie supports all of those.'' Mr. Bivings said. He said he supports reparations for slavery (as does Mr. Thanedar) and school choice.

The odds are heavily stacked against Mr. Bivings. In 2020, both Ms. Tlaib and Ms. Lawrence beat their Republican challengers in Detroit with more than 90 percent of the vote.

Do any of Detroit's Black leaders plan to back Mr. Bivings? The Rev. Wendell Anthony, a member of the committee that backed Mr. Hollier, laughed heartily at the question, before revealing that Mr. Bivings had reached out about a meeting. ''I'll talk to anybody,'' Mr. Anthony said.

This month, the conservative editorial page of The Detroit News endorsed Mr. Bivings, writing: ''African Americans argue that this predominately Detroit seat should be held by someone most familiar with Detroit's challenges. We agree.''

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: State Representative Shri Thanedar, above, beat eight Black candidates in the Democratic primary. Alex Essary, pushing below left, says he hasn't voted in a while but would back Mr. Thanedar. Below right, a new Gucci store downtown.

M. LEWIS BASS, a 71-year-old tenant organizer.

Mr. Thanedar greeting residents at a back-to-school event in August at Pallister Park. He came to the U.S. in 1979. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SYLVIA JARRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Plot Against Medicare***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66T2-YGY1-JBG3-62GS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 3; PAUL KRUGMAN

**Length:** 905 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

The Times recently reported that Republicans, anticipating possible victory in the midterms, are embracing plans to cut Social Security and Medicare benefits -- even though such cuts would be incredibly unpopular and would make nonsense of the G.O.P.'s attempts to portray itself as the party of the ***working class***.

Before I get to what Republicans appear to have in mind, let's note that the push to slash major benefit programs may be the ultimate example of an elite priority completely at odds with what ordinary Americans want.

Political scientists have found several areas in which the wealthy want to see spending cut, while most voters want to see it increased. The biggest gap in views is on Social Security, where the rich, by a large margin, want to see benefits reduced while the general public, by an even larger margin, wants to see them increased.

And Republicans are taking the side of the rich.

Now, there isn't an official G.O.P. position on Social Security and Medicare -- or, actually, any policy issue. But the Republican Study Committee, a caucus of House members that often sets the party's agenda, has released a fairly detailed set of proposals titled ''Reclaiming Our Fiscal Future'' that would, I suspect, raise howls of outrage from many voters if they knew about it.

The committee's proposals center on raising the age at which Americans become eligible for Social Security and Medicare. Its plan calls for increasing the age at which workers can collect full Social Security benefits -- which has already risen from 65 to 67 -- to 70, and then raising it even further in the future as life expectancy goes up (if it does).

At the same time, the plan would raise the age at which Medicare kicks in, which is still 65, to match the Social Security age. Given the Social Security proposal, this means delaying Medicare eligibility by five years, to the age of 70, and possibly delaying it even further in the future.

The report tries to justify these large benefit cuts -- because that's what they are -- by pointing to the rise in life expectancy at age 65 since these programs were created. That is, it argues in effect that our major social benefit programs have become too generous because Americans are living longer.

What the report somehow fails to notice, or at least to acknowledge, is that while average life expectancy for seniors was rising before Covid struck, that rise was very unequal. Gains were much larger for Americans in the upper part of the income distribution -- that is, the people who need Social Security and Medicare least -- than for those lower down, who need them most.

Other research has shown that gains in life expectancy at age 25 -- not the same measure, but surely related -- have been much bigger among Americans with a college degree. In fact, life expectancy has actually declined among noncollege whites. And mortality has been diverging among regions, with life expectancy at 65 in some states, mostly red, significantly below the national average and in others, mostly blue, significantly above.

So Republican plans to cut Medicare and Social Security would impose widespread hardship, with some of the worst impacts falling on red-state, noncollege whites -- that is, the party's most loyal base.

Why, then, does the party want to do this? We needn't take claims that it's about fiscal responsibility seriously; a fiscally responsible party wouldn't be seeking to make the Trump tax cuts permanent or oppose giving the I.R.S. the resources it needs to crack down on tax cheats. What we're seeing, instead, is that despite its populist rhetoric, the G.O.P. is still very much a party of and for the rich.

A more interesting question is why Republicans think they can get away with touching the traditional third rails of fiscal policy. Social Security remains as popular as ever; Republicans themselves campaigned against Obamacare by claiming, misleadingly, that it would cut Medicare. Why imagine that proposals to deny benefits to many Americans by raising the eligibility age won't provoke a backlash?

At least part of the answer is surely the expectation that the right-wing disinformation machine can obscure what the G.O.P. is up to. The Republican Study Committee has released a 153-page report calling, among other things, for denying full Social Security benefits to Americans under 70; that didn't stop Sean Hannity from declaring the other day that ''not a single Republican has ever said they want to take away your Social Security.''

Finally, how do Republicans imagine they could pass any of this agenda? After all, even if they do win the midterms, they won't have enough votes to override a Biden veto.

Unfortunately, we know the answer: If Republicans win one or both houses of Congress, they'll try to achieve their goals not though the normal legislative process but through blackmail. They'll threaten to provoke a global financial crisis by refusing to raise the debt limit. If Democrats defang that threat, Republicans will try to get what they want by making America ungovernable in other ways.

Will they succeed? Stay tuned.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/opinion/republican-medicare-social-security.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/opinion/republican-medicare-social-security.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR3.

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Cruel Intentions***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6655-7FD1-DXY4-X51C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 14, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 9; FICTION

**Length:** 730 words

**Byline:** By Charlie Lee

**Body**

PANICS, by Barbara Molinard, translated by Emma RamadanBAD HANDWRITING, by Sara Mesa, translated by Katie Whittemore

Virgil, Emily Dickinson, Franz Kafka: It has become something of a cliché, authors on their deathbeds requesting that their unpublished works be destroyed (requests that literary executors have a fortunate habit of betraying). But the prolific 20th-century French writer Barbara Molinard was unwilling to take any such chances, tearing her short stories to shreds as soon as she wrote them. The malevolent and disorienting tales in her 1969 collection, ''Panics,'' represent her only surviving work. Saved from destruction by Molinard's friend Marguerite Duras, who estimated that these 14 stories represent ''maybe a hundredth'' of what Molinard wrote, they have been translated for the first time into English, by Emma Ramadan.

Molinard's characters are haunted, confused, wandering as if in a fog, forgetting who they are and where they are meant to be. A man travels to a distant city for a meeting and immediately becomes lost; unable to remember where the meeting is or what it is about, he spends months walking alongside a city wall, hoping it will lead him back to himself, or at least in some forward direction. A woman spends her day frantically preparing for the arrival of a plane in the evening, rushing to the airport to be there when it lands. She watches the passengers file out, then goes home alone, knowing that ''tomorrow she would have to begin again, invent something else'' with which to distract herself and muddle through the empty hours.

Through Ramadan's spare and exacting translation, Molinard presents a terrifying portrait of violence and mental illness. The reader is immersed entirely in the minds of her characters, seeing the world only through their warped gazes -- ''drowned in dream,'' as Molinard describes one woman -- with no purchase on external reality. These surreal, claustrophobic stories bear similarities to the works of Samuel Beckett and Leonora Carrington, but Molinard writes in a voice that is entirely her own. It is impossible not to let the author's biography bleed into the reading of ''Panics,'' and according to Duras these narratives are ''neither invented nor dreamed,'' but ''a record of lived experience,'' of the obscure mental affliction that led Molinard to repeat for years her ''infernal cycle'' of creation and destruction. Her stories were not written for any reader. Their existence seems like a miracle. Upon encountering them, there is the sense that one is stealing a glimpse of something intensely private, unmediated, a soul in anguish.

The short stories in ''Bad Handwriting,'' a new collection by the Spanish writer Sara Mesa, depict a similarly hostile and stifling world. Her characters are mostly young people, leading ordinary lives. One narrator describes herself as living in ''a medium-sized city in a moderately developed country, in a normal neighborhood like so many other indistinguishable and interchangeable neighborhoods, the expansive ***working-class*** outskirts.'' But beneath this veneer of normalcy there is an undertow of profound suffering that is not just internal, as in Molinard's work, but also out in the world, looming at the edges of society, a poison seeping into the mundane.

In Mesa's stories, the little dramas of youth unfold against a backdrop in which parents abandon their children and widowed grandmothers throw themselves from balconies. Young people lie and lash out rather than reveal their shame about the frightening things they have witnessed. In one story, a white teenage girl, unable to process or share the fact that she watched her pregnant sister kill a man, finds herself thinking racist thoughts about the Black manager of the hostel where she is staying; in another, an orphaned child fantasizes that her oppressive aunt will die violently. Mesa renders these lapses with a delicate force, animated by the knowledge that cruelty lurks in small gestures and idle thoughts; that, like a virus, it mutates and spreads.

PANICS, by Barbara Molinard | Translated by Emma Ramadan | 153 pp. | The Feminist Press | Paper, $15.95

BAD HANDWRITING, by Sara Mesa | Translated by Katie Whittemore | 168 pp. | Open Letter | Paper, $15.95

Charlie Lee is an assistant editor at Harper's Magazine.Charlie Lee is an assistant editor at Harper's magazine.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/09/books/review/barbara-molinard-panics-bad-handwriting-sara-mesa.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/09/books/review/barbara-molinard-panics-bad-handwriting-sara-mesa.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY O.Z. Sanders FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Eric Adams Leads in the Mayor’s Race. Here’s What to Know About Him.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6308-H2B1-JBG3-62CB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 23, 2021 Wednesday 07:05 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1126 words

**Byline:** Michael Gold

**Highlight:** Mr. Adams, a moderate Democrat whose campaign focused on crime and public safety, has a long history in New York politics and has faced scrutiny over his ethics.

**Body**

Mr. Adams, a moderate Democrat whose campaign focused on crime and public safety, has a long history in New York politics and has faced scrutiny over his ethics.

[*Eric Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/eric-adams-mayor-nyc), the Brooklyn borough president, had a solid advantage on Wednesday in the Democratic primary for New York mayor, leading his closest competitors, Maya Wiley and Kathryn Garcia, by a sizable margin.

Mr. [*Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-transition.html)’s lead is not decisive, and the returns so far only factor in first-choice votes cast under the city’s new [*ranked-choice voting system*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-nyc.html). It will be [*some time before an official winner is declared*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/nyc-primary-results-explained.html), both because absentee ballots are still outstanding and voters’ subsequent rankings will come into play. Ms. Wiley and Ms. Garcia still have paths to victory.

But many New Yorkers are looking to learn more about Mr. Adams, the candidate who currently seems best positioned to win the [*primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-transition.html).

Mr. Adams himself was already looking to City Hall as he spoke to supporters on election night. “Tonight we took a huge step forward,” he said on Tuesday, before outlining his vision of the city in a speech that was at turns buoyant and defiant.

A campaign focused on crime and public safety

During the campaign, Mr. Adams carved out a lane as one of the more moderate candidates in the Democratic primary race. He did so in large part by drawing a contrast between his views on policing and crime, and those of left-leaning rivals like Ms. Wiley and Dianne Morales.

As public safety became a major issue in the race, following a rise in violent crime in the city, Mr. Adams tried to strike a tricky balance.

He trumpeted his credentials as a former police officer and said they gave him the experience needed to address a rise in violent crime, but he also billed himself as a reformer who had taken on police misconduct.

“I don’t hate police departments — I hate abusive policing, and that’s what people mix up,” Mr. Adams told The New York Times. In his campaign’s closing weeks, he seemed to bet that voters would understand that distinction.

But Mr. Adams, who grew up in Queens, also stressed his ***working-class*** background, calling himself a blue-collar candidate who would fight for New Yorkers struggling to make ends meet in an expensive city that had left them behind.

He also counted on his ability to court ***working-class*** and older minority voters outside Manhattan. The early returns suggest those groups supported him at the polls.

A rise through the ranks

Mr. Adams spent more than 20 years as a New York City police officer before entering politics. He has said that he was motivated in part to join the force after he was beaten by the police at age 15. Mr. Adams believed that he could change the culture of policing from within.

During [*his time in the department*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/19/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-police-mayor.html), Mr. Adams was a strong advocate for Black officers. Through his involvement in Black police fraternal organizations — the Grand Council of Guardians and 100 Blacks in Law Enforcement Who Care, a group that he co-founded — Mr. Adams questioned his superiors publicly, speaking out against discrimination, police brutality and the department’s excessive use of stop-and-frisk tactics.

The latter issue, in particular, illustrated the precarious tightrope that Mr. Adams walked during the campaign: Though he once fought [*the stop-and-frisk policing strategy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/13/nyregion/stop-and-frisk-practice-violated-rights-judge-rules.html), which was used disproportionately in New York against Black and Latino men and is reviled by the left, he has also supported its limited use.

Some who knew Mr. Adams during his time as a police officer thought even then that his challenges to Police Department leadership were meant to position him for public office. As early as 1994, he had determined he wanted to be mayor, he [*told The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html).

In 2006, Mr. Adams retired from policing to run for the State Senate. He won and represented parts of central Brooklyn in Albany until 2013, when he became the first Black person elected Brooklyn’s borough president.

Over the years, he cultivated relationships with union leaders and other elected officials, many of whom endorsed his mayoral bid. He also built ties to wealthy donors, who boosted his campaign war chest, and to [*the lobbyists and party machine*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/eric-adams-allies-nyc-mayoral-race.html) that helped him get out the vote on Tuesday.

A complex history

Mr. Adams’s time in politics also left a track record and a paper trail that made him vulnerable to attacks from his rivals over issues of transparency and ethics.

His relationships with lobbyists, donors and developers have come under scrutiny throughout his career, in some cases prompting investigations.

Mr. Adams has never been formally accused of misconduct, but a [*review by The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/16/nyregion/eric-adams-fund-raising.html) found that he at times pushed the boundaries of ethics and campaign-finance laws.

As a state senator, he was accused of [*“exceedingly poor judgment”*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/05/12/eric-adams-gambling-deal-487684) by an investigator who found that he and others had improper links to a company that was trying to become the purveyor of video slot machines at Aqueduct Racetrack. Mr. Adams was the chair of the Senate’s racing and gaming committee at the time.

As borough president, he started a nonprofit group that took donations from developers who sought his support for projects or zoning changes, prompting a probe into whether he violated conflict of interest regulations.

Mr. Adams said in a statement that he and his campaigns had never been charged “with a serious fund-raising violation, and no contribution has ever affected my decision-making as a public official.”

He also accused those questioning his ethics of holding him to a higher standard because he is Black and from a lower-income background.

Whether accusations about Mr. Adams’s conduct eroded support for him remains unclear, though ranked-choice voting results to come may offer a fuller picture.

But questions about his honesty reached a kind of fever pitch in the final stretch of the campaign after [*Politico New York*](https://www.politico.com/states/new-york/albany/story/2021/06/08/burning-the-midnight-oil-eric-adams-mysterious-whereabouts-off-the-campaign-trail-1385412) reported that [*Mr. Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/18/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-primary.html) had used conflicting addresses in public records and that he was spending nights at Borough Hall.

Other candidates began to question whether Mr. Adams really lived in a townhouse in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn that he has said is his primary residence.

Andrew Yang, in particular, accused Mr. Adams of living in a co-op in Fort Lee, N.J., that he owns with his partner. A report from The City found that Mr. Adams [*did not disclose his ownership*](https://www.thecity.nyc/2021/6/16/22536241/eric-adams-failed-to-disclose-brooklyn-coop-ownership) of that co-op when he ran for State Senate in 2005.

Mr. Adams dismissed the controversy about his residency as a politically motivated effort to shake him from the front-runner status he comfortably occupied in the race’s closing weeks.

PHOTO: Eric Adams, the Brooklyn borough president, grew up in Queens and has emphasized his ***working-class*** background with voters. (PHOTOGRAPH BY James Estrin/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 22, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Where Do Republicans Go From Here?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60J0-7F21-DXY4-X36B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 7, 2020 Friday 05:05 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION; sunday

**Length:** 2764 words

**Byline:** David Brooks

**Highlight:** The party looks brain-dead at every spot Trump touches. But off in the corners, there’s a lot of intellectual ferment.

**Body**

Jonathan V. Last thinks President Trump is here forever. Last, the editor of The Bulwark, a conservative site that’s been hostile to Trump, argues that if Trump loses in November, he’ll claim he was cheated out of the election. He’ll force other Republicans to back up his claim. He’ll get a TV show, hold rallies, be coy about running again in 2024.

He’ll still be the center of everything Republican. Ambitious Republicans will have to lash themselves to the husk of the dying czar if they want to have any future in the party. The whole party will go Trump-crazed and brain-dead for another four years.

I salute Last for coming up with a post-2020 scenario even more pessimistic than my own!

My guess is that if Trump gets crushed in the election, millions of Republicans will decide they never liked that loser and jerk anyway. He’ll get relegated to whatever bargain basement they are using to hold Sarah Palin. But something will remain: Trumpism.

The basic Trump worldview — on immigration, trade, foreign policy, etc. — will shape the G.O.P. for decades, the way the basic Reagan worldview did for decades. A thousand smarter conservatives will be building a new party after 2020, but one that builds from the framework Trump established.

I think Trumpism will survive Trump because the history of the modern Republican Party is the history of paradigm shifts.

If you came of age with conservative values and around Republican politics in the 1980s and 1990s, you lived within a certain Ronald Reagan-Margaret Thatcher paradigm. It was about limiting government, spreading democracy abroad, building dynamic free markets at home and cultivating people with vigorous virtues — people who are energetic, upright, entrepreneurial, independent-minded, loyal to friends and strong against foes.

For decades conservatives were happy to live in that paradigm. But as years went by many came to see its limits. It was so comprehensively anti-government that it had no way to use government to solve common problems. It was so focused on cultivating strong individuals that it had no language to cultivate a sense of community and belonging. So, if you were right of center, you leapt. You broke from the Reagan paradigm and tried to create a new, updated conservative paradigm.

My own leap came early. On Sept. 15, 1997, William Kristol and I [*wrote a piece*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB874276753849168000) for The Wall Street Journal on what we called National Greatness Conservatism. We argued that the G.O.P. had become too anti-government. “How can Americans love their nation if they hate its government?” we asked. Only a return to the robust American nationalism of Alexander Hamilton, Henry Clay and Theodore Roosevelt would do: ambitious national projects, infrastructure, federal programs to increase social mobility.

The closest National Greatness Conservatism came to influencing the party was John McCain’s 2000 presidential bid. He was defeated by a man, George W. Bush, who made his own leap, to Compassionate Conservatism. (You know somebody has made a paradigm leap when he or she starts adding some modifying word or phrase before “Conservatism.”) This was an attempt to meld Catholic social teaching to conservatism.

There were many other leaps over the decades. Sam’s Club Republicans, led by Reihan Salam and my Times colleague Ross Douthat, pointed a way to link the G.O.P. to ***working-class*** concerns. Front Porch Republicans celebrated small towns and local communities. The Reformicons tried to use government to build strong families and neighborhoods. The Niskanen Center is an entire think tank for people who have leapt from libertarianism.

Most actual Republican politicians rejected all of this. They stuck, mostly through dumb inertia, to an anti-government zombie Reaganism long after Reagan was dead and even though the nation’s problems were utterly different from what they were when he was alive. Year after year, G.O.P. politicians clung to a dead paradigm, ran the same anti-Washington campaigns and had no positive governing philosophy once they got there.

Steve Bannon’s leap finally did what none of us could do. Donald Trump and Bannon took a low-rent strand of conservatism — class-based ethnic nationalism — that had always been locked away in the basement of the American right, and overturned the Reagan paradigm.

Bannon and Trump got the emotions right. They understood that Republican voters were no longer motivated by a sense of hope and opportunity; they were motivated by a sense of menace, resentment and fear. At base, many Republicans felt they were being purged from their own country — by the educated elite, by multiculturalism, by militant secularism.

During the 2016 presidential campaign, Trump and Bannon discarded the Republican orthodoxy — entitlement reform, fiscal restraint, free trade, comprehensive immigration reform. They embraced a European-style blood-and-soil conservatism. Close off immigration. Close trade. We have nothing to offer the world and should protect ourselves from its dangers.

It would have been interesting if Trump had governed as a big-government populist. But he tossed Bannon out and handed power to Jared Kushner and a bunch of old men locked in the Reagan paradigm. We got bigotry, incompetence and tax cuts for the wealthy.

But by defeating the Reagan paradigm, Trump and Bannon gave permission to a lot of Republican politicians to make their own leaps. Over the last three years, it’s been interesting to watch a series of Republican officeholders break free from old orthodoxies and begin to think afresh. You could see their eyes get wider: Suddenly I can think for myself. The range of possibilities is wider than I thought it was.

Their newfound liberation didn’t extend to crossing Trump, but because the president’s political vision isn’t exactly what you’d call fleshed out, there’s a lot of running room within his paradigm.

The post-2020, post-Trump Republican future is contained in those leaps. And that future is embodied by a small group of Republican senators in their 40s, including Marco Rubio, Josh Hawley, Tom Cotton and Ben Sasse. They all came of age when Reaganism was already in the rearview mirror. Though populist, three of them have advanced degrees from Harvard or Yale. They are not particularly close to one another. They may be joined by a common experience, but they are divided by ambition.

Each has a different vision of where the country should go, but they start with certain common Trumpian premises:

Everything is not OK. The free market is not working well. Wages are stagnant. Too much power is in the hands of the corporate elites. Middle America is getting screwed. Finance capitalism is unbalanced. American society is in abject decline. If Reaganism was “Let’s be free,” the new mood is “Take control.”

Economic libertarianism is not the answer. Free markets alone won’t solve our problems. G.D.P. growth alone is not the be-all and end-all of politics. We need policies to shore up the conservative units of society — family, neighborhood, faith, nation. We need policies that build solidarity, not just liberty.

The ***working class*** is the heart of the Republican Party. Once, businesspeople and entrepreneurs were at the center of the Republican imagination. Now it’s clear that the party needs to stop catering to the corporate class and start focusing on the shop owners, the plumbers, the salaried workers. It needs to emphasize the dignity of work and honor those who are not trying to make millions, not looking for handouts, but just want to build middle-class lives in a stable social order. In Britain, the Conservative Party has built a majority around the ***working class***, and that’s what Republicans need to do here.

China changes everything. The rise of a 1.4-billion-person authoritarian superpower means that free trade no longer works because the Chinese are not playing by the same rules. The U.S. government cannot just stand back and let China control the new technologies. “Republicans are going to have to get used to the idea of industrial policy to counter China, at least in a few key industries,” Mike Gallagher, a rising star among House Republicans, told me.

The managerial class betrays America. Many of the post-Reagan positions seem like steps to the left. But these Republicans combine a greater willingness to use government with a greater hostility to the managerial class. The solution to too much corporate power is not handing power to Elizabeth Warren and a cloud of federal regulators. There’s a difference between empowering workers and empowering the Washington elite.

From these common premises the four senators go off in different directions.

Rubio bases his vision in Catholic social teaching. A year ago, he wrote an essay for First Things titled, [*“What Economics Is For,”*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB874276753849168000) arguing that the purpose of markets is not growth but allowing each person to find dignity in work. He followed that up with a [*speech at Catholic University*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB874276753849168000) calling for “common-good capitalism” (remember what I said about modifying phrases) in which he criticized contemporary capitalism for its obsessive focus on maximizing shareholder value.

His basic position is that American capitalism has become too much about finance. It needs to be balanced toward manufacturing. He, too, supports a “pro-American industrial policy” to meet the Chinese challenge.

Hawley is the most populist of the group. His core belief is that middle-class Americans have been betrayed by elites on every level — political elites, cultural elites, financial elites. The modern leadership class has one set of values — globalization, cosmopolitanism — and the Middle Americans have another set — family, home, rootedness, nation. Corporate elites have concentrated so much power that they now crush the yeomen masses.

Last November, Hawley [*gave a speech*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB874276753849168000) in which he sought to overturn the last 70 years of Republican foreign policy. He contended that the right had erred in trying to spread American values abroad. “Imperial domination violates our principles and it threatens our character. Our aim must be to prevent imperialism, not to exercise it; to stop domination, not foster it,” he said.

Cotton has a less developed political vision but a more developed attitude: hawkishness. Whether it’s China, the left, immigration or Big Tech, Cotton is hawkish. He sees a world threatened by disorder and gravitates toward the toughest positions in order to ward off threat. He is the most vocal foe of the Chinese “pariah state.” He wants sharp reductions in legal immigration.

Sasse is the most sociological of the crew. He is a Tocquevillian localist, who notes that most normal Americans go days without thinking of national politics. His vision is centered on the small associations — neighborhood groups, high school football teams, churches and community centers — where people find their greatest joys, satisfactions and supports. Government’s job, he says, is to “create a framework of ordered liberty” so that people can make their family and neighborhood the center of their lives.

He is the most suspicious of government and politics today. “I think politicians are arsonists,” he told me over the phone last month. “The main thing the G.O.P. does is try to light the Democrats on fire, and the main thing the Democrats do is light the Republicans on fire. That’s why there’s so little trust in politics.”

Behind these public figures there is a posse of policy wonks and commentators supporting a new ***Working-Class*** Republicanism, including Oren Cass, Henry Olsen, J.D. Vance, Michael Brendan Dougherty, Saagar Enjeti, Samuel Hammond and, in his own way, Tucker Carlson.

Cass, for example, has created a new think tank, the American Compass, to push the G.O.P. in a post-Trump direction. Cass, a former adviser to Mitt Romney, argues that free-market economists pay too much attention to G.D.P. growth. What matters is the kind of growth and whether it allows people to lead stable lives. He says there’s too much emphasis on consumption. People should be seen as producers, and government should create the kind of jobs that allow people to earn dignity through work.

He says the core of the economy is the industrial economy: manufacturing, transportation, infrastructure — making things in the physical world. “Investment in our economy has completely discounted the making of stuff,” he told me in a recent interview. “You have a V.C. industry that goes entirely to software. Private equity financial flow is about buying and trading companies.” Government needs to engage in “predistribution,” to steer investment to manufacturing, and also to those Middle American parts of the country that are currently left out.

“The American labor force cannot be changed into what the economy wants,” Cass says. “We have to change the economy to what the American labor force can be successful in.”

The intellectual future of conservatism will be wrestled over at a series of forums at the Center for Social, Cultural and Constitutional Studies at the American Enterprise Institute that are being organized by Yuval Levin, a scholar there. Right now, the various factions are exchanging sarcastic one-liners on Twitter. Levin is bringing the players together. “People should be talking to each other, not about each other,” he told me.

Levin thinks the prevailing post-Trump viewpoints define the problem too much in economic terms. The crucial problem, he argues, is not economic; it’s social: alienation. Millions of Americans don’t feel part of anything they can trust. They feel no one is looking out for them. Trump was a false answer to their desire for social solidarity, but the desire can be a force for good.

“What’s needed,” Levin says, “is not just to expand economic conservatism beyond growth to also prioritize family, community and nation, but also to expand social conservatism beyond sexual ethics and religious liberty to prioritize family, community and nation. The coalition can be a powerful political force again if its different wings converge on these priorities, without each giving up on its longstanding aims.”

The Republican Party looks completely brain-dead at every spot Trump directly reaches. Off in the corners, though, there’s a lot of intellectual ferment on the right. But if there is one thing I’ve learned over the decades, it is never to underestimate the staying power of the dead Reagan paradigm.

The Wall Street Journal editorial page stands as a vigilant guardian of the corpse, eager to rebut all dissenters. The former U.N. ambassador Nikki Haley and Senator Pat Toomey of Pennsylvania are staunch defenders of Minimal-Government Conservatism. Senator Ted Cruz seems to be positioning himself for a 2024 presidential run that seeks to triangulate all the pre-Trump and pro-Trump versions of the party into one stew.

And if Joe Biden defeats Trump and begins legislating, as seems more and more likely, there’s also the possibility that Republicans will abandon any positive vision and revert to being a simple anti-government party — a party of opposition to whatever Biden is doing.

But over the long term, some version of ***Working-Class*** Republicanism will redefine the G.O.P. In the first place, that’s where Republican voters are. When push comes to shove, Republican politicians are going to choose their voters over their donor class.

Second, the ***working-class*** emphasis is the only way out of the demographic doom loop. If the party sticks with its old white high school-educated base, it will die. They just aren’t making enough old white men. To have any shot of surviving as a major party, the G.O.P. has to build a cross-racial alliance among ***working-class*** whites, ***working-class*** Hispanics and some ***working-class*** Blacks.

None of this works unless Republicans can deracialize their appeal — by which I mean they must stop pandering to the racists in the party and stop presenting themselves and seeing themselves as the party of white people — and wage a class struggle between diverse workers in their coalition and the highly educated coastal manager and professional class in the Democratic coalition.

Rubio, Hawley, Sasse and Cotton are inching toward a G.O.P. future. What are the odds they’ll succeed? They’ve got to be way under 50-50.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB874276753849168000) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB874276753849168000). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB874276753849168000).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB874276753849168000), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB874276753849168000) and [*Instagram*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB874276753849168000).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tim Enthoven FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 10, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Why a Black Democratic City Won’t Have a Black Democrat in the House***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66P9-RRG1-DXY4-X4KX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 24, 2022 Monday 13:06 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1968 words

**Byline:** Clyde McGrady

**Highlight:** Shri Thanedar’s primary victory means that for the first time in nearly 70 years, Detroit may not send a Black representative to Washington.

**Body**

DETROIT — On a recent sunny Saturday afternoon in a neighborhood park in the middle of this sprawling city, residents were distributing free backpacks for students heading back to school. Girls sat patiently under a pop-up tent to get their hair braided, while other children gleefully leaped and collided in an inflated bounce castle.

One person stood out in the mostly African American crowd: a slim, 67-year-old Indian immigrant in a white T-shirt and dark pants, hopping from tent to tent and chatting with parents and neighbors, who seemed excited to see him.

The man, State Representative Shri Thanedar, had beaten eight Black candidates in a primary to become the Democratic candidate for Michigan’s 13th Congressional District — meaning that for the first time in almost 70 years, the nation’s largest majority Black city is unlikely to have a Black representative in Congress.

His victory set off waves of anxiety among Detroit’s Black political leaders, who tried desperately to prevent Mr. Thanedar from winning. (A primary win in such a heavily Democratic district is tantamount to being elected.) Black leaders describe it as “embarrassing” and “disappointing,” and argue that Detroit should have representation that reflects its population, which is 77 percent Black. Three quarters of Detroit voters supported a Black candidate.

The outcome is also testing the limits of [*racial representation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/20/us/la-city-council-politics-black-hispanic.html) in a city with a long tradition of Black political power — at a time when that power is[*being challenged and drained on other fronts.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/18/us/politics/gop-gerrymandering-black-democrats.html) In Los Angeles, [*the City Council was recently shaken by the release of secret recordings*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/12/us/los-angeles-council-nury-martinez-resigns.html) of racist remarks and efforts by Latino leaders to shrink Black influence in the city.

Detroit began sending two Black delegates to Congress in the 1960s, and elected its first Black mayor in 1973. By the 1980s, Black membership and status in the state legislature was rising, and half the City Council was Black.

Now, the challenge to Black political power in Detroit comes from divisions within its own leadership and from constituents. Reapportionment cost Michigan a House seat last year, and the newly redrawn district maps reduced the number of Black voters in the 13th District. After years of severe economic insecurity and a string of political scandals, some residents are showing a willingness to try something new.

In 2013, Detroit elected Mike Duggan, its first white mayor since the 1970s — the same year that a [*former mayor, Kwame Kilpatrick, was convicted*](https://www.freep.com/story/news/2020/05/30/detroit-mayor-kwame-kilpatrick-admits-guilt-resigns-office/5263943002/)of charges including [*racketeering and extortion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/12/us/kwame-kilpatrick-ex-mayor-of-detroit-convicted-in-corruption-case.html). Five years later, [*Rashida Tlaib became the first woman of Palestinian descent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/08/us/politics/rashida-tlaib-congress-muslim.html)to be elected to Congress, when she won the seat once occupied [*by John Conyers Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/27/obituaries/john-conyers-jr-dead.html) — a towering figure in Detroit politics who resigned over sexual harassment allegations.

Those victories and Mr. Thanedar’s point to an emerging sense among some Black constituents that the psychic, emotional and symbolic benefits of racial representation may not have materially improved their lives.

“Well, let’s go back years and years and years, and see that when we had those people in office, they all didn’t meet up to what they said they met up to,” said Kimball Gaskinsel, a 58-year-old Black man who helped organize the backpack giveaway in the park. He said of Mr. Thanedar, “Let’s give the man a chance.”

Detroit’s population has fallen by more than one million since 1950, and for decades, its leaders have been promising a renaissance. Since emerging from bankruptcy in 2014, the city’s core has managed an impressive revival: Its downtown sparkles with new restaurants, shops and hotels. [*But Detroit’s comeback is limited and uneven,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/13/us/detroit-recovery.html)highlighting racial and economic disparities that have long frustrated residents.

Between 2010 and 2020 the city lost about 93,000 Black residents, many of whom [*departed*](https://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/local/detroit-city/2021/08/15/blacks-move-out-detroit-two-new-majority-suburbs-created/5562144001/) for metro area suburbs, while gaining slightly more Asian and white residents, and people who identify by more than one race.

In 2021, the unemployment rate among Black residents of Detroit was 20 percent, compared with 11 percent among white residents, [*according to research based on census data.*](https://detroitfuturecity.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/ACS-Layout_FINAL_2022_9_20.pdf) The median Black household earned a little less than $35,000, when rising rents and inflation began to eat into family budgets.

“It kind of irritates me to see downtown being built up and the neighborhoods being neglected,” said M. Lewis Bass, a 71-year-old tenant organizer.

Mr. Bass, who is Black, voted for Mr. Thanedar in the primary. He said he liked Mr. Thanedar’s tendency to pop up at community events. “It shows a genuine interest in the citizen,” he said. Mr. Bass expressed hope that Mr. Thanedar would work to curb landlord power and address rising rents and evictions.

Other Detroiters say that residents will be worse off. “It’s disgusting” for the city to be without a Black representative, said Stevetta Johnson, 73. A retired social worker who leads the Trade Union Leadership Council, Ms. Johnson said she was concerned that a representative of another race wouldn’t look out for Black Detroiters when it comes to bringing money and resources into the city.

On the surface, Mr. Thanedar, who arrived in the United States in 1979 and later started a successful chemical business, might seem to be an unlikely politician to represent the newly redrawn 13th District, whose population is now 45 percent Black.

He is a wealthy man who lived in Ann Arbor before moving to Detroit three years ago. He spent $10.6 million of his own money on an unsuccessful run for governor in 2018, and has so far spent around $6 million from his own pocket on his congressional campaign.

Activists and voters in the district’s poor and ***working-class*** neighborhoods point to how Mr. Thanedar seems to show up everywhere — at jazz concerts, at tenant meetings — repeatedly, and sometimes unannounced.

At the backpack giveaway, Mr. Thanedar told a mostly Black audience that students deserve a quality education “no matter what ZIP code they live in,” because “we are all children of the same God.” He encouraged voters to hold him to his promises. “You can have my cellphone number,” he said. “Call me.”

He ended his talk with, “I love you all.” The small crowd erupted in applause.

Mr. Thanedar often reminds Detroit voters of his humble beginnings. He said he wants to increase Black entrepreneurship, close the racial wealth gap and improve the quality of education.

For Leslie Ford, 50, a born and raised Black Detroiter who runs a nonprofit group, racial representation isn’t much of a concern. “It’s all about the person that’s showing that they care for real,” she said.

Mr. Thanedar’s supporters say that financing his campaign himself shows how much he cares, and that he isn’t beholden to special interests. “He did everything with his own money,” Ms. Ford said.

Mr. Thanedar says he is not naïve about the challenges he would face in representing such a diverse district. It includes part of Detroit, several white, ***working-class*** “Downriver” communities, and the wealthier suburbs of the Grosse Pointes, with tree-lined streets of brick houses with lawns as manicured as Centre Court on the first day of Wimbledon.

He said he contacted the Congressional Black Caucus about joining once he is elected, but he learned that the caucus’s bylaws allow only Black members to join, a restriction that he says he understands.

Political observers say that many factors contributed to Mr. Thanedar’s victory. The district’s newly drawn boundaries take in some whiter, more conservative communities outside Detroit. Low voter turnout and a crowded primary allowed Mr. Thanedar to squeak through with just 28 percent of the ballots cast. Even so, political leaders say ignoring Mr. Thanedar’s ability to appeal to Black voters would be a mistake.

“I don’t think we can say, ‘Next time, if it’s just one Black person and Shri, it’ll be different,’ said Portia Roberson, a former Obama administration Justice Department official who lost to Mr. Thanedar in the primary. “I think that’s naïve on our part.”

Detroit elected Charles Diggs to be Michigan’s first Black member of Congress in 1954, [*and stood by him even after he was charged with taking kickbacks from employees.*](https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1978/03/26/110813718.html?pageNumber=26) Since then, the city has elected Black leaders who became major figures in national and state politics, like Mr. Conyers, Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick and Brenda Lawrence, all of whom represented parts of Detroit. In Washington, Black leaders from Detroit became prominent in the Civil Rights movement. At home, Mr. Conyers led the political establishment, selecting candidates and wielding influence over party loyalists and voters.

But corruption scandals and years of economic stagnation left many voters disappointed with machine politics and open to letting pragmatism rather than loyalty sway their choices.

Much of that sentiment came from the downfall of former Mayor Kilpatrick, who was first elected in 2001 and resigned in 2008 following a bribery scandal.

“Kwame Kilpatrick broke my heart. I can’t take another chance,” state Senator Adam Hollier recalled a voter telling him. Mr. Hollier, who came in second to Mr. Thanedar in the primary, said he tried to position himself as someone other young Black men could look up to.

The lack of a clear succession plan when Brenda Lawrence decided to retire from her seat in Congress led to some disarray among the city’s political establishment.

As candidates leaped into the race, competing camps backed two different contenders, in an effort to whittle the field. Only one candidate dropped out, and the endorsement process inflamed tensions over gender dynamics.

The Legacy Committee for United Leadership, a coalition of religious, business and political leaders, [*endorsed*](https://michiganchronicle.com/2022/03/22/coalition-group-endorses-adam-hollier-as-their-consensus-candidate/) Mr. Hollier. But Ms. Lawrence and the local Democratic Party organization threw their support behind Ms. Roberson, the former Obama administration official.

The fracture helped Mr. Thanedar win the primary. It left the Republican nominee, Martell Bivings, as one of only two Black candidates on the ballot in the general election.

Mr. Bivings, 35, has been making the case that Black representation matters, in ways both subtle and explicit. He poses [*questions*](https://www.facebook.com/bivingsforcongress/posts/pfbid0bXTKEFwv9oL6mmZAVKc4BJ5qevhRsEzox6jsgPMztEPoqjh9juViwvLL5zXqZBil?__tn__=-R) on his Facebook page like “Do you play spades?” and has [*tweeted*](https://twitter.com/BivingsCongress/status/1565547740897185796?s=20&amp;t=M2MAeyNLo_QZ7oS_72QQvw) that he’s the only candidate who “knows what it feels like to be Black in America.”

Mr. Bivings said in an interview that his message is being well-received by Black voters, and centers on “family values, praying in schools” as well as gun rights and lower taxes. “Your auntie supports all of those.” Mr. Bivings said. He said he supports reparations for slavery (as does Mr. Thanedar) and school choice.

The odds are heavily stacked against Mr. Bivings. In 2020, both Ms. Tlaib and Ms. Lawrence [*beat*](https://detroitmi.gov/webapp/election-results) their Republican challengers in Detroit with more than 90 percent of the vote.

Do any of Detroit’s Black leaders plan to back Mr. Bivings? The Rev. Wendell Anthony, a member of the committee that backed Mr. Hollier, laughed heartily at the question, before revealing that Mr. Bivings had reached out about a meeting. “I’ll talk to anybody,” Mr. Anthony said.

This month, the conservative editorial page of [*The Detroit News endorsed Mr. Bivings*](https://www.detroitnews.com/story/opinion/editorials/2022/10/13/michigan-thirteenth-congressional-district-endorsement-martell-bivings/69559670007/?gnt-cfr=1), writing: “African Americans argue that this predominately Detroit seat should be held by someone most familiar with Detroit’s challenges. We agree.”

PHOTOS: State Representative Shri Thanedar, above, beat eight Black candidates in the Democratic primary. Alex Essary, pushing below left, says he hasn’t voted in a while but would back Mr. Thanedar. Below right, a new Gucci store downtown.; M. LEWIS BASS, a 71-year-old tenant organizer.; Mr. Thanedar greeting residents at a back-to-school event in August at Pallister Park. He came to the U.S. in 1979. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SYLVIA JARRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** October 25, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Republicans Now Have Two Ways to Threaten Elections; Jamelle Bouie***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6354-5511-JBG3-61KJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 16, 2021 Friday 13:07 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1685 words

**Byline:** Jamelle Bouie

**Highlight:** A ‘house divided’ cannot support our democracy.

**Body**

The story of voting rights in the United States looks less like a graph of exponential growth and more like a sine wave; there are highs and lows, peaks and plateaus.

President Biden captured this reality in [*his address*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/) on Tuesday at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia, where he spoke on the gathering threat to our democracy from the Republican Party’s twin efforts to suppress rival constituencies and seize control of state voting apparatuses.

“There is an unfolding assault taking place in America today,” Biden said. “An attempt to suppress and subvert the right to vote in fair and free elections, an assault on democracy, an assault on liberty, an assault on who we are — who we are as Americans.”

Biden is right. Americans today are witnesses to a ferocious attack on voting rights and majority rule. And as he pointed out, it is as focused on “who gets to count the vote” as it is on “who gets to vote.”

Biden is also right to say, as he did throughout the speech, that these attacks are “not unprecedented.” He pointed to Jim Crow and the “poll taxes and literacy tests and the Ku Klux Klan campaigns of violence and terror that lasted into the ’50s and ’60s.”

For obvious reasons, Jim Crow takes center stage in these discussions. But we should remember that it was part of a wave of suffrage restrictions aimed at ***working-class*** groups across the country: Black people in the South, Chinese Americans in the West and European immigrants in the North.

“The tide of democratic faith was at low ebb on all American shores after the Grant administration, and it would be a mistake to fix upon a reactionary temper in the South as a sectional peculiarity,” the historian C. Vann Woodward wrote in “[*Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/).”

For as much as Jim Crow dominates our collective memory of voting restrictions, it is the attack on suffrage in the North in those last decades of the 19th century that might actually be more relevant to our present situation.

The current assault on voting is a backlash, in part, to the greater access that marked the 2020 presidential election. More mail-in and greater early voting helped push turnout to modern highs. In the same way, the turn against universal manhood suffrage came after its expansion in the wake of the Civil War.

A growing number of voters were foreign-born, the result of mass immigration and the rapid growth of an immigrant ***working class*** in the industrial centers of the North. “Between 1865 and World War I,” wrote the historian Alexander Keyssar in “[*The Right to Vote*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/): The Contested History of Democracy in the United States,” “nearly 25 million immigrants journeyed to the United States, accounting for a large proportion of the nation’s World War I population of roughly 100 million.”

A vast majority arrived without property or the means to acquire it. Some were the Irish and Germans of previous waves of immigration, but many more were Eastern and Southern Europeans, with alien languages, exotic customs and unfamiliar faiths.

“By 1910,” noted Keyssar, “most urban residents were immigrants or the children of immigrants, and the nation’s huge ***working class*** was predominantly foreign-born, native-born of foreign parents or Black.”

To Americans of older stock, this was a disaster in waiting. And it fueled among them a backlash to the democratic expansion that followed the Civil War.

“A New England village of the olden time — that is to say, of some 40 years ago — would have been safely and well governed by the votes of every man in it,” Francis Parkman, a prominent historian and a member in good standing of the Boston elite, wrote in an 1878 essay called “[*The Failure of Universal Suffrage*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/).”

Parkman went on:

but, now that the village has grown into a populous city, with its factories and workshops, its acres of tenement-houses and thousands and ten thousands of restless workmen, foreigners for the most part, to whom liberty means license and politics means plunder, to whom the public good is nothing and their own most trivial interests everything, who love the country for what they can get out of it and whose ears are open to the promptings of every rascally agitator, the case is completely changed, and universal suffrage becomes a questionable blessing.

In “The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910,” the historian J. Morgan Kousser took note of William L. Scruggs, a turn-of-the-century scholar and diplomat who gave a similarly colorful assessment of universal suffrage in an 1884 article, “[*Restriction of the Suffrage*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/)”:

The idea of unqualified or “tramp” suffrage, like communism, with which it is closely allied, seems to be of modern origin; and, like that and kindred isms, it usually finds advocates and apologists in the ranks of the discontented, improvident, ignorant, vicious, depraved and dangerous classes of society. It is not indigenous to the soil of the United States. It originated in the slums of European cities, and, like the viper in the fable, has been nurtured into formidable activity in this country by misdirected kindness.

Beyond their presumed immorality and vice, the problem with new immigrant voters, from the perspective of these elites, was that they undermined so-called good government. “There is not the slightest doubt in my own mind that our prodigality with the suffrage has been the chief source of the corruption of our elections,” wrote the Progressive-era political scientist John W. Burgess in an 1895 article titled “[*The Ideal of the American Commonwealth*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/).”

This claim, that Black and immigrant voters were venal and corrupt — that they voted either illegally or irresponsibly — was common.

Here’s Keyssar:

Charges of corruption and naturalization fraud were repeated endlessly: electoral outcomes were twisted by “naturalization mills” that, with the aid of “professional perjurers and political manipulators,” transformed thousands of immigrants into citizens in the weeks before elections.

Out of this furious attack on universal male suffrage (and also, in other corners, the rising call for women’s suffrage) came a host of efforts to purify the electorate, spearheaded by progressive reformers in both parties. Lawmakers in Massachusetts passed “pauper exclusions” that disqualified from voting any men who received public relief on the day of the election. Republican lawmakers in New Jersey, targeting immigrant-dominated urban political machines in the state, required naturalized citizens to show naturalization documents to election officials before voting, intentionally burdening immigrants who did not have their papers or could not find them.

Lawmakers in Connecticut endorsed an English literacy requirement, and California voters amended their state Constitution to disenfranchise any person “who shall not be able to read the Constitution in the English language and write his name,” a move meant to keep Chinese and Mexican Americans from the ballot box. The introduction of the secret ballot and the polling booth made voting less communal and put an additional premium on literacy — if you couldn’t read the ballot, and if no one was allowed to assist, then how were you supposed to make a choice?

If suffrage restriction in the South was a blunt weapon meant to cleave entire communities from the body politic, then suffrage restriction in the North was a twisting maze of obstacles meant to block anyone without the means or education to overcome them.

There were opponents of this effort to shrink democracy. They lost. Voter turnout crashed in the first decades of the 20th century. [*Just 48.9 percent of eligible voters*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/) cast a ballot in the 1924 presidential election, an all-time low. “There were fewer Republicans in the South because of Jim Crow voter suppression and fewer Democrats in the North because of the active discouragement of ***working-class*** urban immigrant voters,” the historian Jon Grinspan noted in “[*The Age of Acrimony*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/): How Americans Fought to Fix Their Democracy, 1865-1915.” “The efforts of 50 years of restrainers had succeeded. A new political culture had been born: one that had been cleaned and calmed, stifled and squelched.”

It would take decades, and an epochal movement for civil rights, before the United States even came close to the democratic highs it reached in the years after Appomattox.

With all of that in mind, let’s return to Biden’s speech.

There was an urgency in what the president said in defense of voting rights, a sense that now is the only time left to act. “Look how close it came,” he said in reference to the attack on Congress on Jan. 6 and the effort to overturn the election. “We’re going to face another test in 2022: a new wave of unprecedented voter suppression, and raw and sustained election subversion. We have to prepare now.”

Right now, of course, there is no path to passage for a voting bill that could address the challenges ahead. Not every Democrat feels the same sense of urgency as the president, and key Democrats aren’t willing to change the rules of the Senate in order to send a bill to Biden’s desk.

It is possible that this is the right call, that there are other ways to block this assault on the franchise and that the attack on free and fair elections will stay confined to Republican-controlled states — meaning Democrats would need only a strategy of containment and not a plan to roll back the assault. But as we’ve seen, there is a certain momentum to political life and no guarantee of a stable equilibrium. The assault on voting might stay behind a partisan border, or it might not.

In other words, [*to borrow a turn of phrase from Abraham Lincoln*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/) on the question of democracy, this government will either become all of one thing or all of the other.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/) and [*Instagram*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/07/13/remarks-by-president-biden-on-protecting-the-sacred-constitutional-right-to-vote/).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY PAOLO KOCH/GAMMA-RAPHO, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** July 20, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Republicans Now Threaten Elections in Two Ways***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:635B-2GD1-JBG3-62TV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 17, 2021 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 16; JAMELLE BOUIE

**Length:** 1696 words

**Byline:** By Jamelle Bouie

**Body**

The story of voting rights in the United States looks less like a graph of exponential growth and more like a sine wave; there are highs and lows, peaks and plateaus.

President Biden captured this reality in his address on Tuesday at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia, where he spoke on the gathering threat to our democracy from the Republican Party's twin efforts to suppress rival constituencies and seize control of state voting apparatuses.

''There is an unfolding assault taking place in America today,'' Biden said. ''An attempt to suppress and subvert the right to vote in fair and free elections, an assault on democracy, an assault on liberty, an assault on who we are -- who we are as Americans.''

Biden is right. Americans today are witnesses to a ferocious attack on voting rights and majority rule. And as he pointed out, it is as focused on ''who gets to count the vote'' as it is on ''who gets to vote.''

Biden is also right to say, as he did throughout the speech, that these attacks are ''not unprecedented.'' He pointed to Jim Crow and the ''poll taxes and literacy tests and the Ku Klux Klan campaigns of violence and terror that lasted into the '50s and '60s.''

For obvious reasons, Jim Crow takes center stage in these discussions. But we should remember that it was part of a wave of suffrage restrictions aimed at ***working-class*** groups across the country: Black people in the South, Chinese Americans in the West and European immigrants in the North.

''The tide of democratic faith was at low ebb on all American shores after the Grant administration, and it would be a mistake to fix upon a reactionary temper in the South as a sectional peculiarity,'' the historian C. Vann Woodward wrote in ''Origins of the New South, 1877-1913.''

For as much as Jim Crow dominates our collective memory of voting restrictions, it is the attack on suffrage in the North in those last decades of the 19th century that might actually be more relevant to our present situation.

The current assault on voting is a backlash, in part, to the greater access that marked the 2020 presidential election. More mail-in and greater early voting helped push turnout to modern highs. In the same way, the turn against universal manhood suffrage came after its expansion in the wake of the Civil War.

A growing number of voters were foreign-born, the result of mass immigration and the rapid growth of an immigrant ***working class*** in the industrial centers of the North. ''Between 1865 and World War I,'' wrote the historian Alexander Keyssar in ''The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States,'' ''nearly 25 million immigrants journeyed to the United States, accounting for a large proportion of the nation's World War I population of roughly 100 million.''

A vast majority arrived without property or the means to acquire it. Some were the Irish and Germans of previous waves of immigration, but many more were Eastern and Southern Europeans, with alien languages, exotic customs and unfamiliar faiths.

''By 1910,'' noted Keyssar, ''most urban residents were immigrants or the children of immigrants, and the nation's huge ***working class*** was predominantly foreign-born, native-born of foreign parents or Black.''

To Americans of older stock, this was a disaster in waiting. And it fueled among them a backlash to the democratic expansion that followed the Civil War.

''A New England village of the olden time -- that is to say, of some 40 years ago -- would have been safely and well governed by the votes of every man in it,'' Francis Parkman, a prominent historian and a member in good standing of the Boston elite, wrote in an 1878 essay called ''The Failure of Universal Suffrage.''

Parkman went on:

but, now that the village has grown into a populous city, with its factories and workshops, its acres of tenement-houses and thousands and ten thousands of restless workmen, foreigners for the most part, to whom liberty means license and politics means plunder, to whom the public good is nothing and their own most trivial interests everything, who love the country for what they can get out of it and whose ears are open to the promptings of every rascally agitator, the case is completely changed, and universal suffrage becomes a questionable blessing.

In ''The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910,'' the historian J. Morgan Kousser took note of William L. Scruggs, a turn-of-the-century scholar and diplomat who gave a similarly colorful assessment of universal suffrage in an 1884 article, ''Restriction of the Suffrage'':

The idea of unqualified or ''tramp'' suffrage, like communism, with which it is closely allied, seems to be of modern origin; and, like that and kindred isms, it usually finds advocates and apologists in the ranks of the discontented, improvident, ignorant, vicious, depraved and dangerous classes of society. It is not indigenous to the soil of the United States. It originated in the slums of European cities, and, like the viper in the fable, has been nurtured into formidable activity in this country by misdirected kindness.

Beyond their presumed immorality and vice, the problem with new immigrant voters, from the perspective of these elites, was that they undermined so-called good government. ''There is not the slightest doubt in my own mind that our prodigality with the suffrage has been the chief source of the corruption of our elections,'' wrote the Progressive-era political scientist John W. Burgess in an 1895 article titled ''The Ideal of the American Commonwealth.''

This claim, that Black and immigrant voters were venal and corrupt -- that they voted either illegally or irresponsibly -- was common.

Here's Keyssar:

Charges of corruption and naturalization fraud were repeated endlessly: electoral outcomes were twisted by ''naturalization mills'' that, with the aid of ''professional perjurers and political manipulators,'' transformed thousands of immigrants into citizens in the weeks before elections.

Out of this furious attack on universal male suffrage (and also, in other corners, the rising call for women's suffrage) came a host of efforts to purify the electorate, spearheaded by progressive reformers in both parties. Lawmakers in Massachusetts passed ''pauper exclusions'' that disqualified from voting any men who received public relief on the day of the election. Republican lawmakers in New Jersey, targeting immigrant-dominated urban political machines in the state, required naturalized citizens to show naturalization documents to election officials before voting, intentionally burdening immigrants who did not have their papers or could not find them.

Lawmakers in Connecticut endorsed an English literacy requirement, and California voters amended their state Constitution to disenfranchise any person ''who shall not be able to read the Constitution in the English language and write his name,'' a move meant to keep Chinese and Mexican Americans from the ballot box. The introduction of the secret ballot and the polling booth made voting less communal and put an additional premium on literacy -- if you couldn't read the ballot, and if no one was allowed to assist, then how were you supposed to make a choice?

If suffrage restriction in the South was a blunt weapon meant to cleave entire communities from the body politic, then suffrage restriction in the North was a twisting maze of obstacles meant to block anyone without the means or education to overcome them.

There were opponents of this effort to shrink democracy. They lost. Voter turnout crashed in the first decades of the 20th century. Just 48.9 percent of eligible voters cast a ballot in the 1924 presidential election, an all-time low. ''There were fewer Republicans in the South because of Jim Crow voter suppression and fewer Democrats in the North because of the active discouragement of ***working-class*** urban immigrant voters,'' the historian Jon Grinspan noted in ''The Age of Acrimony: How Americans Fought to Fix Their Democracy, 1865-1915.'' ''The efforts of 50 years of restrainers had succeeded. A new political culture had been born: one that had been cleaned and calmed, stifled and squelched.''

It would take decades, and an epochal movement for civil rights, before the United States even came close to the democratic highs it reached in the years after Appomattox.

With all of that in mind, let's return to Biden's speech.

There was an urgency in what the president said in defense of voting rights, a sense that now is the only time left to act. ''Look how close it came,'' he said in reference to the attack on Congress on Jan. 6 and the effort to overturn the election. ''We're going to face another test in 2022: a new wave of unprecedented voter suppression, and raw and sustained election subversion. We have to prepare now.''

Right now, of course, there is no path to passage for a voting bill that could address the challenges ahead. Not every Democrat feels the same sense of urgency as the president, and key Democrats aren't willing to change the rules of the Senate in order to send a bill to Biden's desk.

It is possible that this is the right call, that there are other ways to block this assault on the franchise and that the attack on free and fair elections will stay confined to Republican-controlled states -- meaning Democrats would need only a strategy of containment and not a plan to roll back the assault. But as we've seen, there is a certain momentum to political life and no guarantee of a stable equilibrium. The assault on voting might stay behind a partisan border, or it might not.

In other words, to borrow a turn of phrase from Abraham Lincoln on the question of democracy, this government will either become all of one thing or all of the other.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/16/opinion/republicans-democrats-voter-suppression.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/16/opinion/republicans-democrats-voter-suppression.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY PAOLO KOCH/GAMMA-RAPHO, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2021

**End of Document**



[***French voters cast ballots with one eye already on the runoff.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6569-9X81-JBG3-64V7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 10, 2022 Sunday 11:07 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 539 words

**Byline:** Norimitsu Onishi

**Highlight:** Conversations with voters showed they were thinking strategically Sunday.

**Body**

Conversations with voters showed they were thinking strategically Sunday.

VERSAILLES, France — The French, it is said, vote with their hearts in the first round and with their heads in the second.

But voters in diverse cities near Paris appeared to use both when casting their ballots on Sunday, further evidence that France’s two-round voting system encourages unusually strategic thinking.

Twelve candidates were on the ballot. But with polls showing that the second round will most likely be a rematch between President Emmanuel Macron and the far-right leader, Marine Le Pen, voters were already thinking of the showdown set for April 24.

In Versailles, a center of the conservative Roman Catholic vote, the center-right candidate, [*Valérie Pécresse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/18/world/europe/france-valerie-pecresse-republicans.html), was the local favorite. But she was in the single digits in most polls.

After voting at City Hall, a couple who gave only their first names — Karl, 50, and Sophie, 51 — said they had voted for [*Éric Zemmour*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/04/10/world/french-presidential-election/eric-zemmour-a-far-right-tv-pundit-redefines-the-politically-acceptable), the far-right TV pundit who ran an anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim campaign.

“I’m in favor of selective immigration, instead of the current situation where we have immigrants who are seeking to take advantage of the French system,” said Karl, who works in real estate. He added that he had voted for Mr. Macron in 2017, but that he had been disappointed by the president’s policies toward immigration and his failure to overhaul the pension system.

This time, he and Sophie, a legal consultant, said they would support Ms. Le Pen in the runoff because they believed that she had gained credibility.

For Grégoire Pique, 30, an engineer concerned about the environment, his choice had been Yannick Jadot, the [*Green candidate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/12/world/europe/france-elections-greens-environment.html). But with Mr. Jadot languishing in the polls, Mr. Pique endorsed the longtime leftist leader, [*Jean-Luc Mélenchon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/26/world/europe/melenchon-france-election-left.html), ranked third in most polls.

In the second round, Mr. Pique said, he planned to reluctantly vote for Mr. Macron to block Ms. Le Pen.

“I don’t like this principle,” he said, “but I’ll do it.”

About 10 miles from Versailles, in Trappes, a ***working-class*** city with a large Muslim population, similar calculations were taking place.

Georget Savonni, 64, a retired transportation worker, said he voted with his heart for Ms. Pécresse, even though he knew that she had little chance of making it into the second round. Two Sundays from now, he said, he planned to vote reluctantly for Mr. Macron, also to stop Ms. Le Pen.

“I agree with most of Macron’s economic programs, and I feel he handled the pandemic very well,” Mr. Savonni said. “But I feel he doesn’t respect people and that he’s arrogant.”

Bilel Ayed, 22, a university student, wanted to support a minor left-leaning candidate, but endorsed Mr. Mélenchon, the leading candidate on the left. In the second round, he said, even though he believed that Ms. Le Pen, as president, would be far more terrible for France than Mr. Macron, he was unable to forgive the president for what he said was a crackdown on personal freedoms, like the violent suppression of the anti-government Yellow Vest movement.

“I’m not voting in the second round,” he said. “I’m staying home.”

PHOTO: Voting on Sunday at City Hall in Versailles, France. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andrea Mantovani for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 10, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Voter turnout slips, but not as much as experts had feared.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6568-WF01-DXY4-X29Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 10, 2022 Sunday 07:26 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 550 words

**Byline:** Constant Méheut

**Highlight:** Still, those who came to cast ballots did not seem excited about their choices.

**Body**

Still, those who came to cast ballots did not seem excited about their choices.

MELUN, France — On Sunday, candidates and experts alike were looking at one key figure that may determine the path of France’s presidential election: voter turnout.

Figures released at noon by the French Interior Ministry showed that by then turnout was slightly lower than in the most recent presidential election, with about 25 percent of voters having cast a ballot, compared with 28 percent at the same point in 2017. Although that is the lowest rate since 2002, the comparison with the previous election also suggested that voters have not massively shunned the voting booth, as many experts feared.

In Melun, a medium-sized city south of Paris, some voters seemed to lack enthusiasm, and others said they had been disillusioned by politicians they no longer trust.

“I’m still hesitating between putting in a blank ballot and voting for Valérie Pécresse,” said Sylvie Zocly, 41, who was just a few feet away from a polling station, referring to the center-right candidate. “It’s quite messy in my head,” she said.

Like other residents of Montaigu, an underprivileged neighborhood in northern Melun, where grim high-rises dominate and the population is largely made up of North African immigrants, Ms. Zocly said she was disappointed with the tone of the campaign. She said she believed the debate had been muted by President Emmanuel Macron’s refusal to engage with the other candidates and overwhelmed by security and immigration issues.

Karim Hachemi, who had just cast a dispassionate glance at campaign posters on display near the polling station, said he would not vote this year. “I don’t identify with the candidates,” he said. “They don’t appeal to me — they lie a lot.”

Mr. Hachemi, a 29-year-old computer engineer, said many around him had the same feeling and would not participate in Sunday’s vote. “I’ll watch Netflix instead and play computer games.”

Marine Le Pen, a far-right candidate, and Jean-Luc Mélenchon, a far-left candidate, are the candidates most likely to suffer if voters don’t turn out, as their support bases — made up of young and ***working-class*** voters — are often the ones likeliest to stay home on Election Day.

A [*recent study*](https://www.ipsos.com/fr-fr/presidentielle-2022/presidentielle-2022-vers-un-record-dabstention) by the polling firm Ipsos estimated that around 30 percent of voters could sit out this year, an eight-point increase from the previous presidential election. But the ministry’s midday turnout numbers — showing only a three-point drop in participation from 2017 — suggest that the overall picture may not be so bleak.

Among poll workers in Montaigu, where only about 20 percent of voters have turned out in recent local elections, the mood was even rather optimistic.

Alain Dejouy, a mustachioed assessor who was standing next to a ballot box where dozens of blue voting envelopes where lying, said that about 15 percent of the neighborhood’s voters had already cast a ballot by midday, compared with 10 percent in the previous presidential election.

“We’ve done really well!” Mr. Dejouy grinned.

PHOTO: Figures released by the French Interior Ministry showed that midday turnout was slightly lower than in the previous presidential election, with about 25 percent of voters casting a ballot. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andrea Mantovani for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 10, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Erin Doherty Shape Shifts in ‘Chloe’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65PS-F631-DXY4-X2CS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 17, 2022 Friday 12:45 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1398 words

**Byline:** Simran Hans

**Highlight:** The actress, known for playing Princess Anne in “The Crown,” embodies a ***working class*** con woman in a new limited series on Amazon Prime Video.

**Body**

LONDON — After playing Princess Anne in two seasons of “The Crown,” Erin Doherty realized that people assumed she had a similar — if not quite as regal — background.

Nina Gold, who scouted Doherty for “The Crown,” had long thought that “playing a whole different kind of social class is one of the most difficult things to do convincingly,” she said, until “Erin really blew that theory of mine.”

The actress, 29, actually grew up in Crawley, a town in south England whose most famous landmark is Gatwick Airport. But it took some time to “not be seen as this upper class actor,” she said in a recent interview. When she read the script for “Chloe,” a tense six-part noir about a ***working class*** con woman, she signed up immediately.

In the limited series, which comes to Amazon Prime Video on June 24, she plays Becky, an office temp worker, who becomes obsessed with the life and death of Chloe (Poppy Gilbert), a wealthy and glamorous redhead she used to know. In order to investigate what happened to Chloe, Becky poses as Sasha, who speaks with the right upper crust accent and wears the right designer clothes to be accepted by Chloe’s friends. Like the narrator in Daphne du Maurier’s novel “Rebecca,” the specter of Chloe becomes a fixation whose reality, it turns out, Becky knew nothing about.

Doherty plays Becky’s escape from a drab life caring for her mother, who suffers from early onset dementia, into a seemingly better life as Sasha with equal parts guilt and relish.

Becky, a compulsive liar with a severe Instagram addiction from southwest England, is the “polar opposite to Anne,” Doherty said. After her role on “The Crown,” period pieces about blue bloods kept landing in her inbox, but “Chloe” is Doherty’s first television role since playing the princess.

Growing up in Crawley, “I was always like, ‘Right. How am I gonna get out, then?’” Doherty said. Her acting ambitions were sparked by films like “Kramer vs. Kramer,” which her father showed her when she was a child. He made her a syllabus of classic films, and encouraged her to study performers like Dustin Hoffman and Robert DeNiro.

On weekends, her father would ferry her between drama club and soccer practice. “Women’s football is massive now,” she said, but it didn’t feel like a career option at the time. She recalled the former England captain Faye White presenting an award at her football club. The teenage Doherty was star-struck, but was dismayed when White explained that playing professional football wasn’t her full-time job. Doherty decided to pursue acting instead.

When she left high school, Doherty auditioned for a number of drama schools, and didn’t get into any of them. After an acting foundation year, she was accepted into the Bristol Old Vic Theater School, whose alumni include the Oscar winners Daniel Day-Lewis, Jeremy Irons and Doherty’s “The Crown” co-star Olivia Colman. But “I didn’t really know anything about the legacy,” she said.

Prestigious London theater schools, like the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, seemed “massively intimidating,” she said. “There was a vibe I felt hugely uncomfortable with.” Nestled in a leafy suburb, the Bristol Old Vic was like a school inside a big house. Its cozier atmosphere suited her better.

Although Doherty had spent countless weekends and summer holidays performing, when she was 19 it suddenly struck her that she had never seen a play. “So, I booked my ticket,” she said, to see a play by Mike Bartlett at the National Theater.

“Where I came from, it wasn’t a casual thing,” Doherty said. But at the theater, “there were people there in jeans and a T-shirt.” Since then, “there’s something about plays and theater that just shakes me a different way,” she said. In September, Doherty will play Abigail Williams in Arthur Miller’s “[*The Crucible*](https://www.nationaltheatre.org.uk/shows/the-crucible)” at the National.

“We’re all dealing with whether or not we feel worthy of things, like me going into the theater,” Doherty said. British class anxiety, which Doherty said she still experiences, is at the heart of “Chloe.”

Alice Seabright, the show’s creator and writer, spent part of her childhood in France, and said that she was interested by how, “In the U.K., people are just so attuned to where people are from and people’s backgrounds.” As Becky hides her real accent and background, her deception exposes the “world she’s entering as being full of fictions — also full of lies,” Seabright, 32, said.

With her tendency toward self-loathing, Becky might be dismissed as unlikable. When she was casting the role, Seabright remembered something the filmmaker Mike Nichols once said: Go with the person your character becomes by the end of the film. “There’s a warm energy to Erin that is the opposite of who Becky is when you meet her,” she said. “But it’s who she is underneath.” After casting Doherty in “The Crown,” Gold also chose Doherty for a role in the upcoming period feature “Firebrand.”

Doherty is drawn to material with a serious side. “I really, really care about why people’s stories need to be told,” she said. “Whenever I go home, my dad is always like, ‘Are you gonna do anything funny?’” She developed this quiet intensity at drama school, she said, where she was “very, very serious” about her studies. “I was the person who didn’t go out at all,” she said. “I didn’t have a relationship. I didn’t really have many friends. The friends that I had were people who I admired.”

“Chloe” also explores the intensity of female friendship. Doherty never had many friends growing up, she said. But in a coffee shop overlooking the River Thames, she was effervescent company with an impish sense of humor; it was difficult to imagine her as a loner.

“I love people, but I think I get overwhelmed by how much of an impact they can have on your life,” she said. Her last best friend was in elementary school, and when they were then sent to different subsequent schools, “I remember being really, really heartbroken by it,” Doherty said. “Honestly, I’ve not had a best friend since.”

Through the characters of Becky and Chloe, Seabright interrogates what happens when young women put one another on a pedestal, and feel “like that person is throwing back an image of you that makes you feel bad about yourself,” she said.

To viewers who grew up online, that dynamic might feel familiar. “The image of someone can loom over your life, even if you’ve never met them, or very rarely meet them,” Seabright said.

Doherty described the parasocial relationship between Becky and Chloe, conducted via Becky’s obsessive scrolling of Chloe’s social media, as relatable, and said she understood how an obsession can swallow you. “I think it’s really easy to become hooked on things, on people, on outlooks,” she said, despite people having “an inner world that is so different” from what they present to the world.

With a relatively modest (for a “Crown” actor) 113,000 followers on [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/erinrdoherty/), Doherty’s fans likely have their own parasocial relationships with her. She is ambivalent about social media.

“There are things that I do want to be a part of. Being a visible gay woman is really important to me, and I really want people to know that,” she said. Doherty met her girlfriend, the actress Sophie Melville, while they were doing a play together called “[*The Divide*](https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2017/aug/20/divide-flight-adam-meet-me-at-dawn-edinburgh-festival-review)” in 2017. Two years into their relationship, Doherty posted [*a photo*](https://www.instagram.com/p/B5dMq6Yl3cT/?hl=en) of the pair holding hands on the red carpet to Instagram.

She finds that public aspect of being an actor “jarring,” she said. Dressing up for red carpet events is “like a little ticket,” she said. “As long as you’re wearing that outfit, you’re allowed to be here.” But the person inside the designer outfit still wonders what’s going on, Doherty said: “The extravagance of it is quite unnerving.”

However much her job requires Doherty to shape shift and enter rooms that might be more familiar to Sasha than Becky, you can still hear the actress’s hometown in her lively, frank way of speaking.

“Thankfully, my accent is one that people feel at ease around,” she said.

PHOTOS: Erin Doherty, right, played Princess Anne in “The Crown,” below. After that show, she says, it took some time to “not be seen as this upper-class actor.” Bottom, Doherty plays the con woman Becky Green in “Chloe,” a new limited series on Amazon Prime Video. British class anxiety is at the heart of the show. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AMY LOMBARD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; NETFLIX; YORK TILLYER/AMAZON STUDIOS)

**Load-Date:** June 17, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Reorienting Turkey's Culture for His Own Ends***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:689X-1N71-JBG3-634S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 26, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 1875 words

**Byline:** By Jason Farago

**Body**

At the final sundown before the first round of voting in the toughest election of his two-decade rule, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey visited Hagia Sophia for evening prayers -- and to remind his voters of just what he had delivered.

For nearly a millennium the domed cathedral had been the epicenter of Orthodox Christianity. After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, it became one of the Islamic world's finest mosques. In the 1930s, the new Turkish republic proclaimed it a museum, and for nearly a century its overlapping Christian and Muslim histories made it Turkey's most visited cultural site.

President Erdogan was not so ecumenical: In 2020 he converted it back into a mosque. When Turks return to the ballot box this Sunday for the presidential runoff, they will be voting in part on the political ideology behind that cultural metamorphosis.

Join the crowds at the Hagia Sophia Grand Mosque now, leaving your shoes at the new long racks in the inner narthex, and you can just about glimpse the mosaics of Christ and the Virgin, today discreetly sheathed with white curtains. The famous marble floor has been upholstered with thick turquoise carpet. The sound is more muffled. The light's brighter, thanks to golden chandeliers. Right at the entrance, in a simple frame, is a presidential proclamation: a monumental swipe at the nation's secular century, and an affirmation of a new Turkey worthy of its Ottoman heyday.

''Hagia Sophia is the crowning of that neo-Ottomanist dream,'' said Edhem Eldem, professor of history at Bogazici University in Istanbul. ''It's basically a transposition of political and ideological fights, debates, polemical views, into the realm of a very, very primitive understanding of history and the past.''

If the mark of 21st-century politics is the ascendancy of culture and identity over economics and class, it could be said to have been born here in Turkey, home to one of the longest-running culture wars of them all. And for the past 20 years, in grand monuments and on schlocky soap operas, at restored archaeological sites and retro new mosques, Mr. Erdogan has reoriented Turkey's national culture, promoting a nostalgic revival of the Ottoman past -- sometimes in grand style, sometimes as pure kitsch.

After surviving a tight first round of voting earlier this month, he is now favored to win a runoff election on Sunday against Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the candidate of the joint opposition. His resiliency, when poll after poll predicted his defeat, certainly expresses his party's systematic control of Turkey's media and courts. (Freedom House, a democracy watchdog organization, downgraded Turkey from ''partly free'' to ''not free'' in 2018.) But authoritarianism is about so much more than ballots and bullets. Television and music, monuments and memorials have all been prime levers of a political project, a campaign of cultural ressentiment and national rebirth, that culminated this May on the blue-green carpets beneath Hagia Sophia's dome.

Outside Turkey, this cultural turn is often described as ''Islamist,'' and Mr. Erdogan and his Justice and Development Party, known as the A.K.P., have indeed permitted religious observances that were once banned, such as the wearing of head scarves by women in public institutions. A Museum of Islamic Civilizations, complete with a ''digital dome'' and light projections à la the immersive Van Gogh Experience, opened in 2022 in Istanbul's new largest mosque.

Yet this election suggests that nationalism, rather than religion, may be the true driver of Mr. Erdogan's cultural revolution. His celebrations of the Ottoman past -- and the resentment of its supposed haters, whether in the West or at home -- have gone hand in hand with nationalist efforts unrelated to Islam. The country has mounted aggressive campaigns for the return of Greco-Roman antiquities from Western museums. Foreign archaeological teams have had their permits withdrawn. Turkey stands at the bleak vanguard of a tendency seen all over now, not least in the United States: a cultural politics of perpetual grievance, where even in victory you are indignant.

For this country's writers, artists, scholars and singers, facing censorship or worse, the prospect of a change in government was less a matter of political preference than of practical survival. Since 2013, when an Occupy-style protest movement at Istanbul's Gezi Park took direct aim at his government, Mr. Erdogan has taken a hard turn to authoritarian rule. Numerous cultural figures remain imprisoned, including the architect Mucella Yapici, the filmmakers Mine Ozerden and Cigdem Mater, and the arts philanthropist Osman Kavala. Writers like Can Dundar and Asli Erdogan (no relation), who were jailed during the purges that followed a failed military coup against Mr. Erdogan in 2016, live in exile in Germany.

More than a dozen musical concerts were canceled last year, among them a recital by the violinist Ara Malikian, who is of Armenian descent, and a gig by the pop-folk singer Aynur Dogan, who is Kurdish. The tensions reached a grim crescendo this month, shortly before the first round of voting, when a Kurdish singer was stabbed to death at a ferry terminal after declining to sing a Turkish nationalist song.

In the days after the first round of voting, I met with Banu Cennetoglu, one of the country's most acclaimed artists, whose commemoration of a Kurdish journalist at the 2017 edition of the contemporary art exhibition Documenta won acclaim abroad but brought aggravation at home. ''What is scary right now compared to the 90s, which was also a very difficult time, especially for the Kurdish community, is that then we could guess where the evil was coming from,'' she told me. ''And now it could be anyone. It is much more random.''

The strategy has worked. Independent media has shrunk. Self-censorship is rife. ''All the institutions within art and culture have been extremely silent for five years,'' Ms. Cennetoglu said. ''And for me this is unacceptable, as an artist. This is my question: when do we activate the red line? When do we say no, and why?''

Nationalism is nothing new in Turkey. ''Everybody and his uncle is a nationalist in this country,'' Mr. Eldem observed. And the Kemalists -- the secular elite who dominated politics here for decades until Mr. Erdogan's triumph in 2003 -- also used nationalist themes to spin culture to their political ends. Turkey's early cinema glorified the achievements of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Archaeological digs for Hittite antiquities aimed to provide the new republic with a past rooted even more deeply than Greece and Italy.

In the 2000s, Mr. Erdogan's blend of Islamism and reformism had Turkey knocking at the door of the European Union. A new Istanbul was being feted in the foreign press. But the new Turkish nationalism has a different cultural cast: proudly Islamic, often antagonistic, and sometimes a little paranoid.

One of the signal cultural institutions of the Erdogan years is the Panorama 1453 History Museum, in a ***working-class*** district west of Hagia Sophia, where schoolchildren discover the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in a painted cyclorama. At one point, a painting in the round might have been immersion enough. Now it's been souped up with blaring video projections, a wildly nationalist pageant styled like the video game ''Civilization.'' Kids can watch Sultan Mehmed II charge toward Hagia Sophia, while his horse rears up in front of a celestial fireball.

There's a similar backward projection in Turkey's television dramas, which are hugely popular not just here but internationally, with hundreds of millions of viewers throughout the Muslim world, in Germany, in Mexico, all over. On shows such as ''Resurrection: Ertugrul,'' an international hit about a 13th-century Turkic chieftain, or ''Kurulus: Osman,'' a ''Game of Thrones''-esque Ottoman saga airing every Wednesday here, past and present start to merge.

''They are casting the discourse of Tayyip Erdogan in the antique ages,'' said Ayse Cavdar, a cultural anthropologist who's studied these shows. ''If Erdogan faces a struggle right now, it is recast in an Ottoman context, a fictional context. In this way, not the knowledge about today's struggle, but the feeling of it, is spread through society.''

In these half-historical soap operas, the heroes are decisive, brave, glorious, but the polities they lead are fragile, teetering, menaced by outsiders. Ms. Cavdar noted how frequently the TV shows feature leaders of an emerging, endangered state. ''As if this guy has not been governing the state for 20 years!'' she said.

Culture came on the agenda during the runoff, too, as Mr. Erdogan showed up to inaugurate the new home of Istanbul Modern. The president had praise for the new Bosporus-side museum, designed by the Italian architect Renzo Piano -- but he couldn't help bashing the creations of the previous century, with what he described as a misguided abandonment of the Ottoman tradition.

Now, the president promised, an authentic ''Turkish century'' was about to dawn.

Assuming he wins on Sunday, his neo-Ottomanism will have survived its strongest test in two decades. The cultural figures with the most to regret are of course those in prison, but it will also be a bitter outcome for the academics, authors and others who left the country in the wake of Mr. Erdogan's purges. ''A.K.P.'s social engineering can be compared to monoculture in industrial agriculture,'' said Asli Cavusoglu, a young artist who recently had a solo show at New York's New Museum. ''There is one type of vegetable they invest in. Other plants -- intellectuals, artists -- are unable to grow, and that's why they leave.''

Turkey's minorities may face the greatest hazards. At the memorial museum for Hrant Dink, the Turkish-Armenian journalist assassinated in 2007, I looked through copies of his independent newspaper and watched footage of his television chat shows, each an admonishment of contemporary Turkey's constricted freedom of expression. ''Civil society actors are becoming more prudent,'' said Nayat Karakose, who oversees the museum and is of Armenian descent. ''They do events in a more cautious way.''

For Mr. Eldem, who has spent his career studying Ottoman history, the reconversion of Hagia Sophia and the ''Tudors''-style TV dramas are all of a piece, and are less confident than they seem. ''Nationalism is not just glorification,'' he said. ''It's also victimization. You can't have proper nationalism if you've never suffered. Because suffering gives you also absolution from potential misconduct.''

''So what the naïve Turkish nationalist, and especially neo-Ottomanist nationalist, wants,'' he added, ''is to bring together the idea of a glorious empire that would have been benign. That's not a thing. An empire is an empire.''

But whether or not Mr. Erdogan wins the election on Sunday, there are headwinds that no amount of cultural nationalism can stand against: above all, inflation and a currency crisis that has bankers and financial analysts flashing a red alert. ''In that future, there's no place for heritage,'' Mr. Eldem said. ''The Ottomans are not going to save you.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/25/arts/turkey-election-erdogan-culture.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/25/arts/turkey-election-erdogan-culture.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Panorama 1453 museum in Istanbul depicts the Ottoman conquest. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan faces a runoff vote Sunday. (A1)

Visitors at Hagia Sofia in Istanbul, which President Recep Tayyip Erdogan turned back into a mosque in 2020 after it had been a secular museum for nearly a century. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRADLEY SECKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Mr. Erdogan, above left, praying at Hagia Sophia on the eve of the first round of elections this month. The historian Edhem Eldem, above right, says the building embodies the ''neo-Ottomanist dream.'' In what began as a cathedral, white curtains, below, cover some of the Christian mosaics. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MURAT CETINMUHURDAR/PPO, VIA REUTERS

BRADLEY SECKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A6) This article appeared in print on page A1, A6.

**Load-Date:** May 26, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Looming Rent Increase of Up to 9 Percent Tests Adams’s Housing Priorities***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65CD-RSW1-JBG3-62F3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 4, 2022 Wednesday 15:53 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1264 words

**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Highlight:** Some Democrats are calling proposed increases for New York City’s roughly one million rent-stabilized apartments “unconscionable.” Mayor Eric Adams says he wants to support small landlords.

**Body**

Some Democrats are calling proposed increases for New York City’s roughly one million rent-stabilized apartments “unconscionable.” Mayor Eric Adams says he wants to support small landlords.

When he ran for mayor, [*Eric Adams*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/eric-adams-mayor-nyc) positioned himself as a champion for the ***working class*** — a lifelong New Yorker who had grown up in poverty and won support from voters in the boroughs outside Manhattan.

But in his first months in office, he could oversee rent increases of up to 9 percent for the city’s roughly one million rent-stabilized apartments.

The powerful Rent Guidelines Board, which the mayor effectively controls, will take a preliminary vote on Thursday on proposed rent increases of 2.7 to 4.5 percent on one-year leases and 4.3 to 9 percent on two-year leases. A final vote is expected in June.

Critics say those rates are too steep — [*9 percent would be the largest increase since 1990*](https://rentguidelinesboard.cityofnewyork.us/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/apartmentchart.pdf) — and unfair when the state’s eviction moratorium ended in January and market-rate rents across the city are rising.

More than [*2,000 eviction cases are being filed each week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/02/nyregion/new-york-evictions-cases.html), and [*rents have risen 33 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/08/realestate/nyc-rent-cost.html), according to one real estate website.

The proposed rent increases present a challenge for Mr. Adams, a Democrat, who is facing criticism within his party for supporting any substantial increase when many New Yorkers are still struggling during the pandemic.

His predecessor, Bill de Blasio, backed rent freezes and modest increases during his eight years in office because he said they were crucial to fighting inequality.

Mr. Adams, who is himself a landlord and has rented out his Brooklyn property, which is not rent stabilized, has defended the need for rent increases, though he did not say how much they should rise.

He argued that higher rents were necessary for small property owners facing rising costs.

“We must be fair here — allow tenants to be able to stay in their living arrangements, but we need to look after those small mom-and-pop owners,” Mr. Adams said at a news conference last month. “If you invested all your money into a 10-unit house, and you cannot pay the bills, you could lose that.”

Groups like the Working Families Party [*note that most rent-stabilized buildings are owned by large landlords*](https://twitter.com/NYWFP/status/1517270116257439744?s=20&amp;t=UWzsaV_iNXZdOLkiczT2gg), not small property owners. They point to a [*report by a tenant advocate and adjunct urban planning professor at New York University*](https://medium.com/justfixnyc/examining-the-myth-of-the-mom-and-pop-landlord-6f9f252a09c) that found that only about one-third of rent-regulated buildings were owned by landlords who had five buildings or fewer.

The issue is part of a growing rift over housing between Mr. Adams and the City Council, where leaders have criticized the mayor’s focus on removing homeless encampments at a time when affordable housing is scarce.

Adrienne Adams, the Council speaker, [*called the proposed rent increases “unconscionable”*](https://twitter.com/NYCSpeakerAdams/status/1516423417871974410?s=20&amp;t=_NdFg0Jfs6vDdyqmQ3PSMg) and said they would “only exacerbate the housing and homelessness crises confronting our city.”

The politics of a rent increase are complicated for the mayor, said Basil Smikle, director of the public policy program at Hunter College. Mr. Adams could be viewed as insensitive to the concerns of New Yorkers who are struggling to pay rent, but his message about supporting small property owners could connect with his supporters, Mr. Smikle said.

“It’s possible that a lot of the mom-and-pop owners came from areas where he got strong support in Queens and Brooklyn,” he said.

A [*report by the Rent Guidelines Board*](https://rentguidelinesboard.cityofnewyork.us/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/2022-PIOC.pdf) found that costs have risen substantially for building owners since spring of last year, including a 19.6 percent increase in fuel costs. Insurance costs rose 10.9 percent and utilities like electricity rose 5.8 percent.

Shahana Hanif, a City Council member from Brooklyn and a [*chair of the progressive caucus*](https://council.nyc.gov/caucuses/progressive-caucus/), said the rent increases would be “excruciatingly painful” for tenants and urged the Adams administration to look for other solutions to support small landlords.

“I’m adamantly opposed to the rent hike and find it really disgraceful that the mayor isn’t showing the compassion and empathy that we need for tenants,” she said.

The annual decision by the Rent Guidelines Board, which affects more than two million residents who live in buildings built before 1974 that have six or more units, always ignites passionate debate and an intense lobbying effort from tenants and landlords.

For decades, the board approved sizable increases almost every year — often from 3 percent on one-year leases to 8 percent on two-year leases — but that came to an end under Mr. de Blasio. As he left office, Mr. de Blasio named the board’s rent freezes and modest increases during his tenure as one of [*his greatest achievements*](https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/home/downloads/pdf/press-releases/2021/Wealth-Transfer-Report.pdf).

Landlords have pushed for substantial rent increases at the higher end of the proposed range. They argue that new [*state rent laws approved in 2019*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/14/nyregion/rent-laws-ny-deal.html) favoring tenants already made conditions more difficult for landlords.

“This is a starting point for owners to recover from eight years of rent freezes and inadequate guidelines, and the draconian changes to the state’s rent laws,” said Vito Signorile, a vice president at the Rent Stabilization Association, which represents about 25,000 owners.

The rent board has nine members, all appointed by the mayor: five representatives of the public, two of owners and two of tenants. Mr. Adams has named three appointees since taking office.

His choice in March of Arpit Gupta, a finance professor at N.Y.U. and an adjunct fellow at the right-leaning Manhattan Institute, as a representative of the public raised concern among tenant advocates.

Mr. Gupta [*told Vox last year*](https://www.vox.com/22789296/housing-crisis-rent-relief-control-supply) that he was a “little skeptical of rent control.” He declined a request for an interview on Wednesday.

Brad Lander, the city comptroller, said that appointing someone “who has expressed skepticism about the entire system of rent regulation is deeply troubling.” He [*urged the board to reconsider*](https://comptroller.nyc.gov/newsroom/comptroller-lander-calls-on-the-nyc-rent-guideline-board-to-reconsider-proposed-rent-increases/) its proposed increases.

“While a modest rent increase may be merited this year, Mayor Adams’s appointed board must not return to the days of Giuliani and Bloomberg’s unreasonably high increases,” Mr. Lander said.

Mr. Adams also appointed Christina Smyth, a lawyer who says on LinkedIn that she represents “multifamily building owners,” as the landlords’ representative, and Adán Soltren, a staff attorney at the Legal Aid Society, a nonprofit that provides legal services to poor New Yorkers, as a representative of tenants.

Mr. Adams won a competitive Democratic primary last year with support from Black and Latino voters and ***working-class*** neighborhoods, but he is also close to business leaders and real estate developers.

Members of the Real Estate Board of New York, the real estate industry’s main lobbying arm, donated to Mr. Adams’s campaign or to a PAC that supported him.

Aby Rosen, a co-founder of RFR Realty, gave $100,000 to the PAC, called “Strong Leadership NYC,” and Gary Barnett, the founder of Extell Development Company, gave it $250,000. Other real estate executives like Richard LeFrak, chief executive of the LeFrak Organization, donated to Mr. Adams’s campaign.

Mr. Adams said last month that small landlords had been “decimated” by the pandemic and could lose their buildings to landlords who own thousands of units.

“What happens if they lose their buildings?” Mr. Adams said. “The megaguys come in and buy the buildings, and now we see the gentrification that we all say we fear.”

Dana Rubinstein and Mihir Zaveri contributed reporting.

Dana Rubinstein and Mihir Zaveri contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams is facing criticism within his party for supporting rent increases when many New Yorkers are struggling. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 5, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Macron's Plan Leads Garbage Workers (and Others) to Raise a Stink***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67SS-3KX1-DXY4-X36H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 16, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1461 words

**Byline:** By Catherine Porter

**Body**

A bill raising the retirement age for most workers by two years, to 64, could become law this week despite widespread protests, including a strike by garbage workers in Paris and elsewhere.

Mounds of food waste piled in view of the Eiffel Tower. Small cobblestone streets lined with overflowing garbage bins. The bank of the Seine skirted by heaps of trash.

For more than a week now, garbage workers in parts of Paris and other cities across France have been on strike, protesting President Emmanuel Macron's plan to raise the age when most workers begin collecting a government pension to 64, from 62.

The refuse rising in insalubrious piles, some taller than the pedestrians trying to avoid them, is a smelly, visceral symbol of popular outrage at the government's plan. It also serves as a physical reminder of the hardship of professions not suited for old age, garbage workers say.

''You can see our work all over Paris,'' said Alain Auvinet, 55, picketing at the garbage incinerator on the city's western edge where he has worked for 35 years. ''We held huge protests. The government didn't listen. Instead, it gave us the finger. This is our last way of pushing back.''

After two months of political debates, large protests in towns and cities across the country and scattered strikes, the final decision on France's pension system is likely to be made this week. On Wednesday, amid more boisterous protests across the country, a joint committee of lawmakers from both parliamentary houses hammered out a common version of the proposed law, which will be presented to the Senate and National Assembly for final approval on Thursday.

The looming question is whether Mr. Macron has assembled enough support from outside his hodgepodge centrist political party to secure the vote in the National Assembly, where it no longer holds a strong majority. If not, the next question is whether Prime Minister Élisabeth Borne would instead use her constitutional power to force the bill into law without a vote, exposing the government to a no-confidence motion.

Members of the government believed the ''conditions were met'' for a majority to approve the bill, its spokesman, Olivier Véran, said on Wednesday. The government was not contemplating using the alternative constitutional force, he said, ''but neither are we contemplating abandoning our pension reform plans.''

Either way, few expect to see the week's end with France retaining a retirement age of 62.

''I support the strikers,'' said Dawoud Guenfoud, looking out at a slalom course of overflowing garbage bins lining the sidewalk outside the decorations and gift store he manages near Place de la Madeleine. ''But, I think the reform is going to pass.''

The French enjoy one of the most generous retirement systems in Europe. Built after World War II as part of the country's lauded social protection system, the complex pension program offers what many consider a golden -- and lengthy -- third stage of life, to explore passions, enjoy grandchildren and volunteer while enjoying a standard of living on par with or better than the general population. As many workers like garbage collectors argue, it is also seen as a time to recuperate from a lifetime of arduous labor.

Mr. Macron's government argues the retirement age must be pushed up to keep the system solvent. Current workers and their employers pay for the pensions of retirees, but with people living longer and the number of pensioners growing, the system faces long-term deficits.

But even the official body tasked with monitoring France's pension system has acknowledged that there is no immediate threat of bankruptcy, and unions and left-wing opponents have accused Mr. Macron of ignoring other ways of increasing funding, including taxes on the wealthy.

From the beginning, opinion polls have shown that a large and relatively unwavering majority of French people oppose the change. Millions have poured into the street for eight national protest marches.

While the country's eight leading unions have joined together in a relatively rare show of unity to oppose the change, so far they have little to show for their actions. Mr. Macron declined to meet with them last week, arguing that he did not want to circumvent the parliamentary debates.

On Wednesday, marchers gathered in towns and cities across France to express their final opposition to the bill.

''This is not what I expected Paris to look like,'' said Martina Stengina, 18, a German university student, stepping out of a taxi and maneuvering her bright red suitcase around a sprawling jumble of garbage in the middle of the street in the city's eastern end, where she had rented an apartment. ''I just hope this doesn't bring rats into our place,'' she said, as one of her friends posed for a selfie in front of the trash.

Georgina Pillement, 32, surveyed the piles of garbage outside her office building near Place Vendôme during a smoke break.

''France is supposed to be a leader in ecology,'' said Ms. Pillement, who works at a green investment firm. ''The Olympic Games are just a year away. This makes me a bit worried.''

The workers went on strike more than a week ago in cities across the country, including Le Havre, Nantes, Antibes and Rennes. In Paris, about half of the city has been affected, from the swanky 16th arrondissement, to the city's historic intellectual heart in the Latin Quarter and ***working-class*** residential areas in the east.

On Wednesday, some 7,600 metric tons of garbage remained uncollected on the street, according to Paris city hall. Workers at all three incinerators that burn the city's garbage are also striking.

Relishing the chance to redirect the anger, some national government ministers attacked the Socialist mayor, Anne Hidalgo, and the Paris city administration, which hung two banners is support of the protest movement outside its ornate city hall, for not picking up the garbage.

Deputy Mayor Emmanuel Grégoire responded by saying that Mr. Macron's government was responsible. He expressed sympathy for garbage workers who have lower life expectancy than business executives, saying two more years of work ''counts a lot.''

''The best way to get them back to work is to withdraw the retirement reform bill,'' he said.

Few people think that will happen. The government is expected to force its plan through, no matter how unpopular.

''You no longer lead; you no longer seek to obtain the consent of the people,'' declared François Ruffin, a far-left lawmaker with the France Unbowed party, during a question period in the National Assembly on Tuesday. ''You are crushing a democracy that you should heal; you are damaging a country that needs to be repaired.''

Ms. Borne, the prime minister, responded that her government had already consulted widely, and expected the support of a majority that ''believes in the pension system'' and ''wants to guarantee that youth will benefit from it.''

If the bill becomes law, it is unclear whether huge protests would continue and what long-term ramifications that would have, if any, for Mr. Macron and his government.

Some political analysts predict that the protests will dissipate, but that a bitterness will drive voters to punish Mr. Macron's party, first in next year's European Parliament elections.

''People won't mobilize for a law that's already been voted on by the Parliament because French workers recognize the legitimacy of Parliament that results from universal suffrage,'' said Guy Groux, a sociologist at Sciences Po. ''The most likely outcome is that unions will say, 'If the law is passed, there will be political repercussions at the ballot box.'''

But the specter of pushing the bill through without a vote -- though constitutional -- strikes many as undemocratic. ''The least we can say is that it will be seriously disrespectful of what is happening in the streets and of what public opinion thinks,'' said Philippe Martinez, the head of the far-left CGT union on Wednesday. His workers intended to continue the combat, he said.

Many see the planned change as a threat to their way of life and values.

''France is a country of solidarity. We are losing that, bit by bit,'' said Mr. Auvinet, the picketing worker, who hopes to still retire early at 57, like most garbage workers under the current system in France. Under the government's plan, that age would be pushed gradually to 59.

Standing beside him before a fire set in a metal container outside the dormant incinerator in Issy-les-Moulineaux, his colleague Vincent Pommier, 27, agreed: ''We believe in living, not surviving. We aren't numbers. We aren't beasts.''

Tom Nouvian and Aurelien Breeden contributed reporting.Tom Nouvian and Aurelien Breeden contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/15/world/europe/garbage-strike-france-pension-retirement-macron.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/15/world/europe/garbage-strike-france-pension-retirement-macron.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Garbage has piled up on the streets of Paris, above and near left, during a garbage workers' strike. In Lyon, an officer was hit with a trash bin as demonstrators and the police clashed. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ZAKARIA ABDELKAFI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES

ALAIN JOCARD/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES

JEFF PACHOUD/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A8.

**Load-Date:** March 16, 2023

**End of Document**



[***So You Lost the Election. We Had Nothing to Do With It.; Jamelle Bouie***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:648G-1TY1-DXY4-X562-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 10, 2021 Friday 14:05 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1561 words

**Byline:** Jamelle Bouie

**Highlight:** Why is it that progressives are always blamed when moderates lose?

**Body**

Among Democrats, there is no question that the Democratic Party is sailing in rough waters. Yes, it assembled a winning national majority in the 2020 presidential election, but it has struggled to sustain itself at every other level of government.

The Republican Party controls a majority of states and state legislatures, holds a modest advantage in the fight for control of the House ahead of the 2022 midterm elections and holds a substantial advantage in the fight for control of the Senate on account of the chamber’s rural bias. It also has a 6-3 majority on the Supreme Court and can more easily win the Electoral College — and thus the presidency — without winning a majority of votes, as it did in 2000 and 2016.

Everyone, within the Democratic Party, can see the problem. The question is who, or what, is to blame. For the past year, the answer from many moderate Democrats — and a sympathetic coterie of journalists, commentators and strategists — is that progressives have sailed the ship aground with their views on race, crime, immigration and education, which alienate potential swing voters, including ***working-class*** and blue-collar Hispanics.

[*Writing on this problem for The Atlantic*](https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2021/12/democrats-lose-culture-war/620887/), Ron Brownstein quotes the demographer and election analyst Ruy Teixeira, who argues, “The more ***working class*** voters see their values as being at variance with the Democratic Party brand, the less likely it is that Democrats will see due credit for even their measures that do provide benefits to ***working class*** voters.”

[*In a similar piece*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/08/opinion/trump-democrats-republicans.html), my colleague Tom Edsall quotes William Galston of Brookings, who also argues that progressives threaten to limit efforts to win blue-collar support and that “Some progressives, I fear, would rather be the majority in a minority party than the minority in a majority party.”

It is true that some progressives — either Democratic lawmakers or affiliated activists — hold unpopular views or use unpopular language. It is also true that Republicans have amplified this to some electoral success. But missing in this conversation is one inconvenient fact: Progressives are not actually in the driver’s seat of the Democratic Party.

It’s easy to think otherwise. Even the most sober version of this critique makes it sound as if the Democratic Party is in the grip of its most left-wing officials and constituents. But it isn’t — to the dismay and frustration of those officials and constituents.

The president of the United States, and leader of the Democratic Party, is Joe Biden, the standard-bearer for a bygone era of centrist governance and aisle-crossing compromise, who made his mark in domestic politics as a drug warrior in the 1980s and a “law and order” Democrat in the 1990s.

The speaker of the House is Nancy Pelosi, a long-serving liberal establishmentarian. Her leadership team — the majority leader, Steny Hoyer; the majority whip, James Clyburn; the assistant speaker, Katherine Clark; and the Democratic caucus chairman, Hakeem Jeffries — are similarly positioned in the center-left of the Democratic Party. The same is true of Chuck Schumer, the majority leader in the Senate, as well as the people who run the various organizations of the institutional Democratic Party.

Although the share of progressives within the Democratic Party is much larger than the share of progressives writ large (12 percent of the party versus 6 percent nationally, according to [*the most recent political typology survey*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2021/11/09/beyond-red-vs-blue-the-political-typology-2/) from the Pew Research Center), a large majority of Democrats are moderate to moderately liberal on most issues. That’s why — and how — Joe Biden won the nomination for president in the first place, easily beating his more left-wing opponents in the South Carolina primary and rallying much of the rest of the party behind him on Super Tuesday and beyond.

In office, Biden has led from the center of the Democratic Party. His main legislative achievement so far, Covid relief notwithstanding, is a bipartisan infrastructure bill. The next phase of his agenda, the Build Back Better plan, now rests in the hands of the most conservative Democrats in Congress. He does not celebrate violent protests; he denounces them. He supports law enforcement and the criminal justice system — [*see his comments on the Kyle Rittenhouse verdict*](https://www.cnn.com/2021/11/19/politics/joe-biden-kyle-rittenhouse-verdict/index.html) — and avoids most cultural battles. This is true, as well, of most elected Democrats in Washington.

There was a battle for control of the Democratic Party, and the moderates won. They hold the power and they direct the message. But despite this victory, moderate Democrats and their allies can’t seem to take responsibility for the party’s fortunes. When faced with defeats — as they were last month when Terry McAuliffe fell to Glenn Youngkin in the race to succeed Ralph Northam as governor of Virginia — [*they blame the left*](https://www.foxnews.com/media/james-carville-virginia-was-stupid-wokeness). It’s the same song, each time. If progressives would just stop alienating the public, then they could make gains and put power back in Democratic hands. Somehow, the people in the passenger’s seat of the Democratic Party are always and forever responsible for the driver’s failure to reach their shared destination.

Writing for his newsletter, the journalist Osita Nwanevu made a [*version of this point*](https://ositanwanevu.ghost.io/the-easy-winners-2/) earlier in the year. Progressive politicians and activists may be occasionally off-message but in the main, “The simple truth is that most of the things moderate liberals tend to argue Democrats should be doing and saying are, in fact, being done and said by the Biden administration, Democratic leaders in Congress, and the vast majority of Democratic elected officials.”

If, despite their influence, moderate Democrats are not satisfied with the state of their party, then they might want to turn their critical eye on themselves. What they’ll find are a few fundamental problems that may help explain the party’s current predicament.

After all, 2020 was not the first year that Democrats fell short of their expectations. They did so in 2010, when moderates had an even stronger grip on the party, as well as in 2014 and 2016. Here, again, I’ll echo Nwanevu. Despite pitching his administration to the moderate middle — despite his vocal critiques of “identity politics,” his enthusiastic patriotism and his embrace of the most popular Democratic policies on offer — Barack Obama could not arrest the Democratic Party’s slide with blue-collar voters. For the past decade, in other words, “the Democratic Party’s electoral prospects have been in decline for reasons unattributable to progressive figures and ideas that arrived on the political scene practically yesterday.”

Perhaps the problem, then, lies less with the rhetoric (or existence) of progressive Democrats and more with any number of transformations in the material circumstances of American life and the response — or lack thereof — from the Democrats with the power to do something. What was the Democratic Party’s response to a generation of neoliberal economic restructuring? What was its response to the near-total collapse of private-sector unions? What was its response to the declining fortunes of American workers and the upward redistribution of American wealth?

The answer, for most of the past 30 years, is that the moderate Democrats who led the party have either acquiesced in these trends or, as in the case of the Clinton administration, actively pushed them along. And to the extent that these Democrats offered policies targeted to working Americans, they very often failed to deliver on their promises.

As a result, as [*David Dayen of The American Prospect*](https://prospect.org/politics/case-for-deliverism/) notes in “The Case for Deliverism,” “cynicism finds a breeding ground. People tune out the Democratic message as pretty words in a speech. Eventually, Democratic support gets ground down to a nub, surfacing only in major metropolitan areas that have a cultural affinity for liberalism.” These Democrats, in their failure to deliver, lend credence to the view that Washington is more a hindrance than a help. We can see this right now, as moderate and conservative Democratic resistance to the most ambitious parts of Biden’s agenda has bogged down the entire party and hurt its overall standing.

Read in this light, the frequent focus on progressives as the cause of Democratic woes looks less like hard-nosed analysis and more like excuse-making. And my sense is that this excuse-making will only get worse as Republicans weaponize the institutions of American politics to entrench their power and lay the conditions for durable minority rule.

Right now, the moderate Democrats who run the party have a narrow and slipping hold on Congress against an opposition that relies on structural advantages, which could be mitigated, or at least undermined, with federal power. They have failed to act, and there’s no sign, so far, that anything will change.

If and when Democrats lose one or both chambers of Congress — and when we all face the consequences of their failure — I am confident that we’ll hear, once again, how it’s everyone’s fault but their own.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY J. Scott Applewhite/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 11, 2021

**End of Document**



[***The G.O.P. Plot Against Medicare and Social Security; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66SG-9NM1-DXY4-X4HN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 3, 2022 Thursday 22:48 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 904 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman

**Highlight:** Never mind the “populism”; it’s still a rich man’s party.

**Body**

The Times recently [*reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/02/us/politics/republicans-social-security-medicare.html) that Republicans, anticipating possible victory in the midterms, are embracing plans to cut Social Security and Medicare benefits — even though such cuts would be incredibly unpopular and would make nonsense of the G.O.P.’s attempts to portray itself as the party of the ***working class***.

Before I get to what Republicans appear to have in mind, let’s note that the push to slash major benefit programs may be the ultimate example of an elite priority completely at odds with what ordinary Americans want.

Political scientists have [*found*](https://faculty.wcas.northwestern.edu/jnd260/cab/CAB2012%20-%20Page1.pdf#page=6) several areas in which the wealthy want to see spending cut, while most voters want to see it increased. The biggest gap in views is on Social Security, where the rich, by a large margin, want to see benefits reduced while the general public, by an even larger margin, wants to see them increased.

And Republicans are taking the side of the rich.

Now, there isn’t an official G.O.P. position on Social Security and Medicare — or, actually, any policy issue. But the Republican Study Committee, a caucus of House members that often sets the party’s agenda, has released a fairly detailed [*set of proposals*](https://banks.house.gov/uploadedfiles/budget_fy22_final.pdf) titled “Reclaiming Our Fiscal Future” that would, I suspect, raise howls of outrage from many voters if they knew about it.

The committee’s proposals center on raising the age at which Americans become eligible for Social Security and Medicare. Its plan calls for [*increasing the age*](https://banks.house.gov/uploadedfiles/budget_fy22_final.pdf#page=101) at which workers can collect full Social Security benefits — which has already risen from 65 to 67 — to 70, and then raising it even further in the future as life expectancy goes up (if it does).

At the same time, the plan would raise the age at which [*Medicare*](https://banks.house.gov/uploadedfiles/budget_fy22_final.pdf#page=86) kicks in, which is still 65, to match the Social Security age. Given the Social Security proposal, this means delaying Medicare eligibility by five years, to the age of 70, and possibly delaying it even further in the future.

The report tries to justify these large benefit cuts — because that’s what they are — by pointing to the rise in life expectancy at age 65 since these programs were created. That is, it argues in effect that our major social benefit programs have become too generous because Americans are living longer.

What the report somehow fails to notice, or at least to acknowledge, is that while average life expectancy for seniors was rising before Covid struck, that rise was very unequal. Gains were much larger for Americans in the [*upper part*](https://www.jstor.org/stable/42920941?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents) of the income distribution — that is, the people who need Social Security and Medicare least — than for those lower down, who need them most.

[*Other research*](https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2024777118) has shown that gains in life expectancy at age 25 — not the same measure, but surely related — have been much bigger among Americans with a college degree. In fact, life expectancy has actually declined among noncollege whites. And mortality has been [*diverging*](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7146991/#SD1) among regions, with [*life expectancy at 65*](https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr70/nvsr70-18.pdf#page=7) in some states, mostly red, significantly below the national average and in others, mostly blue, significantly above.

So Republican plans to cut Medicare and Social Security would impose widespread hardship, with some of the worst impacts falling on red-state, noncollege whites — that is, the party’s most loyal base.

Why, then, does the party want to do this? We needn’t take claims that it’s about fiscal responsibility seriously; a fiscally responsible party wouldn’t be seeking to make the Trump tax cuts [*permanent*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/us-policy/2022/10/17/republicans-tax-trump-biden/) or [*oppose*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/10/16/republicans-irs-campaign-00061890) giving the I.R.S. the resources it needs to crack down on tax cheats. What we’re seeing, instead, is that despite its populist rhetoric, the G.O.P. is still very much a party of and for the rich.

A more interesting question is why Republicans think they can get away with touching the traditional third rails of fiscal policy. [*Social Security*](https://news.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/258335/social-security-american-public-opinion.aspx) remains as popular as ever; Republicans themselves campaigned against Obamacare by [*claiming*](https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2014/feb/14/national-republican-congressional-committee/nrcc-says-obamacare-cuts-money-medicare-and-senior/), misleadingly, that it would cut Medicare. Why imagine that proposals to deny benefits to many Americans by raising the eligibility age won’t provoke a backlash?

At least part of the answer is surely the expectation that the right-wing disinformation machine can obscure what the G.O.P. is up to. The Republican Study Committee has released a 153-page report calling, among other things, for denying full Social Security benefits to Americans under 70; that didn’t stop Sean Hannity from [*declaring*](https://twitter.com/Acyn/status/1588059555031678977?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Etweet) the other day that “not a single Republican has ever said they want to take away your Social Security.”

Finally, how do Republicans imagine they could pass any of this agenda? After all, even if they do win the midterms, they won’t have enough votes to override a Biden veto.

Unfortunately, we know the answer: If Republicans win one or both houses of Congress, they’ll try to achieve their goals not though the normal legislative process but through blackmail. They’ll threaten to provoke a global financial crisis by refusing to raise the [*debt limit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/business/biden-debt-limit-shutdown.html). If Democrats [*defang*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/17/opinion/republican-debt-federal-budget.html) that threat, Republicans will try to get what they want by making America ungovernable in other ways.

Will they succeed? Stay tuned.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

This article appeared in print on page SR3.

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2022

**End of Document**



[***In Cairo, a Mansion Where the Layers of History Show Through***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67SJ-GV21-JBG3-62KD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 15, 2023 Wednesday 20:48 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 1467 words

**Byline:** Hussein Omar and Simon Watson

**Highlight:** A couple has restored and reimagined a nearly decimated building as a home and a cultural hub, revealing the complexity of the city’s past.

**Body**

THE ARCHITECTURAL CONSERVATOR Alaa el-Habashi had been restoring a 190-room 15th-century palace for years in the historic Cairo neighborhood of al-Darb al-Ahmar when, in 2007, he and his engineer wife, Ola Said, stumbled on a spectacularly bedraggled house nearby that would consume the next decade and a half of their lives. At the time, it was occupied by a butcher and his family, who were operating a slaughterhouse in the enormous ramshackle mansion that could be traced to the 19th century. Part of the 13,000-square-foot structure had collapsed in 2005, and the family had erected a new domicile in the courtyard, leaving the rest to their livestock: Cows roamed outside; sheep circulated around the dilapidated second floor. Locals called it “the dump yard,” el-Habashi says. By 2009, a few years after he and Said first encountered the place, the butcher’s family had an offer from a contractor who intended to bulldoze the remains and build concrete high-rise apartments.

Yet the house’s history compelled its inhabitants to try to preserve it: Might the conservator and his wife buy it instead? As el-Habashi would learn, the building was perhaps the only remnant of several houses in the neighborhood that [*Muhammad Ali Pasha*](https://www.britannica.com/biography/Muhammad-Ali-pasha-and-viceroy-of-Egypt), who came to power in 1805 and is often considered the founder of the modern Egyptian state, had reportedly seized and given to his nephews in the mid-19th century; locals referred to the area as al-Yakaniya — yakan from yeğen, the Turkish word for “nephew.” The nephews’ descendants had lived there until the 1960s, when the final heir bequeathed it to her nurse, a relative of the butcher.

El-Habashi and Said knew they wanted to save the historic property but, after spending time with community members, imagined not just a home but a cultural hub. An encyclopedic text from the 1880s had documented 600 houses with courtyards in Cairo; el-Habashi estimates only 30 or so remain. The couple felt undaunted by the complexities of the restoration, which involved securing a permit to conserve a building that the municipality had designated “imminent for collapse”; officials at first suggested they replace it with a modern replica. The bureaucratic stalemate was resolved in 2011 after el-Habashi, who is an architecture professor at Egypt’s Menoufia University, and Said, who’s also an expert in traditional Egyptian crafts, agreed to assume liability if the structure imploded while they renovated it.

IT TOOK TWO more years to fortify the structure, which they named Bayt Yakan (bayt is Arabic for “house”). In the process, they discovered that the residence was a palimpsest that actually dated to around 1640. Thought to be built by a military official named Hasan Agha Koklian, it was originally designed in the style of his ancestors, who were Mamelukes — non-Arab, ethnically diverse originally enslaved soldiers, mostly from the Caucasus and Turkic regions, who established a sultanate in Egypt and throughout the Levant. They favored elaborately carved stone surfaces, geometric patterns and vegetal arabesques. Once Muhammad Ali took over the property and handed it to his nephews, they obscured any sign of the former owners’ structural and decorative choices, walling up ornate columns and closing off entire rooms where they didn’t like the original painted wood ceilings. In other places, atop some of the Mameluke ornamentation, they added then-fashionable Baroque, European-inspired details.

The latest owners, however, decided to restore the house in a way that made transparent the many lives it had lived, and that reflected Cairo’s layered culture, which has been influenced by both colonial occupation and multiethnic immigration: They wanted the building’s Mameluke origins and its 19th-century interventions to exist in counterpoint, punctuated by contemporary juxtapositions. Beyond antiquities and monuments, Cairo has never invested much in its architectural legacy, but el-Habashi hopes that the resurrection of Bayt Yakan will draw interest to the city’s less ancient history. Eleven years after the project began, the house, now powered by solar panels, opened this past June as a rare books library focusing on architecture, as well as a cultural center; additionally, it holds el-Habashi’s offices and several spaces for researchers.

The home is also a study in how a historic restoration, especially in a residential area, must consider present-day inhabitants, too. At first, el-Habashi and Said were met with resistance in the ***working-class*** neighborhood: Some were afraid construction would further destabilize their already precarious homes, says el-Habashi, and others were accustomed to leaving trash at the site. But once the structure was safe, the couple were vigilant about including their neighbors, inviting them in for meals and meetings.

EVEN ON A sweltering summer afternoon, the house’s thick masonry keeps the space hushed and cool. Today, the 17th-century foundation is newly visible, including the worn stone and brick remains of long-demolished walls and a central water fountain. El-Habashi salvaged several dozen stones from the carved facade of another old house nearby that was being bulldozed, which he rebuilt into a 20-foot-tall arched gateway with reclaimed double wooden doors that open onto the courtyard. Locals use the ground floor as their own, hosting crafts workshops and picking thyme, lemongrass and rosemary from the small enclosed garden.

Among the conservator’s most complicated changes was an intervention on a second-floor exterior section. It had once held three huge Mameluke-style columned archways crowned with geometric carvings but, during the nephews’ era, they were bricked in, the stabilizing columns removed to accommodate four windows and a door. The carvings were covered up with lime plaster that had been tinted vermilion with brick dust.

Instead of restoring the archways as he might have typically done, el-Habashi decided to replace two of the windows with weight-bearing minimalist columns, set inside the 19th-century window frames like sculptures. He then chipped away just enough of the red plaster to render the Mameluke decoration visible. (Such a layered approach is reminiscent of the historical interventions pioneered by the mid-20th-century Modernist Venetian architect [*Carlo Scarpa*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/18/t-magazine/carlo-scarpa.html).)

Inside, el-Habashi and Said concentrated their efforts on the formerly decimated palatial central hall on the second floor, which now holds some 20,000 volumes. Shelves of weathered books — some from Bulaq Press, Egypt’s first government-owned printing press, established in 1820 — fill triangle-topped niches, reached by a new steel staircase. Furniture, mostly from the early 20th century with some chinoiserie mixed in (much of it from the Alexandria apartments of el-Habashi’s relatives), sits on a concrete floor inlaid with an expanse of teak wood.

But it’s the 25-foot-high ceiling that best embodies the home’s complexities. When the ceiling collapsed, the enormous 19th-century Italianate painted center medallion fell to the floor and shattered; el-Habashi had to reconstruct it, piecing it together like a puzzle. It adjoins a section of the original Mameluke ceiling, newly exposed and framed by 17th-century muqarnas, stalactite-shaped painted wood elements that had been hidden in a wall and unearthed during restoration. Now, before the beginning of lectures held in the room, students, architects and historians cast their gaze upward at the vivid, ingeniously engineered meeting of two cultures, forever imprinted on Cairo’s tangled urban fabric. While some think that a city can be revitalized through commercial enterprises, the truth is more complex, says el-Habashi: “If the market is the blood of a city, the historic residences are its soul.”

PHOTOS: In the library of Bayt Yakan, a building renovated over the past 12 years by Alaa el-Habashi and his wife, Ola Said, a restored 19th-century ceiling that collapsed in 2005. Architectural drawings of the space surround the upper window, and many of the furnishings come from the couple’s relatives. In a hall where el-Habashi and Said hold their workshops, a desk and a floor lamp purchased from antiques stores in Cairo. In the library, a steel-and-wood staircase designed by el-Habashi. An Art Deco gate leads to the courtyard of the house. The early 20th-century turned-wood bench is draped in an Egyptian carpet. At the far end of the library, a self-portrait by el-Habashi’s mother and her 1960s dining room furniture. In the central courtyard, where sections of the original 17th-century wall masonry are now restored, furniture from el-Habashi’s grandmother. A view of the library from the west. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SIMON WATSON) This article appeared in print on page M295, M296, M297, M298, M299, M2100, M2101.

**Load-Date:** March 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***What we’re watching in Tuesday’s primary elections in Ohio and Indiana.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65C4-VN21-DXY4-X26M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 3, 2022 Tuesday 20:49 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1246 words

**Byline:** Jazmine Ulloa

**Highlight:** The second election night of the 2022 midterms has some national implications for Republicans. Here’s a breakdown.

**Body**

The second election night of the 2022 midterms has some national implications for Republicans. Here’s a breakdown.

Ohio’s primary elections almost weren’t going to happen Tuesday. A heated and confusing legal battle over the [*redrawing of congressional districts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/17/us/politics/ohio-court-congress-maps.html) kept voters waiting for a final map. And in last-hour negotiations, elections officials took all of the statehouse races off the May 3 primary ballot, leaving them to be decided at a later date.

But all eyes remain on the state, with one marquee matchup at the top of the list: the crowded, heated and expensive Republican Senate primary.

More so than many other contests across the nation, the Ohio Senate race to replace Rob Portman, an establishment Republican who is retiring, will test former President Donald J. Trump’s influence on his party, and whether Republican voters have an appetite for hard-right, anti-establishment figures in his mold — or only for those with his seal of approval. The results could also give Democrats a better idea of their chances to secure the open seat in November.

Once considered a national bellwether in the industrial heart of the country, Ohio has tilted Republican in the last two presidential elections, and Republicans control all levels of government. Senate candidates from both parties have been aggressively courting the white ***working-class*** voters who have left the Democratic Party in droves since Mr. Trump was first on the ballot in 2016.

The campaign has been at times contentious and ugly. It has also been high-priced. Cash has poured into the race — from major super PACs and from candidates’ personal coffers — making it [*one of the most expensive*](https://www.axios.com/local/columbus/2022/04/21/ohios-senate-race-is-flooded-with-campaign-cash) of this election cycle. Major donors include the Protect Ohio Values PAC, largely funded by the billionaire Peter Thiel, who is supporting Mr. Vance, and the Buckeye Leadership Fund, which is backing Matt Dolan, an Ohio state senator whose family owns the Cleveland Guardians baseball team.

Indiana’s primary also features some notable elections with implications for the direction of the Republican Party. This year, more incumbents at the state level are facing primary challengers from the right than in at least a decade, according to a [*review by The Indianapolis Star*](https://www.indystar.com/restricted/?return=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.indystar.com%2Fstory%2Fnews%2Fpolitics%2Felections%2F2022%2F04%2F28%2Findiana-statehouse-control-stake-tuesdays-may-primary-election%2F7280041001%2F), potentially resulting in an even more conservative legislative supermajority.

North of Indianapolis, in Hamilton County, the re-election campaign of the prosecutor D. Lee Buckingham against Greg Garrison, a conservative talk-show host, is garnering outsize attention: Mr. Garrison has the support of former Vice President Mike Pence.

Trump’s role as kingmaker

Mr. Trump [*rocked the Senate race landscape*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/15/us/politics/ohio-jd-vance-trump-endorsement.html) in Ohio last month when he threw his highly coveted endorsement behind J.D. Vance. A venture capitalist and the author of the best-selling 2016 memoir “Hillbilly Elegy,” Mr. Vance has been heavily backed by [*Mr. Thiel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/14/technology/republican-trump-peter-thiel.html), the [*Fox News host Tucker Carlson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/30/us/tucker-carlson-gop-republican-party.html) and Donald Trump Jr.

On the campaign trail, Mr. Vance has sought to atone for his past negative comments about Mr. Trump. Polls have shown a significant bump for Mr. Vance, but no clear front-runner has emerged.

David McIntosh’s anti-tax Club for Growth, which had first opposed Mr. Trump’s 2016 before supporting him, is [*pitching for a battle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/26/us/politics/ohio-senate-race-trump.html). The G.O.P. group has put its support behind Josh Mandel, a former Ohio state treasurer, who went from reluctant Trump supporter in 2016 to one of the nation’s most [*ardent backers of Trumpism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/15/us/josh-mandel-ohio-trump.html).

Other Republican Senate hopefuls include Jane Timken, a former chairwoman of the Ohio Republican Party, who has been endorsed by Mr. Portman and has campaigned with the former Trump aide Kellyanne Conway, and Mike Gibbons, a financier who has outspent all of the candidates in the race. He has at times been at the top of the polls with a sales pitch similar to Mr. Trump’s, reminding audiences he is not a politician but a businessman.

Still, Ohio voters might decide they do not want a Trump-centered candidate at all. The only Republican running in this [*lonely lane has been Mr. Dolan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/01/us/politics/josh-mandel-vance-ohio-senate.html), who says he supports Mr. Trump but has made him less of a focus in the campaign. Unlike the top candidates in the race, he recognizes President Biden as the nation’s legitimate leader.

Is there an ‘exhausted majority’?

On the Democratic side of the Senate race, Representative Tim Ryan is considered the front-runner. He faces a challenge from the left by Morgan Harper, a progressive lawyer and a senior adviser at the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau under former President Barack Obama.

Mr. Ryan has been visiting with voters across the state in a bet that they have had enough of the extremism in American politics and might be willing to elect a Democrat to a seat formerly held by a Republican. He is seeking to appeal to the “exhausted majority,” [*a phrase coined by researchers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/17/sunday-review/elections-partisanship-exhausted-majority.html) to describe the estimated two-thirds of voters who are less polarized and who feel overlooked.

It will be interesting to see if such an electorate manifests itself in Ohio — and if it goes for Mr. Ryan or for Mr. Dolan on the other side of the aisle.

Success for Mr. Ryan in the fall could carry lessons for Democrats across the Midwest on how to counter the appeal of Trumpism and the erosion of support for the party among the white ***working-class*** — voters who once formed a loyal part of the Democratic base.

The rematch between Nina Turner and Shontel Brown

Representative Shontel Brown narrowly defeated Nina Turner, a former state senator and a top surrogate for Bernie Sanders, in a Democratic primary last year that was seen as somewhat of a proxy battle between the party’s progressive and establishment wings.

The two were vying for a seat vacated by Marcia L. Fudge after President Biden appointed her as the secretary of housing and urban development. The race attracted big Democratic names and millions of dollars, with Ms. Brown, then a Cuyahoga County councilwoman, drawing support from Hillary Clinton and the highest-ranking Black member of the House, James E. Clyburn of South Carolina.

This year, major establishment figures have once more endorsed Ms. Brown, including President Biden and Mr. Clyburn. She now also has the backing of the [*Congressional Progressive Caucus PAC*](https://weareprogressives.org/congressional-progressive-caucus-pac-announces-new-endorsement-slate/).

Ms. Turner previously was attacked for taking anti-Israel positions — and for using language that some said [*echoed anti-Semitic tropes*](https://twitter.com/adl/status/1422988721461370892) — as well as for a crass denunciation of President Biden. This time around, she has aggressively [*courted Jewish voters*](https://forward.com/news/500219/israel-nina-turner-shontel-brown-jewish-voters-ohio-house-rematch/). She has the ground-game support of Our Revolution, a progressive political action organization that emerged from Mr. Sanders’s 2016 presidential campaign. The group’s 150 volunteers have centered on building support for Ms. Turner through one-on-one conversations with voters.

Will Ohio have a shot at a female governor?

The former congressman Jim Renacci is one of several Republican candidates who are trying to seize on their party’s internal divisions [*to unseat G.O.P. governors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/29/us/politics/republican-governor-election-trump.html). But Mr. Renacci seems to be gaining little traction against Gov. Mike DeWine, a longtime Ohio politician who has been working to attract the support of Mr. Trump’s most loyal supporters.

In the Democratic primary, two former mayors — John Cranley of Cincinnati and Nan Whaley of Dayton — are facing off, with Ms. Whaley seeking to become the first woman elected governor in the state.

PHOTO: An Ohio primary voter cast an early ballot last month in Columbus. The top contest is the race to replace Senator Rob Portman. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** May 3, 2022

**End of Document**



[***How Erdogan Reoriented Turkish Culture to Maintain His Power; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:689P-YRF1-JBG3-62N2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 25, 2023 Thursday 09:49 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 1988 words

**Byline:** Jason Farago

**Highlight:** Turkey’s president has made a spectacle of the Ottoman past, using monuments and TV shows to rally his voters. His cultural opponents have faced censorship, or jail.

**Body**

At the final sundown before the first round of voting in the toughest election of his two-decade rule, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey visited Hagia Sophia for evening prayers — and to remind his voters of just what he had delivered.

For nearly a millennium the domed cathedral had been the epicenter of Orthodox Christianity. After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, it became one of the Islamic world’s finest mosques. In the 1930s, the new Turkish republic proclaimed it a museum, and for nearly a century its overlapping Christian and Muslim histories made it Turkey’s most visited cultural site.

President Erdogan was not so ecumenical: In 2020 he converted it back into a mosque. When Turks return to the ballot box this Sunday for the presidential runoff, they will be voting in part on the political ideology behind that cultural metamorphosis.

Join the crowds at the Hagia Sophia Grand Mosque now, leaving your shoes at the new long racks in the inner narthex, and you can just about glimpse the mosaics of Christ and the Virgin, today discreetly sheathed with white curtains. The famous marble floor has been upholstered with thick turquoise carpet. The sound is more muffled. The light’s brighter, thanks to golden chandeliers. Right at the entrance, in a simple frame, is a presidential proclamation: a monumental swipe at the nation’s secular century, and an affirmation of a new Turkey worthy of its Ottoman heyday.

“Hagia Sophia is the crowning of that neo-Ottomanist dream,” said [*Edhem Eldem*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/17/opinion/turkeys-false-nostalgia.html), professor of history at Bogazici University in Istanbul. “It’s basically a transposition of political and ideological fights, debates, polemical views, into the realm of a very, very primitive understanding of history and the past.”

If the mark of 21st-century politics is the ascendancy of culture and identity over economics and class, it could be said to have been born here in Turkey, home to one of the longest-running culture wars of them all. And for the past 20 years, in grand monuments and on schlocky soap operas, at restored archaeological sites and [*retro new mosques*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/14/magazine/reading-erdogans-ambitions-in-turkeys-new-mosques.html), Mr. Erdogan has reoriented Turkey’s national culture, promoting a nostalgic revival of the Ottoman past — sometimes in grand style, sometimes as pure kitsch.

After surviving a tight first round of voting earlier this month, he is now favored to win a runoff election on Sunday against Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the candidate of the joint opposition. His resiliency, when poll after poll predicted his defeat, certainly expresses his party’s systematic control of Turkey’s [*media*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/04/world/europe/turkey-erdogan-internet-law-restrictions.html) and [*courts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/21/world/asia/erdogan-turkey-courts-judiciary-justice.html). (Freedom House, a democracy watchdog organization, downgraded Turkey from “partly free” to “not free” in 2018.) But authoritarianism is about so much more than ballots and bullets. Television and music, monuments and memorials have all been prime levers of a political project, a campaign of cultural ressentiment and national rebirth, that culminated this May on the blue-green carpets beneath Hagia Sophia’s dome.

Outside Turkey, this cultural turn is often described as “Islamist,” and Mr. Erdogan and his Justice and Development Party, known as the A.K.P., have indeed permitted religious observances that were once banned, such as the wearing of head scarves by women in public institutions. A Museum of Islamic Civilizations, complete with a “digital dome” and light projections à la the immersive Van Gogh Experience, opened in 2022 in Istanbul’s new largest mosque.

Yet this election suggests that nationalism, rather than religion, may be the true driver of Mr. Erdogan’s cultural revolution. His celebrations of the Ottoman past — and the resentment of its supposed haters, whether in the West or at home — have gone hand in hand with nationalist efforts unrelated to Islam. The country has mounted aggressive campaigns for the return of Greco-Roman antiquities from Western museums. Foreign archaeological teams have had their permits withdrawn. Turkey stands at the bleak vanguard of a tendency seen all over now, not least in the United States: a cultural politics of perpetual grievance, where even in victory you are indignant.

For this country’s writers, artists, scholars and singers, facing censorship or worse, the prospect of a change in government was less a matter of political preference than of practical survival. Since 2013, when an Occupy-style protest movement at Istanbul’s Gezi Park took direct aim at his government, Mr. Erdogan has taken a hard turn to authoritarian rule. Numerous cultural figures remain imprisoned, including the architect Mucella Yapici, the filmmakers Mine Ozerden and Cigdem Mater, and the arts philanthropist Osman Kavala. Writers like [*Can Dundar*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/23/theater/can-dundar-we-are-arrested.html) and [*Asli Erdogan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/02/world/middleeast/asli-erdogan-prison-turkey.html) (no relation), who were jailed during the purges that followed a failed military coup against Mr. Erdogan in 2016, live in exile in Germany.

More than a dozen musical concerts were canceled last year, among them a recital by the violinist Ara Malikian, who is of Armenian descent, and a gig by the pop-folk singer Aynur Dogan, who is Kurdish. The tensions reached a grim crescendo this month, shortly before the first round of voting, when a Kurdish singer was stabbed to death at a ferry terminal after declining to sing a Turkish nationalist song.

In the days after the first round of voting, I met with [*Banu Cennetoglu*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/17/arts/design/turkey-art-banu-cennetoglu-sculpture-centure.html), one of the country’s most acclaimed artists, whose commemoration of a Kurdish journalist at the 2017 edition of the contemporary art exhibition Documenta won acclaim abroad but brought aggravation at home. “What is scary right now compared to the 90s, which was also a very difficult time, especially for the Kurdish community, is that then we could guess where the evil was coming from,” she told me. “And now it could be anyone. It is much more random.”

The strategy has worked. Independent media has shrunk. Self-censorship is rife. “All the institutions within art and culture have been extremely silent for five years,” Ms. Cennetoglu said. “And for me this is unacceptable, as an artist. This is my question: when do we activate the red line? When do we say no, and why?”

Nationalism is nothing new in Turkey. “Everybody and his uncle is a nationalist in this country,” Mr. Eldem observed. And the Kemalists — the secular elite who dominated politics here for decades until Mr. Erdogan’s triumph in 2003 — also used nationalist themes to spin culture to their political ends. Turkey’s early cinema glorified the achievements of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Archaeological digs for Hittite antiquities aimed to [*provide the new republic with a past*](https://confluence.gallatin.nyu.edu/sections/research/early-turkish-archaeology-as-reflection-of-history) rooted even more deeply than Greece and Italy.

In the 2000s, Mr. Erdogan’s blend of Islamism and reformism had Turkey knocking at the door of the European Union. A new Istanbul was being feted in the foreign press. But the new Turkish nationalism has a different cultural cast: proudly Islamic, often antagonistic, and sometimes a little paranoid.

One of the signal cultural institutions of the Erdogan years is the Panorama 1453 History Museum, in a ***working-class*** district west of Hagia Sophia, where schoolchildren discover the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in a painted cyclorama. At one point, a painting in the round might have been immersion enough. Now it’s been souped up with blaring video projections, a wildly nationalist pageant styled like the video game “Civilization.” Kids can watch Sultan Mehmed II charge toward Hagia Sophia, while his horse rears up in front of a celestial fireball.

There’s a similar backward projection in Turkey’s television dramas, which are hugely popular not just here but internationally, with hundreds of millions of viewers throughout the Muslim world, in Germany, [*in Mexico*](https://www.yenisafak.com/en/world/mexican-couple-converts-to-islamafter-watching-resurrection-ertugrul-3506517), all over. On shows such as “[*Resurrection: Ertugrul*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/14/opinion/erdogan-tv-show-turkey.html),” an international hit about a 13th-century Turkic chieftain, or “Kurulus: Osman,” a “Game of Thrones”-esque Ottoman saga airing every Wednesday here, past and present start to merge.

“They are casting the discourse of Tayyip Erdogan in the antique ages,” said Ayse Cavdar, a cultural anthropologist who’s studied these shows. “If Erdogan faces a struggle right now, it is recast in an Ottoman context, a fictional context. In this way, not the knowledge about today’s struggle, but the feeling of it, is spread through society.”

In these half-historical soap operas, the heroes are decisive, brave, glorious, but the polities they lead are fragile, teetering, menaced by outsiders. Ms. Cavdar noted how frequently the TV shows feature leaders of an emerging, endangered state. “As if this guy has not been governing the state for 20 years!” she said.

Culture came on the agenda during the runoff, too, as Mr. Erdogan showed up to inaugurate the new home of [*Istanbul Modern*](https://www.dezeen.com/2023/05/03/renzo-piano-istanbul-waterfront-museum/). The president had praise for the new Bosporus-side museum, designed by the Italian architect Renzo Piano — but he couldn’t help bashing the creations of the previous century, with what he described as a misguided abandonment of the Ottoman tradition.

Now, the president promised, an authentic “Turkish century” was about to dawn.

Assuming he wins on Sunday, his neo-Ottomanism will have survived its strongest test in two decades. The cultural figures with the most to regret are of course those in prison, but it will also be a bitter outcome for the academics, authors and others who left the country in the wake of Mr. Erdogan’s purges. “A.K.P.’s social engineering can be compared to monoculture in industrial agriculture,” said [*Asli Cavusoglu*](https://asapjournal.com/asli-cavusoglu-the-place-of-stone-jennifer-stager/), a young artist who recently had a solo show at New York’s New Museum. “There is one type of vegetable they invest in. Other plants — intellectuals, artists — are unable to grow, and that’s why they leave.”

Turkey’s minorities may face the greatest hazards. At the memorial museum for Hrant Dink, the Turkish-Armenian journalist assassinated in 2007, I looked through copies of his independent newspaper and watched footage of his television chat shows, each an admonishment of contemporary Turkey’s constricted freedom of expression. “Civil society actors are becoming more prudent,” said Nayat Karakose, who oversees the museum and is of Armenian descent. “They do events in a more cautious way.”

For Mr. Eldem, who has spent his career studying Ottoman history, the reconversion of Hagia Sophia and the “Tudors”-style TV dramas are all of a piece, and are less confident than they seem. “Nationalism is not just glorification,” he said. “It’s also victimization. You can’t have proper nationalism if you’ve never suffered. Because suffering gives you also absolution from potential misconduct.”

“So what the naïve Turkish nationalist, and especially neo-Ottomanist nationalist, wants,” he added, “is to bring together the idea of a glorious empire that would have been benign. That’s not a thing. An empire is an empire.”

But whether or not Mr. Erdogan wins the election on Sunday, there are headwinds that no amount of cultural nationalism can stand against: above all, inflation and a currency crisis that has bankers and financial analysts [*flashing a red alert*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/23/world/middleeast/turkey-election-economy-president.html). “In that future, there’s no place for heritage,” Mr. Eldem said. “The Ottomans are not going to save you.”

PHOTOS: The Panorama 1453 museum in Istanbul depicts the Ottoman conquest. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan faces a runoff vote Sunday. (A1); Visitors at Hagia Sofia in Istanbul, which President Recep Tayyip Erdogan turned back into a mosque in 2020 after it had been a secular museum for nearly a century. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRADLEY SECKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Mr. Erdogan, above left, praying at Hagia Sophia on the eve of the first round of elections this month. The historian Edhem Eldem, above right, says the building embodies the “neo-Ottomanist dream.” In what began as a cathedral, white curtains, below, cover some of the Christian mosaics. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MURAT CETINMUHURDAR/PPO, VIA REUTERS; BRADLEY SECKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A6) This article appeared in print on page A1, A6.

**Load-Date:** May 26, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Hot Mic, Dead Air And Eventually, DeSantis Speaks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:689P-2HV1-DXY4-X0X4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 25, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 2025 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Nehamas and Shane Goldmacher

**Body**

The Florida governor, Donald Trump's strongest challenger since 2016, made an unusual and glitch-marred entrance on Twitter alongside Elon Musk. He now faces a daunting clash with Mr. Trump and his scorched-earth tactics.

Ron DeSantis's long-awaited official entry into the 2024 presidential campaign went haywire at its start on Wednesday during a glitch-filled livestream over Twitter.

Despite the problems, Mr. DeSantis, the combative 44-year-old Republican governor of Florida who has championed conservative causes and thrown a yearslong flurry of punches at America's left, provides Donald J. Trump the most formidable Republican rival he has faced since his ascent in 2016. His candidacy comes at a pivotal moment for the Republican Party, which must choose between aligning once more behind Mr. Trump -- who lost in 2020 and continues to rage falsely about a stolen election -- or uniting around a new challenger to take on President Biden.

But on Wednesday, Mr. DeSantis's official run for the White House got off to an embarrassing start as the planned livestream with Twitter's eccentric billionaire owner, Elon Musk, was marred by technical problems and dead air. The audio cut in and out amid talk of ''melting the servers,'' hot mic whispering and on-the-spot troubleshooting.

When, after more than 25 minutes, Mr. DeSantis finally spoke, he declared, ''I am running for president of the United States to lead our great American comeback.''

The extended social media hiccup -- as more than 500,000 people were waiting -- was gleefully cheered on the very platform Mr. DeSantis was supposed to be commandeering for his campaign. Donald Trump Jr. wrote a single word: ''#DeSaster.'' Mr. Biden posted a donation button to his re-election campaign with the words, ''This link works.'' The audience when Mr. DeSantis did deliver his remarks was smaller than it had been during the initial minutes when no one was speaking.

Despite his inauspicious start on Wednesday and having slipped well behind Mr. Trump in polls in recent months, Mr. DeSantis retains a host of strengths: a mountain of cash, a robust campaign operation and a series of conservative policy victories in Florida after a landslide re-election triumph last fall. The governor, who rose to national prominence with his restriction-averse handling of the coronavirus pandemic, argues that his ''Florida Blueprint'' can be a model for reshaping the United States in a starkly conservative mold, especially on social issues.

''American decline is not inevitable,'' Mr. DeSantis said. ''It is a choice. And we should choose a new direction, a path that will lead to American revitalization.'' He accused Mr. Biden of taking ''his cues from the woke mob.''

Mr. DeSantis did not mention Mr. Trump by name. But he did sketch out some of the contrasts he is expected to sharpen in the coming months. ''We must look forward, not backwards,'' he said on the Twitter Space livestream. ''We need the courage to lead and we must have the strength to win.''

The DeSantis campaign had invited prominent donors to Miami on Wednesday for a fund-raising event, hosting them at a conference space at the Four Seasons as the Twitter discussion was projected onto a large screen. Then they waited. And waited.

''Elon's got to staff up a little more to boost that server capacity,'' said Brandon Rosner, a donor from Milwaukee. He was not discouraged. ''Once we got through the original glitch there, I think people were very excited,'' he said.

Mr. DeSantis is confronting the daunting endeavor of toppling a former president whose belligerence and loyal base of support have discouraged most leading Republicans from making frontal attacks against him. Mr. Trump, who has a mounting list of legal troubles, clearly sees Mr. DeSantis as a political threat and has unloaded on him for months, mocking him as ''Ron DeSanctimonious'' and slamming his stewardship of Florida.

''Trump is not as invincible as he once seemed and DeSantis is a serious contender,'' said Mike Murphy, a veteran Republican strategist. ''There are Republican voters looking for someone who can move beyond Trump, someone who can fight the liberals but also win elections. That's the space DeSantis is trying to inhabit.''

Mr. DeSantis's chances of capturing the nomination may depend on whether the Republican primary becomes a crowded, Trump-dominated food fight -- something similar to what unfolded in 2016 -- or if he can turn the contest into a two-man race. The Republican field has slowly ballooned, with Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina announcing a bid this week and Vice President Mike Pence expected to join soon.

To winnow the field back down, Mr. DeSantis is likely to need strong showings in Iowa and New Hampshire, the first two nominating states, with anti-Trump voters coalescing around him. His advisers and allies see a victory in socially conservative Iowa as a must, and believe he needs to follow with at least a close second-place finish in more moderate New Hampshire.

Mr. DeSantis has the financial ammunition to compete: He is likely to start with more money in an outside group than any Republican primary candidate in history. He has more than $80 million expected to be transferred from his state account to his super PAC, which says it has also raised $40 million, in addition to having tens of millions more in donor commitments, according to people familiar with the fund-raising.

A key focus of the primary, and the general election should Mr. DeSantis make it that far, will be his record as governor. He and a pliant Florida Legislature have passed contentious laws that have excited the right and angered many Democrats, including Black and L.G.B.T.Q. people, students and abortion-rights supporters in Florida. The bills seem to reflect Mr. DeSantis's plan to run to the right of Mr. Trump in the primary, which could leave him vulnerable with moderates and independents.

In the most recent legislative session alone, Florida Republicans banned abortion after six weeks of pregnancy; expanded the use of the death penalty; allowed Floridians to carry concealed guns without a permit; restricted gender-transition care for minors; limited teaching about gender identity and sexual orientation; defunded diversity, equity and inclusion programs at public colleges; and shielded records of his own scrutinized travel from the public.

Mr. DeSantis has also shown a willingness to use executive power in ways little seen before in Tallahassee, the state capital, leading some Democrats and civil rights leaders to worry that he shares Mr. Trump's strongman style but has a greater ability to carry out that vision.

He has picked a long-running fight with Disney, one of Florida's largest employers and a canny political adversary. He removed a local prosecutor from office in what records show was a decision motivated by politics, installed his allies at a public liberal arts university in a bid to transform it into a bastion of conservative thought, said he would reject a high school Advanced Placement course on African American studies for ''indoctrinating'' students and had state law enforcement officers monitor holiday drag shows for lewd behavior.

While his stump speech focuses on a lengthy recounting of those and other conservative policy achievements, Mr. DeSantis is expected to start talking more about his biography, with help from his wife, Casey DeSantis, a former television journalist who plays an influential role in his office and decision-making.

Raised in Dunedin, a suburb of Tampa, Mr. DeSantis grew up in a ***working-class*** home. He excelled at baseball, captaining the squad at Yale University as a hard-hitting outfielder.

He later enrolled at Harvard Law School, then served in the Navy as a military lawyer, deploying to Guantánamo Bay and Iraq. He worked as a federal prosecutor in Florida before winning election to Congress in 2012. He was a founding member of the House Freedom Caucus, a group of anti-establishment conservatives.

After three terms in Washington, he ran for Florida's open governorship, winning the Republican primary largely thanks to an endorsement from Mr. Trump. But they fell out when Mr. DeSantis began making noises about running for president in 2024.

The pandemic turned Mr. DeSantis into a Fox News fixture. He has criticized social distancing measures, masks and vaccines -- tools fitfully employed by the Trump administration -- and has already hinted that he will contrast his actions in Florida with Mr. Trump's approach. In particular, Mr. DeSantis has gone after Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, who led the nation's pandemic response.

But the step-up from a statewide campaign, even one as successful as Mr. DeSantis's nearly 20-percentage-point romp, to a presidential campaign is not easy. As the initial Twitter Space floundered on Wednesday, Mr. Musk was forced to post a new link, severely reducing the audience for Mr. DeSantis's announcement.

While more than 500,000 people tuned in to the first Twitter Space, the second one had only 163,000 listeners by the time Mr. Musk and the technology entrepreneur David Sacks began interviewing the governor. The conversation quickly turned into a surprisingly dry discussion about the overreach of federal agencies, the merits of Twitter and occasionally bizarre tangents like the license plate number of Representative Thomas Massie, a Kentucky Republican who has endorsed Mr. DeSantis and joined the online conversation.

Mr. DeSantis's campaign tried to put a positive spin on the technical mishaps, writing on Twitter: ''It seems we broke the internet with so much excitement.'' An aide announced they had raised $1 million in an hour. All the while, Mr. Trump's team rejoiced. ''This is criminal for a campaign,'' said Chris LaCivita, a senior adviser to the former president.

Mr. DeSantis had waited months to declare his candidacy, citing a need for Florida's Legislature to first complete its session in early May. The delay allowed Mr. Trump to test out attacks on Mr. DeSantis and secure the endorsement of numerous members of Congress, including several from Florida.

As Mr. DeSantis ramped up his presidential preparations this year with a book tour and a trip abroad, he has seemed to struggle at points.

Awkward moments -- including cringeworthy facial expressions -- generated negative headlines. So did some poorly calculated policy pronouncements, particularly his declaration that defending Ukraine from the Russian invasion was not a vital U.S. interest. Some major donors who once saw him as the most suitable Trump challenger backed away.

At the heart of the criticism is the perception that Mr. DeSantis, a supreme believer in his own abilities, can seem aloof and quick to anger. Even his allies acknowledge he is not the backslapping, baby-kissing type -- concerns he has tried to address by spending more time greeting voters and taking selfies.

''He is an introvert in an extrovert's job,'' said Alex Andrade, a Republican state representative from the Florida Panhandle who says he admires the governor's reserved and analytical approach.

In recent weeks, Mr. DeSantis has seemed to recover from his wobbles, hitting back with more force against Mr. Trump. He has criticized the former president for not endorsing Florida's six-week abortion ban and has described a ''culture of losing'' overtaking the Republican Party under Mr. Trump. He also told donors in a private call that Mr. Trump could not beat Mr. Biden.

In the Twitter event, Mr. DeSantis took some sideswipes at the former president, a onetime reality television star, at one point saying, ''Government is not entertainment. It's not about building a brand or virtue-signaling.''

As they wrapped up the hourlong conversation, which meandered from Article 2 of the Constitution to Bitcoin, Mr. DeSantis said, ''We should do it again. I mean, I think it was fun.''

Mr. Sacks concurred. ''It's not how you start,'' he added, ''it's how you finish.''

Jonathan Swan and Alyce McFadden contributed reporting.Jonathan Swan and Alyce McFadden contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/24/us/politics/ron-desantis-2024-presidential-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/24/us/politics/ron-desantis-2024-presidential-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Ron DeSantis has forged a conservative record in Florida. (A1)

Advisers to Ron DeSantis, Florida's Republican governor, see early contests in Iowa and New Hampshire as crucial to his candidacy. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

PHOTOS (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** May 25, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Cruelty Is Coming From Inside the House; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6642-TKX1-JBG3-60TH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 9, 2022 Tuesday 14:59 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 734 words

**Byline:** Charlie Lee

**Highlight:** Two eerie story collections depict the mundanity of human suffering.

**Body**

PANICS, by Barbara Molinard, translated by Emma Ramadan

BAD HANDWRITING, by Sara Mesa, translated by Katie Whittemore

Virgil, Emily Dickinson, Franz Kafka: It has become something of a cliché, authors on their deathbeds requesting that their unpublished works be destroyed (requests that literary executors have a fortunate habit of betraying). But the prolific 20th-century French writer Barbara Molinard was unwilling to take any such chances, tearing her short stories to shreds as soon as she wrote them. The malevolent and disorienting tales in her 1969 collection, “Panics,” represent her only surviving work. Saved from destruction by Molinard’s friend [*Marguerite Duras*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/21/books/review-marguerite-duras-lover-wartime-notebooks-practicalities.html), who estimated that these 14 stories represent “maybe a hundredth” of what Molinard wrote, they have been translated for the first time into English, by Emma Ramadan.

Molinard’s characters are haunted, confused, wandering as if in a fog, forgetting who they are and where they are meant to be. A man travels to a distant city for a meeting and immediately becomes lost; unable to remember where the meeting is or what it is about, he spends months walking alongside a city wall, hoping it will lead him back to himself, or at least in some forward direction. A woman spends her day frantically preparing for the arrival of a plane in the evening, rushing to the airport to be there when it lands. She watches the passengers file out, then goes home alone, knowing that “tomorrow she would have to begin again, invent something else” with which to distract herself and muddle through the empty hours.

Through Ramadan’s spare and exacting translation, Molinard presents a terrifying portrait of violence and mental illness. The reader is immersed entirely in the minds of her characters, seeing the world only through their warped gazes — “drowned in dream,” as Molinard describes one woman — with no purchase on external reality. These surreal, claustrophobic stories bear similarities to the works of Samuel Beckett and Leonora Carrington, but Molinard writes in a voice that is entirely her own. It is impossible not to let the author’s biography bleed into the reading of “Panics,” and according to Duras these narratives are “neither invented nor dreamed,” but “a record of lived experience,” of the obscure mental affliction that led Molinard to repeat for years her “infernal cycle” of creation and destruction. Her stories were not written for any reader. Their existence seems like a miracle. Upon encountering them, there is the sense that one is stealing a glimpse of something intensely private, unmediated, a soul in anguish.

The short stories in “Bad Handwriting,” a new collection by the Spanish writer Sara Mesa, depict a similarly hostile and stifling world. Her characters are mostly young people, leading ordinary lives. One narrator describes herself as living in “a medium-sized city in a moderately developed country, in a normal neighborhood like so many other indistinguishable and interchangeable neighborhoods, the expansive ***working-class*** outskirts.” But beneath this veneer of normalcy there is an undertow of profound suffering that is not just internal, as in Molinard’s work, but also out in the world, looming at the edges of society, a poison seeping into the mundane.

In Mesa’s stories, the little dramas of youth unfold against a backdrop in which parents abandon their children and widowed grandmothers throw themselves from balconies. Young people lie and lash out rather than reveal their shame about the frightening things they have witnessed. In one story, a white teenage girl, unable to process or share the fact that she watched her pregnant sister kill a man, finds herself thinking racist thoughts about the Black manager of the hostel where she is staying; in another, an orphaned child fantasizes that her oppressive aunt will die violently. Mesa renders these lapses with a delicate force, animated by the knowledge that cruelty lurks in small gestures and idle thoughts; that, like a virus, it mutates and spreads.

PANICS, by Barbara Molinard | Translated by Emma Ramadan | 153 pp. | The Feminist Press | Paper, $15.95

BAD HANDWRITING, by Sara Mesa | Translated by Katie Whittemore | 168 pp. | Open Letter | Paper, $15.95

Charlie Lee is an assistant editor at Harper’s Magazine.

Charlie Lee is an assistant editor at Harper’s magazine.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY O.Z. Sanders FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 9, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Women Is Losers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63YG-S6W1-JBG3-615B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 29, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 355 words

**Byline:** By Concepción de León

**Body**

The film follows Celina, a young Latina woman navigating sexism and systemic oppression in the 1960s.

Early on in ''Women is Losers,'' the main character, Celina Guerrera (Lorenza Izzo) -- after her husband's white lover tells her to ''speak English'' during a confrontation -- breaks the fourth wall. She gives a brief history lesson, changes her wardrobe and, joined by the cast and crew, apologizes for the low budget production. If the viewer can look past this, Celina promises a story about ''pulling yourself up by the bootstrap when all you have left is your skin.''

Directed by Lissette Feliciano, the movie, which gets its name from a Janis Joplin song, follows Celina from high school to adulthood, as she navigates an abusive household, an unplanned pregnancy and the challenges of being a working woman in the 1960s. Despite having no family support and a partner, Mateo (Bryan Craig), struggling with post-traumatic stress disorder after fighting in the Vietnam War, Celina faces each new obstacle with grit and aplomb, living up to her surname, Guerrera, which means warrior.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

The breaking of the fourth wall is most effective when used to point out moments of subtle sexism, like when Celina's manager, Gilbert (Simu Liu), calls her smart for saving instead of spending her money on ''magazines and makeup'' like other ''girls.'' Celina turns to the camera and says, ''He's being nice, so I'm going to give him a pass.'' This scene reflects the regular psychological disruptions women experience.

But more often the direct addresses feel overly didactic, seeming to prioritize changing minds over telling a story. The film is strongest when it hones in on Celina's loneliness and loss, and on her relationship with her best friend, Marty (Chrissie Fit). It's arguable that Celina's emotional distance is a true reflection of how ***working class*** women manage their feelings in order to cope. But it could be dissatisfying to a viewer craving to see women's interior lives; their pain rather than their resilience.

Women Is LosersNot rated. Running time: 1 hour 24 minutes. Watch on HBO Max.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/movies/women-is-losers-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/19/movies/women-is-losers-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Lorenza Izzo in ''Women Is Losers.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY HBO Max FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Dance Performances, Festivals and More Coming This Fall; Fall Preview***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:693F-FKS1-JBG3-62PF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 4, 2023 Monday 15:28 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 3814 words

**Byline:** Margaret Fuhrer

**Highlight:** A new season brings exciting works by the likes of (La)Horde collective and Ligia Lewis, as well as classics from New York City Ballet and Alvin Ailey.

**Body**

A new season brings exciting works by the likes of (La)Horde collective and Ligia Lewis, as well as classics from New York City Ballet and Alvin Ailey.

Anniversary celebrations abound this year, in a dance season that seems conspicuously preoccupied with the past. But in some cases the old is a foundation for the new. Queer adaptations of Ballets Russes classics, a “Rite of Spring” performed by dancers from 14 African countries, a bluegrass version of an Agnes de Mille masterpiece: Artists and companies are pulling history into the present by rethinking, rather than simply revisiting, familiar repertory. (Dates are subject to change; please check websites.)

September

[*2023 CROSSING THE LINE FESTIVAL*](https://fiaf.org/2023-crossing-the-line-festival/) The dance offerings at the French Institute Alliance Française’s annual festival range from celebratory to contemplative. The choreographer Tatiana Desardouin’s “Les 5 Sens,” a collaboration with the artist Nubian Néné, offers an all-night hip-hop dance party at the Standard Hotel’s Boom Boom Room (Sept. 14). Smaïl Kanouté’s “Never Twenty One,” a U.S. premiere, remembers young people of color who have lost their lives to gun violence (Sept. 27, FIAF Florence Gould Hall). And Olivier Tarpaga’s “Once the dust settles, flowers bloom” considers the plight of refugees from Burkina Faso (Oct. 3-8, the Joyce Theater).

[*MATTHEW LUTZ-KINOY*](https://thekitchen.org/on-view/filling-station/) In 1938, the impresario Lincoln Kirstein’s experimental troupe Ballet Caravan premiered Lew Christensen’s “Filling Station,” an American ballet set at a distinctly American locale: a gas station. The multidisciplinary artist Matthew Lutz-Kinoy’s “Filling Station,” a world premiere presented by The Kitchen, reimagines that work for a different America. (Sept. 14-15, Horatio Street Gas Station; Sept. 23, Dia Beacon)

[*SERPENTWITHFEET*](https://www.joyce.org/performances/heartofbrick) For “Heart of Brick,” his first theatrical stage work, the experimental musician serpentwithfeet joins forces with the choreographer Raja Feather Kelly and the multimedia artist Wu Tsang to tell a love story set in the world of queer Black nightlife. (Sept. 15-22, the Joyce Theater)

[*ABRONS ARTS CENTER*](https://www.abronsartscenter.org/) Abrons’s fall programming features two works blending dance and theater. Caborca Theater’s bilingual play “Zoetrope” follows multiple generations of a ***working-class*** family in Puerto Rico and New York (Sept. 14-Oct. 8); in “Ceremonia,” the choreographer Antonio Ramos and his collaborators the Gangbangers explore Puerto Rican ancestry and belonging (Oct. 19-21).

[*NEW YORK CITY BALLET*](https://www.nycballet.com/) The company begins its 75th-anniversary celebration with a fall season (Sept. 19-Oct. 15) focused on history, featuring 18 ballets by the company’s founding choreographer, George Balanchine. On Oct. 11 — the date of City Ballet’s inaugural performance in 1948 — the company will recreate its first-ever program, the Balanchine triple bill “Concerto Barocco,” “Orpheus” and “Symphony in C.” And the annual fall gala (Oct. 5) won’t offer the usual parade of designer-costumed world premieres; instead, Balanchine’s “Who Cares?” will get new looks by Wes Gordon for Carolina Herrera. (David H. Koch Theater, Lincoln Center)

[*BARYSHNIKOV ARTS CENTER*](https://baryshnikovarts.org/) This fall the center presents the renowned Odissi dancer Bijayini Satpathy’s first choreographic work, “Abhipsaa — a seeking” (Sept. 21-22), and two world premieres by Christopher Williams: “Jeux” and “A Child’s Tale,” the choreographer’s latest reimaginings of Ballets Russes classics through a queer lens (Oct. 12-15).

[*ANDREA MILLER*](https://www.ballet.org.uk/) At English National Ballet, the consistently ambitious Miller unveils a new dance to Igor Stravinsky’s “Les Noces,” 100 years after the premiere of Bronislava Nijinska’s watershed ballet production. (Sept. 21-30, Sadler’s Wells Theater, London)

[*THE CHOCOLATE FACTORY*](https://chocolatefactorytheater.org/) It’s a busy fall at the artist-centered organization’s Long Island City headquarters. The choreographer Wanjiru Kamuyu’s “A disguised welcome …” explores the experience of displacement (Sept. 22-23). Takahiro Yamamoto’s “Nothingbeing” considers the liminal space between “being” and “not being” (Oct. 5-7). “Aging Prelude,” by the duo Chameckilerner, has performers of different ages re-enact famous nude paintings and sculptures (Oct. 20-28). Michelle Ellsworth presents two characteristically uncategorizable new works, “Evidence of Labor” and “Post-Verbal Social Network” (Nov. 9-11). And Brian Rogers, the Chocolate Factory’s artistic director, premieres “Small Songs,” a “performed listening environment” for his album of synthesizer pieces (Dec. 6-9).

[*KAATSBAAN FALL FESTIVAL*](https://kaatsbaan.org/) On September weekends head to the Kaatsbaan Cultural Park in the Hudson Valley for dance and music performances, including the premiere of the choreographer Roderick George’s evening-length “The Missing Fruit” (Sept. 22-23), family-friendly programming from New York Theater Ballet (Sept. 24) and a new production of Tan Dun’s “Ghost Opera” featuring choreography by PeiJu Chien-Pott (Sept. 30-Oct. 1).

[*ARPINO CHICAGO CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION*](https://arpinofoundation.org/centennial/) A prolific choreographer and the co-founder of the Joffrey Ballet, Gerald Arpino helped shape a populist vision for American ballet. The Gerald Arpino Foundation has planned a blowout celebration of the 100th anniversary of his birth, featuring dance companies from across the country performing works spanning his five-decade career. (Sept. 23-24, the Auditorium Theater, Chicago)

[*BLACK SABBATH — THE BALLET*](https://www.brb.org.uk/) Black Sabbath hammered out its heavy metal sound in Birmingham, England — which means the Birmingham Royal Ballet’s new three-act Black Sabbath extravaganza isn’t quite as Mad Libs as it might seem. The choreographer Pontus Lidberg and the composer Chris Austin lead the ballet’s creative team, which also includes the band’s guitarist, Tommy Iommi. (Sept. 23-30, Birmingham Hippodrome; Oct. 12-14, Theater Royal Plymouth; Oct. 18-21, Sadler’s Wells)

[*BALLETX*](https://www.joyce.org/) The gutsy Philadelphia-based company remains dedicated to new work, bringing two New York premieres to the Joyce Theater: Jamar Roberts’s “Honey,” to music by the pianist Don Shirley; and Jennifer Archibald’s “Exalt,” which melds pointe work and street dance. (Sept. 27-Oct. 1)

[*FALL FOR DANCE*](https://www.nycitycenter.org/) This annual festival continues to draw crowds thanks to its affordable tickets (all seats are $20) and sampler-platter programming. This year’s five-bill lineup has two commissions: a collaboration between the B-girl Ephrat Asherie and the tap star Michelle Dorrance; and Adesola Osakalumi’s partial reconstruction of “Jam on the Groove,” one of the first works to bring hip-hop dance to the concert stage. Other notable offerings: Madrid’s Sergio Bernal Dance Company, which blends ballet and flamenco, makes its U.S. debut; the Odissi virtuoso Bijayini Satpathy performs “Sitaharan”; and the Paris Opera Ballet stars Hugo Marchand and Germain Louvet dance Maurice Béjart’s “Songs of a Wayfarer.” (Sept. 27-Oct. 8, New York City Center)

[*GIBNEY*](https://gibneydance.org/) The presenting arm of the multi-limbed Gibney organization will offer three dance programs at Gibney Center this fall: Vim Vigor Dance Company in “Punchline,” choreographed and performed by Shannon Gillen and Jason Cianciulli (Sept. 28-30); 2nd Best Dance Company in a world premiere commissioned by Gibney (Nov. 2-4); and YY Dance Company in two pieces choreographed by its founder and director, Yue Yin (Nov. 30-Dec. 2). Then Gibney’s performing company goes to New York Live Arts with a world premiere by Fernando Melo, exploring the human capacity for connection across boundaries (Dec. 14-17).

[*LINCOLN CENTER*](https://www.lincolncenter.org/home) A series of social dance parties at the center’s David Rubenstein Atrium will bring the fizzy energy of Midsummer Night’s Swing indoors (Sept. 29-Dec. 15). Other fall dance programming includes Purcell’s “The Fairy Queen” as envisioned by the choreographer Mourad Merzouki and the renowned Baroque ensemble Les Arts Florissants (Nov. 2, Alice Tully Hall); and Akram Khan’s “Jungle Book reimagined,” which depicts Mowgli as a climate change refugee (Nov. 16-18, Rose Theater).

[*92NY HARKNESS DANCE CENTER*](https://www.92ny.org/) The organization formerly known as the 92nd Street Y kicks off its 150th birthday with the tap ensemble Dorrance Dance, performing its hit “SoundSpace” and new works by company members (Sept. 29). In November, the dance-theater troupe MeenMoves brings Sameena Mitta’s “W(h)ine Pairings,” a work for dancers and a sommelier (Nov. 3 and 5); and the Batsheva Ensemble, from Israel, mounts Ohad Naharin’s in-the-round “Kamuyot” (Nov. 18-19). For the holidays, the Bang Group in David Parker’s “Nut/Cracked” is a cheerfully oddball alternative to traditional seasonal dance fare (Dec. 16).

[*BALA DEVI CHANDRASHEKAR*](https://www.symphonyspace.org/) This acclaimed performer and scholar of the Indian classical form Bharatanatyam presents the U.S. premiere of her solo “Padmavati: An Avatar,” at Symphony Space on Sept. 30.

[*LIGIA LEWIS*](https://www.cara-nyc.org/) The experimental choreographer, whose works often seek traces of history and memory in the Black body, mounts a four-month exhibition at the Center for Arts, Research and Alliances, filling its West Village townhouse with immersive video installations of her previous dances. Anchoring the project is a commission, “study now steady,” a collaboration with two dancers that will be performed four days a week. (Sept. 30-Feb. 4)

[*MARTHA GRAHAM DANCE COMPANY*](https://marthagraham.org/) Founded in 1926, the company begins a three-season celebration of its 100th anniversary this fall. Its new production of Agnes de Mille’s 1942 classic “Rodeo,” featuring a bluegrass version of Copland’s score, premieres Sept. 30 at the Soraya in Los Angeles. In New York, Graham dancers will perform six of her haunting solos from the 1930s in the [*galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*](https://www.metmuseum.org/events/programs/met-live-arts/martha-graham-dance-company) (Oct. 7 and 10) — a complement to the museum’s exhibition “Art for the Millions: American Culture and Politics in the 1930s.”

October

[*WORKS &amp; PROCESS*](https://www.guggenheim.org/event/event_series/works-process) This long-running series at the Guggenheim Museum pulls back the curtain on the creative process and supports the development of new work. Three events spotlight the visions of new or incoming artistic directors: American Ballet Theater’s Susan Jaffe (Oct. 8), San Francisco Ballet’s Tamara Rojo (Oct. 15) and Dance Theater of Harlem’s Robert Garland (Oct. 29-30).

Others bring social and street dance into the concert space, including the choreographer Sekou McMiller’s salsa-jazz exploration “Shine” (Nov. 5); “Wus Poppin NYC,” with the hip-hop dance stars Kwikstep and Rokafella (Nov. 12), and a free social dance party in the museum’s rotunda with Dance Is Life founders Abdiel and Natasha Diggs (Dec. 4). Further highlights include conversations and showings with the choreographers Raja Feather Kelly (Oct. 2) and Lar Lubovitch (Dec. 3), and a look at the career and life of the Broadway luminary Chita Rivera (Nov. 6).

[*BILL T. JONES/ARNIE ZANE COMPANY*](https://newyorklivearts.org/) An evocative collage of text, live song, recorded sound and dance phrases, “Curriculum II” — part of a series in which Jones considers what the historian and political theorist Achille Mbembe called “a planetary curriculum” — returns to New York Live Arts, Oct. 4-7.

[*DANSPACE PROJECT FALL 2023*](https://danspaceproject.org/) This fall, Danspace presents a collection of world and New York premieres by artists with longstanding relationships to the center: Leslie Parker’s “Divination Tools: imagine home,” which features a collective of Black visual artists, musicians and dancers (Oct. 5-7); Gillian Walsh’s “Wilderness” (Oct. 19-21); Samita Sinha’s “Tremor,” a collaboration with the composer Ash Fure (Nov. 9-11); and the latest solo from Koma, best known as half of the performance duo Eiko and Koma (Dec. 14-16).

[*DIANNE MCINTYRE GROUP*](http://walkerart.org/) How do dance and music talk to each other? The esteemed choreographer Dianne McIntyre examines that question in “In the Same Tongue,” a premiere featuring an original score by Diedre Murray and poems by Ntozake Shange. (Oct. 5-7, McGuire Theater at the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis)

[*PHILADELPHIA BALLET*](https://philadelphiaballet.org/) Known as Pennsylvania Ballet until a 2021 rebranding, the company begins its 60th anniversary celebration with the premiere of the artistic director Angel Corella’s “Carmen,” combining ballet and traditional Spanish dance. (Oct. 5-15, the Academy of Music, Philadelphia)

[*MALPASO DANCE COMPANY*](https://pennlivearts.org/) The Cuban contemporary dance troupe premieres its artistic director Osnel Delgado’s “A Dancing Island” — an exploration of Cuban social dances — at Penn Live Arts at UPenn (Oct. 6-7), and then brings the piece to the Joyce Theater in New York the next week (Oct. 10-15).

[*NEW YORK THEATER BALLET*](https://nytb.org/) The company’s short but rich fall season includes a world premiere by its new artistic director, Steven Melendez, plus company premieres by Douglas Dunn, David Gordon and Amanda Treiber. (Oct. 6-8, Florence Gould Hall)

[*HARLEM STAGE*](https://www.harlemstage.org/) For its 40th-anniversary season, the performing arts center is celebrating both established and up-and-coming creators. Ronald K. Brown’s venerable company Evidence will revisit well-known repertory while also highlighting an emerging choreographer of Brown’s choosing (Oct. 13-14); and the center’s commissioning program, WaterWorks, will present an emerging artists showcase including the choreographer and dancer Bobby Morgan (Dec. 9).

[*HOPEBOYKINDANCE*](https://www.joyce.org/) Formerly a beloved performer at Alvin Ailey, Hope Boykin has become an assured choreographer whose works often focus on language — danced, written and spoken. Her new production, “States of Hope,” is a sort of dance-theater memoir, dividing her inner self into seven characters. (Oct. 17-22, the Joyce Theater)

[*DANCE REFLECTIONS BY VAN CLEEF &amp; ARPELS*](https://www.dancereflections-vancleefarpels.com/) The French jeweler, which has staged dance festivals in London and Hong Kong, is sponsoring an impressive event in New York, with performances at seven theaters and an emphasis on international work. Lyon Opera Ballet opens the festival with Lucinda Childs’s masterwork “Dance” at City Center (Oct. 19-21), and the French collective (La)Horde and Ballet National de Marseille present two programs at N.Y.U.’s Skirball Center (Oct. 20-21 and 25-26).

United States premieres include Dorothée Munyaneza’s “Mailles” at New York Live Arts (Oct. 26-27), Rachid Ouramdane’s “Corps extrêmes” at the Brooklyn Academy of Music (Oct. 27-29) and Ola Maciejewska’s “Bombyx Mori” at Florence Gould Hall (Nov. 2-3). The Joyce Theater will present “Dancing With Glass,” with five choreographers offering new perspectives on Philip Glass’s piano études (Nov. 28-Dec. 10). And a cast of dancers from African countries will perform Pina Bausch’s thunderous “The Rite of Spring” at the Park Avenue Armory (Nov. 29-Dec 14).

[*AMERICAN BALLET THEATER*](https://www.abt.org/) The company leaves its signature story ballets behind this fall, presenting three programs of shorter, mostly plotless works. Jiri Kylian’s sinuous “Petite Mort,” George Balanchine’s majestic “Ballet Imperial” and Harald Lander’s crowd-pleasing “Études” return; and Alonzo King’s introspective “Single Eye” gets another run after its 2022 premiere. Alexei Ratmansky, the former artist in residence, has decamped for New York City Ballet, but Ballet Theater’s lineup includes two Ratmansky ballets, “Piano Concerto #1” and “On the Dnipro.” (Oct. 18-29, David H. Koch Theater)

[*2023 BAM NEXT WAVE FESTIVAL*](https://www.bam.org/) Though significantly reduced this year, the Next Wave slate at the Brooklyn Academy of Music includes noteworthy premieres. In “Broken Chord,” making its U.S. debut, the South African choreographer Gregory Maqoma and the composer Thuthuka Sibisi evoke the story of a 19th-century South African choir’s journey to England (Oct. 19-21). Trajal Harrell’s “The Köln Concert” takes on the jazz pianist Keith Jarrett’s tour de force recording (Nov. 2-4). And Okwui Okpokwasili and Peter Born’s “Adaku, Part 1: The Road Opens” makes its New York premiere (Nov. 28-Dec. 2).

[*“INTELLIGENCE”*](https://www.houstongrandopera.org/) A collaboration between Houston Grand Opera and Urban Bush Women, this world-premiere opera tells the story of two unlikely Civil War spies: one the daughter of a prominent Confederate family, one born into slavery. Directed and choreographed by the Urban Bush Women founder Jawole Willa Jo Zollar. (Oct. 20-Nov. 3, Brown Theater, Houston)

[*“BODY / SHADOW”*](https://www.bodyshadowopera.com/) This multimedia opera with choreography by Douglas Dunn features 15 dancers performing a series one-minute routines — Dunn chooses their order in real time — which in turn activate a collection of video projections. (Oct. 27-28, Judson Memorial Church)

[*BALLETCOLLECTIVE*](https://balletcollective.com/) The choreographer Troy Schumacher’s elegant ensemble presents world premieres by Schumacher and Omar Román De Jesús that explore themes of probability and chance. (Oct. 31-Nov. 2, Trinity Commons)

[*PAUL TAYLOR DANCE COMPANY*](https://paultaylordance.org/) In addition to classic Taylor works, the troupe’s fall programming features five dances by other choreographers, including world premieres by Larry Keigwin and the resident choreographer Lauren Lovette. Her “Echo,” created for the men of the company, will be paired with Ulysses Dove’s 1986 “Vespers,” danced by its women; Lovette’s “Dreammachine” will also make its New York debut. (Oct. 31-Nov. 12, David H. Koch Theater)

November

[*PERFORMA 23 BIENNIAL*](https://performa-arts.org/) The 10th edition of this performance-focused biennial includes the premiere of Julien Creuzet’s “Algorithm ocean true blood moves,” a collaboration with the choreographer Ana Pi, which draws on movements culled from Instagram (Nov. 1-19); the ensemble Juni One Set’s “Boy Mother/Faceless Bloom,” an interdisciplinary telling of the story of a young boy who learns he will become a mother (Nov. 16-18); and the artist Marcel Dzama’s “Trip to the Moon,” at Abrons Art Center, with dance, imagery and music inspired by a poem by Federico García Lorca (Nov. 1-19).

[*STEPHEN PETRONIO COMPANY*](https://nyuskirball.org/) During pandemic shutdowns, the veteran choreographer Stephen Petronio recorded his own improvisatory movements as he worked in isolation. They became the starting point for “Breath of the Beast,” an evening-length premiere created in collaboration with the violinist Jennifer Koh, who will perform live at each performance. (Nov. 2-4, N.Y.U. Skirball Center)

[*“WATCH NIGHT”*](https://pacnyc.org/) In its inaugural season, the long-awaited Perelman Performing Arts Center is going both big and eclectic — as exemplified by “Watch Night,” a world premiere conceived by the choreographer and director Bill T. Jones and the poet Marc Bamuthi Joseph, with music by Tamar-kali. Melding opera, slam poetry and Jones’s potent movement, the piece explores justice and forgiveness in the aftermath of tragedy. (Nov. 3-18)

[*KYLE MARSHALL CHOREOGRAPHY*](https://www.joyce.org/) The company’s first Joyce Theater program features three New York premieres by Marshall, including “Alice,” which uses the music of Alice Coltrane to guide a journey of self-acceptance. (Nov. 8-12)

[*PAM TANOWITZ*](https://www.nycitycenter.org/) “Song of Songs” — a collaboration between Tanowitz and the composer David Lang that offers an exquisitely restrained response to the biblical poem — makes its New York City debut. (Nov. 9-11, New York City Center)

[*JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS*](https://www.kennedy-center.org/whats-on/season-announcement/dance/) The Washington hub’s dance season begins with “Anubandh — Connectedness,” a new solo by the Bharatanatyam artist Malavika Sarukkai (Nov. 10-11); and the dance artist and scholar LaTasha Barnes’s abundantly joyful “The Jazz Continuum” (Nov. 17-18). Then come two “Nutcracker” options: a traditional production from Ballet West (Nov. 22-26) and the choreographer Michelle Dorrance’s tap twist on the classic (Nov. 30-Dec. 2).

[*COMPLEXIONS CONTEMPORARY BALLET*](https://www.joyce.org/) This fall, Complexions will become the rare dance company to boast a poet in residence: the MacArthur fellow Aaron Paul Dworkin, who will perform with the troupe on the opening night of its two-week Joyce Theater season, which includes world premieres by Jenn Freeman, Abdul Latif and Dwight Rhoden. (Nov. 14-26)

[*ALVIN AILEY AMERICAN DANCE THEATER*](https://www.alvinailey.org/) Ailey returns to its pre-pandemic-size five-week run at New York City Center this year, its 65th anniversary. The company has a new artist in residence program, designed to involve choreographers more in the organization; Amy Hall Garner kick-starts her residency with a premiere this season. Other highlights include premieres from the artistic director Robert Battle and the former company dancer Elizabeth Roxas-Dobrish; and an evening celebrating the trailblazing women of Ailey. (Nov. 29-Dec 31)

[*LESLIE CUYJET*](https://thekitchen.org/) Marion Cuyjet, the choreographer Leslie Cuyjet’s great-aunt, played a pivotal role in dance education, helping to train Black dancers in Philadelphia when the city’s white studios refused them. “With Marion,” inspired partly by that history, is a multilayered look at identity that draws on both memory and research, including material from her family archive. (Nov. 30-Dec. 3, The Kitchen)

December

[*NATIONAL SAWDUST*](https://www.nationalsawdust.org/) Two shows here this fall hinge on dance. The dance troupe Tiffany Mills Company joins forces with the contemporary music group Ensemble Ipse for a trilogy of dance-theater works (Dec. 2-3); and the dancer and engineer Catie Cuan, an innovator in the emerging field of choreorobotics, performs an eight-hour duet with a robotic arm in “Breathless: Catie and the Robot.” (Dec. 16)

[*“IS IT THURSDAY YET?”*](https://pacnyc.org/) Three years ago, at 33, the dancer and choreographer Jenn Freeman was diagnosed with autism spectrum disorder. In this piece, directed and co-choreographed by Sonya Tayeh, Freeman layers dance, music and home videos to illustrate the ways her understanding of herself have changed. (Dec. 8-23, Perelman Performing Arts Center)

[*“MARCH”*](https://pacnyc.org/) What should we make of the very human impulse to move together in unison? An intergenerational group of choreographers — Tendayi Kuumba, Annie-B Parson and Donna Uchizono — consider our preoccupation with synchronization in this world premiere program by Big Dance Theater, featuring three works performed in the round. (Dec. 10-16, Perelman Performing Arts Center)

[*CALEB TEICHER*](https://www.joyce.org/) A newly expanded version of the dancer and choreographer Caleb Teicher’s clever, playful “Bzzz,” in which tap dancers and beatboxers find common ground in rhythmic sounds, comes to the Joyce (Dec. 12-17).

The choreographer Bill T. Jones, whose “Curriculum II” will be at New York Live Arts. His “Watch Night” will be at Perelman Performing Arts Center. IKE EDEANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES New York City Ballet celebrates its 75th anniversary season with works including “Concerto Barocco,” here with Teresa Reichlen, left, and Sara Mearns. ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES Hugo Marchand, a star of the Paris Opera Ballet, will perform in Maurice Béjart’s “Songs of a Wayfarer” at Fall for Dance, an annual event with varied programming, at New York City Center. JONAS UNGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES From “Song of Songs,” a collaboration between Pam Tanowitz and the composer David Lang. MARIA BARANOVA Rachid Ouramdane’s “Corps extrêmes” is one of the works featured in Van Cleef &amp; Arpels Dance Reflections. PASCALE CHOLETTE Alvin Ailey dancers in “For Four,” by the company director Robert Battle. MIKE SEGAR/REUTERS Catie Cuan, an innovator in the field of choreorobotics, will perform with a robotic arm at National Sawdust. HANS PETER BRONDMO

**Load-Date:** September 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Skipped the first debate? Here’s what you missed.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63XY-8FB1-DXY4-X3SN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2021 Tuesday 17:40 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 331 words

**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Highlight:** Eric Adams and Curtis Sliwa traded attacks over past lies, “buffoonery” and ties to Mayor Bill de Blasio.

**Body**

Eric Adams and Curtis Sliwa traded attacks over past lies, “buffoonery” and ties to Mayor Bill de Blasio.

At the first New York City mayoral debate last week, the two major candidates [*sharpened their attacks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/nyregion/nyc-mayoral-debate-takeaways.html) on each other and made their strategies clear.

Eric Adams, the Democratic front-runner, tried to depict his Republican opponent, Curtis Sliwa, as a liar and clown. “I’m speaking to New Yorkers — not speaking to buffoonery,” Mr. Adams said, in perhaps the most memorable line of the night.

Mr. Sliwa sought to tie Mr. Adams to Mayor Bill de Blasio, who is unpopular in many corners of the city, while arguing that Mr. Adams was out of touch with ***working class*** New Yorkers. Mr. Sliwa has kept up those attacks in recent days.

“Eric Adams loves New York City so much that he lives in an apartment in New Jersey, spends his summers in Monaco, and hosts his parties out in the Hamptons,” Mr. Sliwa wrote on Twitter on Sunday, raising questions about Mr. Adams’s residency, a recent vacation to Europe and his fund-raisers on Long Island.

The debate also covered a broad array of critical issues facing New York City, from the crisis at the Rikers Island jail facility to a new vaccine mandate for city workers. Mr. Adams wants to close Rikers; Mr. Sliwa vowed to move there temporarily in his first days in office. Mr. Adams supports the vaccine mandate; Mr. Sliwa does not.

Mr. Adams agrees with a decision to [*remove a Thomas Jefferson statue from City Council chambers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/18/nyregion/thomas-jefferson-statue-ny-city-council.html); Mr. Sliwa wants to keep the statue there.

Over the course of the hourlong debate, [*Mr. Adams tried to remain calm*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/20/nyregion/debate-adams-sliwa-mayor-nyc.html) and argued that Mr. Sliwa’s confession that he made up crimes for publicity in the 1980s was disqualifying.

“He made up crime, New Yorkers,” Mr. Adams said. “That in itself is a crime.”

PHOTO: Curtis Sliwa, right, repeatedly suggested that Eric Adams, left, would govern similarly to Mayor Bill de Blasio, whose popularity in polls has waned. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Pool photo by Craig Ruttle FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Why Spending Too Little Could Backfire on Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63XW-BGG1-DXY4-X38M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2021 Tuesday 00:19 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** PODCASTS; the-daily

**Length:** 329 words

**Byline:** Michael Barbaro, Stella Tan, Daniel Guillemette, Rob Szypko, Chelsea Daniel, Rachel Quester, Lisa Tobin, M.J. Davis Lin and Chris Wood

**Highlight:** Legislative compromises could complicate the Biden administration’s efforts to expand the social safety net.

**Body**

Listen and follow The Daily

[*Apple Podcasts*](https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/the-daily/id1200361736?mt=2) | [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3IM0lmZxpFAY7CwMuv9H4g?si=SfuMSC55R1qprFsRZU3_zw) | [*Stitcher*](http://www.stitcher.com/podcast/the-new-york-times/the-daily-10)

When Democrats first set out to expand the social safety net, they envisioned a piece of legislation as transformational as what the party has achieved in the 1960s. In the process, they hoped that they’d win back the ***working-class*** voters the party had since lost.

But now that they’re on the brink of reaching a deal, the question is whether the enormous cuts and compromises they’ve made will make it impossible to fulfill either ambition.

On today’s episode

Background reading

* As Democrats ponder cutting a $3.5 trillion social safety net bill down to perhaps $2 trillion, a proposal to limit programs to the poor has rekindled a debate on the [*meaning of government itself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/08/us/politics/manchin-democrats-means-testing.html).

Love listening to New York Times podcasts? Help us test a new audio product in beta and give us your thoughts to shape what it becomes. Visit [*nytimes.com/audio*](http://nytimes.com/audio) to join the beta.

There are a lot of ways to listen to The Daily. [*Here’s how.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/16/podcasts/the-daily/how-do-i-listen-to-the-daily.html)

Transcripts of each episode are available by the next workday. You can find them at the top of the page.

The Daily is made by Lisa Tobin, Rachel Quester, Lynsea Garrison, Clare Toeniskoetter, Paige Cowett, Michael Simon Johnson, Brad Fisher, Larissa Anderson, Chris Wood, Jessica Cheung, Stella Tan, Alexandra Leigh Young, Lisa Chow, Eric Krupke, Marc Georges, Luke Vander Ploeg, M.J. Davis Lin, Austin Mitchell, Neena Pathak, Dan Powell, Dave Shaw, Sydney Harper, Daniel Guillemette, Robert Jimison, Mike Benoist, Liz O. Baylen, Asthaa Chaturvedi, Kaitlin Roberts, Rachelle Bonja, Diana Nguyen, Marion Lozano, Soraya Shockley, Corey Schreppel, Anita Badejo, Rob Szypko, Elisheba Ittoop, Chelsea Daniel, Mooj Zadie and Rowan Niemisto.

Our theme music is by Jim Brunberg and Ben Landsverk of Wonderly. Special thanks to Sam Dolnick, Cliff Levy, Lauren Jackson, Julia Simon, Mahima Chablani, Sofia Milan, Desiree Ibekwe, Erica Futterman, Wendy Dorr, Elizabeth Davis-Moorer, Jeffrey Miranda and Maddy Masiello.

**Load-Date:** October 28, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Gyrating Just to Stay Afloat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67JC-4PF1-JBG3-6091-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 14, 2023 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 1190 words

**Byline:** By Esther Zuckerman

**Body**

Forget getting ahead in America. The stripper at the heart of the film trilogy is working frantically not to lose his shirt.

The first thing you learn about Mike Lane, played by Channing Tatum and otherwise known as Magic Mike, in the new movie ''Magic Mike's Last Dance'' is that his dream has died. The Covid-19 pandemic destroyed his custom furniture business, his raison d'être beyond stripping in the first two movies. Now Mike is working for a catering service, serving drinks to wealthy people who donate to causes they don't even care to learn about.

The ''Magic Mike'' movies are about impeccable abs, female pleasure, male friendship and the power of a great lap dance. But just beneath all the joy of gyrating hips lurks economic anxiety. ''Magic Mike'' has always been about money, and not just the dollar bills that are slipped into G-strings.

With ''Last Dance,'' opening Friday, Tatum, the director Steven Soderbergh, the writer Reid Carolin and their collaborators have created a trilogy that's sneakily about the last decade or so in American instability. What started as a (mostly) realistic portrait of stripper life in the wake of the Great Recession has evolved into a fantasy for the days of Covid-related financial strife, in which Mike is rescued from his economic travails by a rich almost-divorcée (Salma Hayek Pinault) who sees his talent and whisks him away to London to direct a show.

Sure, it's a lot of rom-com escapism, but it also has real-world resonance. Mike saw the one thing he worked for crumble. Now he gets a way out, and the kind of happy ending for which many long. Even then, the specter of monetary worries still lingers.

When the first ''Magic Mike'' arrived in 2012, the story was irresistible: With his movie career heading into overdrive, Tatum was starring in a film based on his own pre-Hollywood experiences as a dancer in a male revue. The movie, set in Tampa, Fla., drew audiences looking for ''hot boys,'' but the story within was more melancholy than the squeal-inducing imagery of ripped dudes in goofy, barely there costumes suggested.

As Manohla Dargis wrote in her review for The Times, the film ''is also very much an inquiry into capitalism and its woes.'' In The Atlantic, Alyssa Rosenberg argued that the dancers ''reveal the naked truth about the recession.'' She explained, ''These strippers are marginally employed men trying to move up the economic ladder in a state with the second-highest foreclosure rate in the country.''

The deeper concerns of ''Magic Mike'' shouldn't have been a surprise. Soderbergh is known for flitting among genres, but whether he's making sleek heist movies, uncomfortably real thrillers or dramas based on actual events, he's always interested in power structures and how they affect the people in his lens.

Though the Great Recession was technically over by the time ''Magic Mike'' was released, you can feel its aftermath coursing through the screenplay. In the most devastating scene, Mike is refused a bank loan to open a furniture business because of his low credit score. The loan officer (Betsy Brandt) tells him, ''We do offer relief programs for our qualified distressed candidates.'' His flirty demeanor drops. ''I read the papers,'' he replies. ''The only thing that's distressed is y'all.''

But it's not just that one moment: The feeling of trying to understand a system that has failed you permeates the movie. Dallas, the slick M.C. portrayed by Matthew McConaughey, says that he would not send his hypothetical child to school. Instead he would make the kid watch Jim Cramer's ''Mad Money'' all day and ''get him into Ameritrade.'' It's a grim-sounding attempt to win a game that's not worth playing.

By ''Magic Mike XXL'' (2015), directed by Soderbergh's frequent assistant director, Gregory Jacobs, the economy had bounced back and Mike's furniture company, if not thriving, was up and running. He couldn't pay for health insurance for his one employee, but he was doing what he loved -- other than dancing, that is. His passion for the latter draws him back to his pals from the Xquisite club, who are planning a road trip to Myrtle Beach for a male stripper convention as one final hurrah before they leave the life behind.

The question of what these guys will do once that one night is over hovers over the action. Tito (Adam Rodriguez), for instance, wants to make artisanal frozen yogurt but will end up slinging snow cones at a mall. Still, the movie -- which is the most outright fun of the bunch -- has a twinkly-eyed Obama-era optimism. It ends with the crew watching July Fourth fireworks as the DJ Khaled song ''All I Do Is Win'' plays.

The purportedly final movie of the saga opens with a British-accented voice-over that treats Mike as an anthropological subject to be explored. Dance, it says, could not save Mike's furniture company from the effects of the pandemic, thus forcing him to return to service work in Florida.

Later, we learn that the disembodied voice belongs to the awkward teen daughter of Maxandra, Hayek Pinault's character, writing a novel about Mike that includes some intellectual posturing about the history of dance. Still, her dialogue speaks to that underlying interest that has always been a part of this franchise: Mike is representative of an Everyman's struggle to stay afloat.

In those initial minutes the audience is made to feel his exhaustion as he returns to the kind of odd jobs he thought he had left behind. The independence that he had as a small-business owner is gone, and he is now forced to respond as stuck-up lackeys bark orders at him. At a party he is helping cater, he is recognized by a woman named Kim (Caitlin Gerard), who turns out to be a screaming college student he danced for in the first movie. Now she's a successful lawyer, and he's behind a bar, his past something for her to titter about as she walks away. Their dynamic has shifted. Kim tells Maxandra about Mike's former profession, and Maxandra, in need of a release, offers him an obscene amount of cash for one dance.

Through the sensuous choreography, their chemistry is undeniable, and when she coaxes him to travel overseas with her for a mysterious project, he goes along with the proposition, having nothing to lose. In fact, the one time we see his buddies from the first two films, they are on a video call and Mike owes them money. Max, meanwhile, is also negotiating her relationship to her wealth, which could disappear in a flash with her breakup. Mike is her knight in shining armor, helping her get revenge on her wayward spouse, but she is also his, rescuing him from pandemic depression.

It would be easy to look at ''Last Dance'' as just that: a love story set against the backdrop of a production that looks a lot like the ''Magic Mike Live'' stage shows that Tatum, Soderbergh and Carolin have taken out on tour in the real world. And it is. But it's also the creators' version of a conclusion to Mike's journey that offers him a respite from the troubles that plague a ***working-class*** striver like him. Yes, it's a bit magical, but, after all, this is ''Magic Mike.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/10/movies/magic-mike-economic-anxiety.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/10/movies/magic-mike-economic-anxiety.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: In ''Magic Mike's Last Dance,'' Channing Tatum, as the title character, has been forced back into service work by economic forces beyond his control. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WARNER BROS)

Above, Salma Hayek Pinault and Channing Tatum play characters who each have financial worries in ''Magic Mike's Last Dance.'' Left, in the original film of the ''Magic Mike'' trilogy, Tatum's character is unable to secure a loan. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CLAUDETTE BARIUS/WARNER BROS.

WARNER BROS.) (C5) This article appeared in print on page C1, C5.

**Load-Date:** February 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Sanders shifts focus to turnout.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y2S-CN91-JBG3-60KJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 26, 2020 Sunday 19:29 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 301 words

**Byline:** Sydney Ember

**Highlight:** “You win elections, especially against Trump, by having the largest voter turnout in the history of this country,” he said in Storm Lake on Sunday. “We are the campaign to do that.”

**Body**

“You win elections, especially against Trump, by having the largest voter turnout in the history of this country,” he said in Storm Lake on Sunday. “We are the campaign to do that.”

STORM LAKE, Iowa — Even as Bernie Sanders has surged in Iowa with eight days to go, his closing argument has hardly differed from his core message: He is fighting for the ***working class***.

But as he races around the state, he is also focusing more than ever on voter turnout: At stop after stop on Saturday and Sunday, he has made the case that he will only win here on Feb. 3 — and in the general election — if a high number of people actually vote.

“You win elections, especially against Trump, by having the largest voter turnout in the history of this country,” he said in Storm Lake on Sunday. “We are the campaign to do that.”

He went on: “I don’t care about what polls say today,” he said. “What matters is voter turnout.”

And on: “Tonight, I am asking you to do everything you can to make sure that the 2020 Iowa caucus has the larger voter turnout in the history of the Iowa caucus.”

Over the course of six stops this weekend (and with only one to go), Mr. Sanders did not take a single question from a voter.

Turning out people who do not usually participate in the political process has long been one of Mr. Sanders’ key strategies. In Iowa, he is hoping in particular to drive ***working class*** voters, Latino voters and young people to caucus sites.

Predicting caucus turnout has become something of a parlor game among Democratic officials and campaign staffers in the state — many are forecasting turnout that at least exceeds what it was in 2016.

The biggest turnout for one party’s presidential caucus was in 2008, when some 240,000 people participated in the Democratic contest that featured Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.

**Load-Date:** January 26, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Little Spain Is All but Gone***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68CV-NFF1-JBG3-603D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 4, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section RE; Column 0; Real Estate Desk; Pg. 1; STREETSCAPES

**Length:** 1894 words

**Byline:** By John Freeman Gill

**Body**

The church on West 14th Street, the first in Manhattan created for a Spanish-speaking congregation a century ago, has been deconsecrated. Its future is uncertain.

The Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a Catholic house of worship on West 14th Street, is a grandly inventive architectural oddity and the mother of all Hispanic storefront churches in New York City. Manhattan's first church created for a Spanish-speaking congregation, it was cobbled together out of two adjacent rowhouses in 1902 and 1917. Against this simple brownstone backdrop, a resplendent three-story Spanish Baroque entrance -- now with details painted blue, white, gold, and a purple the shade of rioja -- was added in 1921.

But the seminal Spanish-language church was deconsecrated by the Archdiocese of New York in January, paving the way for its potential sale, alteration or demolition. Although the church is not on the market, an Archdiocese spokesman offered no details about plans for the building, which elected officials and preservation groups are urging the city to protect through landmark designation.

Andrew Berman, executive director of Village Preservation, called the church's deconsecration ''worrisome,'' adding that ''any objective observer would say that this building might not be around much longer, given where it is located'' in the real-estate sweet spot at the border of Chelsea and Greenwich Village.

On May 23, the city Landmarks Preservation Commission designated as a landmark the former Colored School No. 4 on West 17th Street in Chelsea, the last-known ''colored'' schoolhouse remaining in Manhattan from the city's segregated 19th-century school system. At the public hearing before the commission voted, Sarah Carroll, its chairwoman, touted the agency's equity framework, which was intended to prioritize landmark designations that represent New York's diversity.

The designation of the old school building took place four and a half years after an African-American historian first formally asked the commission to evaluate it as a possible landmark, and preservationists are worried that Our Lady of Guadalupe might not survive that long without swifter government action. The school building is municipal property, which gave the city the luxury of time in determining its fate. But the church is privately owned.

Our Lady of Guadalupe, along with the Spanish Benevolent Society three doors down, is one of just two surviving pillars of the once-thriving and largely forgotten enclave of Little Spain, whose commercial center was concentrated on 14th Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues. If the building is lost or its facade stripped, what little remains of Little Spain will shrink nearly to the point of vanishing.

''Unfortunately, we do see this happen in New York, where communities that were once cornerstones of the city disappear and their landmarks are erased and no trace is left of them,'' Mr. Berman said. ''In the case of Guadalupe, this would be particularly tragic because it was the beginnings of a community that has become one of the largest constituencies in present-day New York, with a population of about 2.5 million.''

About 29 percent of New Yorkers claim Hispanic heritage, according to a five-year U.S. Census survey that concluded in 2021.

A landmarks commission spokeswoman said that in response to a request from Village Preservation in February for an expedited evaluation of Our Lady of Guadalupe as a potential landmark, the commission's staff was ''studying the church's connection to New York City's Hispanic and Latino community and whether its architecture and existing condition strongly represent this history.''

The two former townhouses now occupied by the church, at 229-231 West 14th Street, were built around 1850 as stately single-family homes. At that time, 14th Street was an elite residential district favored by the wealthy, its 800-foot-long blocks offering unbroken vistas of fine residences, a sight that prompted The New York Herald to describe the street as ''a noble thoroughfare ... from river to river.''

By the 1880s, No. 229 was owned by the Delmonico family, proprietors of the renowned eponymous restaurants, and in 1881 Siro Delmonico, a celebrated caterer, died there after a battle with emphysema, an outcome that surprised no one. (''I have known him to smoke as many as a hundred cigars in one day,'' his doctor told The New York Times.)

By the end of the century, however, commerce had intruded on 14th Street and the rich had decamped uptown. An enclave of Spaniards dominated by merchants had settled in the northwestern portion of Greenwich Village, near the Hudson River docks around 14th Street.

In the wake of the Spanish-American War of 1898, this community of Spanish immigrants was joined by an expanding ***working class***, according to the book ''Greater Gotham,'' by the historian Mike Wallace. After 1901, the Spanish Line ran ships carrying passengers directly from the Spanish provinces of Galicia and Asturias to Pier 8 at South Street.

Many found work as merchant seamen. In 1902, the Spanish vice-consul told The New York Tribune that half of the estimated 4,000 Spanish immigrants living in the city worked as stokers on oceangoing steamships. Some lived in sailors' boardinghouses along the Hudson River.

In 1902, with the blessing of the archbishop of New York, the Augustinians of the Assumption, a religious order with roots in France, bought the rowhouse at 229 West 14th Street from the Delmonicos for $27,000, with the express aim of using the building to administer the sacraments to the city's Spanish-speaking Catholics in their native tongue. (The cramped church expanded into neighboring No. 231 in 1917.)

The Assumptionists chose Little Spain to be closer to the city's poorer Spanish speakers, according to a 1994 history by the Assumptionist Center in Brighton, Mass. The order's local leadership had determined that the greatest concentration of Spanish and Mexican residents lay between 12th and 16th Streets, from Sixth to Eighth Avenues.

A modest, narrow chapel was fashioned out of the parlor and dining room of the former Delmonico home by ripping out walls on the first floor. The only indication to passers-by that a sanctuary lay inside was a cross over the door and a small tablet with the Spanish name of the church and an English translation.

Above the chapel's simple altar hung ''a picture of the Virgin Mary, as Our Lady of Guadalupe,'' reported the Tribune. ''The picture was sent to the church by the Mexican bishop of Queretaro.''

Although the church's main constituency was the Spanish immigrant community, research by Village Preservation shows that from the beginning the church's leadership also had its eye on engaging the city's much smaller Latin American population, which included Cubans and Mexicans.

Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, a professor emeritus of Puerto Rican and Latino Studies at Brooklyn College, said that the naming of the church for Our Lady of Guadalupe suggested that the Catholic leadership from the start intended the church to serve all Spanish-speaking groups and not just Spaniards.

Although the title Our Lady of Guadalupe originated in medieval Spain, he said, the Virgin's image was transformed in Mexico into a ''biracial Madonna.''

''She's pregnant and she's wearing an Aztec fold, a belt that Aztec women would wear to show they were pregnant,'' he said, ''and she's painted this way.'' He added: ''So that's a very powerful thing going back to the 16th century in Mexico, when there were great tensions between the invaders and the invaded, and the idea of the church was that it's a church of the mestizo, of the mixture of these cultures, of these languages, of these races.''

The choice of name proved prophetic, as a surge in Mexican congregants ultimately overwhelmed the church's capacity a century after its founding. By 2003, so many worshipers were descending on Our Lady from all over town on a typical Sunday that hundreds spilled out onto the street among vendors hawking tamales and crucifixes.

That year, the church merged with the much larger St. Bernard's Church, one block west, to form the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe at St. Bernard. Masses and sacraments stopped being celebrated at the old brownstone church, which is currently used for religious education on Saturdays and retreats once a month. A pregnancy help center operates in the basement during the week. At the St. Bernard building, masses are now held in both Spanish and English.

The Spanish Benevolent Society, widely known as La Nacional, moved into a nearby brownstone at No. 239 in the 1920s, where it served as a vibrant social hub and gave new Spanish immigrants a bed while helping them find work and camaraderie.

To this day two flags, one Spanish and the other American, hang above its ground-floor restaurant, which serves a delicious squid-ink seafood paella. The restaurant walls are evocatively decorated with antique identity cards, known as ''fichas,'' of long-dead society members, listing their names, professions and hometowns on the Iberian Peninsula.

Little Spain enjoyed an invigorating influx of refugees and political exiles after the Spanish Civil War, which ended in 1939. By the 1950s, membership of La Nacional peaked at 7,000, and more than 25 Hispanic shops, bookstores, restaurants and social clubs lined the vivid one-block main drag of 14th Street, known as ''Calle Catorce.''

One of the most renowned shops was Casa Moneo, a two-story grocery with a paprika-colored awning that had imported beloved Spanish specialties like chorizos and jamón serrano since 1929.

La Iberia, a haberdashery opened in 1937 by José Maria Vázquez, purveyed American brands like Van Heusen. Every month, one of two Spanish ships, El Covadoga and El Guadalupe, would dock at a nearby Hudson River pier, recalled Mr. Vázquez's son, Maximino Vázquez, a 71-year-old with fluffy gray mutton chops who still lives on the block.

''Sailors would come to the block to sell cognac to the restaurants,'' he said, and with the money they earned they would buy American appliances from the Gavila brothers' shop on 15th Street and go to La Iberia to ''buy Arrow shirts and girdles and Jockey underwear in bulk to resell in Spain.''

''These were huge packages my dad wrapped in paper and twine,'' he continued. ''It was like Christmas every month.''

But as violent crime climbed in the 1970s, Spaniards with families left Little Spain in droves, relocating to places like Astoria, Queens. And though some Latinos moved in to fill the void, many restaurants and other Hispanic businesses shuttered. In 1987, Casa Moneo closed down, a signal moment in the decline of the neighborhood's Hispanic identity.

Now, with the future of Our Lady of Guadalupe's distinctively Spanish building in doubt, its neighbor, La Nacional, is increasingly isolated as an institutional remnant of Little Spain.

''We've always felt we are the two anchors, and I always felt La Nacional would be OK as long as we were together,'' said Robert Sanfiz, the society's executive director. ''So the thought of that being destroyed in the name of another condo here on 14th Street would really make it feel like we are alone on an island. And when you feel alone on an island, your existence can feel threatened.''

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, with its protruding Spanish Baroque entrance, circa 1929, and below. The 1902 church was cobbled together out of two brownstones, and the Spanish Baroque facade was added in 1921. Preservationists are urging the city to grant the church landmark protection. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NYPL

DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (RE1)

The Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe after a renovation in the 1920s. Robert Sanfiz, far left, executive director of the Spanish Benevolent Society, on the steps of its brownstone. Below, the society, known as La Nacional, operates a vibrant restaurant on its ground floor. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

ARCHIVES OF THE AUGUSTINIANS OF THE ASSUMPTION -- NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCE)

Dancing at the Spanish Benevolent Society in 2021. Above that, Mr. Sanfiz holds a stack of identity cards, known as fichas. Above right, the walls at La Nacional restaurant are decorated with identity cards of long-dead society memberS. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Maximino Vázquez with a photo of his father, José Maria Vázquez, outside La Iberia, a haberdashery he opened in 1937 in the heart of Little Spain. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (RE6) This article appeared in print on page RE1, RE6.

**Load-Date:** June 11, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Mill Fire in Northern California Killed at Least 2, Officials Say***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:669T-P951-JBG3-60MD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 5, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 755 words

**Byline:** By Holly Dillemuth and Shawn Hubler

**Body**

The fire, one of two whipping through the region, has destroyed at least 100 homes, according to the authorities.

YREKA, Calif. -- Wind-whipped fires that have forced the evacuation of thousands in Northern California have killed at least two people, the authorities said Sunday.

The news of the deaths came as firefighters struggled for a third day to vanquish the flames. The Mill fire, which erupted on Friday near a defunct lumber mill in the town of Weed, Calif., has consumed more than 4,200 acres there and in nearby communities and destroyed at least 100 homes, local officials said, though they are still assessing the damage. Among the areas devastated was the Lincoln Heights area of Weed, a historically Black community that was founded by Black mill workers in the 1920s.

Witnesses said the fire, whipped by howling winds, exploded so suddenly that there was scarcely time to evacuate. By Sunday afternoon, it was 25 percent contained.

The two killed in the Mill fire were women, ages 66 and 73, said Jeremiah LaRue, the Siskiyou County sheriff-coroner. They were not related, he said. ''We have lost two people to this fire,'' Sheriff LaRue told a community meeting in Montague, a town north of the fires. ''There's no easy way of putting that.''

The Mill fire was the first of two substantial blazes to ignite on Friday in Siskiyou County, near the Oregon border. As of Sunday afternoon, the larger Mountain fire had raced through more than 8,400 acres and was only about 10 percent contained. Overall, 4,300 firefighters from across California were working to contain those two fires, according to Cal Fire, the state's fire protection agency.

On Sunday, residents of Weed and other communities including Lake Shastina were trying to process the destruction and scale of loss.

Stacey Green, a city councilor in Weed, home to about 2,900, has lived in the Lincoln Heights neighborhood for more than 50 years. The fire destroyed his home and took everything he had.

''My point of reference is just dirt. Black, gray dirt, and it's leveled,'' he said at a Red Cross evacuation center provided by the Karuk Tribe in Yreka, about 30 miles north of Weed.

Mr. Green was taking a nap on Friday when he heard knocking on his door. He woke up to see flames engulfing a tree in his front yard. He then saw that his backyard was on fire, too. Across from his home on Crestmore Avenue, houses were already in flames, he said. Unable to find his keys, wallet or shoes, he left with only his cellphone and the clothes on his back. Surrounded by smoke, he walked to a nearby highway in his socks.

On Monday, Mr. Green will spend his 59th birthday at the evacuation center, not the room he grew up in. His grand piano, which he learned to play by ear, will not be there. Neither will the photographs of his late parents.

''I feel like a piece of me is gone. That's what made me, and that's no longer there,'' he said.

Eddie Russell, who lived in an apartment in Lincoln Heights, was another evacuee at the shelter. He said that he had just moved back to Weed in May from Georgia, where he had lived for two decades, after his mother had died. He felt like he was putting down roots in Lincoln Heights.

''That was my home, I was settling down,'' Mr. Russell said.

He, too, lost everything in the fire, including a tablet with photographs of his mother.

''All I had was my backpack and the clothes on my back,'' Mr. Russell said. He said he was upbeat but honest about his loss, and that it would not be the first time he needed to start over in life.

Many longtime residents of Siskiyou County are familiar with that predicament. But after the Boles fire in 2014 and the Lava fire in 2021, along with recent fires in Yreka, the continual evacuations have many in the region reeling.

Sheriff LaRue said that the fires have been ''devastating'' for the ***working-class*** small towns. He added that residents who live within fire zones can face ''extraordinarily'' high insurance rates, making it hard for people to afford premiums and adequate coverage.

The geography of Weed is a factor in its vulnerability to fire. The town was founded as a lumber town, and the mill was built there because the winds coming off Mt. Shasta dried the timber, Sheriff LaRue said.

But those same winds, along with drought and high temperatures, also serve as a propellant to any fires in the region.

''If you get a fire, it's like a blowtorch,'' he said.

Mandy Feder-Sawyer contributed reporting.Mandy Feder-Sawyer contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/04/us/mill-fire-california.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/04/us/mill-fire-california.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A firefighter hosing down hot spots. Witnesses said there was barely time to evacuate. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FRED GREAVES/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** September 5, 2022

**End of Document**



[***What Is Wrong With This Picture?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67B0-XKV1-JBG3-625T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 15, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 3; BIG CITY

**Length:** 1214 words

**Byline:** By Ginia Bellafante

**Body**

Built with high ideals and architectural panache, New York's stock of mid-20th-century apartment buildings is now threatened by greed and decay.

By the time it was completed in the early 1940s, the Parkchester apartment complex in the Bronx had distinguished itself on several levels. The development was the original live-play space, to borrow the current argot, incorporating a movie theater with 2,000 seats and a branch of Macy's; it was responsible for the largest order of kitchen cabinets ever placed in the country's history. Given current economic assaults on all but the very affluent, Parkchester's origins seem almost quixotic in retrospect: especially elegant housing for the middle class. After it opened, the development ranked as the second most valuable property in New York, following Rockefeller Center.

Delivering more than 12,000 apartments, Parkchester arrived during a moment of great enthusiasm for the capacity of urban design to advance the social good, merging two philosophical styles typically set in opposition -- Le Corbusier's high-rise model, with its promise of clean, efficient density, and the principles of the City Beautiful movement, a cri de coeur for artful embellishment and expansive green space.

In the 1970s and '80s, the apartments were converted to condominiums and made available at relatively low cost to the families who lived in them. Half were bought by a consortium and remained rental properties; some others were bought by individuals who rented them out as well. By the standards of today's astronomical housing prices, the apartments continue to be relatively reasonable -- a two bedroom might go for less than $1,900 a month or turn up for sale around $250,000. While Parkchester was covenanted for whites only when it opened -- and remained so through much of the 1960s -- it has evolved into a community that is predominantly Hispanic, African American and Bangladeshi whose alchemy and ideals are now imperiled.

While the housing emergencies in New York are usually cast in terms of the seemingly endless constraints burdening the process of constructing new buildings with affordable units, a parallel crisis has emerged around the preservation of those developed during the mid-20th century, the high point of political and economic momentum directed at meeting the residential needs of working families. To maintain their standard of living today, working people are essentially left fighting both greed and decay -- the private takeover of subsidized housing and the deterioration of the buildings that, given their comparatively modest rents and maintenance costs, are not generally flush with the kind of cash necessary to make capital improvements.

Last year, Nancy Johnson, a retired public-school teacher who has lived in Parkchester for 45 years, formed a watchdog group to try and get a handle on the mounting problems in the buildings -- regular issues with heat, water damage, mold, garbage collection, elevators that often don't work and so on.

''When I first moved here, the floors were waxed and shined on a consistent basis,'' she told me. ''They used to shine the brass, and now we are fighting to keep it livable.'' For about 15 years, the monthly maintenance fee was not raised at all, Ms. Johnson said, but more recently it has been going up continuously; this year it will be raised by nearly 5 percent. People have moved, she said -- one person to New Jersey, another upstate -- in every instance because of structural problems in the buildings. In some hallways, plaster has crumbled off much of the wall surface. For several days last month, some tenants were without running water at all.

Amanda Farías, the City Council member representing Parkchester, finds herself in a bind dealing with all this, because any legal recourse the city might take -- liens and fines against building management, for example -- would simply result in additional expenses that would, inevitably, be passed on to residents. As she sees it, these problems were playing out all over the city.

On Sunday, Lincoln Restler, her colleague in the City Council, was knocking on doors at a similar development in Brooklyn, Bedford Gardens, helping to organize tenants against a proposed rent increase of 80 percent over the next few years. Bedford Gardens was developed under the Mitchell-Lama program, established in New York in the mid-1950s to provide affordable cooperative and rental housing for middle-income families with state and city subsidies. Although roughly half of the Bedford Gardens tenants have Section 8 vouchers, which limits the rent they pay, the others would be subject to the full rent increase if it passes.

''This is an incredibly diverse development, where people live together in a dynamic community,'' Mr. Restler told me. He pointed out that preserving existing affordable housing is, obviously, much cheaper than building new housing. ''This is the low-hanging fruit. Places like Parkchester and Bedford Gardens have served as deep pockets of affordability for generations,'' he said. ''We need to figure out how to close the loopholes that allow these extreme rent increase.''

He also maintained that government at every level should work to keep these buildings from falling apart. In 2019, the New York State Legislature passed a package of housing reforms that brought tenants historic protections against rent hikes, but the laws govern only certain categories of affordable housing, and Bedford Gardens does not fall under them.

On Wednesday evening, dozens of tenants at Bedford Gardens showed up to a meeting to discuss a municipal hearing scheduled for next week in which the proposed rent increases will be debated. Even if the result is only a marginal increase, Mr. Restler said, the development's many residents living on fixed incomes will struggle to pay it.

They might find some basis for optimism in the recent outcome of a lawsuit in which a judge decided in favor of tenants of Stuyvesant Town-Peter Cooper Village, who have been fighting Blackstone, the private equity firm that bought the development eight years ago for $5.4 billion, over whether roughly 6,000 apartments would remain rent-stabilized.

It seems fitting that one of the most acclaimed shows of the current Broadway season should be a revival of Stephen Adly Guirgis's Pulitzer Prize-winning 2014 play, ''Between Riverside and Crazy,'' which revolves around a widowed ex-cop's efforts to hold on to his rent-controlled apartment on the Upper West Side.

But if you are searching for another metaphor, almost bulldozing in its obviousness, that expresses how the city's unionized work force is getting flattened, all you need to do is walk around Parkchester and look up. There, a trove of terra-cotta statues original to the buildings, some depicting steelworkers and firefighters, are breaking down or have disappeared completely. As Sharon Pandolfo Pérez, who spent her childhood in Parkchester put it in an interview with The Times last year: ''It's a sign that they are being taken for granted, and the people here feel taken for granted. This is ***working-class*** New York. If you're taking that down, what's that saying?''Email [*bigcity@nytimes.com*](mailto:bigcity@nytimes.com); follow Ginia Bellafante on Twitter: @GiniaNYT

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/15/nyregion/the-slow-inevitable-death-of-middle-class-housing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/15/nyregion/the-slow-inevitable-death-of-middle-class-housing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The Parkchester apartment complex in the Bronx, cutting-edge housing built for the middle class, as it looked in the early 1940s. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BETTMANN ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page MB3.

**Load-Date:** January 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Fetterman vs. Oz: The Debate Aftermath***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66R4-50W1-JBG3-6098-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 28, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 25; LETTERS

**Length:** 890 words

**Body**

Readers discuss John Fetterman's debate performance and how his stroke affects his candidacy.

To the Editor:

Re ''Debate Showing Elicits Worries in Pennsylvania'' (front page, Oct. 27):

I see much gnashing of teeth among supporters of John Fetterman for his less than stellar performance in debating Mehmet Oz. If this had been a competition to see who would be captain of the school debate team, I would feel the same and tell John to come back and try again after his recovery is further along.

But these made-for-TV debates do not capture how they would perform as a U.S. senator, someone who needs to be very familiar with the issues faced by all Pennsylvania residents to effectively represent their interests.

John Fetterman is a longtime Pennsylvania resident who spent years as mayor of Braddock learning about the difficulties faced by citizens of a ***working-class*** town and then almost four years as lieutenant governor learning from citizens all around the state.

The very wealthy Dr. Oz has virtually nothing in common with typical Pennsylvanians, giving over $20 million to his own campaign after moving to the state in late 2020 because Pat Toomey was not running for re-election. Does anyone seriously think he would be in Pennsylvania otherwise?

For those reasons, I have no doubt that John Fetterman will be far better able than Dr. Oz to work with President Biden and others in the Senate to craft effective legislation to improve the lives of Pennsylvanians and all Americans.

Ken PerkinsPittsburgh

To the Editor:

Watching the debate between John Fetterman and Mehmet Oz, one could not help feeling for Mr. Fetterman. Political views aside, I give Mr. Fetterman points for his strength and willingness to put himself out there when he is clearly compromised.

However, I fault his selfishness for continuing to run because he is not doing the best for the people of Pennsylvania, win or lose. He is clearly unable at this time to be a fully capable and functioning senator -- he may recover and be close to his old self, or he may not.

He should have, in the best interest of the people (and his own health), stepped down and let the Democrats run another candidate. If and when he recovers he can try to run again. I think his ego stood in the way of doing the right thing for himself, his family and the people of Pennsylvania.

Michael EckstutPrinceton, N.J.

To the Editor:

I spent a long career studying and taking care of patients with aphasia, or language impairment, secondary to strokes and other neurological disorders.

I have been very disappointed and disturbed by the publicity about the language problems evident in John Fetterman's speeches during the Senate campaign in Pennsylvania, and the language difficulties that he experienced during his recent debate with the Republican candidate, Dr. Mehmet Oz.

As discussed in the Opinion guest essay by Dr. Jill Bolte Taylor, a neuroscientist (nytimes.com, Oct. 25), the brain has a remarkable ability to heal. Aphasia affects language, not intellect, and patients with mild aphasia have normal cognitive and intellectual functioning. Language deficits from a stroke improve over months and years.

Mr. Fetterman's use of a monitor to facilitate his understanding of questions during an interview no more disqualifies him from serving as a senator than would the use of a cane or a walker after a stroke.

People with post-stroke language disorders can function fully in employment. I hope that readers will understand that aphasia is a handicap but not a disqualifier from elected office.

Howard S. KirshnerNashvilleThe writer, a neurologist, is professor emeritus at Vanderbilt University School of Medicine and serves on the board of the National Aphasia Association.

To the Editor:

One of my favorite movie lines is from the W.C. Fields film ''It's a Gift.'' The Fields character is confronted by a man who declares, ''You're drunk!'' Fields responds: ''Yeah, and you're crazy. I'll be sober tomorrow and you'll be crazy for the rest of your life.''

John Fetterman has made great strides since his stroke in May, has no cognitive deficits and, with luck, will fully recover. On the other hand, his opponent, Dr. Mehmet Oz, shows no signs of dropping his support for an ex-president willing to subvert democracy rather than admit defeat, is fine with allowing county or state officials to control women's bodies, and even continues to maintain that he's a Pennsylvanian.

One hopes the voters of the Keystone State will be as good as the title of another Fields movie, ''You Can't Cheat an Honest Man.''

Kenneth M. CoughlinNew York

To the Editor:

Dr. Mehmet Oz's unfitness for office is startling. He refused to accept that Joe Biden was fairly elected, joining the MAGA cult of election ''deniers,'' even though he has recently started to deny his denial. Donald Trump, who has endorsed Dr. Oz, has already announced his intent to challenge an Oz loss in Pennsylvania.

During the debate Dr. Oz made a breathtaking statement that ought to have been the headline -- that abortion decisions rightfully belong to ''women, doctors, local political leaders.''

John Fetterman is successfully recovering from a stroke. His speech is impaired, but not his mind. What is wrong with Mehmet Oz cannot be cured.

Patricia GoldsmithLivingston, N.Y.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/opinion/letters/fetterman-vs-oz-the-debate-aftermath.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/27/opinion/letters/fetterman-vs-oz-the-debate-aftermath.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A25.

**Load-Date:** October 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Slow, Inevitable Death of Middle-Class Housing; Big CITY***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67B0-WGF1-JBG3-61XS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 15, 2023 Sunday 23:13 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1244 words

**Byline:** Ginia Bellafante

**Highlight:** Built with high ideals and architectural panache, New York’s stock of mid-20th-century apartment buildings is now threatened by greed and decay.

**Body**

Built with high ideals and architectural panache, New York’s stock of mid-20th-century apartment buildings is now threatened by greed and decay.

By the time it was completed in the early 1940s, the Parkchester apartment complex in the Bronx had distinguished itself on several levels. The development was the original live-play space, to borrow the current argot, incorporating a movie theater with 2,000 seats and a branch of Macy’s; it was responsible for the [*largest order of kitchen cabinets ever placed in the country’s history*](http://chum338.blogs.wesleyan.edu/parkchester-apartments-3/). Given current economic assaults on all but the very affluent, Parkchester’s origins seem almost quixotic in retrospect: especially elegant housing for the middle class. After it opened, the development ranked as the second most valuable property in New York, following Rockefeller Center.

Delivering more than 12,000 apartments, Parkchester arrived during a moment of great enthusiasm for the capacity of urban design to advance the social good, merging two philosophical styles typically set in opposition — Le Corbusier’s high-rise model, with its promise of clean, efficient density, and the principles of the City Beautiful movement, a cri de coeur for [*artful embellishment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/realestate/streetscapes-parkchester-bronx.html) and expansive green space.

In the 1970s and ’80s, the apartments were converted to condominiums and made available at relatively low cost to the families who lived in them. Half were bought by a consortium and remained rental properties; some others were bought by individuals who rented them out as well. By the standards of today’s astronomical housing prices, the apartments continue to be relatively reasonable — a two bedroom might go for less than $1,900 a month or turn up for sale around $250,000. While Parkchester was covenanted for whites only when it opened — and remained so through much of the 1960s — it has evolved into a community that is predominantly Hispanic, African American and Bangladeshi whose alchemy and ideals are now imperiled.

While the housing emergencies in New York are usually cast in terms of the seemingly endless constraints burdening the process of constructing new buildings with affordable units, a parallel crisis has emerged around the preservation of those developed during the mid-20th century, the high point of political and economic momentum directed at meeting the residential needs of working families. To maintain their standard of living today, working people are essentially left fighting both greed and decay — the private takeover of subsidized housing and the deterioration of the buildings that, given their comparatively modest rents and maintenance costs, are not generally flush with the kind of cash necessary to make capital improvements.

Last year, Nancy Johnson, a retired public-school teacher who has lived in Parkchester for 45 years, formed a watchdog group to try and get a handle on the mounting problems in the buildings — regular issues with heat, water damage, mold, garbage collection, elevators that often don’t work and so on.

“When I first moved here, the floors were waxed and shined on a consistent basis,” she told me. “They used to shine the brass, and now we are fighting to keep it livable.” For about 15 years, the monthly maintenance fee was not raised at all, Ms. Johnson said, but more recently it has been going up continuously; this year it will be raised by nearly 5 percent. People have moved, she said — one person to New Jersey, another upstate — in every instance because of structural problems in the buildings. In some hallways, plaster has crumbled off much of the wall surface. For several days last month, [*some tenants were without running water*](https://www.instagram.com/p/CmRtf4Uu9iu/) at all.

Amanda Farías, the City Council member representing Parkchester, finds herself in a bind dealing with all this, because any legal recourse the city might take — liens and fines against building management, for example — would simply result in additional expenses that would, inevitably, be passed on to residents. As she sees it, these problems were playing out all over the city.

On Sunday, Lincoln Restler, her colleague in the City Council, was knocking on doors at a similar development in Brooklyn, Bedford Gardens, helping to organize tenants against a proposed rent increase of 80 percent over the next few years. Bedford Gardens was developed under the [*Mitchell-Lama program,*](http://www.mitchell-lama.org/history.html) established in New York in the mid-1950s to provide affordable cooperative and rental housing for middle-income families with state and city subsidies. Although roughly half of the Bedford Gardens tenants have Section 8 vouchers, which limits the rent they pay, the others would be subject to the full rent increase if it passes.

“This is an incredibly diverse development, where people live together in a dynamic community,’’ Mr. Restler told me. He pointed out that preserving existing affordable housing is, obviously, much cheaper than building new housing. “This is the low-hanging fruit. Places like Parkchester and Bedford Gardens have served as deep pockets of affordability for generations,” he said. “We need to figure out how to close the loopholes that allow these extreme rent increase.”

He also maintained that government at every level should work to keep these buildings from falling apart. In 2019, the New York State Legislature passed a package of housing reforms that brought tenants [*historic protections against rent hikes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/11/nyregion/rent-protection-regulation.html), but the laws govern only certain categories of affordable housing, and Bedford Gardens does not fall under them.

On Wednesday evening, dozens of tenants at Bedford Gardens showed up to a meeting to discuss a municipal hearing scheduled for next week in which the proposed rent increases will be debated. Even if the result is only a marginal increase, Mr. Restler said, the development’s many residents living on fixed incomes will struggle to pay it.

They might find some basis for optimism in the recent [*outcome of a lawsuit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/06/nyregion/nyc-apartments-blackstone-rent-dispute.html) in which a judge decided in favor of tenants of Stuyvesant Town-Peter Cooper Village, who have been fighting Blackstone, the private equity firm that bought the development eight years ago for $5.4 billion, over whether roughly 6,000 apartments would remain rent-stabilized.

It seems fitting that one of the most acclaimed shows of the current Broadway season should be a revival of Stephen Adly Guirgis’s Pulitzer Prize-winning 2014 play, “Between Riverside and Crazy,” which revolves around a widowed ex-cop’s efforts to hold on to his rent-controlled apartment on the Upper West Side.

But if you are searching for another metaphor, almost bulldozing in its obviousness, that expresses how the city’s unionized work force is getting flattened, all you need to do is walk around Parkchester and look up. There, a trove of terra-cotta statues original to the buildings, some depicting steelworkers and firefighters, are [*breaking down or have disappeared completely*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/realestate/streetscapes-parkchester-bronx.html). As Sharon Pandolfo Pérez, who spent her childhood in Parkchester put it in an interview with The Times last year: “It’s a sign that they are being taken for granted, and the people here feel taken for granted. This is ***working-class*** New York. If you’re taking that down, what’s that saying?”

Email [*bigcity@nytimes.com*](mailto:bigcity@nytimes.com); follow Ginia Bellafante on Twitter: @GiniaNYT

PHOTO: The Parkchester apartment complex in the Bronx, cutting-edge housing built for the middle class, as it looked in the early 1940s. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BETTMANN ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page MB3.

**Load-Date:** January 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Book Listings***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6967-KJD1-DXY4-X05N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 17, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 61

**Length:** 4424 words

**Body**

Even if the equinox, and official start to autumn, is a few days away, a season of new books is upon us.

Here are 67 books to watch for this fall. Whether you like novels or nonfiction, stories or memoir, historical fiction or evolutionary science (really!), there's certainly a book you'll love.

Beyond the Wall: A History of East Germany, by Katja Hoyer

A historian turns her eye to the country of her birth in this political history of the German Democratic Republic, which existed from 1949 to 1990. Contrary to common depictions, Hoyer presents a picture of a vibrant society that weathered intense state suppression but also enacted solidarity.

Basic Books, Sept. 5

Crossings: How Road Ecology Is Shaping the Future of Our Planet, by Ben Goldfarb

Humans have built 40 million miles of road on earth, which have profoundly influenced our world. Goldfarb's account examines roads in context of the environment around them -- touching on the Trans-Canada highway that conservationists called ''the meatmaker,'' and even the mountain lions trapped in California's Santa Monica Mountains -- and profiles the scientists, engineers and organizers seeking to mitigate their ecological harm.

Norton, Sept. 12

Do You Remember Being Born?, by Sean Michaels

When an aging poet realizes that her critical acclaim hasn't translated to financial stability, she agrees to train a poetry A.I. program named Charlotte at a tech company's campus in California. Over the course of a week, she grapples with questions of art, family and connection.

Astra House, Sept. 5

Elon Musk, by Walter Isaacson

The best-selling author of ''Steve Jobs'' returns with a biography of the richest man on earth. Isaacson spent two years shadowing Musk, the head of X (formerly Twitter), Tesla and SpaceX, and interviewing both his friends and foes. The resulting book delves deep into the billionaire's demons, including childhood bullies and a difficult father, and interrogates their relationship to his success.

Simon & Schuster, Sept. 12

The Fraud, by Zadie Smith

Smith's new novel centers on a trial that divided Victorian England, in which a lower-class Australian butcher claimed the right to a huge estate. This roving work of historical fiction examines who has the right to tell a story, who is taken seriously and who is remembered.

Penguin Press, Sept. 5

Glossy: Ambition, Beauty, and the Inside Story of Emily Weiss's Glossier, by Marisa Meltzer

The cosmetics behemoth Glossier began in 2010, with the lifestyle blog ''Into the Gloss.'' Meltzer emphasizes the entrepreneurial savvy of the brand's founder, Emily Weiss, who blogged in the mornings before her internship at Vogue and eventually secured funding from the same venture capital firm as Apple and Google, turning Glossier into the rare billion-dollar company helmed by a woman.

Atria/One Signal, Sept. 12

Holly, by Stephen King

The private investigator Holly Gibney appeared in ''The Outsider,'' ''Mr. Mercedes'' and other novels, and King has said she ''stole'' his heart. Now, she takes center stage as she works to recover a missing girl and uncover the gruesome secret held by two retired professors.

Scribner, Sept. 5

Daughter, by Claudia Dey

Dey's third novel follows Mona, whose father is a novelist. After he makes her complicit in an affair with his publicist, the other women in her family hold her responsible. Leaping between Mona's narration and her family's, Dey examines estrangement from multiple perspectives as decades of betrayal accumulate.

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Sept. 12

A House for Alice, by Diana Evans

In the wake of the 2017 fire at Grenfell Tower, in London, and the death of her estranged husband, a woman named Alice considers returning to Nigeria in hopes of leaving behind the ''disagreement of place'' she feels with Britain.

Pantheon, Sept. 12

Larry McMurtry: A Life, by Tracy Daugherty

A celebrated literary biographer takes on the life of McMurtry, a fellow Texan known for his Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, ''Lonesome Dove,'' and other best selling Westerns. Daugherty's perceptive analysis brings alive McMurtry's trademark wit -- he often wore a shirt that said ''minor regional novelist'' -- along with his solitary tendencies and disciplined approach to writing.

St. Martin's, Sept. 12

Normal Rules Don't Apply: Stories, by Kate Atkinson

Atkinson's first story collection in years features 11 related selections with the feel of fairy tales. They are populated by a recurring cast of characters: the rakish, aimless Franklin Fletcher; Princess Aoife; Dame Phoebe Hope-Waters; and a chorus of talking animals.

Doubleday, Sept. 12

Rouge, by Mona Awad

In this Gothic tale set in modern-day Los Angeles, a young woman grieves her beauty-obsessed mother and is saddled with her debts. Eventually, she becomes entangled with the cultlike spa that consumed her mother's life.

Simon & Schuster/Marysue Rucci, Sept. 12

The Vaster Wilds, by Lauren Groff

Groff's new novel is a wilderness epic about a servant girl who must survive a bitter winter after fleeing a colonial settlement in 1600s Virginia.

Riverhead, Sept. 12

The Young Man, by Annie Ernaux. Translated by Alison L. Strayer.

Ernaux received the Nobel Prize in Literature last year, becoming the first Frenchwoman to receive the prize. This book chronicles an affair she had when she was in her 50s with a much younger man, which led her to revisit how her own life unfolded: ''With him I traveled through all the ages of life, my life.''

Seven Stories, Sept. 12

Bright Young Women, by Jessica Knoll

The year is 1978, and the All-American Sex Killer, as the papers refer to the criminal, is on a murder spree. After a pair of young women go missing in Seattle and a student finds two of her sorority sisters dead in Tallahassee, two women linked by tragedy go on a shared mission to catch the culprit.

Simon & Schuster/Marysue Rucci, Sept. 19

Father and Son: A Memoir, by Jonathan Raban

Raban died in January, but this meditative memoir tells two parallel stories: Raban's own, coming to terms with the limitations of his body after suffering a stroke at 68; and his father's, who was evacuated at the Battle of Dunkirk during World War II and with whom his relationship was distant for many years.

Knopf, Sept. 19

Mr. Texas, by Lawrence Wright

Wright, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and longtime resident of Texas, spins a satirical story about his state's politics. After Sonny's heroic actions during a fire, a lobbyist approaches him about running for his district's seat in the Texas state Legislature. As Sonny, who cares deeply about doing the right thing, ventures deeper into his campaign, he must decide how far he's willing to go to get ahead and save his ranch (and his marriage).

Knopf, Sept. 19

Night Watch, by Jayne Anne Phillips

At the Trans-Allegheny Lunatic Asylum in West Virginia -- which operates under Dr. Thomas Story Kirkbride's surprisingly progressive ''moral treatment'' principles -- 12-year-old ConaLee and her mother take back their lives in the wake of the Civil War.

Knopf, Sept. 19

The Pole, by J.M. Coetzee

This new book by the Nobel laureate traces the constantly shifting power imbalance in a love affair between a Polish pianist, Wittold Walccyzkiecz, and his beloved, Beatriz, who is a married philanthropist.

Liveright, Sept. 19

Wellness, by Nathan Hill

Hill (known for his earlier book, ''The Nix'') tells the story of Jack and Elizabeth's marriage, from their courtship in the '90s Chicago art scene to their life as parents decades later. According to Hill, the novel is most concerned with the question: ''How much can something change before it's no longer fundamentally itself?''

Knopf, Sept. 19

American Gun: The True Story of the AR-15, by Cameron McWhirter and Zusha Elinson

Two Wall Street Journal reporters dig into the history of this controversial weapon, which was invented in a 1950s California garage, used widely by the U.S. military during the Vietnam War and adopted by mass shooters in the 2000s. The book's measured examination considers how World War II, pop culture and profit contributed to the AR-15's proliferation.

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Sept. 26

Germany 1923: Hyperinflation, Hitler's Putsch, and Democracy in Crisis, by Volker Ullrich. Translated by Jefferson Chase.

This history investigates the forces that led to the Weimar Republic's eventual collapse, many of which came to a head in 1923. Economic pressures, along with occupation by French troops and Hitler's failed coup all made for a ''year of lunacy,'' Ullrich writes, though such forces would not succeed in toppling Germany's first democracy for another decade.

Liveright, Sept. 26

Land of Milk and Honey, by C Pam Zhang

In a version of the future where the world is blanketed in smog and everyday foods (even fresh strawberries) have become scarce, a young chef travels to a mountain colony on the Italian-French border to cook meals of rare ingredients for the ultrawealthy. There, she rediscovers the pleasures of food and forms a curious bond with her boss's daughter.

Riverhead, Sept. 26

People Collide, by Isle McElroy

Eli and Elizabeth are a couple living in Bulgaria, but one day, Eli leaves the apartment to discover he's in his wife's body -- and his wife, presumably in his body, is missing. As Eli searches for his wife across Europe, he re-examines his marriage, his lived experience and even the basic tenets of his identity.

HarperVia, Sept. 26

Thicker Than Water: A Memoir, by Kerry Washington

The star of ''Scandal'' and ''Little Fires Everywhere'' offers a view into her private life and identity. Her memoir touches on childhood traumas, the mentors who helped her career, the motivations behind her political advocacy and her tumultuous but satisfying path to finding her authentic self.

Little Brown Spark, Sept. 26

The Unsettled, by Ayana Mathis

Mathis follows three generations of a Black family in 1985. Ava Carson moves into a Philadelphia shelter after leaving an abusive marriage, along with her son, Toussaint. In Alabama, Ava's estranged mother is a once-promising blues singer whose hometown is rapidly changing. But when Toussaint's father, Cass -- a Black Panther -- returns to town with a vision of building a local health clinic and commune, he brings hope and a sense of danger.

Knopf, Sept. 26

Alfie and Me: What Owls Know, What Humans Believe, by Carl Safina

The author, an ecologist, and his wife rescued a screech owl in bad shape, expecting it would be well on its way soon. But the owl's prolonged stay, which coincided with the Covid-19 pandemic, brought a sense of ''consistent magic,'' prompting Safina to reflect on nature, spirituality and human existence.

Norton, Oct. 3

Brooklyn Crime Novel, by Jonathan Lethem

Spanning nearly 100 years, Lethem's latest work views the borough through a lens of the crimes -- both literal and figurative -- underpinning its gentrification.

Ecco, Oct. 3

Collision of Power: Trump, Bezos, and The Washington Post, by Martin Baron

The former executive editor of the Post details the many difficult decisions involved in maintaining journalistic integrity during the years he ran the paper, from 2013-2021. Especially fascinating is Baron's inside analysis of the forces at play when Jeff Bezos bought the Post in 2013, and three years later, when Donald Trump became president and expected Bezos to censor it.

Flatiron, Oct. 3

A Day in the Life of Abed Salama: Anatomy of a Jerusalem Tragedy, by Nathan Thrall

A Palestinian father desperately looks for his 5-year-old son after his school bus crashes outside of Jerusalem. As his search is slowed down by bureaucratic hurdles and a scattered emergency response, Thrall depicts the agony of losing a child and how it's intensified by the discrimination Palestinians face under Israeli rule.

Metropolitan, Oct. 3

Eve: How the Female Body Drove 200 Million Years of Human Evolution, by Cat Bohannon

Bohannon traces the development of mammalian milk from a field mouse that lived 200 million years ago, investigates the biological mystery of menopause and provides evidence that women utilized tools before men in this comprehensive book, which synthesizes a wide breadth of scientific research to reframe the story of evolution around the female body.

Knopf, Oct. 3

Extremely Online: The Untold Story of Fame, Influence, and Power on the Internet, by Taylor Lorenz

The Washington Post reporter presents a history of social media, ''the greatest and most disruptive change in modern capitalism.'' She reports on ''mommy bloggers'' and the birth of influencers, catalogs the rise and fall of platforms that have shaped online culture and offers a sober assessment of their toll on our collective mental health.

Simon & Schuster, Oct. 3

Going Infinite: The Rise and Fall of a New Tycoon, by Michael Lewis

Lewis, the author of ''The Big Short'' and other books cataloging financial breakdowns, first met Sam Bankman-Fried after a friend asked him to vet Bankman-Fried's cryptocurrency platform FTX. About a year later, both men were in the Bahamas when Bankman-Fried was arrested and charged with fraud. This new book, based on many months of interviews, chronicles the meteoric rise and fall of both the company and the man.

Norton, Oct. 3

How to Say Babylon: A Memoir, by Safiya Sinclair

''The scorch-marks of his anger were everywhere I looked, my family withered and blistered,'' the Jamaican poet recalls. As she recounts her upbringing under the surveillance of a restrictive and volatile Rastafari father, she reflects on childhood trauma, colonialism and her growing affinity for poetry.

37 Ink, Oct. 3

Making It So: A Memoir, by Patrick Stewart

Stewart reflects on not only his years in the Royal Shakespeare Company and his famous ''Star Trek'' role as Picard (about which his feelings have changed), but also his ***working-class*** childhood in northern England, his changing relationship to family and even his love for nearly-burned toast. Now 83, the actor insists he has no intention of retiring from his lifelong calling: ''Why would I stop?''

Gallery, Oct. 3

A Man of Two Faces: A Memoir, a History, a Memorial, by Viet Thanh Nguyen

The Pulitzer Prize-winning writer pushes the boundary of genre in his new memoir, which investigates his personal history as a Vietnamese refugee forced to flee at age 4, as well as the many narratives that form the idea of America itself. Film criticism, poetry and self-effacing jokes are involved, but ultimately, ''this is a war story,'' he writes.

Grove, Oct. 3

The Maniac, by Benjamín Labatut

Labatut's first novel written in English is a trio of stories about real-life geniuses and scientific breakthroughs that disrupted the fabric of human reality. His subjects include the Austrian physicist Paul Ehrenfest; Johnny von Neumann, who collaborated on the Manhattan Project; and Lee Sodol, a South Korean master of the game Go, who in 2016 retired after a defeat by artificial intelligence.

Penguin Press, Oct. 3

Blackouts, by Justin Torres

The unnamed narrator first met Juan while undergoing treatment at a psychiatric hospital. A decade later, Juan is dying, and the narrator has signed on to finish his research. Interspersed throughout the book are passages of a fictional biography, poems and playful references to queer art and literature.

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Oct. 10

The Hive and the Honey, by Paul Yoon

Yoon's haunting, evocative new collection centers on themes of migration, displacement, collective memory and the Korean diaspora.

Simon & Schuster/Marysue Rucci, Oct. 10

The Leftover Woman, by Jean Kwok

Jasmine arrives in the United States in search of her daughter, whom her abusive husband gave up for adoption. Soon, she learns the child was taken in by a wealthy New York publishing family. Balancing shifts as a cocktail waitress to pay down her debts to the human traffickers who brought her to America, she must field threats that could reveal her secret.

Morrow, Oct. 10

Madonna: A Rebel Life, by Mary Gabriel

At over 800 pages long, Gabriel's detailed biography seems to follow every peak and valley of Madonna's life, tracing her childhood in 1960s Michigan and the loss of her mother at 5 years old; rise to fame in the nascent years of MTV; AIDS advocacy; and much more.

Little, Brown, Oct. 10

Normal Women, by Ainslie Hogarth

When Dani realizes that she and her daughter would be financially adrift without her husband's income, she takes a job at the Temple -- a local yoga center that might also be a brothel -- under the guidance of its leader, Renata. But then Renata disappears, and it's up to Dani to find her.

Vintage, Oct. 10

The Canceling of the American Mind: Cancel Culture Undermines Trust and Threatens Us All -- But There Is a Solution, by Greg Lukianoff and Rikki Schlott

Lukianoff, an author of ''The Coddling of the American Mind,'' explains the phenomenon of cancel culture, shows how it's employed by liberals and conservatives alike and explores its context within a greater struggle for status and power in America. Along with Schlott, a columnist at The New York Post, he provides suggestions for reclaiming free speech.

Simon & Schuster, Oct. 17

The Exchange, by John Grisham

This sequel to Grisham's 1991 novel, ''The Firm,'' revisits the lawyer Mitch McDeere in the years since he and his wife, Abby, exposed a Memphis law firm's ties to the criminal underworld. Now, 15 years later, Mitch is a partner at one of New York's biggest law firms. After a friend is kidnapped in Libya, a hostage negotiation places him at the center of an international emergency.

Doubleday, Oct. 17

Judgment at Tokyo: World War II on Trial and the Making of Modern Asia, by Gary J. Bass

After World War II ended, Japanese military leaders were put on trial for war crimes, an attempt to reckon with atrocities that took more than two years. Bass's history shows that, unlike its more famous counterpart in Nuremberg, the Tokyo trial provided few decisive resolutions, and argues that its legacy still reverberates today.

Knopf, Oct. 17

Tremor, by Teju Cole

Composed of vignettes, Cole's new novel traces a weekend through the eyes of Tunde, a Nigerian photography professor, as he meditates on art, race and history.

Random House, Oct. 17

Vengeance Is Mine, by Marie NDiaye. Translated by Jordan Stump.

Maître Susane is a lawyer living quietly in Bordeaux, until a man approaches her with a request: Could she represent his wife, who has been accused of murdering their children? As the case threatens to upend her life, she puzzles over whether she knows this man from her past.

Knopf, Oct. 17

Worthy, by Jada Pinkett Smith

Pinkett Smith described her upcoming memoir as ''an adventure, a search for love and self-worth.'' In it, she opens up about her early life in Baltimore, her marriage to Will Smith and addresses the ''falsehoods'' she says have circulated about her life over the past several years.

Dey Street, Oct. 17

America Fantastica, by Tim O'Brien

This is the first novel in 20 years from O'Brien, a National Book Award winner, who is best known for his 1990 collection, ''The Things They Carried.'' The story is a madcap heist/road-trip starring a bank robber (who used to be a journalist) and his spitfire hostage, Angie. In hot pursuit are a bumbling private eye, a drug-fueled billionaire and a wannabe Charles Manson.

Mariner, Oct. 24

I Must Be Dreaming, by Roz Chast

''I am creating them. So why, as they unfold, am I always so surprised?'' the renowned cartoonist asks about her dreams in this inspired graphic narrative. She enlists everyone and everything she can -- Aristotle, Freud, neuroscientists -- in her quest to find out, in vivid color.

Bloomsbury, Oct. 24

Let Us Descend, by Jesmyn Ward

Ward, the National Book Award-winning author of ''Sing, Unburied, Sing,'' and ''Salvage the Bones,'' returns with a story that riffs on Dante's ''Inferno,'' following an enslaved teenager named Annis who is separated from her mother and sold by her white father. ''It took years and multiple drafts to understand how Annis and enslaved people might have retained their sense of self, their sense of hope, in a time and place that attempted to negate both, day in and out,'' Ward said of the book.

Scribner, Oct. 24

Romney: A Reckoning, by McKay Coppins

Romney has played many political roles -- Massachusetts governor, presidential candidate, senator from Utah. He granted Coppins, a staff writer at The Atlantic who has covered the Republican Party and religion for years, access to private journal entries, emails and texts and sat for interviews. Coppins said he was ''astonished by his level of candor'' while working on this biography.

Scribner, Oct. 24

Tupac Shakur: The Authorized Biography, by Staci Robinson

Robinson, who knew Shakur in high school, draws on the rapper's letters and notebooks along with interviews with close family and friends, in the first biography authorized by the Shakur estate. It includes photos, handwritten lyrics, and other artifacts from the estate's archives.

Crown, Oct. 24

Absolution, by Alice McDermott

This new novel, from a National Book Award winner, unfolds in 1963 Saigon. After a miscarriage, Tricia joins Charlene's efforts to help Vietnamese civilians. Decades later, when Charlene's daughter reaches out to reconnect, Tricia reckons with the implications of her friend's altruism, both for their lives and on a wider scale.

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Oct. 31

Being Henry: The Fonz ... and Beyond, by Henry Winkler

Winkler is known for his role on the beloved 1970s sitcom ''Happy Days,'' and he's been a television fixture for decades; his performance on ''Barry'' won an Emmy in 2018. His new memoir chronicles the vagaries of his career, his struggle with dyslexia, his experience writing children's books and more.

Celadon, Oct. 31

A Shining, by Jon Fosse. Translated by Damion Searls.

Fosse, a Norwegian writer, has become something of a literary sensation after the popularity of his dark-horse Septology series. In his new novel, a man makes a series of wrong turns, gets out of his car, starts walking through the forest and becomes dazzled by the titular ''shining'' and other near-death hallucinations.

Transit Books, Oct. 31

Class: A Memoir of Motherhood, Hunger, and Higher Education, by Stephanie Land

In this follow-up to ''Maid,'' a best-selling memoir about her grueling life as a domestic worker in Washington State, Land recounts the years in which she juggled her pursuit of a writing career with the reality of life as a single parent ''who struggled to make ends meet in endless, sometimes impossible ways.''

Atria/One Signal, Nov. 7

To Free the Captives: A Plea for the American Soul, by Tracy K. Smith

Smith, a former U.S. Poet Laureate, draws on her personal and family history to make sense of the ''din of human division and strife'' in America. Beginning with her grandfather's experience as a World War I veteran in Sunflower, Ala., and touching on her own spiritual life, she offers searching questions about the nation's future.

Knopf, Nov. 7

My Name is Barbra, by Barbra Streisand

This book has been hotly anticipated since its announcement years ago. Streisand offers a highly detailed (nearly 1,000 pages) account of her life. It covers her early struggles to become an actress, the hardships she endured as a Jewish woman directing in Hollywood, her friendships with fellow celebrities and much more.

Viking, Nov. 7

Same Bed Different Dreams, by Ed Park

Park spent nine years working on his new surrealist novel, which imagines an alternate political reality. In this world, the Korean Provisional Government, a resistance organization formed in March 1919, is still working toward a unified Korea.

Random House, Nov. 7

The Vulnerables, by Sigrid Nunez

Set during the spring of 2020, an unnamed female narrator -- similar to the narrator of Nunez's National Book Award-winning novel, ''The Friend'' -- contemplates the meaning of life, connection and self-mythology in pandemic-era New York.

Riverhead, Nov. 7

World Within a Song: Music That Changed My Life and Life That Changed My Music, by Jeff Tweedy

The frontman and a founding member of Wilco reflects on 50 songs that have shaped his life and art, including tracks by Joni Mitchell, Otis Redding and Billie Eilish, as he meditates on what compels us to listen to and create music.

Dutton, Nov. 7

Broken Code: Inside Facebook and the Fight to Expose Its Harmful Secrets, by Jeff Horwitz

Horwitz, a technology reporter at The Wall Street Journal, has written award-winning investigations of how Facebook shielded its elite users, enabled human and drug trafficking and amplified anger on the platform. He expands on that reporting in this book, providing a view of the company's operations and highlighting the employees who identified concerns, proposed solutions and fought efforts to slow them.

Doubleday, Nov. 14

Chasing Bright Medusas: A Life of Willa Cather, by Benjamin Taylor

Taylor's biography captures Cather's early life in Virginia and Nebraska in the late 19th century, and covers her development as a journalist and writer who eschewed contemporary fashions. It offers a thoughtful analysis of her work and makes a case for its relevance today.

Viking, Nov. 14

Day, by Michael Cunningham

Told over the course of three days -- April 5 in 2019, 2020 and 2021 -- this new novel explores how Dan, Isabel, their children and Isabel's brother change over the course of a tumultuous period, which was profoundly shaped by Covid-19. Cunningham received a Pulitzer Prize for his novel ''The Hours.''

Random House, Nov. 14

The New Naturals, by Gabriel Bump

In the wake of their child's death, a couple founds a utopian society inside an abandoned restaurant in western Massachusetts, drawing a colorful group of members from all walks of life. But as with all counterculture experiments, the group soon wonders whether utopia is truly possible.

Algonquin, Nov. 14

Milton Friedman: The Last Conservative, by Jennifer Burns

Burns, a historian at Stanford and the author of an intellectual biography of Ayn Rand, gives Friedman, a driving force in the postwar embrace of free-market economics, similar treatment in this rigorous account. She draws on archival material to trace his influences, assess his work and recount the struggles and triumphs that shaped his life.

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Nov. 14

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/06/17NEW-LISTINGS-BOOKS-PRINT.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/06/17NEW-LISTINGS-BOOKS-PRINT.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS This article appeared in print on page AR61, AR62.

**Load-Date:** September 17, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Philadelphia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:685M-M2R1-DXY4-X0WG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 6, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Travel Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1794 words

**Byline:** By Ingrid K. Williams

**Body**

Friday

2 p.m. | Walk the waterfront

Take in views of the city skyline on a sunny stroll along the Schuylkill River Trail. Start near the South Street Bridge and walk north on the over-water boardwalk and riverside path, past David McShane's enormous ''The Phillies Mural'' and the colonnaded Philadelphia Museum of Art, to Boathouse Row where crew teams launch from the bankside rowing clubs. Should it rain, head for the post-industrial Delaware riverfront with its own (albeit less scenic) waterside path, and take cover at the repurposed Cherry Street Pier. Inside a cavernous old pier building, stacked shipping containers now house studios for photographers, painters, graphic designers and sculptors. Peek inside these workspaces (many are open to the public) and the back garden facing the Ben Franklin Bridge.

4 p.m. | Seek art connections

Far more than a weekend is needed to explore the world-class cultural and scientific institutions lining the Benjamin Franklin Parkway -- the city's ''Museum Mile'' -- which includes the Rodin Museum, the Franklin Institute and the Philadelphia Museum of Art with its cinematic steps (and triumphant Rocky statue). For now, start at the Barnes Foundation and its singular collection of Impressionist, Post-Impressionist and Modern art (admission $25). Paul Cézanne watercolors hang above West African masks, a Henri Matisse masterpiece rests beneath an iron hasp, and works by Pablo Picasso and Paul Klee are grouped with various antique hinges and a surly cat painting, artist unknown -- eclectic arrangements meant to highlight connections across different cultures and media. On the first Friday of the month, the museum hosts live music performances from chamber orchestras and jazz ensembles (from 6 p.m.).

7 p.m. Feast in the Northeast

The formerly ***working-class*** Fishtown neighborhood now has some of the city's most exciting restaurants. Modern Lebanese cuisine is the draw at Suraya, a beautiful space with patterned-tile floors, glowing pendant lamps and a leafy rear courtyard where celebratory groups gather around dipping bowls of hummus; crisp za'atar manoushe, a flatbread; and shareable plates of slow-roasted lamb and muhammara-brushed kebabs. (Set dinner only on weekends, $75 per person.) The mood is even more festive at Middle Child Clubhouse, a rollicking new hangout where the imaginative food -- ''okonomiyaki-style'' latkes with Kewpie mayo and bonito flakes ($3), broiled oysters with 'nduja butter ($15) and snickerdoodle crème brulée ($10) -- is as fun as the cocktail list, with pitchers of grapefruit margaritas ($65) to get the party started.

9 p.m. Jazz up the night

After dinner, head to Center City, downtown Philly, for some live music, and make it jazz, since this is the city where Billie Holiday was born, where John Coltrane studied music and where Dizzy Gillespie played the local clubs. Every Friday, Bob and Barbara's Lounge hosts the Crowd Pleasers, a long-standing band playing toe-tapping jazz and ''liquor drinkin' music'' from 9 p.m. (no cover). Arrive early to nab a table near the band and consider sampling ''the Special'': a shot of Jim Beam and a can of Pabst Blue Ribbon ($4), a popular combo you can order at bars across the city (also called ''the Citywide'') that's said to have originated at this classic dive.

Saturday

9 a.m. Sample South Philly's smorgasbord

Whatever you wake up craving, South Philly's got it. Want an egg sandwich with sharp cheddar, arugula, bacon and peperonata on a soft sweet-potato bun ($11)? Head to the new side-street cafe of the popular bakery Mighty Bread Co. Craving lox and a schmear? Join the queue waiting to be invited inside Korshak Bagels, opened in 2021 by the charmingly idiosyncratic baker and poet Phil Korshak, whose devoted followers come for long-fermented sourdough bagels (from $2.25) and special schmears made with goat milk and mozzarella brine. For something soothing, nothing beats a steaming bowl of rich consomé, a Mexican-style broth, with rice and garbanzo beans ($4) at South Philly Barbacoa. And for something sweet, approach the window at Essen Bakery for the densely swirled chocolate-halva babka ($4).

10 a.m. Tour a magic garden

The local artist Isaiah Zagar has spent decades beautifying the streets of Philadelphia, installing glittering, kaleidoscopic mosaics on hundreds of facades, both private and public. His masterpiece, arguably, is the Magic Gardens, a formerly abandoned lot on South Street that is entirely encrusted with bits of mirror, crushed ceramics, glass bottles, bicycle wheels, found objects and original folk art. Explore this psychedelic art environment, with its maze of tunnels and excavated grottoes, on a guided group tour that highlights the artist's many recurring motifs and hidden messages. Morning tours ($25) begin an hour before the site officially opens and include a visit to a mesmerizing mosaicked basement gallery that is otherwise closed to visitors.

Noon Shop for local treasures

A short walk east, the Queen Village neighborhood is home to small independent shops stocked with clothing, books and art that you're unlikely to find anywhere else. Browse the shelves of Brickbat Books, a used-book store with creaky wood-plank floors and a select mix of artist monographs, illustrated children's books, poetry and literature. Then stop at Moon + Arrow, a serene home goods store filled with soft knitwear, organic elixirs, wooden toys and jewelry handmade from recycled metals. Next door, Philly Vintage Bazaar is the place to find hand-painted leather jackets, 1950s pin-up-style dresses, bejeweled collar clips made by a local artisan or a 1980s Budweiser-print bikini.

2 p.m. Revisit history

Historic monuments, colonial brick buildings and the spirit of democracy await on Independence Mall, home to the Liberty Bell and the National Constitution Center. Begin at Independence Hall, as the nation did, inside the steepled Georgian-style building where the founding fathers debated and signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution (and where the basement once served as the city dog pound). National park rangers lead regular tours; timed tickets required ($1 processing fee). Afterward stroll through the adjacent Old City neighborhood in search of more colonial vibes, past the Betsy Ross House, where the first American flag was said to have been sewn, and down quaint cobblestone lanes, such as Elfreth's Alley, where 18th-century houses still fly the Revolution-era flag.

4 p.m. Go back to school

The Bok Building, a 348,000-square-foot decommissioned school, is today the creative workplace for more than 200 designers, architects, artists, chefs, musicians, jewelers and entrepreneurs in South Philly. Early in the day, neighborhood folks swing by for fresh-baked baguettes and orange-cardamom morning buns from the award-winning Machine Shop bakery. But arrive in the afternoon to explore the wares inside the half-dozen first-floor shops: glass design pieces and illustrations made in the building at Baby Tooth, glossy iridescent vases at Rider Ceramics, and candy-colored planters at Greenly Plant Co. After 5 p.m., head to the eighth floor for a drink at Bok Bar, an open-air rooftop with food pop-ups, cultural events, live music and an unbeatable view across the city.

7:30 p.m. Try a pie

It should surprise no one that the pizza in Philly, home to one of the country's largest Italian-American communities, is excellent. These days, you're spoiled for choice, from the old-school margherita at Angelo's in South Philly, to the pillowy tomato pie at Pizzeria Beddia in Fishtown. A relative newcomer to the scene is Eeva, which opened in Kensington in 2020, first as a take-out-only operation. Today the light-filled space is an all-day cafe, bakery, wine shop and restaurant serving wood-fired pies made with naturally leavened dough. Highlights of a recent dinner included a fiery bowl of Italian butter beans and Calabrian chili atop a thick slice of house sourdough, and a perfectly blistered pepperoni pizza drizzled with local honey. Dinner for two, without drinks, about $50.

10 p.m. Grab a neighborhood nightcap

Stay in the neighborhood for drinks, starting a few blocks north at Human Robot. This Kensington craft brewery produces both classic European-style lagers and juicy American I.P.A.s, which are poured in their taproom, an industrial space with a long wooden bar and exposed brick walls. Ask a bartender about the Milktube ($3), a 10-ounce glass of chuggable, creamy foam said to be inspired by a traditional Czech pour (it's surprisingly dense and smooth, like the steamed froth of a cappuccino). Or continue a bit farther north to Martha, a cozy bar with a crackling fireplace, old movies projected on the wall and a dreamy enclosed patio strung with lights. To drink, try the smoky lapsang-tea-infused Negroni ($11) or choose from the selection of natural wines and craft beers on tap.

Sunday

10 a.m. Spend time in the pen

It's hard to fathom that Eastern State Penitentiary, a crumbling, neo-Gothic compound occupying a full city block in the Fairmount neighborhood, was founded on progressive principles of prison reform when it opened in 1829. The now-dilapidated prison, which closed in 1971, pioneered solitary confinement cells (intended to rehabilitate prisoners) and radial floor plans, both copied by prisons worldwide. Today, the site is better known for its (supposed) paranormal activity and infamous former inmates, including the Chicago gangster Al Capone. On a 40-minute audio tour, step inside eerie cells and hear the stories of those who served time in the overcrowded cell blocks. Don't miss the video installation #BlackGirlhood, by the filmmaker Dehanza Rogers, which examines the criminalization of young Black girls, along with other exhibits exploring the fraught, compounding issues of the criminal justice system today. Admission, $21.

12:30 p.m. Get the best steak

Every Philadelphian has an opinion about where to get the best cheesesteak, and those of us with family roots in northwestern Roxborough are loyal to Dalessandro's. Not much has changed at this steak shop since it opened on this corner in 1961, but the pandemic did force a pivot to take-out only, which is still in place. Luckily the steaks are as good as ever. Instead of the usual thinly sliced meat, Dalessandro's ribeye is finely chopped and suffused with molten cheese (American is standard), and the roll is soft but never soggy. (I like mine topped with marinara.) Call ahead to avoid the long lines. Take your steak to the leafy Wissahickon Valley Park, a short drive away, where you can eat on a bench beside the creek, then hike on miles of trails winding through the wooded gorge.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/travel/06hours-philadelphia-print.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/travel/06hours-philadelphia-print.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, the Cherry Street Pier. Above from left: works at the Barnes Collection

a sandwich at the Mighty Bread Co.

and Independence Hall. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAROLINE GUTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C9.

**Load-Date:** May 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Weigh a Comeback Strategy in Factory Towns***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65MM-9KY1-DXY4-X063-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 7, 2022 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

**Length:** 1529 words

**Byline:** By Blake Hounshell

**Body**

The party can ill afford to continue bleeding ***working-class*** support in Midwestern states. A new report explores how ''progressive populism'' could offer a way forward.

Should Democrats bother competing in the struggling factory towns of the Midwest?

A report to be released on Tuesday answers this question with an emphatic ''yes.'' But the fact that it is being asked at all speaks to the Democratic Party's still-unresolved challenge of how to win back the more than 2.6 million voters it has lost in places like Ottumwa, Iowa, and Scranton, Pa., since 2012.

More than five years after Donald Trump galvanized the white ***working class*** in America's fading industrial heartland, Democrats are still trying to understand what happened, and debating whether they should scrounge elsewhere for votes. Should they try to run up the electoral score in urban areas and inner-ring suburbs instead?

Basic electoral math suggests that they have little choice: It would be exceedingly difficult for Democrats to win a governing majority without holding onto their ''blue wall'' in the Midwest, and continued erosion in smaller communities might make that impossible in the near future.

In this year's midterms, Democrats are trying to win open Senate seats in Ohio and Pennsylvania, while hoping they can somehow oust Republican incumbents in Iowa and Wisconsin -- all states that are dotted with places that have been hurt by the effects of global economic and technological change over the last few decades.

But there's more at stake than just who wields political power.

''If fascism and authoritarianism continue to rise in this country,'' the authors wrote, ''it will be because more of the voters in the small and midsized counties of the manufacturing belt fuel its advance.''

An economic slide and political shift

In Iowa, which holds its primaries on Tuesday, the Democratic Party has all but given up.

Trump won the state by more than eight percentage points in the 2020 presidential election, and this year's midterms augur more misery for Democrats. They hold just one of Iowa's four congressional seats, and a vanishing number of major statewide offices.

Jasper County, just east of Des Moines, is a prime example of the typical factory town arc.

The county was once the center of the American washing-machine industry, but after the closure of a Maytag plant in 2007, unemployment soared to 10 percent, the highest in the state. Barack Obama won the county with 53 percent of the vote in 2008. But 12 years later, Joe Biden lost it to Trump by 22 points.

Iowa could offer but a glimpse of the future of an entire region that is trending Republican, the new report warns.

Issued by a nonprofit group called American Family Voices, it was written primarily by Mike Lux, a Democratic strategist and Biden ally with roots in the region. It builds on research that was published last fall and highlighted by my colleague Jonathan Martin at the time. The study used polls, focus groups and several hundred interviews and meetings with local officials, political operatives and activists, as well as a deep dive into voter file and census data.

The authors have emerged with a richer set of findings to recommend ''a messaging and organizing path forward'' for the Democratic Party in the 10 states, 565 counties and nearly 55 million voters they studied.

The polling, which was conducted by Lake Research Partners, shows a population buffeted by the rising cost of living and suffering from health-related crises. A majority, for instance, said they or a family member had a chronic health condition. Majorities also said they had personally struggled with disabilities, job loss, mental health problems or addiction.

The political challenge Democrats face in these communities is stark. The Democratic share of the electorate in so-called factory-town counties shrank from 33 percent to 24 percent from 2012 to 2020, according to TargetSmart, a Democratic data firm that was hired to work on the project, while the Republican share ballooned to more than 51 percent during the same period, from 40 percent.

Voters in this ''factory towns'' demographic, which still makes up nearly half of the electorate in those states, often view Democrats as too weak to enact their economic agenda, and are cynical about politicians' ability to help them in general.

'Progressive populism'

The report contains nine recommendations, which can be boiled down to a call for ''progressive populism'' to counter the frustration and economic dislocation many of these voters feel about politics.

Lux, who spent much of the last year immersed in the study, said in an interview that ''probably the No. 1 surprise to me is how desperate people are for community.''

A former labor organizer, Lux said he came away from his conversations convinced that there was an untapped ''hunger'' in factory towns to talk about political issues and ''get through some of the anger and vitriol into a more balanced conversation.''

He recommends that the Democratic Party, labor unions and progressive activists focus on engaging the pool of voters in the middle who are repulsed by extremism, and are not convinced that the Republican Party has their economic interests in mind.

''This is a challenging mission, given that the level of cynicism and disaffection from mainstream politics runs deep,'' Lux acknowledges in the report.

But with the right amount of ''old-fashioned community building,'' he argues, voters in factory towns ''could form a voting bloc that could become a cornerstone for a revival of the progressive movement.''

What to read

While Democrats everywhere are deeply worried about a range of political warning signs ahead of the midterms, they have a particular reason for alarm in California, Katie Glueck writes: skyrocketing gas prices.

Big-city mayors are furious about the recent spate of mass shootings, but while they often have authority over police departments and social service programs, they say they are largely powerless to enact the gun control measures that many see as necessary to prevent more tragedies. Mitch Smith has the story.

Next week, Adam Liptak writes, the Supreme Court may hear the ''800-pound gorilla'' of election law cases. It concerns a legal theory that would radically reshape how federal elections are conducted by greatly expanding state legislatures' power to set election rules at odds with state constitutions and to draw congressional maps warped by partisan gerrymandering.

Long Beach's mayor aims to head to Washington

The mayor of the Southern California city of Long Beach, who made national headlines for his leadership during the pandemic, has emerged as the front-runner for an open congressional seat that Democrats are expected to win in November.

The mayor, Robert Garcia, was the first Latino and first openly gay person to lead Long Beach.

He was one of 17 speakers during the 2020 Democratic National Convention's keynote address, and appeared in the news throughout the pandemic to urge safety precautions after his mother and stepfather died of Covid-19. Later, he opened the Long Beach Convention Center to shelter undocumented children who had arrived at the southern border.

In Tuesday's primary election, Garcia has the backing of Gov. Gavin Newsom and multiple members of California's congressional delegation.

''The issues that existed before the pandemic exist today, but they're just larger,'' Garcia told our colleague Jill Cowan in 2020. ''You think about issues around income inequality and homelessness, the housing crisis that exists here in California, climate change -- those are all huge.''

Sara Sadhwani, an assistant professor of politics at Pomona College who is a member of California's redistricting commission and who said she wasn't publicly supporting a candidate, said that Los Angeles frequently looked to Long Beach as a model for successful policies.

''It seems like his leadership would be both progressive and pragmatic,'' Sadhwani said.

Garcia faces several Democratic challengers, the most prominent being Cristina Garcia, who is not related to him.

A member of the State Assembly representing southern Los Angeles County, Cristina Garcia has built a reputation for championing policies to protect and support women. She sponsored legislation exempting pads and tampons from sales taxes and, as head of the Legislative Women's Caucus, was a leader in California's #MeToo movement.

Her reputation took a hit in 2018, however, when Politico reported that a former staff member had accused her of groping him; he filed a lawsuit against her and the Assembly arguing that he had been mistreated because he was a man. In a radio interview for KQED, Garcia said she had ''never assaulted anyone.''

Around the same time, she was also accused of having made anti-Asian and homophobic comments. She denied that she had intentionally used insulting language.

Her campaign did not respond to requests for comment.

-- Blake & Leah

Is there anything you think we're missing? Anything you want to see more of? We'd love to hear from you. Email us at [*onpolitics@nytimes.com*](mailto:onpolitics@nytimes.com)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/06/us/politics/democrats-midwest-strategy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/06/us/politics/democrats-midwest-strategy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A steel factory in Braddock, Pa., where Lt. Gov. John Fetterman formerly served as mayor. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 7, 2022

**End of Document**



[***What Tucker Carlson Really Thinks; David French***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67RF-7W01-DXY4-X338-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 9, 2023 Thursday 15:04 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1462 words

**Byline:** David French

**Highlight:** It is not what he says when he’s on the air.

**Body**

On Tuesday evening, two news reports caught my attention. The first was an [*Emerson College poll*](https://emersoncollegepolling.com/new-hampshire-2024-trump-holds-41-point-lead-for-republican-nomination/) of Republican primary voters in New Hampshire. Donald Trump holds an incredible 41-point lead over Ron DeSantis in the state that rescued Trump’s primary campaign after a second-place finish in Iowa in 2016. This result is in line with a [*series of national polls*](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2024/president/us/2024_republican_presidential_nomination-7548.html) that also show Trump with a large lead over DeSantis. Trump is still the favorite to win the G.O.P. nomination. Any other conclusion at this early date is wishful thinking.

The second report was [*yet another document dump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/07/business/media/fox-dominion-2020-election.html) in Dominion Voting Systems’ defamation lawsuit against Fox News. Collectively, the text messages, emails and other documents exposed by the case represent one of the great “I told you so” moments in recent American history. From the beginning of the Trump era, conservative Trump critics (notably including my friends and former Fox News contributors [*Jonah Goldberg and Stephen Hayes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/21/business/jonah-goldberg-steve-hayes-quit-fox-tucker-carlson.html)) have been telling anyone who will listen that Republican politicians and personalities say one thing about Trump in public and another thing about him in private. In private, they’re scathing. In public, they’re sycophants.

Now we know exactly how true that is, and the person who is revealing that truth more than anyone else also happens to be arguably Fox’s most [*notorious and dishonest demagogue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/30/us/tucker-carlson-gop-republican-party.html), Tucker Carlson. [*Previous document dumps*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/16/business/media/fox-dominion-lawsuit.html) have demonstrated that Carlson, in addition to several other Fox hosts and key senior leaders, knew that the various election-fraud conspiracy theories weren’t just baseless, they were — in the words of Rupert Murdoch — “[*really crazy stuff*](https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/23684956-2023-02-16-redacted-dominion-opening-sj-brief-18).”

But the latest documents go further. They show that Carlson is capable of telling the truth about more than just the election conspiracy. In private, Carlson will say what the Fox News audience truly doesn’t want to hear — not just that Donald Trump lost, but that he was also a bad president. He was bad for the country. On Jan. 4, 2021, [*Carlson texted this about Trump’s single term*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2023/03/07/3-early-takeaways-new-dominion-fox-lawsuit-documents/): “We’re all pretending we’ve got a lot to show for it, because admitting what a disaster it’s been is too tough to digest. But come on. There really isn’t an upside to Trump.”

Thank you, Tucker. As Trump runs again, this is the most important truth of all.

To understand why this truth is so important, you have to understand the Trump voter’s case for another term. Yes, there are those who support him because “he fights.” They thrill to the angry and combative rhetoric in his [*weekend speech at the Conservative Political Action Conference*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/07/us/politics/trump-2024-president.html). “I am your warrior,” he said. “I am your justice. And for those who have been wronged and betrayed, I am your retribution.”

But there’s another group of Republicans who don’t love that rhetoric and believe the constant combat is exhausting. This group takes an approach to Trump that’s summarized more closely as, “He’s a bad person who was a good president.” It’s not an unusual argument in American politics. It’s one I heard frequently from Democrats during the Clinton administration.

Many former Trump skeptics now firmly believe that Trump, for all his other flaws, was good at his job. They believe Trump’s constant hype — hype that’s often repeated across the length and breadth of right-wing news. According to this narrative, America was strong before Covid. The economy roared. ISIS lost. America was great again. It’s this narrative that’s undermined by Carlson’s text.

There’s enough truth in Trump’s top-line summary to make it compelling to Republican voters. The pre-Covid economy did [*continue much of the recovery*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/09/05/trump-obama-economy/) that began in the Obama administration. Trump did [*defeat*](https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/12/isis-defeated-why-does-no-one-care/) the ISIS caliphate, an effort that also [*began in the Obama administration*](https://www.nationalreview.com/magazine/2016/11/21/mosul-isis-iraq-breached/). And Trump-nominated Supreme Court justices were decisive in handing the conservative legal movement the greatest victory in its history: the reversal of Roe v. Wade.

So why would Carlson say that Trump’s presidency was a “disaster”? We don’t yet know his specific case against Trump, and he seems to have no intention to tell the public what he really thinks. But the word certainly fits. Politically, Trump has hurt the G.O.P. He handed back control of every elected branch of the federal government to the Democratic Party in four short years. He was fiscally irresponsible. The budget deficit [*grew every year of his presidency*](https://fiscaldata.treasury.gov/americas-finance-guide/national-deficit/). He passed only one truly meaningful piece of legislation in four years, a tax bill that was far more Paul Ryan’s than Donald Trump’s. He undermined America’s vital military alliances.

His corruption, his eagerness to put [*millions of dollars of taxpayer money*](https://www.propublica.org/article/political-and-taxpayer-spending-at-trump-properties-16-1-million) into his resorts and properties and his willingness to let [*his family accept*](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/trump-criticizes-the-bidens-but-his-own-familys-business-raises-questions) [*vast sums*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/10/us/jared-kushner-saudi-investment-fund.html) from foreign entities is profoundly troubling. We’ll likely be discovering further examples of his outright graft for years, if not decades. There’s [*considerable evidence*](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Fulton-County-Trump-Investigation_Brookings-Report_October2021.pdf) that suggests he committed felonies in office.

And yet, that is still a somewhat superficial diagnosis. If you dig deeper, you’ll see that, for all the flaws just enumerated, the Trump years were most disastrous for the social and civic health of the United States of America. The increases in suffering and despair have been profound. Donald Trump’s presidency battered the American spirit.

Tucker Carlson knows this. He spends considerable airtime focusing on the plight of the American ***working class***. He speaks a great deal about crime and about deaths of despair. He knows all about Trump’s failures — failures that we can now comprehensively document across virtually every major measure of American well-being.

When Trump was inaugurated, he [*promised to reverse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/20/us/politics/trump-inauguration-day.html) “this American carnage,” the “crime, and the gangs, and the drugs” that were claiming so many American lives. But the “carnage” only magnified. The [*murder rate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/20/us/politics/trump-inauguration-day.html) was substantially higher when he left office. There were tens of thousands [*more drug overdose deaths*](https://nida.nih.gov/research-topics/trends-statistics/overdose-death-rates#:~:text=Drug%20overdose%20deaths%20involving%20prescription,involving%20prescription%20opioids%20totaled%2016%2C706.) in 2020 than in 2016. And for all the talk about Trump’s anti-abortion policy record, for the first time in 30 years the number of abortions [*increased*](https://www.guttmacher.org/article/2022/06/long-term-decline-us-abortions-reverses-showing-rising-need-abortion-supreme-court) under an American president. According to the Guttmacher Institute, “There were 8 percent more abortions in 2020 than in 2017.” That means there were roughly 70,000 more abortions in 2020 than when Trump took office.

The statistics above pertain to matters of life and death, but they are likely indications of still other, deeper measures of personal pain and distress, which also increased beyond reasonable expectation. Trump divided America. Partisan polarization [*hit its modern peak*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/01/20/party-polarization-hit-high-under-trump-can-biden-reel-it-back/) under Trump, and [*sheer partisan animosity*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2022/08/09/as-partisan-hostility-grows-signs-of-frustration-with-the-two-party-system/) increased as well. American mental health declined. The rate of depression increased even before Covid — [*it rose from 2015 to 2019*](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC9483000/) — and the pandemic [*made the trend even worse*](https://www.apa.org/monitor/2021/11/numbers-depression-anxiety).

This increase in negative statistics was accompanied by a decline in positive statistics. The marriage rate, for example, which had stabilized during the Obama years, [*plunged during the Trump years*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-marriage-rate-plunges-to-lowest-level-on-record-11588132860). The American birthrate [*continued its long decline*](https://econofact.org/the-mystery-of-the-declining-u-s-birth-rate).

American presidents are not so powerful that they can control all these social factors. Many of the negative trends (drug overdose deaths among the most notable) long predated Trump, but they continued under Trump. Presidents can’t control cultures, but they can help heal or they can further harm, and Trump committed grave harms.

I’m most struck by the decline in the marriage rate and the increase in the abortion rate. Marriage and birth represent tangible expressions of optimism. Creating a family, welcoming new life into the world — it’s difficult to more concretely express one’s hope for the future. Yet chaos undermines hope, and Trump’s one term was chaotic. It was bitter. And it culminated in an attempted coup.

After almost eight long years writing about Donald Trump, I’m not nearly so naïve as to believe that any single new development will alienate his base. I understand that the right-wing media ecosystem is so protective of both Trump [*and Fox*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/03/business/media/fox-dominion-conservative-media.html) that millions of listeners and viewers won’t see even a single document from the Dominion case.

Arguments still matter, however — person by person and household by household. The argument that Trump was “bad but good” will be heard in many American homes. Those who held their noses to vote for him twice before will be tempted to do so once again. He is still the front-runner for the Republican nomination. But Trump’s opponents have a new and surprising ally, a person who agrees that the 45th president didn’t just lose the 2020 election, he was also a “disaster” in the White House. His name is Tucker Carlson. Ask him. He’ll tell you. You just need to ask when the camera is off.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Ricardo Tomás; photographs by Jason Koerner/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The 25 Essential Dishes to Eat in Mexico City***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69MK-JCB1-JBG3-64XP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 14, 2023 Tuesday 12:42 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 8286 words

**Byline:** Deborah Dunn, Cristina Alonso, Dudley Althaus, Mariana Camacho, Lydia Carey, Liliana López Sorzano, Michael Snyder, Laura Tillman, Jorge Valencia and Mariano Fernandez

**Highlight:** We asked five chefs and other food-obsessed locals to debate the most memorable plates (and snacks and beverages) in the capital.

**Body**

How do you sift through Mexico City’s roughly 57,000 places to eat — more than twice as many as there are in New York City — and choose the most essential dishes? “In a city like Mexico City, how do you narrow it down? It’s insane. The exercise is absurd to begin with,” says [*Gabriela Cámara,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/20/t-magazine/gabriela-camara-monica-lopez-santiago.html) the chef and owner of [*Contramar*](https://www.contramar.com.mx/) and three other restaurants in the Mexican capital, at the outset of the video conversation I’d arranged to do just that: identify the specific meals or bites (or drinks) that best represent the metropolis’s formidable food scene right now. Nonetheless, Cámara was up for the challenge, as were the four other panelists I’d convened, all of whom live in Mexico City either year-round or part time:

[*Ana Dolores,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/10/t-magazine/esquina-comun-mexico-city.html) the chef and owner of [*Esquina Común*](https://www.instagram.com/esquinacomun/?hl=en) restaurant in the Condesa neighborhood; Anais Martinez, who founded the [*Curious Mexican,*](https://www.thecuriousmexican.com/foodtours/) a street-food tour company, and recently opened [*Manada,*](https://www.instagram.com/manadabar/) an all-Mexican cocktail and natural wine bar in Narvarte; the food writer Alonso Ruvalcaba, the author of the guide “[*24 Horas de Comida en la Ciudad de México*](https://www.amazon.com/horas-comida-Ciudad-M%C3%A9xico-Spanish-ebook/dp/B07C8R9QJJ/ref=sr_1_1?crid=39TRWLYUE0OVC&amp;keywords=alonso+ruvalcaba&amp;qid=1699317096&amp;sprefix=alonso+ruvalcaba%2Caps%2C127&amp;sr=8-1)” (2018); and Carla Valdivia Nakatani, T Magazine’s art director, who splits her time between Manhattan and Mexico City, where she co-owns a boutique in Roma. Before we met as a group, I’d asked each participant to nominate around 10 dishes, including a sweet and a drink, from 10 different spots, ranging from fine-dining restaurants to street carts and market stalls. Then we spent two hours and several subsequent emails and phone calls debating our choices, trying to whittle down the 50-plus nominations to 25 in order to produce a list like those in the ongoing [*T 25 series*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/t25) devoted to food in [*Paris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/13/t-magazine/paris-best-restaurants-food.html) and in [*New York.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/17/t-magazine/new-york-best-food-restaurants.html)

As often happens with these types of endeavors, that initial longer list for Mexico City had just a few duplicate dishes (the green mole quesadilla from Jenni’s and the date pie from Al-Andalus), reflecting not just the panelists’ varied tastes but their individual experiences eating across the gargantuan city, home to some 22 million people in the greater metropolitan area. But the panel did share one obvious preference: They overwhelmingly favored classics, in terms of both the food and the purveyor — time-honored recipes rigorously used at taquerias, cantinas, street stands and the like — over gastronomic wizardry. Only three nontraditional restaurants ultimately made the cut (although Cámara’s Contramar received three nominations for various dishes — the famed tuna tostada among them — before I reminded the panelists that their own restaurants were excluded). When I asked the group why they collectively gravitated to informal, mostly older spots, even as the city seemed awash in fashionable new restaurants these days, the consensus was that many of the newcomers lacked originality (“They all seem the same. Or weirdly French,” says Valdivia Nakatani) and appeared designed to appeal to the recent stampede of expats. And for these locals, at least, the city owes much of its culinary greatness to the people safeguarding the dishes that have been passed down for generations, whether those rooted in pre-Hispanic traditions or those inherited from the immigrants who arrived in Mexico decades ago. Nostalgia came up a lot in our conversation, but that’s not to say that innovation was overlooked entirely.

The biggest challenge was deciding which of the seemingly infinite varieties of tacos to include. Instead of eliminating choices, more were added; any suggestion of paring down was met with good-natured groans. In the end, after several subsequent emails and phone calls, we finally reached a compromise and agreed to feature just five in the final list, which appears in unranked alphabetical order below. But no list of this nature can please everyone. Consider it an inspiration to make your own, and you’ll see just how absurd and deeply gratifying an exercise it can be. — Deborah Dunn

The interview portion has been edited and condensed.

1. The Arroz Tumbada at [*Fisher’s Lomas Verdes*](https://fishers.com.mx/)

Grupo Fisher’s — a seafood chain with 32 locations in Mexico, Madrid and San Diego — was established 34 years ago in Naucalpan, an upper-middle-class suburb north of the city center. The restaurant’s founders, Jazmín and Simón Hamparzumian, chose Lomas Verdes, on the edge of the burgeoning neighborhood, for their second location in 1993. Today, it’s still a popular spot for locals, who come for the boisterous atmosphere, reminiscent of the thatched-roof joints along Mexico’s coasts, and for the generous portions. The standout here is the Arroz Tumbada, a rice-and-seafood dish from the Gulf Coast state of Veracruz. Served in a crockery bowl, it consists of a bubbling shrimp broth and a savory jumble of shrimp, small clams, bits of octopus and red snapper. It’s garnished with fresh cilantro, but you should add a squirt of the house bottled habanero salsa and fresh lime juice. Servers also supply a shot glass of vodka, which you can pour into the broth or use to join your fellow patrons in toasting their favorite soccer team — matches often play on the large televisions lining the walls. The music, leaning heavily on Mexican pop songs from the ’80s and ’90s, can be a tad loud for intimate conversation, but it pairs well with a boozy bowl of tumbada. — Dudley Althaus

Avenida Lomas Verdes 896-B, Colonia Santa Cruz Acatlán, Naucalpan de Juárez.

Gabriela Cámara: Now everybody in Mexico City, including Contramar — but we did it 25 years ago — is serving seafood. Fisher’s has been doing it for 30 years.

Alonso Ruvalcaba: I go with my mom. She lives just across the street. We have drinks there and the tumbada. It’s a beautiful dish. And they come and they ask if you want some vodka with your dish. Yeah. Of course I want that.

2. The Barbacoa at [*Los Tres Reyes*](https://www.facebook.com/BarbacoaLos3Reyes.PabloVerones?ref=hl)

More than a dish, barbacoa’s a ritual. It involves cooking a whole animal — usually a young lamb — overnight in an underground pit. Once it’s butchered and wrapped in maguey leaves, the meat is set over a pot of heavily spiced broth, placed at the bottom of the pit and left to slowly braise until morning. The Gonzalez family, who own Los Tres Reyes, have replicated what’s typically done in a rural setting in the backyard of their home in the middle-class neighborhood of Alfonso XIII. The yard, about 1,400 square feet in size, is large enough to accommodate six pits, a tortilla-making station and a covered patio with dozens of plastic tables. On weekends and holidays, families descend for elaborate feasts, while guitar-playing musicians compete for attention. The meat, served by weight, goes from the pit to a scale to your hands. You can choose any part of the animal, including the head or the guts, or a blood sausage, but lomo (filet or tenderloin) and costilla (short ribs) are good choices for first timers: they combine tender meat with lean and fatty parts and crunchy bites from the golden skin. Each order comes with freshly made tortillas and an assortment of toppings, so you can be austere or indulgent as build your own taco. Start with the basics: finely chopped cilantro and onion, salsa and a squeeze of lime. Then add layers of flavors and textures: radishes, fresh herbs, slices of avocado, fresh ranchero cheese from Aguascalientes. And if you go on a chilly afternoon, there’s no quicker or more satisfying way to warm up than with a cup of consomé, a thick and delicious broth made from barbacoa juices. — Mariana Camacho

Pablo Veronés 12, Colonia Alfonso XIII.

Cámara: They serve the lamb barbacoa right out of the [underground] oven, so it’s always burning hot. And the meat acquires a smokiness, which makes it irresistible. They also have delicious freshly pressed corn tortillas. A cold beer or curado de pulque [fermented juice of the agave plant], and you are in heaven.

3. The Charred Avocado at [*Tizne Tacomotora*](https://www.facebook.com/TizneTacomotora/photos)

Until fairly recently, vegetarian tacos were something of a rarity in carnivorous Mexico City, but on the menu at Tizne Tacomotora, a six-table modern taqueria in the largely residential neighborhood of Del Valle, south of the city center, they’re one of the main draws. That’s even more surprising considering that the proprietors, Pilar García and Jorge Linares — cooking-school graduates who started their business selling tacos from a tricycle with a smoker, then opened their permanent place in 2016 — are best known for their smoked and grilled meats, inspired by Southern American and Korean barbecue. As in most of their dishes, including the brisket and pulled pork, García and Linares grill each half of an avocado over an open flame to caramelize the flavors of the fruit and its spice rub (featuring both guajillo and ancho chile powder and tortilla ash) and infuse the dish with a deep smokiness. Then they’re placed on a pewter plate alongside blue corn tortillas so that you can make your own tacos — no guacamole necessary. — Liliana López Sorzano

Diagonal 39, Colonia Del Valle.

Anais Martinez: They use small producers and heirloom corn for their tortillas. They came up with this whole concept of innovating a taco without making it feel like it’s fancy or obnoxious or, like, not a taco. And that specific rub on the avocado is an elevated extra punch of flavor.

Cámara: To me, the genius of this taco is precisely its apparent simplicity, which turns into a sequence of deep and complex bites that just keep on getting better and better. Of course, the fact that the tortillas are freshly made, from different native-Mexican nixtamalized corn [a process that involves soaking the grain with limewater or another alkali] depending on the season, is the true secret.

4. The Chile Relleno Taco at Taquería La Hortaliza

The neighboring Condesa and Roma neighborhoods of Mexico City have become its de facto gringolandia. Though both have long been beloved by the expat community, the pandemic spurred a new wave of remote workers to move there, lured by the beautiful parks and museums and an ever expanding slate of restaurants. It’s a mark of its popularity and endurance that Taqueria La Hortaliza has withstood the area’s evolution, clinging to the western edge of Condesa, next to a highway. Owners Domingo Osorio and Emelida García Flores opened the storefront 33 years ago. Mainly, it’s populated by workers grabbing an efficient lunch for about $2. Wednesday through Saturday, you can find the taco de chile relleno in its lineup: an earthy chile ancho — a.k.a. dried poblano pepper — stuffed with queso panela, battered and fried, then doused in a thin tomato sauce. Chiles rellenos can also be served as a fork-and-knife entree, but in taco form they’re to be eaten lustily, before the tortilla disintegrates in the tomato sauce. — Laura Tillman

Circuito Interior, José Vasconcelos 48, Colonia Condesa.

Ruvalcaba: There’s this silly debate that always comes up when you’re talking about tacos: What’s the most important thing? The tortilla, the filling or the sauce? But the taquero at Taqueria La Hortaliza, the understated Señor Domingo, thinks about something no one ever talks about: how to heat up the tortilla. He flips it violently in a way that makes it stay hotter longer. I’ve tried to replicate it at home, but it’s impossible. He’s like a sushi master.

Carla Valdivia Nakatani: The thing about this taco is that they use a chile ancho, so the taste is very different from that of the more common green poblano chile. It’s smoky, earthy, oily and unexpected.

Ana Dolores: I have gone to La Hortaliza a bunch of times, and I have never managed to get there in time to try the chile relleno. It’s crazy — they run out like that. I always end up ordering something else — there’s lengua and chicharrón prensado in salsa verde, and everything is delicious. But I’m still determined to try the chile one of these days.

5. The Classic Margarita at [*San Ángel Inn*](https://sanangelinn.com/en/)

The origin of the most famous tequila cocktail may be one of the world’s great mysteries, but at the monastic San Ángel Inn, a converted early-17th-century hacienda, there’s no question that the margarita has been on the menu since the restaurant opened its doors in 1963. The bartenders prepare the classic version, with just four ingredients — silver tequila, triple sec, lime and salt — then send the drink out in a chilled ice bucket (rather than mixed with ice) so it doesn’t get diluted on its way to your table. There, the server carefully pours it into a martini glass rimmed with finely grained salt. San Ángel offers strawberry and tamarind as well, and even frozen versions, but the classic margarita is by far the best seller. In a restaurant that gives its neighborhood — a quiet cobblestone enclave about eight miles south of the city center — its name and that is adorned with paintings of how Mexico City once looked, it makes sense that the classic would reign. — Jorge Valencia

Calle Diego Rivera 50, Colonia San Ángel Inn.

Valdivia Nakatani: This is the most elegant margarita in the most lush garden setting! I love how they give you a little extra margarita in a mini ice bucket for you to enjoy in your own time.

Ruvalcaba: You have to sit in the garden — but go early. Mexico City is worse than London: It rains all the time here, and usually in the afternoon. And when it rains, it pours. So get there by 11 or 12. I’m more of a wine guy, but I love the vibe there.

Cámara: It’s as close to perfection as one can get when it comes to sipping a drink in this city.

6. The Conchas, Nata and Hot Chocolate at [*El Cardenal*](https://www.restauranteelcardenal.com/welcome-to-el-cardenal-mexican-gastronomy.html)

There are six El Cardenal locations in Mexico City and each one offers a lunch and dinner menu, but you’ll rarely hear about those meals. It’s the breakfast that packs the fairly formal dining rooms with locals and tourists, usually in the mood for house-baked conchas, seashell-shaped buns with a crunchy, sugary crusts. Here, the panes dulces are delivered to your table by gray- and black-vested waiters fastidious about making sure they’re still warm and fluffy when they arrive, ready to be sliced and slathered with nata, a clotted cream made at El Cardenal’s own dairy in Zumpango, north of the city. Run by the same family since it opened in 1969, this mini-empire has made a name for itself by trumpeting traditional Mexican dishes, which makes it feel near sacrilegious not to partake in one of the country’s most time-honored culinary traditions: dipping your concha and nata into hot chocolate, another of El Cardenal’s house specialties, which is whisked tableside. — M.C.

Multiple locations.

Martinez: This is one of the most home-style breakfasts you can have in Mexico. It reminds me of my childhood, when I used to go visit family who had a ranch, and they’d boil the fresh milk and make nata. And then we’d always grab a concha to eat with it. So at El Cardenal, you get this thing you’d normally only find at home, but it’s also in a beautiful restaurant setting. And the hot chocolate it serves is Mexican hot chocolate, made with a washed cacao, which tastes very nutty.

Valdivia Nakatani: Before you can even sit down, you are asked if you’d like a hot chocolate, a concha and nata. The answer should always be “yes,” even if it extends your stay because your breakfast turns into a three-course meal. Of all the Cardenals, the one on Palma Street in the Centro Histórico, with its stained-glass windows, is the prettiest.

Cámara: I always go for the savory instead of the sweet for breakfast, and my favorite thing on El Cardenal’s menu is the omelet with huazontles [a plant native to Mexico]. But the concha and nada are inarguably great.

7. The Date Pie at Al-Andalus

The sprawling market district of La Merced at the eastern edge of the Centro Histórico has always served as a port of call for new arrivals to Mexico City, among them the Lebanese immigrants who started making their homes here in the late-19th century. Most of those families have since moved on to wealthier districts, but many come downtown to eat at the original Al-Andalus (there are now several branches around the city), run by the chef Mohamed Mazeh and his family since 1994. A pair of heavy wooden doors open off the chaotic cobbled street into the shaded courtyard of a gracious 17th-century house, a vestige of the Arab architecture that the first Spanish colonizers brought to the Americas. Up a flight of stone stairs, families and local business owners gather in the rambling collection of dining rooms, their high ceilings striated with wooden beams. Hourslong meals of mutton shawarma and mezze like labneh, grape leaves and raw kibbe end, invariably, with honey-soaked blossoms of puff pastry or, ideally, a perfect wedge of date-and-walnut tart. The nut-paste filling, at once crumbly and creamy, is enriched with seams of shredded dates and topped by a pockmarked surface of shattered walnuts. Paired with bittersweet Turkish coffee, the pie — the whole experience of Al-Andalus, really — transports you not to the Middle East or the Maghreb, but to Mexico City’s many pasts. — Michael Snyder

Mesones 171, Centro Histórico.

Ruvalcaba: Al-Andalus is in the Lebanese neighborhood, which has all these beautiful buildings. I had been living about two blocks away for around 10 years when I started dating a woman who told me we had to go there. She said, “We’re going to have dessert first because you’re probably going to eat too much and you won’t want dessert, but you have to try this pie.” So I did and it blew my mind. I obviously fell in love with her. I would definitely have that pie one last time before I die.

Cámara: It’s perfect.

Martinez: Al-Andalus is really cool. Middle Eastern gastronomy had a ton of influence on our cuisine. Tacos al pastor are just one example. But we’ve had three different waves of immigrants from that part of the world, so the culture is very strong here.

8. The Enmolada at [*Pujol*](https://pujol.com.mx/)

Puebla, Mexico City’s neighboring state, and Oaxaca, both to the southeast, are considered the birthplace of mole, an elaborate sauce made with chiles, chocolate, seasonal fruits and dozens of spices that’s known for its countless variations. Pujol, the famed fine-dining restaurant in Mexico City’s genteel Polanco neighborhood, is the birthplace of Mole Madre, conceived by the chef Enrique Olvera and his team in 2013 and featuring the rare chilhuacle chiles (also from Oaxaca) and roughly 25 other ingredients. The restaurant has been adding to that “mother” sauce for a decade now, serving it pooled below a spoonful of freshly made nuevo mole as the signature dish in Pujol’s five-course tasting menu, these days overseen by the chef de cuisine Jesús Durón. But there’s a less obvious way to sample those two moles: the enmolada, one of the 10 courses that are part of Pujol’s taco omakase, which is offered only at the 10-seat bar. There, you’ll get a hoja santa tortilla — the herb, similar in flavor to anise, is also central to Oaxacan cooking — drenched in mole nuevo and folded into a triangle that rests on a bed of mole madre and comes topped with sesame seeds. Subtly complex and deeply aromatic, it’s the star of the menu and rightly so. — L.L.S.

Tennyson 133, Polanco.

Cámara: We wouldn’t even be having this conversation had it not been for Pujol. Mexican food, as the world now knows it, [exists] in large measure because of Enrique Olvera.

Martinez: The mole is what everyone comes for — it’s a good representation of how much Oaxacan food has influenced Olvera’s cuisine.

9. The Esquites at Elotes Estrada

You can satisfy a craving for grilled corn, on and off the cob, by stopping by the stands all around Mexico City. But to fully appreciate the staggering variety of options, go scan the mountains of fresh ears piled around the Estrada family’s stall, a fixture at Jamaica Market, south of the Centro Histórico, for more than three decades. The crowd-pleaser there is the cupful of esquites, a traditional corn snack that the Estradas make using either the cacahuazintle, known for its thick, soft kernels, or crunchier small-kernel corn. The classic choice is the traditional esquite, in which either kernel (or both) is sautéed with onions and aromatic epazote leaves in giant clay pots, then combined with mayonnaise, lime juice, salt and chile powder. From there, you can add a handful of other savory toppings, including mushrooms, bone marrow or chicken’s feet. Many locals favor suadero, a thin, fatty beef cut from just under the skin. And for nontraditionalists, there’s the Doriesquites: esquites with melted cheese and Doritos for scooping. — Cristina Alonso

Mercado Jamaica, Door 1, Aisle 1, Stand 18.

Valdivia Nakatani: There are lots of esquite stands to choose from all over the city, but this one has a special place in my heart because of its undeniable consistency in flavor and location in the city’s largest flower market — when I had a flower-arranging business, I would arrive at 7 a.m. to shop and end my trip with a reward: an esquite from Elotes Estrada. I normally go for the classic preparation with mayonnaise, chile and lime.

Martinez: Because they’re also corn vendors, they give you the freshest corn that you can get. And they have so many different kinds. My favorite are the charred esquites with mushrooms and chile de árbol.

10. The Fideo Seco a los Tres Chiles at [*Restaurante Nicos*](https://www.nicosmexico.mx/)

“Fideo” means noodle in Spanish, but in Mexico it most commonly refers to the prepackaged thin semolina ones sold in most convenience stores and used in fideo seco — a plate typically slathered in a chipotle sauce and often served as a first course for fixed-price meals in neighborhood restaurants known as fondas. For [*Nicos’*](https://www.nicosmexico.mx/)s version, chef Gerardo Vázquez Lugo uses the same dried product sold all over town but crafts his own rich and smoky three-chile sauce (ancho, pasilla and guajillo) to coat the noodles and then showers them with fresh cotija cheese from a nearby dairy cooperative and sprigs of cilantro grown in an urban garden. When Vázquez’s parents opened Nicos in 1957, part of their mission was to bring quality dining to their local neighborhood, Azcapotzalco, at the northwestern boundary of Mexico City; a few decades ago, when he took the helm, the restaurant became one of the first in the city to embrace the slow-food movement and support small producers, honoring traditional dishes from around the country and preparing them with regional ingredients. — Lydia Carey

Av. Cuitláhuac 3102, Claveria, Azcapotzalco.

Martinez: This is a very Mexican way to use pasta, which I don’t think Italians would appreciate. It’s almost overcooked. It wasn’t until I went to culinary school that I learned that pasta was not used in that way outside of Mexico. Nicos’s take on traditional Mexican recipes is amazing. It’s casual but still has the feel of home. Vazquez’s mom — I think she’s almost 90 — is still there, going around to every table to say “Hi.”

Cámara: Nicos has been so important for the Mexico City food scene and for bringing attention to Mexico’s wonderful ingredients. [As for the fideo seco,] talk about syncretism. My mother is Italian, and when I was growing up she was like, “How can they call this pasta?” But I love it. And if you make a taco with the leftovers, even better.

11. The Gelato at [*Joe Gelato*](https://www.facebook.com/JoeGelatoMx/)

José Luis Cervantes never imagined himself opening a gelateria. But after cooking in elite restaurants in Mexico, Japan and Australia, he ended up working as a station chef at the three-Michelin-star Le Calandre in Padua, Italy, where he also made gelato for its more casual restaurant next door, Il Calandrino. After moving back home in 2015, Cervantes opened a Mexico City restaurant that closed after the 2017 earthquake. After that, he opened Joe Gelato on a busy corner in the Colonia Juárez, with its stylish boutiques and grand Porfiriato facades (the late 19th to early 20th century architectural style named for the former President Porfirio Díaz). Its seasonal menu can include nogada — inspired by the walnut sauce on the iconic dish chiles en nogada — and marigold, made from the flower that is commonly used to decorate graves during Día de los Muertos. But the shop always has three standard flavors: a slightly salty, roasted pistachio; a dense, dark cacao; and olive oil, which is both bright and rich at once. The olive oil, sourced from either Baja California or Umbria, Italy, emphasizes the sweetness of the milk, just as it does when drizzled over fresh mozzarella. — L.T.

Calle Versalles 78, Colonia Juárez.

Dolores: This is the best ice cream in the city. The texture is perfect; Joe, the owner, makes it himself every day. It’s also such a warm, friendly place. My favorite flavor is probably the salted caramel, but I also love that he does these wild experiments. He’s made black garlic gelato, jicama with sriracha — he’s always exploring.

Martinez: I love him so much. The olive oil is the house specialty. But I like the cacao. It’s water based, and he uses the entire plant. He’s like a chemist.

12. The Green Mole Quesadilla at Jenni’s Quesadillas

Of all Mexico City’s culinary eccentricities, none is more confounding to the rest of the country than quesadillas made sin queso — without cheese. But the quesadilla de mole verde prepared by 71-year-old Elena Rojas Vara at her stall in the Roma neighborhood is the notable exception. Rojas started coming to the neighborhood at age 14, distributing tamales and atole (a drink made from ground corn) from a rolling cart. About 40 years ago, she opened a stall on the corner of Colima and Mérida — it consists of a folding table and a steel comal, the round flat cooking surface at the heart of traditional Mexican cooking — in what would soon become the city’s most fashionable district. At their home just outside of Mexico City, Rojas and her daughters prepare fillings like wilted quelites (garden greens) and strips of chile poblano drenched in cream. But it’s the mole verde — thickened with pumpkin seeds, brightened with herbs like cilantro, epazote and pápalo and spiced with pepper and cloves — that best captures the subtlety and care of Mexico’s rural cooking. Much to Rojas’s consternation, the family’s stall has for years been known erroneously by the name of a particularly charismatic employee, Jenni, who was eventually enshrined on Google Maps. Whoever they’re named for, Rojas’s quesadillas, impeccable in their bare-bones simplicity, have become a comforting mainstay and a fragile link to the past in a constantly changing corner of the city. — M.S.

Corner of Mérida and Colima, Colonia Roma.

Dolores: Everything is good, but the mole verde always impresses me. It has the exact right amount of heat and spice. When I worked at Campo Baja [a seafood restaurant right across the street], I would sometimes eat there three or four times a week. I go less now, but anytime I’m nearby I stop in. Even if I’m not that hungry, I can always make a little space.

Cámara: I love that Jenni’s is so successful, but I hate that all these amazing places are full of gringos. And I know I’m also benefiting from it. I mean, it’s very complicated, but putting a street stand in The New York Times has always made it explode, which is a great thing. But I think [when you send tourists here], the charm of finding something unknown on the street is lost. And Jenni’s is already packed.

Martinez: I think Jenni’s is really good, but you can also find great quesadilla ladies at every other market.

13. The Green Pozole at [*El Pozole de Moctezuma*](http://elpozoledemoctezuma.com.mx/)

Founded in 1947 by Balbina Valle and currently run by her grandchildren and great-grandsons, the restaurant near the northern edge of the Centro Histórico has withstood the construction of a metro stop nearly on top of it, the expansion of two major roadways on either side, which cut it off from the surrounding neighborhood, and the earthquake of 1985. There is no sign to mark the entrance, only a tiny slip of paper next to a doorbell that reads “Pozole,” as if it were a resident’s surname. Yet the two dining rooms — fluorescent lit with pleated green curtains and heavy wooden furniture — fill up every afternoon with diners indulging in brimming casseroles of pozole verde. The pozole at Moctezuma, served in a pale green broth thickened with pumpkin seeds and herbs, is an impeccable rendition of the classic pork-and-hominy stew as it’s typically prepared in the western state of Guerrero. Ordered “preparado,” the pozole arrives alongside a rolling cart crowded with bowls of minced onion and serrano, ground oregano and chile, a shot glass of lime, a whole avocado and broken sheaves of chicharrón (fried pork rinds). One by one, the server adds these accompaniments into your bowl and then beats in a raw egg, sardines and a drizzle of mezcal. — M. S.

Moctezuma 12, Colonia Guerrero.

Martinez: It’s like a pozole speakeasy. It feels like an apartment, but it’s a working restaurant. And then they make this really good pozole and give you so many more options for toppings than other pozole places. They really go beyond.

14. The Mapo Tofu at [*Hong King*](https://hongking.com.mx/)

When Hong King first opened in 1963, the capital’s Chinatown — a few pedestrian-only blocks in the Centro Histórico — was just starting to take shape. Historians believe that Chinese immigrants had been living in the country since as early as the 1600s, and over the centuries that followed, large communities formed across Mexico to work in agriculture or on the expanding railroad, but a violent backlash in the 1930s forced many Chinese Mexicans to leave the country or move to the capital, which had a more diverse population. Joseph Tam, who now helps manage the restaurant, recalls his father surveying tables to find out which elements of each dish customers enjoyed — and which he might adapt to the local palate. The mapo tofu epitomizes that process of addition and subtraction: Shrimp and chicken are proportional to the chunks of tofu; mouth-numbing Sichuan peppercorns are replaced with smoky, dried chile de árbol. The best tables are upstairs by the window overlooking the red lanterns and parasols that float on wires above the dense commerce of the streets below. — L.T.

Callejon Dolores 25 A, Colonia Centro.

Cámara: You know, I think it’s one of the oldest Chinatowns in the world.

Ruvalcaba: Yeah. And anti-Chinese racism still exists in Mexico City. But Chinese Mexican people have been here for at least a hundred years. What I find incredibly satisfying about Hong King is that when you go there and you ask for the mapo tofu, which I love, you might expect to get chile oil or soy sauce, but instead you get Salsa Valentina, this hot sauce from Jalisco. That’s the most Chinese Mexican thing ever.

Cámara: I think it’s really cool. And the mapo tofu is actually worth going for.

15. The Orecchiette at [*Meroma*](https://meroma.mx/menu)

Visitors and locals alike have been flocking to Meroma, situated in a busy section of Roma, since it opened in 2016. They go for the décor — the minimalist restaurant is housed in a circa 1950s modernist building with a glass-topped dining room and outdoor terrace. And they go to share refined small plates, none as enduringly popular as the orecchiette — a constant on the ever-changing, seasonal menu. A warming bowl of freshly made pasta, cumin-spiced lamb merguez (prepared in-house in keeping with the kitchen’s goal to waste as little protein as possible) and broccoli braised with bread crumbs and peppery mustard leaf, with a slight kick from Korean red chiles, it’s the kind of thoughtfully simple dish that the chef Mercedes Bernal specializes in. Bernal worked at Manhattan’s Café Boulud, among other restaurants, before returning to the city where she grew up to open Meroma alongside her husband, the American chef Rodney Cusic. They devise the menu together, with Cusic overseeing the wine list and cocktails. What drink to pair with the orecchiette? Cusic and Bernal suggest the Mezcal Fresh: Its mix of smoky espadín mezcal, celery juice, ginger and spiced honey “helps the palette enjoy the fattiness of the pasta,” Bernal says. — D.A.

Meroma, Calle Colima 150, Colonia Roma Norte.

Valdivia Nakatani: Meroma’s now one of my favorite places to just celebrate with people I love because it feels kind of bar-y and Italian. I always order the orecchiette. The shape of the pasta perfectly delivers the juiciness of the lamb in every bite. It’s definitely a comfort dish for me.

Ruvalcaba: I also order that when I go there.

Cámara: Me too. Good for them. Meroma’s come up with a classic.

16. The Pork Shank at [*Bar El Sella*](https://barelsella.mx/)

How exactly to define a cantina is a vexing question. Most have been around for at least 50 years, some for well over 100. They all serve drinks and food and assiduously avoid trends. Servers, often as not, wear bow ties and vests. El Sella, bought in 1955 by José del Valle Caso and currently run by his son and grandson in ***working-class*** Colonia Doctores, is easily among the city’s best: It’s loud and crowded, especially on weekends, and old-fashioned without being stuffy. Drawing equally on the culinary traditions of Mexico City and Asturias in northern Spain, where the owners trace their roots, El Sella serves an excellent chorizo cooked in cider and a fine dessert of ate con queso (quince paste with cheese) flambéed tableside. But the showstopper is the meltingly tender chamorro, or braised pork shank (order it on the bone), which arrives at the table glistening with fat and luxuriating in its own fragrant juices. — M.S.

Dr. Balmis 210, Colonia Doctores.

Cámara: The pork shank at El Sella is one of my favorite dishes in the city. The silky meat, fresh onion, cilantro and hot sauce — it never fails.

Dolores: This is definitely the best chamorro. The guys in the kitchen have been there forever, and they cook from the heart.

Martinez: They cook the pork for so long that the meat just falls off the bone, and you get warm tortillas and salsa on the side. The [space] itself is very cool. You go there to decompress after work and to have a traditional drink like a Cuba libre. Old-school everything.

17. The Refried Beans and Eggs at [*Fonda Margarita*](https://fondamargarita.com.mx/)

A fonda is typically a small, inexpensive restaurant serving home-style food, and Fonda Margarita, on a pretty plaza behind a colonial church in the Colonia del Valle, does this with exceptional skill. When Margarita Lugo de Castillo first started selling food from an outdoor stall here in 1945, this area had just begun to urbanize. The guisos (or cooked dishes) that bubbled away in her clay pots fed the construction workers, plumbers and electricians who had been brought in to build the new upper-middle-class district. Few dishes in her repertoire were heartier or more elemental than her refried beans and scrambled eggs, dense and lush and heavy as a brick. By 1948, Lugo had moved to the modest, garage-like room now managed by her children, who open it from 6:30 a.m. to noon each day except Monday. Big casseroles set up on burners at the back of the room — not unlike those that Margarita once used — hold a selection of guisos that might, on a given day, include pink longaniza (a sausage similar to chorizo) in a salsa verde or pork spine in a deep red sauce of chile guajillo. But the beans and eggs, made with unknowable (and probably unthinkable) quantities of lard, have been a constant for more than three quarters of a century. — M.S.

Adolfo Prieto 1364B, Colonia Tlacoquemecatl del Valle.

Martinez: This dish is also called huevos tirados, which means dropped eggs, because it kind of looks like you dropped the scrambled eggs into the beans. It’s like an enhanced version of country food. The setting is also really cool. They have these old musicians at the door who have been there for 100 years. That plus the smell of the wood fire and the copious amount of lard on everything is amazing.

18. The Shabu Shabu at [*Yoshimi*](https://www.hyatt.com/en-US/hotel/mexico/hyatt-regency-mexico-city/mexhr/dining)

Few places in this crowded, chaotic city are as instantly calming as Yoshimi, the Japanese restaurant at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Polanco. It has the kind of elegantly spare décor and pale wood furnishings you might expect to see in Tokyo. You can even opt to sit in the restaurant’s “Zen garden,” an outdoor terrace scattered with boulders and enclosed by a wall of bamboo. The kitchen is overseen by chef Miriam Moriyama, who was born in Argentina to Japanese parents and sources many of her ingredients from Japan, including the ponzu sauce, much of the meat and about half the seafood (although she’s partial to Baja California’s bluefin tuna). And while the sushi might lure in newcomers, regulars routinely order Moriyama’s favorite dish, the shabu shabu — a substantial heap of leafy greens, tofu and mushrooms combined with noodles and thin slices of rib-eye steak that are cooked in a boiling dashi broth at your table until meltingly tender. Each serving is big enough to feed two and comes with sashimi and a cucumber salad, which makes for a relaxing feast. — M.C.

Campos Elíseos 204, Polanco.

Cámara: The Japanese influence in Mexico City is a thing. You can’t escape mayo with chipotle. It was because of the Japanese influence that I made my tostada atún. [At Yoshimi], the quality is consistently high, and it’s also very private. You go there when you don’t need to be in a sceney place.

Valdivia Nakatani: I’m a sucker for very traditional Japanese places; it’s some kind of nostalgia for times when my mother’s side of the family would host Christmas. The shabu shabu at Yoshimi is pure in its flavors — all the ingredients come through crisp and clean and leave you feeling warm.

19. The Taco al Pastor at Tortas el Paisa

At all hours of the day, Tortas el Paisa’s massive trompa — the cone of pork used to make Mexico City’s emblematic tacos al pastor — turns slowly on its axis, strands of onion dangling like tinsel from between layers of slowly roasting meat. About five or six taqueros move swiftly among customers, collecting and distributing plates, while others slice sheaves of half-cooked pork from the trompa that tumble onto a sizzling flat top below. There, they continue to cook in their own rendered juices before being crisped on a plancha inside the tiny storefront and slipped onto tortillas or between glossy lobes of bread. Al pastor, arguably the Mexican capital’s most significant contribution to the national cuisine, traces its roots to Middle Eastern shawarma, brought to Mexico by Iraqi families who fled Baghdad after the collapse of British rule in the Levant in the early-20th century. Settling in the city of Puebla, they traded out lamb for pork and yogurt for a thick red salsa, retaining shawarma’s vertical rotisserie and wheat-based pita, or pan árabe. A few decades later, in the 1960s, tacos árabes came to Mexico City, where the meat was slathered in a bright-orange adobo and served on corn tortillas to make al pastor. Based in the leafy middle-class neighborhood of Viaducto Piedad — today, the heart of Mexico’s small community of first-generation Chinese immigrants — El Paisa serves an unusually subtle version, its flavor dominated by sweet alliums that caramelize slowly as the day wears on. — M.S.

Coruña 298, Viaducto Piedad.

Dolores: These are just great tacos. A lot of the pastor you see around the city is this super-bright-orange color — usually because it’s made with a paste that has a lot of axiote [a native seed]— but here the flavor is more about the pork and, of course, all that caramelized onion. The “best” pastor is such a personal thing. If you grew up in Mexico City, it’s about what you’re nostalgic for, and I’ve been going here since I was a kid. There’s really no such thing as the best pastor, but El Paisa is unique.

Martinez: There are only a few dishes that are originally from Mexico City, and tacos al pastor is one of them. There are two kinds — one with pineapple and one with caramelized onions. This one has the onions.

20. The Taco Campechano at Ricos Tacos Toluca

In 2003, Ted Oliver Rossano Terán opened a tentlike stall in Mexico City’s Centro Histórico that specialized in stewed longaniza. In the past 20 years, he’s moved his business twice, opening its current location — on a spacious corner storefront between two municipal markets — in 2020. In that time, Rosanno has also gradually shifted his offerings toward the cured meats and sausages produced in his native Estado de México. Every Tuesday through Saturday, Rossano commutes 90 minutes with his wife, Rosa, and their son, Ted, from the town of Mexicaltzingo, their pickup truck packed with salt-cured beef, or cecina, and homemade sausages in four flavors — the familiar chile-spiked rojo, tropical habanero, sour tamarind and vegetal verde, stained green with parsley, cilantro and poblano chiles — all rounded out with crunchy peanuts and juicy raisins. In the taco campechano, a generic term in Mexican cooking that refers to a mix of two or more ingredients, the chorizo (order the verde), crisped on the plancha along with thin pieces of cecina, is decadent, bright, familiar yet surprising. — M.S.

López 103, Colonia Centro.

Dolores: I love this place not just because the chorizo verde is delicious, but because the family who run it are so kind. They make everything themselves, and it’s all fantastic: the chorizo verde and the cecina, but also the obispo, which is like a big uncured sausage with manzano chiles, and, wow, the head cheese. People from wealthier parts of the city tend to look down on dishes like head cheese — there’s a lot of classism in the way people in Mexico City eat — so I love that they serve these things proudly.

Martinez: It’s a family-owned business and they make their own chorizo. And I love that going here takes people to the back streets of the Centro Histórico.

21. The Tamal de Rajas at Tamales Fer

Fernando Soriano’s tamal cart operates only between 7:30 p.m. and 10 p.m., Monday through Saturday, turning its usual spot, outside a Walmart in Narvarte, Roma’s more residential neighbor to the south, into hallowed ground. Soriano has been setting up shop in the same location for the past 10 years, prepping each evening’s batch at his home nearby with the help of his family. They mix the cornmeal dough by hand, soak and dry the corn husks used to wrap the classic tamales (or the banana leaves for the Oaxaca-style ones), prepare their own subtly spicy red jalapeño salsa and switch up the fillings depending on the season (summer brings the blackberry and cream-cheese varieties.) But Tamales Fer loyalists know that, year-round, at least one of the giant metal steamers will be filled with sublime tamal de rajas. Once you untie each parcel, the masa inside is dense, soft and spongy, cradling melted Oaxaca cheese, rajas (roasted strips of poblano peppers) and a little salsa. In the hands of less exacting tamal makers, the masa might be too soggy or too crumbly by the time you unwrap it, but here, the texture is ideal, holding remarkably well even if you shove a bunch in a bag to go. Still, like all good street food, it’s best consumed immediately. — C.A.

Xochicalco 295 (outside Walmart), Colonia Narvarte.

Valdivia Nakatani: There are a million tamal carts in the city, and everyone has their go-to. Don Fer’s is mine, both because Narvarte is one of my favorite neighborhoods and because his tamales de rajas are always perfect. For the full experience, you have to get it with the atole de guayaba, a delicious warm and hearty drink made with corn flour and guava.

22. The Tlacoyo at Tlacoyos Medellín

On virtually every street in Mexico City, you’ll find a modest stall serving up a range of corn-based snacks known collectively as antojitos (“little cravings”). The humblest is the tlacoyo: a football-shaped pocket of blue-corn masa stuffed with requesón (Mexico’s answer to ricotta), puréed black beans, mashed favas or cottony chicharrón prensado (crispy pork skin pressed in a mold to remove excess fat). Cooked on a comal, it’s then slit open and topped with nopales, shredded cheese, onion, cilantro and salsa, either red or green or both. For the past 36 years, the women of the Peña Miramón family have served a superlative version at their stall outside the Mercado Medellín in the Colonia Roma. Made in clay casseroles at their home in Estado de México, more than an hour’s commute away, the fillings are intensely earthy and flavorful, and the surrounding layer of masa, cooked over charcoal rather than propane, is shatteringly crisp. — M.S.

Corner of Campeche and Medellín, near the entrance of Mercado Medellín, Colonia Roma.

Martinez: The skill with which those ladies make everything in front of you is unbelievable, and [their stall] is right in the middle of fancy Roma, where you have some of the best restaurants in the city, and they’re just there and making amazing food as well.

23. The Torta Chilaquiles With Chicken Milanesa at [*La Esquina del Chilaquil*](https://www.facebook.com/laesquinadelchilaquil)

Among the most iconic stands in Condesa, La Esquina del Chilaquil specializes in the combination of two classic street foods: the torta, a sandwich made with a crusty bolillo bun, and chilaquiles, fried tortilla chips drenched in salsa. Owner Perla Flores attributes the idea of putting together bread, originally brought by Spanish colonizers, and tortilla, a precolonial staple, to her mother: Rosario Millán was selling chilaquiles on the same street corner when, in 1996, one customer complained they couldn’t eat them in their office because the smell of warm salsa would waft into their boss’s nose. To trap the scent, Millán, who died in 2020, shoved the chilaquiles inside a roll. These days, the family sells tortas with chilaquiles to scores of office workers daily, some of whom stand in line for more than an hour and buy the tortas in bulk to take back and share with colleagues. Their best seller is the torta with chilaquiles in green tomato salsa, along with a smear of refried beans, a slice of fried chicken, shredded cheese and sour cream. The torta with chilaquiles in red salsa is slightly spicier. Can’t decide? Ask for a torta mixta and get them both inside the same bun. — J.V.

On the corner of Alfonso Reyes and Tamaulipas Avenidas, Colonia Condesa.

Martinez: If you just hear about it, it doesn’t make any sense. Breaded and deep-fried chicken inside a bun that’s filled with deep-fried mushy tortillas? It’s insane, but it somehow works.

Valdivia Nakatani: It’s a classic for families and hung over people. The soupy chilaquiles and the milanesa live inside a classic bolillo (our version of the New York deli roll), which is the perfect container: crispy on the outside and fluffy on the inside to soak up all the salsa from the chilaquiles. Then there’s the crunch of the tortilla chips and the breaded chicken. It’s just to die for!

Cámara: What’s really brilliant about this is that it’s like a contemporary version of the torta de tamal [a tamal inside a bolillo bun], which is such a Mexico City thing.

24. The Torta de Cochinita at [*Tacos de Oro XEW*](https://www.facebook.com/TacodeoroLopez107/)

Now entering its fourth generation in the city’s Centro Histórico, Tacos de Oro XEW first opened nearly 80 years ago next door to the radio station from which it takes its name, serving nothing but cochinita pibil, the spiced, slow-cooked pork dish emblematic of the Yucatán Peninsula. Located since the 1980s in a slip of a storefront on Calle López, the Centro Histórico’s most famous food street, Tacos de Oro serves its cochinita in one of three ways: rolled into tacos, nestled atop crisp panuchos (slender rounds of masa stuffed with beans and deep-fried) or tucked between the halves of an airy bolillo to make a perfect torta. Many Yucateco restaurants in the capital serve cochinita that more closely resembles pulled pork, so tender and fat laden that it’s almost a spread (delicious in its own right). But at Tacos de Oro, the pork holds its shape in a brothy sauce stained red with achiote. Thrown on the plancha, the bolillo flattens out and becomes as yielding as a dumpling wrapper. — M.S.

López 107, Colonia Centro.

Ruvalcaba: I think [Tacos de Oro XEW] uses the whole pig to make the cochinita, or at the very least makes it out of a variety of meats: There are little bits of skin and probably ears. This is not at all common in Mexico City.

Martinez: The meat is cooked to tender perfection and, together with the freshness of pickled red onion on top, is complete magic.

25. The Vuelve a la Vida at [*Marisquería El K-Guamo*](https://www.instagram.com/kguamo/?hl=en)

For the past 49 years, the Tamariz family has run the El Caguamo seafood stand in the Centro Histórico on busy Ayuntamiento Street near the Mercado de San Juan. Ten years ago, the Tamarizes opened the brick-and-mortar K-Guamo, with metal tables and chairs and beer service, just down the block. Often packed for lunch, K-Guamo has a large, ever-changing menu that draws from the abundance of the city’s fish market, second in size only to Tokyo’s. The greatest way to try it all is with the Vuelve a la Vida (or Back to Life) platter, its name a wink to the Mexican custom of eating seafood to cure a hangover. Out comes a medley of ceviches: crab, octopus, squid, tilapia, oysters and shrimp, all served in a slurry of sweet, ketchup-based cocktail sauce that has just the slightest heat. It’s topped with a mound of chopped red onion, cilantro, a few slices of ripe avocado and a succulent pata de mula clam, and all it takes is one scoop on a saltine cracker to feel revived. — L. C.

Ayuntamiento 10, Colonia Centro.

Martinez: It’s Veracruz style, so it’s really heavy on the tomato-y sauce. It’s just so fresh — you can tell that we have the second-biggest fish market in the world just by going there.

Cámara: My favorite is the coctel campechano, usually with shrimp, octopus and fish, either in the crispy corn tostada or a glass mug. It’s been a tradition of mine to make a stop at the El Caguamo stall after going to the market for as long as I can remember.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mariano Fernandez FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 31, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Little Spain Is All but Gone. Will Our Lady of Guadalupe Be Next?; streetscapes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68CD-6CR1-JBG3-6065-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 2, 2023 Friday 14:09 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** REALESTATE

**Length:** 2096 words

**Byline:** John Freeman Gill

**Highlight:** The church on West 14th Street, the first in Manhattan created for a Spanish-speaking congregation a century ago, has been deconsecrated. Its future is uncertain.

**Body**

The church on West 14th Street, the first in Manhattan created for a Spanish-speaking congregation a century ago, has been deconsecrated. Its future is uncertain.

The Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a Catholic house of worship on West 14th Street, is a grandly inventive architectural oddity and the mother of all Hispanic storefront churches in New York City. Manhattan’s first church created for a Spanish-speaking congregation, it was cobbled together out of two adjacent rowhouses in 1902 and 1917. Against this simple brownstone backdrop, a resplendent three-story Spanish Baroque entrance — now with details painted blue, white, gold, and a purple the shade of rioja — was added in 1921.

But the seminal Spanish-language church was deconsecrated by the Archdiocese of New York in January, paving the way for its potential sale, alteration or demolition. Although the church is not on the market, an Archdiocese spokesman offered no details about plans for the building, which elected officials and preservation groups are urging the city to protect through landmark designation.

Andrew Berman, executive director of Village Preservation, called the church’s deconsecration “worrisome,” adding that “any objective observer would say that this building might not be around much longer, given where it is located” in the real-estate sweet spot at the border of Chelsea and Greenwich Village.

On May 23, the city Landmarks Preservation Commission designated as a landmark the [*former Colored School No. 4*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/23/nyregion/nyc-segregated-school-landmark.html) on West 17th Street in Chelsea, the last-known “colored” schoolhouse remaining in Manhattan from the city’s segregated 19th-century school system. At the public hearing before the commission voted, Sarah Carroll, its chairwoman, touted the agency’s equity framework, which was intended to prioritize landmark designations that represent New York’s diversity.

The designation of the old school building took place four and a half years after [*an African-American historian first formally asked the commission to evaluate it as a possible landmark*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/07/realestate/segregated-school-landmark-manhattan.html), and preservationists are worried that Our Lady of Guadalupe might not survive that long without swifter government action. The school building is municipal property, which gave the city the luxury of time in determining its fate. But the church is privately owned.

Our Lady of Guadalupe, along with the Spanish Benevolent Society three doors down, is one of just two surviving pillars of the once-thriving and largely forgotten enclave of Little Spain, whose commercial center was concentrated on 14th Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues. If the building is lost or its facade stripped, what little remains of Little Spain will shrink nearly to the point of vanishing.

“Unfortunately, we do see this happen in New York, where communities that were once cornerstones of the city disappear and their landmarks are erased and no trace is left of them,” Mr. Berman said. “In the case of Guadalupe, this would be particularly tragic because it was the beginnings of a community that has become one of the largest constituencies in present-day New York, with a population of about 2.5 million.”

About 29 percent of New Yorkers claim Hispanic heritage, according to a five-year U.S. Census survey that concluded in 2021.

A landmarks commission spokeswoman said that in response to a request from Village Preservation in February for an expedited evaluation of Our Lady of Guadalupe as a potential landmark, the commission’s staff was “studying the church’s connection to New York City’s Hispanic and Latino community and whether its architecture and existing condition strongly represent this history.”

The two former townhouses now occupied by the church, at 229-231 West 14th Street, were built around 1850 as stately single-family homes. At that time, 14th Street was an elite residential district favored by the wealthy, its 800-foot-long blocks offering unbroken vistas of fine residences, a sight that prompted The New York Herald to describe the street as “a noble thoroughfare … from river to river.”

By the 1880s, No. 229 was owned by the Delmonico family, proprietors of the renowned eponymous restaurants, and in 1881 Siro Delmonico, a celebrated caterer, died there after a battle with emphysema, an outcome that surprised no one. (“I have known him to smoke as many as a hundred cigars in one day,” his doctor told The New York Times.)

By the end of the century, however, commerce had intruded on 14th Street and the rich had decamped uptown. An enclave of Spaniards dominated by merchants had settled in the northwestern portion of Greenwich Village, near the Hudson River docks around 14th Street.

In the wake of the Spanish-American War of 1898, this community of Spanish immigrants was joined by an expanding ***working class***, according to the book “Greater Gotham,” by the historian Mike Wallace. After 1901, the Spanish Line ran ships carrying passengers directly from the Spanish provinces of Galicia and Asturias to Pier 8 at South Street.

Many found work as merchant seamen. In 1902, the Spanish vice-consul told The New York Tribune that half of the estimated 4,000 Spanish immigrants living in the city worked as stokers on oceangoing steamships. Some lived in sailors’ boardinghouses along the Hudson River.

In 1902, with the blessing of the archbishop of New York, the Augustinians of the Assumption, a religious order with roots in France, bought the rowhouse at 229 West 14th Street from the Delmonicos for $27,000, with the express aim of using the building to administer the sacraments to the city’s Spanish-speaking Catholics in their native tongue. (The cramped church expanded into neighboring No. 231 in 1917.)

The Assumptionists chose Little Spain to be closer to the city’s poorer Spanish speakers, according to a 1994 history by the Assumptionist Center in Brighton, Mass. The order’s local leadership had determined that the greatest concentration of Spanish and Mexican residents lay between 12th and 16th Streets, from Sixth to Eighth Avenues.

A modest, narrow chapel was fashioned out of the parlor and dining room of the former Delmonico home by ripping out walls on the first floor. The only indication to passers-by that a sanctuary lay inside was a cross over the door and a small tablet with the Spanish name of the church and an English translation.

Above the chapel’s simple altar hung “a picture of the Virgin Mary, as Our Lady of Guadalupe,” reported the Tribune. “The picture was sent to the church by the Mexican bishop of Queretaro.”

Although the church’s main constituency was the Spanish immigrant community, research by Village Preservation shows that from the beginning the church’s leadership also had its eye on engaging the city’s much smaller Latin American population, which included Cubans and Mexicans.

Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, a professor emeritus of Puerto Rican and Latino Studies at Brooklyn College, said that the naming of the church for Our Lady of Guadalupe suggested that the Catholic leadership from the start intended the church to serve all Spanish-speaking groups and not just Spaniards.

Although the title Our Lady of Guadalupe originated in medieval Spain, he said, the Virgin’s image was transformed in Mexico into a “biracial Madonna.”

“She’s pregnant and she’s wearing an Aztec fold, a belt that Aztec women would wear to show they were pregnant,” he said, “and she’s painted this way.” He added: “So that’s a very powerful thing going back to the 16th century in Mexico, when there were great tensions between the invaders and the invaded, and the idea of the church was that it’s a church of the mestizo, of the mixture of these cultures, of these languages, of these races.”

The choice of name proved prophetic, as a surge in Mexican congregants ultimately overwhelmed the church’s capacity a century after its founding. By 2003, so many worshipers were descending on Our Lady from all over town on a typical Sunday that hundreds spilled out onto the street among vendors hawking tamales and crucifixes.

That year, the church merged with the much larger St. Bernard’s Church, one block west, to form the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe at St. Bernard. Masses and sacraments stopped being celebrated at the old brownstone church, which is currently used for religious education on Saturdays and retreats once a month. A pregnancy help center operates in the basement during the week. At the St. Bernard building, masses are now held in both Spanish and English.

The Spanish Benevolent Society, widely known as La Nacional, moved into a nearby brownstone at No. 239 in the 1920s, where it served as a vibrant social hub and gave new Spanish immigrants a bed while helping them find work and camaraderie.

To this day two flags, one Spanish and the other American, hang above its ground-floor restaurant, which serves a delicious squid-ink seafood paella. The restaurant walls are evocatively decorated with antique identity cards, known as “fichas,” of long-dead society members, listing their names, professions and hometowns on the Iberian Peninsula.

Little Spain enjoyed an invigorating influx of refugees and political exiles after the Spanish Civil War, which ended in 1939. By the 1950s, membership of La Nacional peaked at 7,000, and more than 25 Hispanic shops, bookstores, restaurants and social clubs lined the vivid one-block main drag of 14th Street, known as “Calle Catorce.”

One of the most renowned shops was Casa Moneo, a two-story grocery with a paprika-colored awning that had imported beloved Spanish specialties like chorizos and jamón serrano since 1929.

La Iberia, a haberdashery opened in 1937 by José Maria Vázquez, purveyed American brands like Van Heusen. Every month, one of two Spanish ships, El Covadoga and El Guadalupe, would dock at a nearby Hudson River pier, recalled Mr. Vázquez’s son, Maximino Vázquez, a 71-year-old with fluffy gray mutton chops who still lives on the block.

“Sailors would come to the block to sell cognac to the restaurants,” he said, and with the money they earned they would buy American appliances from the Gavila brothers’ shop on 15th Street and go to La Iberia to “buy Arrow shirts and girdles and Jockey underwear in bulk to resell in Spain.”

“These were huge packages my dad wrapped in paper and twine,” he continued. “It was like Christmas every month.”

But as violent crime climbed in the 1970s, Spaniards with families left Little Spain in droves, relocating to places like Astoria, Queens. And though some Latinos moved in to fill the void, many restaurants and other Hispanic businesses shuttered. In 1987, Casa Moneo closed down, a signal moment in the decline of the neighborhood’s Hispanic identity.

Now, with the future of Our Lady of Guadalupe’s distinctively Spanish building in doubt, its neighbor, La Nacional, is increasingly isolated as an institutional remnant of Little Spain.

“We’ve always felt we are the two anchors, and I always felt La Nacional would be OK as long as we were together,” said Robert Sanfiz, the society’s executive director. “So the thought of that being destroyed in the name of another condo here on 14th Street would really make it feel like we are alone on an island. And when you feel alone on an island, your existence can feel threatened.”

PHOTOS: The Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, with its protruding Spanish Baroque entrance, circa 1929, and below. The 1902 church was cobbled together out of two brownstones, and the Spanish Baroque facade was added in 1921. Preservationists are urging the city to grant the church landmark protection. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NYPL; DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (RE1); The Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe after a renovation in the 1920s. Robert Sanfiz, far left, executive director of the Spanish Benevolent Society, on the steps of its brownstone. Below, the society, known as La Nacional, operates a vibrant restaurant on its ground floor. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES; ARCHIVES OF THE AUGUSTINIANS OF THE ASSUMPTION — NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCE); Dancing at the Spanish Benevolent Society in 2021. Above that, Mr. Sanfiz holds a stack of identity cards, known as fichas. Above right, the walls at La Nacional restaurant are decorated with identity cards of long-dead society memberS. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES; JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Maximino Vázquez with a photo of his father, José Maria Vázquez, outside La Iberia, a haberdashery he opened in 1937 in the heart of Little Spain. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (RE6) This article appeared in print on page RE1, RE6.

**Load-Date:** June 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***New York’s Lesson for Democrats; The Morning Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:631G-Y3P1-DXY4-X2R0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 29, 2021 Tuesday 11:30 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1692 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** Are they willing to listen?

**Body**

Are they willing to listen?

The Pew Research Center, which does some of the country’s best polls, classifies all Americans as being [*in one of nine different political groups*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2017/10/24/political-typology-reveals-deep-fissures-on-the-right-and-left/). The categories range from “core conservatives” on the right to “solid liberals” on the left, with a mix of more complicated groups in the middle.

I have been thinking about Pew’s classifications recently, because they shed light on one of the [*Democratic Party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/01/nyregion/democratic-party-ny.html)’s biggest challenges. They also help explain the mayoral results in New York City.

Among Pew’s nine groups, the group that’s furthest to the left — solid liberals — made up 19 percent of registered voters in 2017 (when Pew last did a full update of its categories). These voters [*have the views*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2017/10/24/political-typology-detailed-tables/) you would expect: strongly in favor of abortion access, affirmative action, immigration, business regulation, a generous social safety net and higher taxes on the rich.

And who are these solid liberals? They are disproportionately college graduates with above-average incomes. They are also heavily white.

Solid liberals are not as white as most Republican-leaning groups in Pew’s classification system, but they are less racially diverse than the more moderate Democratic-leaning groups. Solid liberals are also the most educated of the nine groups, and they are essentially tied with core conservatives as the highest-income group.

The Squad’s image

Much of the recent political energy in the Democratic Party has come from solid liberals. They are [*active on social media*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/04/08/upshot/democratic-electorate-twitter-real-life.html) and in protest movements like the anti-Trump resistance. They played major roles in the presidential campaigns of Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren, as well as the rise of “The Squad,” the six proudly progressive House members who include Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez.

All six of those House members, notably, are people of color, as are many prominent progressive activists. That has fed a perception among some Democrats that the party’s left flank is disproportionately Black, Hispanic and Asian American.

But the opposite is true, as the Pew data makes clear.

Black, Hispanic and Asian American voters are to the right of white Democrats on many issues. Many voters of color are skeptical of immigration and free trade. They favor border security, as well as [*some abortion restrictions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/19/briefing/abortion-debate-public-opinion.html). They are worried about crime and oppose cuts to police funding. They are religious.

Just consider the name that Pew chose for the most conservative of the nine classifications that still leans Democratic: Devout and Diverse.

The outer-borough candidate

One way to make sense of these patterns is to focus on social class. Many professionals, with college degrees and above-average incomes, have political views that skew either strongly right or strongly left, largely lining up with one of the two parties’ agendas. Many ***working-class*** voters have mixed views.

In recent years, ***working-class*** voters — across races — have grown uncomfortable with some of the progressivism of the Democratic Party. The white ***working class***’s move away from the party is a familiar story by now, and it’s one that certainly involves racism, as Donald Trump’s appeals to white identity made obvious. Yet the shift is not only about racism.

If there were any doubt about that, the 2020 election — when voters of color [*shifted right*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/07/briefing/democratic-party-covid-georgia.html) — should have cleared it up. And last week’s New York mayoral election has become the latest piece of evidence, [*as my colleague Katie Glueck has explained*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor.html).

Eric Adams ran a campaign with [*decidedly conservative themes*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/new-york-democrats-take-a-stab-at-reality-11624573126). He ran as both a Black man who had endured racism and a former police officer who would protect the city. “How dare those with their philosophical and intellectual theorizing and their classroom mind-set talking about the ‘theory of policing’?” he said in his election night speech. “You don’t know this. I know this. I’m going to keep my city safe.”

The more progressive candidates, like Kathryn Garcia and Maya Wiley, have done well in upscale Manhattan neighborhoods. Adams leads in all four other boroughs.

“The median Black voter is not A.O.C. and is actually closer to Eric Adams,” Hakeem Jefferson, a Stanford University political scientist, [*told my colleague Lisa Lerer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/us/politics/progressives-black-latino-voters.html?referringSource=articleShare). “What makes more sense for people who are often distrustful of broad political claims is something that’s more in the middle.”

The bottom line

To win elections and hold national power, the Democratic Party does not merely need to win a majority of the vote. Because of gerrymandering, the Electoral College and the structure of the Senate, Democrats have to win [*a few points more than 50 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/28/upshot/the-gerrymandering-ruling-and-the-risk-of-a-monopoly-on-power.html). That’s not easy. And it requires appealing to ***working-class*** voters across racial groups.

The good news for the party is that public-opinion data shows a clear majority of Americans [*lean left on economic issues*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/23/opinion/democrats-economics.html) and are much more moderate on social issues than many Republicans.

The bad news for the Democratic Party is that this national majority is not as liberal as many high-profile Democratic activists and politicians. It isn’t clear whether those activists and politicians are willing to moderate their positions to win more elections.

For more: New York election officials are [*releasing ranked-choice results*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/nyregion/ranked-choice-voting-mayor.html) today from the mayor’s race, probably showing whether Adams, Wiley or Garcia won.

THE LATEST NEWS

Facebook Ruling

* A federal judge — appointed by Barack Obama — [*dismissed the federal and state antitrust suits against Facebook*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/technology/facebook-ftc-lawsuit.html), a victory for the company.

1. The ruling suggests that a bipartisan push to regulate technology companies may require new legislation.
2. The winners of Washington’s scrutiny on Big Tech? [*Lawyers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/technology/boom-times-for-lawyers-as-washington-pursues-big-tech.html).

The Virus

* The Covid vaccines from Pfizer and Moderna may [*provide immunity for years*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/06/28/world/covid-vaccine-coronavirus-mask/a-study-finds-that-the-pfizer-and-moderna-vaccines-could-offer-protection-for-years), scientists say.

1. Mixing Pfizer and AstraZeneca vaccines — one dose of each — also [*provides strong protection*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/health/mixing-pfizer-astrazeneca-results.html), a study suggests.

Climate

* Droughts are strangling California’s farms. One farmer says it’s now more lucrative to [*resell water than to grow crops*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/climate/california-drought-farming.html).

1. How weird is the record heat of the past few days in the Pacific Northwest? [*These charts explain*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/29/upshot/portland-seattle-vancouver-weather.html).

Other Big Stories

* N.C.A.A. leaders recommended new rules that would allow college athletes to [*profit from endorsements*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/sports/ncaabasketball/ncaa-athletes-endorsement-deals.html).

1. Rescue crews at the collapsed Miami condo are digging through concrete boulders, [*hoping to find hints of the living*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/us/miami-victims-building-collapse.html).
2. Eight months after the Ethiopian Army attacked Tigray, the civil war has taken a turn: Tigrayan fighters are retaking control of the regional capital. [*Here’s the latest*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/06/29/world/tigray-ethiopia).
3. The Supreme Court [*declined to hear a case*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/us/politics/supreme-court-transgender-bathroom-rights.html) involving school bathrooms, effectively siding with a transgender boy who wanted to use the boys’ room.
4. North Korea’s leader, Kim Jong-un, has lost weight. [*No one knows why*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/world/asia/north-korea-kim-jong-un-weight.html).
5. In the Euro 2020 soccer tournament, Spain beat Croatia, and Switzerland beat France — [*thrilling matches*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/sports/soccer/france-falls-and-spain-survives-as-euro-2020-comes-alive.html) that went to extra time.

Opinions

Lusia “Lucy” Harris was a dominant force in basketball in the 1970s, before women had good professional opportunities in the sport. She is the [*subject of an Op-Doc*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/29/opinion/lusia-harris-basketball-nba.html) by the filmmaker Ben Proudfoot.

MORNING READS

Faces at the border: They left home. Now they wait at the border. [*These are their portraits*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/27/world/americas/migrants-portraits-mexico-border.html).

Hiding in plain sight: [*The lost graves*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/06/27/us/louisiana-graves-enslaved-people.html) of Louisiana’s enslaved people.

Peering through: Seeing [*how artists created their masterpieces*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/science/vermeer-paintings-fakes-scans.html).

A Times classic: Is that gray bug a billy baker, a cheeselog or a chicky pig? [*Take our British-Irish dialect quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/02/15/upshot/british-irish-dialect-quiz.html).

Lives Lived: Paulo Mendes da Rocha, an architect known for a muscular style called Brazilian Brutalism, was dedicated to building for the public. His “concrete acrobatics” won him the Pritzker Prize in 2006. [*Mendes da Rocha has died at 92*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/26/arts/design/paulo-mendes-da-rocha-dead.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Returning the Benin Bronzes

In 1897, invading British soldiers stole thousands of artifacts from the Kingdom of Benin, today part of Nigeria. In Britain, the events are known as the Punitive Expedition. In Nigeria, they are known as the Benin Massacre, because of the residents whom British forces killed.

Activists, historians and royals in Nigeria have called for the return of the art, but museums resisted, arguing that their global collections [*served “the people of every nation.”*](https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/2020/01/17012020-does-universality-argument-still-stand/)

As Europe confronts its colonial history, though, [*some institutions are changing their position*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/09/arts/design/dutch-restitution-report.html). Germany has said it will [*return a substantial number of Benin Bronzes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/30/arts/design/benin-bronzes-germany.html) (as the items are known) next year, and the National Museum of Ireland plans to [*return 21 objects*](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/national-museum-ireland-plan-return-looted-benin-bronzes-rmx7rdtpk). The works will probably go [*to a new museum in Benin City,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/13/arts/design/david-adjaye-benin-bronzes-museum.html) scheduled for completion in 2026.

For many Nigerians, the partial return doesn’t go far enough. The looted objects “form part of the bedrock of the identity, culture and history of Benin,” [*Ruth Maclean and Alex Marshall write in The Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/world/africa/benin-bronzes-Nigeria-stolen.html). — Claire Moses, a Morning writer

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

This [*lively salad of corn and avocado*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1020403-grilled-corn-and-avocado-salad-with-feta-dressing) with a buttermilk-feta dressing is summer on a plate.

What to Read

Quentin Tarantino turned his most recent film, [*“Once Upon a Time in Hollywood,” into a pulpy page-turner*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/books/quentin-tarantino-once-upon-time-hollywood-novel.html).

What to Watch

Stevie Wonder, Mahalia Jackson, Mavis Staples and others shine in [*“Summer of Soul,” a documentary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/24/movies/summer-of-soul-review.html) about the 1969 Harlem Cultural Festival.

Restaurant Review

Is that Bella Hadid? Glimpse into the lives of [*the famous and famous-adjacent at Nobu Malibu*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/dining/nobu-malibu-review.html).

Now Time to Play

The pangrams from yesterday’s Spelling Bee were bulletin and ebullient. Here is today’s puzzle — or you can [*play online*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: Comedian’s goal (five letters).

If you’re in the mood to play more, find [*all of our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/games).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

P.S. The Times’s London bureau chief, Mark Landler, will host a conversation about sustainable urban spaces on [*Thursday at 1:30 p.m. Eastern*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/netting-zero.html).

You can see [*today’s print front page here*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2021/06/29/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

Today’s episode of “[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about the building collapse in Miami. On “[*Sway*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/28/opinion/sway-kara-swisher-guy-fieri.html),” Kara Swisher talks with Guy Fieri.

Lalena Fisher, Claire Moses, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Sanam Yar contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: Eric Adams campaigning in the Bronx before the primary. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Desiree Rios for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 1, 2021

**End of Document**



[***22 Mummies Are Moved in a Glittering Display in Cairo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62C0-W911-JBG3-647V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 3, 2021 Saturday 10:55 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; middleeast

**Length:** 631 words

**Byline:** Mona El-Naggar

**Highlight:** But the made-for-TV spectacle also underlined the jarring divide between Egypt’s celebrated past and its uncertain present.

**Body**

But the made-for-TV spectacle also underlined the jarring divide between Egypt’s celebrated past and its uncertain present.

CAIRO — Downtown Cairo came to a near standstill Saturday night as 22 [*mummies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/02/world/europe/egyptian-mummy-pregnant-warsaw.html) were moved from a museum where they had resided for more than a century to a new home, transported atop custom-made vehicles in a glittering, meticulously planned procession.

The fanfare — broadcast live on state television and complete with a military band, a 21-gun salute and a host of Egyptian A-list celebrities — served as both a grand opening of sorts for the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization where the country’s oldest monarchs were set to land and an invitation to tourists to return to Cairo after the pandemic.

“These are the mummies of kings and queens who ruled during Egypt’s golden age,” said Zahi Hawass, a former minister of antiquities who supervised the discovery of tombs that date back thousands of years. “It’s a thrill, everyone will watch.”

Everyone, except many Egyptians.

Along the five-mile path to the new museum lay stretches of ***working-class*** neighborhoods that were deliberately hidden from view ahead of the parade, a reminder of the jarring divide between Egypt’s celebrated past and its uncertain present.

Banners proclaiming the “Pharaohs’ Golden Parade” and large national flags prevented television viewers from peering inside Cairo’s impoverished areas and kept local residents from getting a glimpse of the polished, made-for-TV spectacle. In one spot, plastic screens at least 10 feet tall were mounted on scaffolding to close gaps in a cream-colored wall.

“They put it up to hide us,” said Mohammed Saad, a local resident who stood with two friends a few feet behind a barrier that separated them from the newly swept road where the ancestral parade would roll through.

Two security officers confirmed that no one would be allowed to leave nearby neighborhoods during the parade, or to step onto the street to watch. “They can watch on a screen,” one of them offered.

In a television interview, the head of Egypt’s Supreme Council of Antiquities credited the president, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, for conceiving of the public procession as a way to draw tourists back after the coronavirus pandemic brought international travel to a halt last year.

But the spectacle also underlined the economic and social divisions in Egypt’s capital.

“There is a tendency to try to show a better picture instead of fixing the existing reality,” Ahmed Zaazaa, an urban planner, said of the government’s public image efforts. “The government says they are making reforms, but the vast majority of people in Cairo who live in ***working-class*** neighborhoods are excluded.”

Egyptian television broadcast nonstop coverage of the parade preparations, emphasizing how the news was echoing abroad, pairing the visuals with dramatic theme music and a stream of information about the 22 kings and queens who ruled Egypt more than 3,000 years ago.

The ancient royals who were on the move included Ramses II, the longest reigning pharaoh, and Queen Hatshepsut, one of Egypt’s few female pharaohs.

After sunset, crowds gathered in downtown Cairo, among them enthusiastic young families who brought their children along in hopes of getting a glimpse of the historic moment.

“It’s a once-in-a-lifetime event. These are our ancestors.” said Sarah Zaher, who came with three friends.

But many of those who gathered were met by police barricades and turned back.

A uniformed officer yelled, “If you want to watch, go watch on television.” Disappointed, the crowds retreated into nearby coffee houses to watch on television or on their phones.

Nada Rashwan contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Mummies being transferred to a new museum in Cairo on Saturday in a made-for-TV event. (PHOTOGRAPH BY REUTERS TV)

**Load-Date:** May 2, 2021

**End of Document**



[***‘New York City Is a World Unto Itself.’ But It May Tell Us Where Democrats Are Headed.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:631P-M6C1-JBG3-64HH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 30, 2021 Wednesday 10:39 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3156 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** A lot hinges on the answer — and not just in New York.

**Body**

On the Democratic side of the New York mayoral contest, [*Eric Adams*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), the African American former police captain and Brooklyn borough president, continues to hold a lead over [*Kathryn Garcia*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) and [*Maya Wiley*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/). From a national vantage point, the most significant element of Adams’s campaign so far lies in his across-the-board success with ***working-class*** voters of all races and ethnicities.

Before we turn to the possible national implications of the race, we have to understand the extent of Adams’s victory, at least as far as first-choice balloting went. In census tracts with a majority or plurality of whites without college degrees, Adams — who [*repeatedly declared*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) on the campaign trail that “the prerequisite for prosperity is public safety” — led after stage one of the New York City [*Democratic primary*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) last week, according to data provided to The Times by [*John Mollenkopf*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), director of the Graduate Center for Urban Research at C.U.N.Y.

Adams took 28.5 percent of the first-choice ballots among these white voters, compared with the 17.1 percent that went to [*Garcia*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), who is white and has served as both sanitation commissioner and interim chairman of the New York City Housing Authority, and the 15.4 percent that went to [*Wiley*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), an African American who has been both legal counsel to Mayor Bill de Blasio and chairman of the Civilian Complaint Review Board, a New York Police Department watchdog.

Adams’s strength in non-college white tracts shows that his campaign made substantially larger inroads than either Garcia or Wiley among white ***working-class*** voters, a constituency in which the national Democratic Party has suffered sustained losses.

On Staten Island, the most conservative of the five boroughs, [*Adams led*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) the first-choice voting with 31 percent to Garcia’s 20 percent and Wiley’s 17 percent. In the [*2020 presidential*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) election, Donald Trump carried Staten Island with 61.6 percent of the vote.

Adams’s biggest margins were in Black majority non-college tracts, where he won with 59.2 percent to Wiley’s 24.4 percent and Garcia’s 4.7 percent. In Black majority college-educated tracts, Adams won a plurality, 37.5 percent, to Wiley’s 32.5 percent and Garcia’s 13.0 percent.

Counting all the census tracts with a majority or plurality of adult voters who do not have college degrees, Adams won decisively with 42.1 percent — compared with Wiley’s 19.7 percent and Garcia’s 10.3 percent. Both Wiley and Garcia continue to pose a threat to Adams because they have more support among college-educated voters, who make up roughly 40 percent of the Democratic primary electorate. According to Mollenkopf’s data, in census tracts with a majority of college-educated adults, Adams’s support fell to 14.7 percent, Wiley’s rose to 26.2 percent and Garcia won a plurality at 34.9 percent.

If elected in November, either Garcia or Wiley would be the first woman to serve as mayor of New York — the first Black woman in Wiley’s case. In the first round, Garcia was strongest among college-educated whites, among whom she was the biggest vote-getter, while Wiley’s winning constituencies were college-educated Black and Hispanic voters.

Growing public anxiety over the sharp increase in gun violence in New York proved crucial to Adams’s success, although it was not the whole story. A May [*Spectrum News NY1/Ipsos NYC Mayoral Primary Poll*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) of 3,249 New Yorkers found that crime and violence topped the list of concerns, outpacing affordable housing, Covid and racial injustice. Through June 6 of this year, [*687 people*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) were wounded or killed by gunfire in the city, the most for that period since 2000.

The results in the mayoral primary so far are evidence of the continuing power of Black voters to act as a moderating force in a Democratic Party that has seen growing numbers of white voters shift [*decisively to the left*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/). The results also suggest that Adams’s strategy of taking a strong stand on public safety in support of the police, combined with a call to end abusive police practices, is an effective way for the party to counter the small but significant [*Black and Hispanic defections*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) to the Republican Party that began to emerge in the 2020 presidential election.

I posed a series of questions about the implications of the still-unresolved New York City Democratic Primary to a group of scholars and analysts.

[*Nolan McCarty*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), a political scientist at Princeton, argues that the initial tally affirmed a basic but often overlooked truth about the Democratic Party nationwide:

The outcomes are more evidence of an innumerate punditry that conflates the share of educated, professional voters who support the Democratic Party with their electoral clout. It remains true that a majority of Democratic voters are ***working class*** without college degrees. So it is the same dynamic in New York that played out in the presidential race. While other candidates battled over the support of the highly educated segments (of all races), Biden understood where the votes were.

While most of the national attention has focused on levels of education in shaping the partisanship of white voters — with the more educated moving left and the less well educated moving right — a parallel split has been quietly developing within the multiracial Democratic coalition. [*Ray La Raja*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), a political scientist at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, elaborated in his reply to my email:

There has been a growing education and age divide in the Democratic Party beyond racial divisions. Additionally, Adams tapped into an N.Y.C. pattern of politicians winning with strong “outer borough” ethnic support. In the past it was white ethnics — Italians, Irish and Poles living in the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens — who supported the Tammany-style politicians. Today it is Hispanics and Blacks from different parts of the diaspora supporting Adams, who leveraged his shared background with voters, with ties to powerful political institutions (e.g., municipal unions) much like Tammany.

Older Black voters, La Raja continued,

will continue to be a moderating force in the Democratic Party. They deliver votes and they are pragmatic in their vote choices. They bear the traces of New Deal liberalism with bread-and-butter concerns about jobs, education and safe neighborhoods to raise families.

There are significant differences between the values and agendas that shape the voting decisions of the Garcia constituency, of the Wiley electorate, and of those Black voters who were the core of Adams’s support, La Raja notes:

Garcia won the good government progressives and liberals south of 110th street in Manhattan, who are more likely to be executives at major institutions of finance, technology, entertainment and fashion. These voters want a livable city to support their institutions. They — like The New York Times editorial board — believe Garcia is the most credible on managing city operations. Wiley, in contrast, gets the young progressives just across the river in Brooklyn and Queens who haven’t quite made it up the career ladder yet. They have fewer institutional responsibilities. They are less likely to vote out of a desire to get well-functioning government and more based on their personal values.

[*Jonathan Rieder*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), a sociologist at Barnard and the author of “[*Canarsie*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/): The Jews and Italians of Brooklyn Against Liberalism,” had more to say in his reply:

The local discussion of crime gets entangled in the national culture war within the Democratic Party and within “liberalism.” As with “limousine liberalism” before it, what some dub “woke” liberalism flourishes in the zones of the educated and often affluent whose lives, neighborhoods and moral understandings differ from those of working and middle-class people.

Because of this, Rieder contends, the party remains caught in what has become a 50-year “battle between what used to be called lunch-pail Democrats and more righteous ones, between James Clyburn and AOC.”

Rieder argues that

For all the gradual shrinkage of white non-college voters, the Democrats still require a multicultural middle to include non-affluent and lesser-educated whites in their majority coalition. And that will be hard to secure if the party is identified with ceding the border, lawlessness, ignoring less privileged whites, exclusionary versions of anti-racist diversity that smack of thought reform, phrasing like Latinx that large numbers of Latinos find off-putting, esoteric or perplexing, and so much more.

Taking a more optimistic stance, [*Omar Wasow*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), a political scientist at Princeton, acknowledges that the primary “reflected these intraparty divisions along lines of race, income and education,” but, he argues,

What was more surprising was the level of cohesion. Candidates from a wide range of backgrounds ran and, overall, there was remarkably little race-baiting rhetoric. In the final high-pressure days of the campaign, calls to vote along racial or ethnic lines did increase but, given the high level of diversity in the candidate pool and in New York City more broadly, the relatively limited presence of appeals to in-group solidarity or out-group antipathy was remarkable. While some of this behavior is specific to New York, it also likely reflects a strong norm among elite Democrats more generally that certain kinds of ethnic threat and resentment politics are off-limits.

Wasow agrees that Black voters have become a moderating force in Democratic politics:

Put simply, direct experiences of racism and dreams deferred appears to have forged a more moderate or pragmatic politics among African Americans. Where the whiter, more liberal wing of the Democratic Party was considerably more optimistic about the country’s willingness to elect a woman, a democratic socialist or a person of color, African Americans exhibited far more skepticism. Given the narrow margins with which President Biden won, the Black assessment of national white voting behavior does seem to have been more accurate.

For two generations, Wasow continued, “Democrats have struggled to articulate a response to attacks that they’re ‘soft on crime.’ Some candidates co-opted toughness and others emphasized ‘root causes’ but ‘law and order’ kept winning.”

In this context, according to Wasow, “Adams’s activism as a cop against police abuse is a powerful embodiment of the position that recognizes both demand for reform and desire for public safety.”

Adams affirmed this two-pronged stance toward policing and crime on his [*website*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/):

Our city faces an unprecedented crisis that threatens to undo the progress we have made against crime. Gun arrests, shootings and hate crimes are up; people do not feel safe in their homes or on the street. As a police officer who patrolled the streets in a bulletproof vest in the 1990s, I watched lawlessness spread through our city, infecting communities with the same terrible swiftness of Covid-19.

At the same time, Adams declared,

We face a crisis of confidence in our police. I understand that mistrust because as a young man, police beat my brother and I at a precinct house — and we still carry the pain of that. I called out racism in the NYPD as an officer and helped push through reforms, including the successful effort to stop the unlawful use of Stop-and-Frisk. The debate around policing has been reduced to a false choice: You are either with police, or you are against them. That is simply wrong because we are all for safety. We need the NYPD — we just need them to be better.

The strong appeal to Black voters of a candidate like Adams who combines calls to reform police behavior while simultaneously pushing for aggressive enforcement to increase public safety can be seen in the results of a survey [*Vesla Weaver*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), a political scientist at Johns Hopkins, conducted with colleagues during the week after George Floyd’s murder.

Specifically, Weaver found that:

40.5 percent of Black respondents (compared to just 16.7 percent of whites) strongly agreed with this statement: “I have rights as a matter of law, but not in reality.” 60 percent of Black Americans agreed ‘The Constitution doesn’t really protect us from the police’ (compared to 32 percent of whites). Similar breakdowns occurred on “the official rules say the police can’t do certain things but in reality, they can do whatever they want.”

Weaver summed up her findings:

The responses show some alarming divergences in how Americans of different racial positions understand their citizenship, the logic of governing authority, and whether the law applies to everyone equally.

[*Jim Sleeper*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), the author of “The Closest of Strangers: Liberalism and the Politics of Race in New York,” wrote me (citing his friend [*Curtis Arluck*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), a Democratic district leader in Manhattan):

Garcia ran better than Wylie among older white voters, even those who skew pretty far left. So she did much better on the Upper West Side, the West Village, Brooklyn Heights, and Park Slope than in the East Village, Astoria or Williamsburg. And Wylie performed much better among younger and more affluent Black voters than those who were older and more ***working class***. Both older white liberal voters and older less affluent Black voters saw Wiley as too “woke.”

If Garcia has more second-place votes to be allocated from lesser candidates, Sleeper notes, she “could well overtake Wylie for second place.” That may not be enough for Garcia to capture first place, according to Sleeper’s reckoning. If Wiley is dropped reducing the final count to Adams versus Garcia, “enough Wylie votes will go for Adams second, so that Adams should prevail.”

[*Margaret O’Brien Steinfels*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), who founded the Fordham Center on Religion and Culture with her husband [*Peter Steinfels*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), argues that Adams’s lead rests on four factors:

(A) the “crime wave” that became the hot issue in the campaign; (B) on Adams’s story of experiencing police abuse and then being in the police; (C) on the emerging sense that Black voters are “moderates” — pace the views of progressives and young B.L.M. advocates (Black and white) — that N.Y.C. is a union city and that Adams had important endorsements; (D) Adams was pretty clearly the “***working class***” candidate and he campaigned in relevant districts. Defunding the police, which Adams opposes, is not a winning policy as Biden’s announcements on crime this past week underlined.

[*Roberto Suro*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), a professor of public policy at the University of Southern California, wrote to me to say that:

The New York voting clearly undermines progressives’ claims that a bold agenda on issues like policing is the best way to bring out the Democratic base. That certainly was not the case with New York Latinos and Blacks.

Recognition of these patterns is crucial for Democrats seeking to maintain high levels of minority support, Suro continued:

The same differences among Latinos in New York plays out nationally. Older, ***working-class*** Latinos shifted to the Republicans across the country last November amid Trump’s claims that Democrats are dangerously radical. The New York results suggests that segment of the Latino electorate might be susceptible to Republican campaigns next year, painting Democrats as anti-police.

[*Robert Y. Shapiro*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), a political scientist at Columbia, put it succinctly: “Black voters are a moderating force and should tell the party to focus on economic, health care, and equality issues, and less on culture war issues.”

[*Paul Frymer*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), a political scientist at Princeton, disputed the argument that Black voters have become a moderating force within the Democratic Party:

The pre-election polling data suggests that Maya Wiley is the second choice candidate among African American voters, despite having a political message that is far more progressive on the issues than a number of other candidates, notably on police reform. That ought to push back against a narrative that Black voters are necessarily more moderate than the rest of the party. Wiley is a very progressive candidate and has ample support from African Americans, losing only to a more moderate Democrat, and outdistancing a number of more conservative Democrats.

“New York City is a world unto itself, making it hard to discern national trends from its voting patterns,” cautioned [*Doug Massey*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), a Princeton sociologist who has written extensively about urban America.

“That said,” Massey continued,

The election results would seem to confirm that Black and Hispanic voters form the core of the Democratic Party’s base. They appear to be strongly motivated by racial justice and progressive economics as well as public safety, but lean toward candidates who have experience and insider knowledge rather than flashy liberals from outside the system who are proclaiming dreamy agendas.

Maya Wiley and Kathryn Garcia, in Massey’s view,

are insiders to N.Y.C. politics and the bureaucracy with reputations for getting things done, and Wiley appealed to better educated young people and Blacks in Brooklyn, while Garcia appealed to better educated white and Latino Manhattanites. But it was the strong support of ***working-class*** voters across all the boroughs that has carried the day so far for Adams, with particular strength among Blacks and Latinos but seemingly with some popularity even among blue-collar whites on Staten Island.

For all the potential embodied in Adams’ candidacy, there are deep concerns that, if he wins, he could disappoint.

Adams is a hardened player in the rough and tumble of New York. I asked Rieder if Adams represents a resolution of the difficulty of developing a credible but nonracist approach to crime and public safety. Rieder replied: “I think he’s such a flawed incarnation of the stance — [*his history of corruption*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), [*his race-baiting*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) — it’s too early to say. Alas.”

Adams himself is not given to false modesty. “I am the face of the new Democratic Party,” he [*declared*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) last week. “If the Democratic Party fails to recognize what we did here in New York, they’re going to have a problem in the midterm elections and they’re going to have a problem in the presidential elections.”

While the unresolved primary fight has come down to a contest between Adams, Garcia and Wiley, it is effectively the contest for mayor because the Republican Party has shrunk to insignificance in the city, despite holding the mayoralty for decades not that long ago. Whichever one of the trio comes out ahead, he or she is very likely to run far ahead of the Republican nominee, [*Curtis Sliwa*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/). Ranked-choice voting — which despite its virtues remains poorly understood by many voters — means we won’t know who the next mayor will be for some time. What we do know is that whoever wins will have a very tough row to hoe.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/) and [*Instagram*](https://www.brooklyn-usa.org/eric-adams-bio/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mark Peterson/Redux FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 1, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Magic Mike Is Just Trying to Pay the Bills; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67HK-88D1-JBG3-601P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 10, 2023 Friday 00:47 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1264 words

**Byline:** Esther Zuckerman

**Highlight:** Forget getting ahead in America. The stripper at the heart of the film trilogy is working frantically not to lose his shirt.

**Body**

Forget getting ahead in America. The stripper at the heart of the film trilogy is working frantically not to lose his shirt.

The first thing you learn about Mike Lane, played by Channing Tatum and otherwise known as Magic Mike, in the new movie “[*Magic Mike’s Last Dance*](https://youtu.be/pBIGdw-BRxw)” is that his dream has died. The Covid-19 pandemic destroyed his custom furniture business, his raison d’être beyond stripping in the first two movies. Now Mike is working for a catering service, serving drinks to wealthy people who donate to causes they don’t even care to learn about.

The “Magic Mike” movies are about impeccable abs, female pleasure, male friendship and the power of a great lap dance. But just beneath all the joy of gyrating hips lurks economic anxiety. “Magic Mike” has always been about money, and not just the dollar bills that are slipped into G-strings.

With “Last Dance,” opening Friday, Tatum, the director Steven Soderbergh, the writer Reid Carolin and their collaborators have created a trilogy that’s sneakily about the last decade or so in American instability. What started as a (mostly) realistic portrait of stripper life in the wake of the Great Recession has evolved into a fantasy for the days of Covid-related financial strife, in which Mike is rescued from his economic travails by a rich almost-divorcée (Salma Hayek Pinault) who sees his talent and whisks him away to London to direct a show.

Sure, it’s a lot of rom-com escapism, but it also has real-world resonance. Mike saw the one thing he worked for crumble. Now he gets a way out, and the kind of happy ending for which many long. Even then, the specter of monetary worries still lingers.

When the first “Magic Mike” arrived in 2012, the story was irresistible: With his movie career [*heading into overdrive*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/11/movies/channing-tatum-works-to-be-the-next-big-star.html), Tatum was starring in a film based on his own pre-Hollywood experiences as a dancer in a male revue. The movie, set in Tampa, Fla., drew audiences looking for “[*hot boys,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/05/movies/magic-mike-with-channing-tatum-draws-gay-men.html) but the story within was more melancholy than the squeal-inducing imagery of ripped dudes in goofy, barely there costumes suggested.

As Manohla Dargis wrote in her [*review for The Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/29/movies/magic-mike-by-steven-soderbergh-with-channing-tatum.html), the film “is also very much an inquiry into capitalism and its woes.” In The Atlantic, Alyssa Rosenberg [*argued that the dancers*](https://www.theatlantic.com./entertainment/archive/2012/06/magic-mike-male-strippers-reveal-the-naked-truth-about-the-recession/259138/) “reveal the naked truth about the recession.” She explained, “These strippers are marginally employed men trying to move up the economic ladder in a state with the second-highest foreclosure rate in the country.”

The deeper concerns of “Magic Mike” shouldn’t have been a surprise. Soderbergh is known for flitting among genres, but whether he’s making sleek heist movies, uncomfortably real thrillers or dramas based on actual events, he’s always interested in power structures and how they affect the people in his lens.

Though the Great Recession was technically over by the time “Magic Mike” was released, you can feel its aftermath coursing through the screenplay. In the most devastating scene, Mike is refused a bank loan to open a furniture business because of his low credit score. The loan officer (Betsy Brandt) tells him, “We do offer relief programs for our qualified distressed candidates.” His flirty demeanor drops. “I read the papers,” he replies. “The only thing that’s distressed is y’all.”

But it’s not just that one moment: The feeling of trying to understand a system that has failed you permeates the movie. Dallas, the slick M.C. portrayed by Matthew McConaughey, says that he would not send his hypothetical child to school. Instead he would make the kid watch Jim Cramer’s “Mad Money” all day and “get him into Ameritrade.” It’s a grim-sounding attempt to win a game that’s not worth playing.

By “Magic Mike XXL” (2015), directed by Soderbergh’s frequent assistant director, Gregory Jacobs, [*the economy had bounced back*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/14/business/economy/us-census-household-income-poverty-wealth-2015.html) and Mike’s furniture company, if not thriving, was up and running. He couldn’t pay for health insurance for his one employee, but he was doing what he loved — other than dancing, that is. His passion for the latter draws him back to his pals from the Xquisite club, who are planning a road trip to Myrtle Beach for a male stripper convention as one final hurrah before they leave the life behind.

The question of what these guys will do once that one night is over hovers over the action. Tito (Adam Rodriguez), for instance, wants to make artisanal frozen yogurt but will end up slinging snow cones at a mall. Still, the movie — which is the most outright fun of the bunch — has a twinkly-eyed Obama-era optimism. It ends with the crew watching July Fourth fireworks as the DJ Khaled song “All I Do Is Win” plays.

The purportedly final movie of the saga opens with a British-accented voice-over that treats Mike as an anthropological subject to be explored. Dance, it says, could not save Mike’s furniture company from the effects of the pandemic, thus forcing him to return to service work in Florida.

Later, we learn that the disembodied voice belongs to the awkward teen daughter of Maxandra, Hayek Pinault’s character, writing a novel about Mike that includes some intellectual posturing about the history of dance. Still, her dialogue speaks to that underlying interest that has always been a part of this franchise: Mike is representative of an Everyman’s struggle to stay afloat.

In those initial minutes the audience is made to feel his exhaustion as he returns to the kind of odd jobs he thought he had left behind. The independence that he had as a small-business owner is gone, and he is now forced to respond as stuck-up lackeys bark orders at him. At a party he is helping cater, he is recognized by a woman named Kim (Caitlin Gerard), who turns out to be a screaming college student he danced for in the first movie. Now she’s a successful lawyer, and he’s behind a bar, his past something for her to titter about as she walks away. Their dynamic has shifted. Kim tells Maxandra about Mike’s former profession, and Maxandra, in need of a release, offers him an obscene amount of cash for one dance.

Through the sensuous choreography, their chemistry is undeniable, and when she coaxes him to travel overseas with her for a mysterious project, he goes along with the proposition, having nothing to lose. In fact, the one time we see his buddies from the first two films, they are on a video call and Mike owes them money. Max, meanwhile, is also negotiating her relationship to her wealth, which could disappear in a flash with her breakup. Mike is her knight in shining armor, helping her get revenge on her wayward spouse, but she is also his, rescuing him from pandemic depression.

It would be easy to look at “Last Dance” as just that: a love story set against the backdrop of a production that looks a lot like the “Magic Mike Live” stage shows that Tatum, Soderbergh and Carolin have taken out on tour in the real world. And it is. But it’s also the creators’ version of a conclusion to Mike’s journey that offers him a respite from the troubles that plague a ***working-class*** striver like him. Yes, it’s a bit magical, but, after all, this is “Magic Mike.”

PHOTOS: In “Magic Mike’s Last Dance,” Channing Tatum, as the title character, has been forced back into service work by economic forces beyond his control. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WARNER BROS); Above, Salma Hayek Pinault and Channing Tatum play characters who each have financial worries in “Magic Mike’s Last Dance.” Left, in the original film of the “Magic Mike” trilogy, Tatum’s character is unable to secure a loan. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CLAUDETTE BARIUS/WARNER BROS.; WARNER BROS.) (C5) This article appeared in print on page C1, C5.

**Load-Date:** February 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Can Affluence and Affordable Housing Coexist?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6908-DHG1-DXY4-X1TR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 20, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BU; Column 0; Money and Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 3152 words

**Byline:** By Talmon Joseph Smith and Joanna Kulesza

**Body**

In the recreation-fueled, amenity-rich economy of Colorado's Rocky Mountain region, there are two peak seasons: summer, with its rafting, hiking, fishing and biking, and the cold months filled with skiing and other winter activities.

And then there is ''mud season'' -- a liminal moment in spring when the alpine environment, slowly then suddenly, begins to thaw and only a trickle of tourists linger.

It's a period that workers in other places might bemoan. But for much of the financially stretched work force serving the assemblage of idyllic mountain towns across the state, a brief drop-off in business this spring was a respite.

During a slow shift on a 51-degree day at the Blue Stag Saloon -- a nook on Main Street in the vacation hub of Breckenridge -- Michelle Badger, a veteran server, half-joked with her co-workers that ''this winter was hell.''

Crowds were larger than ever. And workers in the old Gold Rush town still enjoy the highs of the easy camaraderie and solid tips that come with service jobs in the area. But it was all sobered by the related headaches of soaring rents and acute understaffing, which left employees, managers and demanding customers feeling strained.

Working in mountain towns like Breckenridge and others in Summit County -- including Silverthorne, Dillon and Frisco -- would feel like a fairer bargain, Ms. Badger and her colleagues said, if they could better afford living close by.

Long commutes are common throughout America. But rental prices in hamlets among the wilderness on the outskirts of town are becoming burdensome too.

Job growth has severely outpaced the stock of shelter throughout Colorado. Median rent in Frisco -- which a decade ago was considered a modest ''bedroom community'' for commuting employees -- is about $4,000 a month, according to Zillow, and 90 percent above the national median. Home buyers buttressed by family money abound.

The wage floor for most jobs in and around the county -- from line cook to ski lift operator -- is at least $18 an hour, or roughly $37,000 a year. Yet for those not lucky enough to land a rare slot in subsidized local employee housing, it's not uncommon to live an hour or more away to attain a livable budget.

As that happens, the contingent displaced by the rich ripples outward down rural highway corridors and, in turn, displaces the farther-flung working poor.

Inequality has always been rampant within the orbit of popular destinations. But the financial knock-on effects of those ritzy spheres have expanded as the pandemic-induced surge in remote work has supercharged divides.

Wanderlust-filled white-collar workers abruptly discovered that multiweek visits or even permanent relocations were possible for them and their families. Those seeking investment properties saw the opportunities of this hybrid-driven land rush as well, and pounced.

Longtime residents have had a front-row seat.

Matt Scheer -- a 48-year-old musician who grew up on a ranch eastward in El Paso County, where ''as soon as we could carry the milk bucket we were milking the cow'' -- is the sort of extroverted jack-of-all-trades who typifies the spirit (and the wistful brand) of Summit County.

Having moved near Breckenridge in the early 2000s to ski, hike, fly fish and work around town, he's relieved that he managed to pick up his place in 2012 for $240,000 with a fixed-rate mortgage. Prices in his tucked-away French Creek neighborhood -- a hilly, unincorporated patch with modest double-wide manufactured homes -- have more than tripled.

Though he's a loyal resident with little interest in ever moving, Mr. Scheer said he ''can't really leave.''

For a payout of tens of thousands of dollars from the local government, he recently signed onto a hefty ''deed restriction'' for his property, banning its use for Airbnb stays, limiting any potential renter or buyer to the work force of Summit, and limiting any potential resale price. And he did it with pride.

It's part of a growing program led by Breckenridge and other local governments to limit gentrification without licensing a large buildup of new developments. (Deed restrictions in destination areas got off to a quieter start in the 2010s but have ticked up.)

Incumbent property owners willing to sacrifice lucrative short-term vacation rental income see it as a fair trade-off, key to keeping long-term residents and the dashing contours of their towns' terrain. Policy critics, and frustrated local renters fighting over limited spots, say it is an inadequate tool for the scale and source of the problem: a lack of units.

Those critics include the governor of Colorado, Jared Polis, who is skeptical that lump-sum payments to owners in exchange for deed restrictions will be a sufficient incentive to broadly move the needle on affordability.

''There is no silver bullet,'' he said in an interview. ''But one of the areas that we have focused on is removing the barriers to additional home construction.'' He added that ''housing is not a problem that you can solve by throwing more money at the existing housing stock.''

His sweeping legislation to ensure ''a home for every Colorado budget'' by pre-empting local land-use laws and directly loosening zoning rules statewide died in the State Senate in May, after some initial momentum. All but one of the mayors in the state's Metro Mayors Caucus issued a letter opposing the plan.

'It's Either Five Mil or Five Jobs'

As politicians jockey, many resourceful Coloradans find ways to make do.

Mr. Scheer, for instance, has picked up over 30 music gigs through the end of summer, paying about $100 an hour -- though he acknowledges it's his locked-in, lower housing costs that make his lifestyle workable.

During a practice jam session and impromptu afternoon party of 20- to 40-somethings at Mr. Scheer's place in the spring, his pal and fellow guitarist, Bud Hallock (the other half of their occasional duo band, Know Good People), explained the grind people face by echoing the playfully hard-nosed aphorism uttered around town: ''It's either five mil or five jobs.''

''If you're willing to put in the work, you'll be able to,'' argues Mr. Hallock, who moved out West shortly after graduating from St. Lawrence University in 2015. Mr. Hallock has three jobs, he said, adding, ''I don't think it's the God-given right of anyone to come to a ski town and have it easy.''

For many longtime residents and transplants alike, it has become harder to finesse: Even as Summit County adds waves of remote workers, it has experienced net negative migration since 2020. It's a trend mirrored in the larger urban areas of Denver and Boulder, where the share of people working remotely is among the highest in the country, as homelessness rises.

Tamara Pogue, a member of Summit County's governing board, said the mountain towns and valley cities of the Front Range near Fort Collins and Colorado Springs as well as those out by the Western Slope struggled with an ''affordability issue'' similar to the nation's big cities for the same reason: ''We're supply-constrained.''

''The problem is the average cost of a single-family home in Summit County so far this year is $2.14 million,'' Ms. Pogue said. ''Not one job makes that affordable.''

The stock available is limited: 70 percent of homes in the county are second homes that sit vacant most of the year or serve as short-term rentals, she said, typically Airbnbs.

As a single mother of three, Ms. Pogue bought a 1,400-square-foot duplex for $525,000 in 2018 -- a rarity, if not an impossibility, now. She said a determination to prevent ''mountain communities'' from becoming ''towns without townspeople'' had driven her to become a staunch YIMBY, or a ''yes in my backyard'' supporter of home-building efforts, against the wishes of perceived NIMBYs, or the ''not in my backyard'' voices.

Ms. Pogue and her allies argue that the relatively slow pace of building in the Rockies, despite the area's popularity and rising prices, is a subtle form of denial.

''Everyone wants to be here, whether they work here or not,'' she added, ''and so we have this spiral.''

If, When, Where and How to Build More

A few affordable-housing projects visibly chug along in Summit near the airport service road, not far from Kingdom Park Court, one of a handful of mobile home parks in the county with pricey lot rents. But getting middle-income developments greenlit can be a slog. Many proponents of limiting development note that about 80 percent of the county is restricted federal public land, putting a ceiling on what can be done. (There's a nascent pilot program with the U.S. Forest Service to approve some apartments on leased land.) In the meantime, the well-off are gobbling up much of what's left.

Just north of downtown Silverthorne sits Summit Sky Ranch -- a sprawling development with homes starting around $1 million, with a pledge of ''bringing modern mountain living to over 400 acres of pristine natural beauty'' in the valley. It quickly sold out and many have moved in, lured by a private observatory and private access to a river bend.

Laurie Best, the longtime planning manager for housing in the community development department for the Town of Breckenridge, said she had emphasized deed-restriction policies and more generally trying to preserve existing units to reduce the need for new ones.

Ms. Best and her backers have acceded to some construction at a slow and steady pace, but they staunchly oppose taller, dense multifamily buildings, which are not, as she put it, ''consistent with the character of the town.''

In several counties, there has been a swell in ''conservation easements'' -- legal agreements between private landowners and local governments to guard wildlife and scenic open space by permanently banning development. The trend led the state to create a Division of Conservation in 2018 with an oversight commission to authenticate the contracts.

Eric Budd, a leader of a movement in Colorado called Bedrooms Are for People -- which favors expanding land use and more widely permitting apartments, duplexes and triplexes -- scoffs at the uptick in easements. He contends that what he tartly calls a ''xenophobic attitude of 'there's only so much to go around''' is self-defeating.

Trying to restrict access to a hot commodity -- in this case, half of a state -- won't end well for anyone, he said, and a California-level, cost-of-living crisis is only five or 10 years away.

Down in the foothills of the Rockies in Boulder, where Mr. Budd lives, school enrollment and the overall population have declined along with affordability, as remote-worker migration has picked up.

In some sense, the arguments against restrictionism amount to a water-balloon analogy: squeezing leads to odd bulges in random places.

Before the pandemic, Leadville, an old mining town 15 minutes from the trailhead of the highest peak in the Rockies, was an affordable harbor for ***working-class*** Hispanic employees of the nearby vacation economies: just out of reach of the affluence around Aspen to the west and resorts near Vail to the north.

Since 2020, though, Leadville has become engulfed as those realms of wealth expand and overlap, causing rents and home prices to spike beyond what many can feasibly afford over time, with few other places to go.

Second-home owners constituted half of all home sales in 2020 and 2021.

The Downside of Good Intentions

Half of Colorado renters are officially defined as cost-burdened -- spending more than 30 percent of their income on housing costs. And local economists suggest that the rate has ticked even higher in mountain locales.

For Kimberly Kreissig, a real estate agent in Steamboat Springs, a year-round recreation hub with natural hot springs near Wyoming, the affordability crisis in ''the high country'' has no simple villain. For years, her practice in Steamboat -- where the average home price is above $1 million, compared with $580,000 in early 2019 -- included both upper-middle-class, first-time home buyers and luxury-market sellers.

In 2018, she and her husband, a developer, broke ground on a dense, 50-unit multifamily project in Steamboat designed for people ''in that $75,000 range,'' she said -- ''for instance, my office manager here.''

''We had grandiose plans that we were going to be able to sell these things for $300,000,'' Ms. Kreissig said, but they were foiled by several factors.

Even before Covid-19 struck, ''the demand was just so through the roof that people were offering us more than list price right out of the chutes,'' she said, with precontract bids coming in ''twice as high as we anticipated.''

Then, once lockdowns in early 2020 ended, the remote-working cohort swooped in -- just as labor and material costs shot up for the contractors still finishing some units. Before long, many families she sold units to in 2019 for around $400,000 realized that because of the housing boom they had ''over $300,000 in equity'' in their homes -- and with interest rates so low, they could parlay a different (or additional) purchase. Many apartment owners began independently flipping their units to investors and buyers of second homes who were willing to pay well above the list prices.

''One flip near the end for one of the units was for $800,000,'' Ms. Kreissig said. ''We tried to be the good guys.''

One way to respond to house flippers is through greater deed restriction, which Steamboat has enforced in a few neighborhoods, along with some short-term rental restrictions, not unlike other hot spots. The area has also benefited from the state's Middle Income Housing Authority pilot program, which has put up a few buildings in town. But Steamboat still has a shortage of 1,400 units, according to a report from local authorities.

A big break came when an anonymous donor recently purchased a 534-acre farm property, Brown Ranch, and turned it over to the Yampa Valley Housing Authority, with instructions that it be used for long-term affordable housing for local workers.

It came as welcome news to the area's middle class. And yet the sheer surprise, and luck, of the donation is indicative of broader, underlying tensions that typically drive community-level and state debates: Is more supply a threat to both cultural vibes and property price appreciation, or a win-win opportunity to flourish?

Ms. Kreissig thinks it all comes back to ''the kind of 'not in my backyard' mentality'' that a silent majority holds.

''For the people that are already 'in,' there's a fair share of folks that are saying, 'You know, 'I'm in, we don't we don't need any more growth,''' she said. ''But you can't stop growth.''

Adrift Between Uphill and Down

In March 2020, Nancy Leatham, 34, was making just above the minimum wage, living with her husband and their baby daughter in Idaho Springs -- a little city above 7,000 feet wedged between a steep crag and an I-70 exit, far downhill from chic resort land.

They struggled to get by ''right during the height of the pandemic, when everything was shut down,'' wiping out their income, she said. It felt like a repeat of her teenage years during the mortgage-induced financial crisis when her family's business as excavation contractors -- preparing sites for home construction -- went belly-up, and their house was foreclosed upon.

In spring 2020, ''I had to start going to food banks and stuff to get food,'' she said. ''And we had to sell a car, and just stuff like that to, like, to make ends meet.''

By 2021, her husband, Austin, had found a job at Walmart making $19 an hour, while she was promoted at Starbucks, becoming a manager at $18 an hour, plus bonus -- and ''we had our child tax credit,'' she added.

''I started looking for a house because we had really great income,'' roughly $80,000 before taxes, she said. ''I grew up in poverty, since 2008 especially, and we'd been living with food insecurity and stuff, so I was like 'Look at us, we made it!'''

But almost as soon as she started house hunting, she realized that, within months, the booming housing market had far outpaced the good labor market. They had been priced out of their sleepy, snowy town, after merely a few bidding wars. The average home price -- $340,000 at the start of 2019 -- is up 66 percent. Higher mortgage rates hurt, too.

Many of the Starbucks employees Ms. Leatham managed owned their homes rather than rented, she said, and ''half left because they were able to sell their house off for considerably more than they were when they bought.''

Hoping to buy or rent something bigger than what she called a ''closet'' apartment, Ms. Leatham, who now has a second child, is preparing for the cold reality of ''having to move downhill'' -- though where exactly is unclear: 15 miles down the corridor, renters and buyers run into coveted areas near Golden and Denver.

Recently, a woman visited the Starbucks Ms. Leatham works at, she said, and was dressed very much like an out-of-towner. They chit-chatted at the register, and the woman mentioned she was in town to check on a recent property purchase.

Getting her hopes up for a nicer place, Ms. Leatham pried a bit:

''I was like, 'Oh, nice, what are you going to do with it?' And she's like, 'Oh, it's for rental.'''

''And I'm like, 'Oh, cool.' And then she goes, 'Short-term rental.'''

''And then, I went 'Dang it!' But really loud, and I made her feel awful -- I didn't mean to make her feel that way.''

Irresistible Allure, Harsh Reality

Back up the I-70 corridor in Frisco, a sprawling Walmart parking lot often occupied by unhoused people living out of their cars and campers is tucked in front of a commercial complex with a high-end furniture store, a Whole Foods and a craft microbrewery.

It's one of the few places for the growing homeless population to go, since overnight parking is widely banned in Summit County, even in sparse hamlets like Blue River, perched just beyond Breckenridge above 10,000 feet.

The effects of the global and national wealth parked in the Rockies often cascade downstream like the snow melt that carves the rivers. But it's a force that can be identified in any direction.

For many, if not most, homeowners in high-country counties like Summit, the hard truth is that only so much can be done if the very idea of mountain living -- experiencing nature, removed from the bustling downhill hassles of the outside world -- is to be maintained.

''It's funny, on our little block, there's probably, you know, 10 homes -- and on a beautiful day, which we have a lot of, you'll see all of us standing out in our driveway, taking pictures,'' said Ms. Best of Breckenridge's community development department. ''I must have the same picture 100 times because it's so stunning when you go out there, and you're still in awe of where we live. So I totally get the folks that want to be here.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/business/economy/colorado-rocky-mountain-housing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/17/business/economy/colorado-rocky-mountain-housing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Downtown Idaho Springs, Colo., where the average home price -- $340,000 at the start of 2019 -- is up 66 percent. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOANNA KULESZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BU1)

At top, from left: downtown Breckenridge

houses among the trees in Breckenridge

and the Frisco Bay Marina in Frisco. Below right, Matt Scheer bought his house in the French Creek section of Breckenridge in 2012 for $240,000. Prices for homes in his neighborhood have more than tripled in the past decade.

Above, from far left: a construction site in Silverthorne

dining out in Steamboat Springs

a storefront in downtown Idaho Springs

the Yampa River flowing through Steamboat Springs

the Gold Mountain Village Apartments outside Idaho Springs, where Nancy Leatham, below left, and her husband live. Though the Leathams are now earning decent incomes, the booming housing market in Idaho Springs has priced them out. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOANNA KULESZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BU6-BU7) This article appeared in print on page BU1, BU6, BU7.

**Load-Date:** August 20, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Fetterman's Heart Issues Add Wild Card to Pennsylvania Senate Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65M7-8GC1-DXY4-X0PB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 5, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 27

**Length:** 1357 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

Part of John Fetterman's appeal as the Democratic Senate nominee has stemmed from his brash sense of vitality. It's not clear if his recent stroke and absence from the trail will affect that.

Just three weeks ago, a varied cross-section of Pennsylvania Democrats put its hopes on the broad shoulders of John Fetterman, confident that the commonwealth's burly lieutenant governor could vanquish anything or anyone that a fractured Republican Party could throw at him.

But as the general election season begins, the 6-foot-8 Mr. Fetterman suddenly seems a good deal more vulnerable, equipped now with a pacemaker and a doctor's note attesting that he can campaign and serve as Pennsylvania's next senator, though the candidate himself admitted he ''almost died.''

And what seemed like a protracted, divisive fight in the G.O.P. over the party's nominee to take on Mr. Fetterman ended suddenly on Friday when Dr. Mehmet Oz accepted the concession of David McCormick, his narrowly beaten opponent. A three-way slugfest between a celebrity, Dr. Oz, an out-of-state hedge fund manager, Mr. McCormick, and a far-right Fox News pundit, Kathy Barnette, slipped quickly away into memory.

What was left for the fight over the Senate seat deemed most within reach for a Democratic takeover was a heart patient, Mr. Fetterman, battling a heart surgeon, Dr. Oz, and a distinct sense of unease, at least for now, among some Democrats.

''It's going to be a brutal campaign,'' said G. Terry Madonna, a longtime pollster and political writer in Pennsylvania. ''If I had to put it in a couple of words, it's 'no holds barred.'''

Mr. Fetterman's health struggles could be particularly resonant because so much of his appeal has stemmed from his image of vitality. Though he hails from his party's left flank, he has garnered the affections of more moderate, ***working-class*** voters with his bald head, goateed face, Carhartt sweatshirts, baggy basketball shorts and tireless campaigning in every nook of the state.

Sarah Longwell, a Republican strategist who has conducted focus groups with Pennsylvania voters, quoted Democrats saying, ''You know, he's the physical embodiment of Pennsylvania.''

Now that common-man appeal must include the contrition of an ailing patient who ignored his doctor's advice for years and an overt appeal to the sympathies of the voters.

''Like so many others, and so many men in particular, I avoided going to the doctor, even though I knew I didn't feel well,'' Mr. Fetterman said in a statement on Friday that broke weeks of silence since he had left the campaign trail. ''As a result, I almost died. I want to encourage others to not make the same mistake.''

The statement read like a confession. He suffered a stroke last month, just days before Pennsylvania's primary, and seemed to let his campaign systematically downplay his condition. All that ended on Friday when he admitted that he suffered from a heart condition called cardiomyopathy and had left other heart issues untreated for years.

His physician, Ramesh R. Chandra, released a scolding note saying that when Mr. Fetterman was diagnosed with atrial fibrillation and a decreased heart pump in 2017, he was prescribed medicine, lifestyle changes and follow-up appointments, but that he ''did not go to any doctor for five years and did not continue taking his medications.''

The drama might enhance Mr. Fetterman's appeal by further humanizing him, but that is not assured. Shawn W. Rosenberg, a professor of political and psychological science at the University of California, Irvine, who has been studying politics and political style since the late 1980s, said Mr. Fetterman's imagery before the health scare had broken new ground. Where once clean-scrubbed youth sold well, Pennsylvanians have lapped up their lieutenant governor's Everyman look.

''Do we want a political leader who is a version of the guy next door or someone who stands above us in some respects?'' Professor Rosenberg asked. ''Most of the literature suggests we want the latter, and Fetterman is an interesting challenge to that.''

He added: ''That works to his advantage in Pennsylvania. Part of the Republican play since Trump is anti-elitism. Against Oz, he's clearly not the elitist.''

But his health struggles also might clash with his superman image as it bolsters his opponent, a heart surgeon who has spent his extensive television career touting medical interventions, many legitimate, some questionable.

In a fight between a Paul Bunyan-like common man and a celebrity doctor, the doctor might emerge as the responsible candidate. And Dr. Oz will know how to sell it, said Samantha Majic, a political scientist at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, who studies style and celebrity in politics.

''Celebrity in the modern sense is somebody who is known, highly produced, managed and in the media, but they are also commercialized, they are using their celebrity to sell,'' Professor Majic said. She added: ''As campaigns become more expensive, you've got to have celebrity capital to parlay into financial capital. You have to stand out.''

Among Democrats and many independents in Pennsylvania, Mr. Fetterman is popular. A poll from Franklin & Marshall College just before the primary -- and before his stroke -- found that 67 percent of Democratic voters viewed him favorably, well above the 46 percent who felt warmly toward his primary opponent, Representative Conor Lamb.

Berwood A. Yost, the director of the Center for Opinion Research at Franklin & Marshall, said that given the Democratic nominee's 52 years of age, his health problems ''may make Fetterman even more relatable.''You get to your 50s as a ***working-class*** person, and you've got some scars to show for it, right?'' he said. ''It's a further contrast between the two candidates. I mean, the contrast couldn't be any more stark.''

And a comeback from a health setback is not uncommon. Senator Bernie Sanders, the Vermont independent whose progressive politics are similar to Mr. Fetterman's, suffered a heart attack in late 2019, with the presidential primary season looming, and hardly skipped a beat.

But Mr. Fetterman will remain off the campaign trail for some time.

''Doctors have told me I need to continue to rest, eat healthy, exercise and focus on my recovery, and that's exactly what I'm doing,'' he said in his statement. He added: ''It's frustrating -- all the more so because this is my own fault -- but bear with me, I need a little more time. I'm not quite back to 100 percent yet, but I'm getting closer every day.''

Rebecca Katz, a strategist for Mr. Fetterman, strongly denied that the campaign had been keeping his condition hidden. Campaign officials announced he needed a pacemaker as soon as they learned it, and the campaign released Friday's statement as soon as the doctor gave his permission, she said. Democratic officials had grown so worried that there was chatter about recruiting a new nominee, gossip that she pushed back on hard.

''All we have is the truth, and that's what we chose to share,'' she said.

If Mr. Fetterman is limping into the general election, so is Dr. Oz. Ms. Longwell said the Democrat's overwhelming popularity with his base was the mirror opposite of the reaction to Dr. Oz, who elicits strong suspicion from some conservative Pennsylvania voters, despite the endorsement of former President Donald J. Trump. And the Fetterman campaign has already started attacking the Republican as a New Jersey interloper who is coming to Pennsylvania via Hollywood.

Given the overall political environment, Mr. Yost said the race is a true tossup, but he too wondered how Dr. Oz's lack of connection with his new state will work in the commonwealth.

''There's a sense of place here among long-term residents,'' he said, ''and Oz really isn't from here. I wonder how that plays out.''

In a video statement, Dr. Oz vowed to start afresh after a difficult primary fight.

''I'm going to reach to every corner of this commonwealth,'' he said. ''I know we've got to heal. We've got to pull people together again. I want to make sure that happens again.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/04/us/politics/pa-senate-fetterman-dr-oz.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/04/us/politics/pa-senate-fetterman-dr-oz.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Lt. Gov. John Fetterman of Pennsylvania, who is 52, said he ''almost died'' from a recent stroke. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 5, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Four Stark Lessons From a Democratic Upset***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66VY-SYY1-DXY4-X3SN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 15, 2022 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 19; MICHELLE GOLDBERG

**Length:** 969 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Goldberg

**Body**

When I reached Marie Gluesenkamp Perez on Monday morning, the Democratic representative-elect from Washington State was sitting on the steps of the U.S. Capitol.

Her race against Joe Kent, a stolen-election conspiracy theorist endorsed by Donald Trump, had been called on Saturday, giving her enough time to get to Capitol Hill for new-member orientation. Because of the Republican lean of her district, Washington's Third, her victory was widely considered the biggest upset of any House contest; FiveThirtyEight's final forecast had given her a mere 2 percent chance of winning. ''A lot of people sacrificed to get me here,'' she told me, speaking with particular gratitude of all the mothers who called in babysitting favors to knock on doors for her.

I'd gone to Gluesenkamp Perez's district in September because I saw it as a microcosm of the midterms. Kent, a Fox News regular who put a member of the Proud Boys on his payroll, had ousted Jaime Herrera Beutler, one of the 10 Republicans who voted to impeach Trump after the Jan. 6 insurrection, in the primary. Gluesenkamp Perez hoped that there would be enough moderate Republicans worried about the future of American democracy, and aghast at the end of Roe v. Wade, to offset Kent's partisan advantage. The outcome, I thought, would tell us whether Republicans would pay any price for their extremism.

It is a profound relief to see that they have. Having spent a fair amount of time thinking about this bellwether race, I see four main takeaways from it.

1. Democrats need to recruit more ***working-class*** and rural candidates.

Gluesenkamp Perez is a young mother who owns an auto repair shop with her husband. They live in rural Skamania County, in a hillside house they built themselves when they couldn't get a mortgage to buy one. On the trail she spoke frequently of bringing her young son to work because they couldn't find child care. She shares both the cultural signifiers and economic struggles of many of the voters she needed to win over.

''I hope that people see that this as a model,'' she told me on Monday. ''We need to recruit different kinds of candidates. We need to be listening more closely to the districts -- people want a Congress that looks like America.''

2. Voters can see the link between abortion bans and authoritarianism.

During her campaign, Gluesenkamp Perez spoke about having a miscarriage and being forced to make her way through a wall of protesters to get medical care at a Planned Parenthood clinic. While Kent called for a national abortion ban, she appealed to her district's libertarian streak by including both gun rights and reproductive rights in her promise to ''protect our freedoms.''

On Monday, she said that voters connected abortion bans to a broader narrative of right-wing radicalism. Even if voters thought abortion rights in Washington State were safe with Democrats in charge, the end of Roe showed that Republicans are willing to upend some basic assumptions undergirding American life. ''It made people take Republicans, especially the extreme wing, seriously when they say they want to defund the Department of Education, the Department of Justice, the F.B.I.,'' she said.

3. MAGA Republicans are stuck in a media echo chamber.

A common rap on liberals is that they're trapped in their own ideological bubble, unable to connect with normal people who don't share their niche concerns. This cycle, that was much truer of conservatives. The ultimate example of this was the Arizona Senate candidate Blake Masters, the human incarnation of a right-wing message board, who lauded the Unabomber manifesto and put out gun fetishist campaign ads that made him look like a serial killer.

Kent suffered from a similar sort of insularity. He attacked sports fans, suggesting it's not masculine for men to ''watch other men compete in a silly game,'' a view common in corners of the alt-right but unintelligible to normies. Gluesenkamp Perez said Kent seemed shocked when, during a debate, his line about vaccines as ''experimental gene therapy'' didn't go over well, which she took as a sign that he'd spent too much time ''operating in the chat rooms.''

The ultimate expression of the right-wing echo chamber was the Stop the Steal movement itself. Conservatives might have been less credulous about it if they weren't so out of touch with the Biden-voting majority.

4. Data isn't everything.

As FiveThirtyEight's Nathaniel Rakich acknowledged on Twitter, the site's model didn't take into account Kent's personal weaknesses, and included only one post-Labor Day poll. An overreliance on a few data points made Gluesenkamp Perez's position look weaker than it really was. Democrats I spoke to in Washington State -- as well as some Republicans -- believed she had a decent shot, but national Democrats seem to have remained unconvinced. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee gave her no financial support.

Democrats obviously shouldn't disregard poll numbers or data about the partisan breakdown of the electorate. But we underestimate the human factor in politics at our peril.

''You've got a Trump cult-of-personality acolyte, and everybody writes off the district,'' Brian Baird, a Democrat who represented the Third District from 1999 to 2011, told me in September. ''But up steps this young, feisty, bright, moderate woman, with a young child, trying to run a small business, and she says, 'I'm not going to put up with this.''' Sometimes stories tell you what statistics can't.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/14/opinion/lessons-democratic-upset-washington-midterms.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/14/opinion/lessons-democratic-upset-washington-midterms.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** November 15, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Fetterman’s Heart Issues Add Wild Card to Key Pennsylvania Senate Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65M2-FXR1-DXY4-X52M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 4, 2022 Saturday 09:28 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1367 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman

**Highlight:** Part of John Fetterman’s appeal as the Democratic Senate nominee has stemmed from his brash sense of vitality. It’s not clear if his recent stroke and absence from the trail will affect that.

**Body**

Part of John Fetterman’s appeal as the Democratic Senate nominee has stemmed from his brash sense of vitality. It’s not clear if his recent stroke and absence from the trail will affect that.

Just three weeks ago, a varied cross-section of Pennsylvania Democrats put its hopes on the broad shoulders of John Fetterman, confident that the commonwealth’s burly lieutenant governor could vanquish anything or anyone that a fractured Republican Party could throw at him.

But as the general election season begins, the 6-foot-8 Mr. Fetterman suddenly seems a good deal more vulnerable, equipped now with [*a pacemaker and a doctor’s note*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/03/us/politics/john-fetterman-heart-condition.html) attesting that he can campaign and serve as Pennsylvania’s next senator, though the candidate himself admitted he “almost died.”

And what seemed like a protracted, divisive fight in the G.O.P. over the party’s nominee to take on Mr. Fetterman ended suddenly on Friday when Dr. Mehmet Oz accepted the concession of David McCormick, his narrowly beaten opponent. A three-way slugfest between a celebrity, Dr. Oz, an out-of-state hedge fund manager, Mr. McCormick, and a far-right Fox News pundit, Kathy Barnette, slipped quickly away into memory.

What was left for the fight over the Senate seat deemed most within reach for a Democratic takeover was a heart patient, Mr. Fetterman, battling a heart surgeon, Dr. Oz, and a distinct sense of unease, at least for now, among some Democrats.

“It’s going to be a brutal campaign,” said G. Terry Madonna, a longtime pollster and political writer in Pennsylvania. “If I had to put it in a couple of words, it’s ‘no holds barred.’”

Mr. Fetterman’s health struggles could be particularly resonant because so much of his appeal has stemmed from his image of vitality. Though he hails from his party’s left flank, he has garnered the affections of more moderate, ***working-class*** voters with his bald head, goateed face, Carhartt sweatshirts, baggy basketball shorts and tireless campaigning in every nook of the state.

Sarah Longwell, a Republican strategist who has conducted focus groups with Pennsylvania voters, quoted Democrats saying, “You know, he’s the physical embodiment of Pennsylvania.”

Now that common-man appeal must include the contrition of an ailing patient who ignored his doctor’s advice for years and an overt appeal to the sympathies of the voters.

“Like so many others, and so many men in particular, I avoided going to the doctor, even though I knew I didn’t feel well,” Mr. Fetterman said in a statement on Friday that broke weeks of silence since he had left the campaign trail. “As a result, I almost died. I want to encourage others to not make the same mistake.”

The statement read like a confession. He suffered a stroke last month, just days before Pennsylvania’s primary, and seemed to let his campaign systematically downplay his condition. All that ended on Friday when he admitted that he suffered from a heart condition called cardiomyopathy and had left other heart issues untreated for years.

His physician, Ramesh R. Chandra, released a scolding note saying that when Mr. Fetterman was diagnosed with atrial fibrillation and a decreased heart pump in 2017, he was prescribed medicine, lifestyle changes and follow-up appointments, but that he “did not go to any doctor for five years and did not continue taking his medications.”

The drama might enhance Mr. Fetterman’s appeal by further humanizing him, but that is not assured. Shawn W. Rosenberg, a professor of political and psychological science at the University of California, Irvine, who has been studying politics and political style since the late 1980s, said Mr. Fetterman’s imagery before the health scare had broken new ground. Where once clean-scrubbed youth sold well, Pennsylvanians have lapped up their lieutenant governor’s Everyman look.

“Do we want a political leader who is a version of the guy next door or someone who stands above us in some respects?” Professor Rosenberg asked. “Most of the literature suggests we want the latter, and Fetterman is an interesting challenge to that.”

He added: “That works to his advantage in Pennsylvania. Part of the Republican play since Trump is anti-elitism. Against Oz, he’s clearly not the elitist.”

But his health struggles also might clash with his superman image as it bolsters his opponent, a heart surgeon who has spent his extensive television career touting medical interventions, many legitimate, some questionable.

In a fight between a Paul Bunyan-like common man and a celebrity doctor, the doctor might emerge as the responsible candidate. And Dr. Oz will know how to sell it, said Samantha Majic, a political scientist at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, who studies style and celebrity in politics.

“Celebrity in the modern sense is somebody who is known, highly produced, managed and in the media, but they are also commercialized, they are using their celebrity to sell,” Professor Majic said. She added: “As campaigns become more expensive, you’ve got to have celebrity capital to parlay into financial capital. You have to stand out.”

Among Democrats and many independents in Pennsylvania, Mr. Fetterman is popular. A [*poll from Franklin &amp; Marshall College*](https://www.getrevue.co/profile/fandmpoll/issues/franklin-marshall-poll-release-may-2022-1164685) just before the primary — and before his stroke — found that 67 percent of Democratic voters viewed him favorably, well above the 46 percent who felt warmly toward his primary opponent, Representative Conor Lamb.

Berwood A. Yost, the director of the Center for Opinion Research at Franklin &amp; Marshall, said that given the Democratic nominee’s 52 years of age, his health problems “may make Fetterman even more relatable.”You get to your 50s as a ***working-class*** person, and you’ve got some scars to show for it, right?” he said. “It’s a further contrast between the two candidates. I mean, the contrast couldn’t be any more stark.”

And a comeback from a health setback is not uncommon. Senator Bernie Sanders, the Vermont independent whose progressive politics are similar to Mr. Fetterman’s, [*suffered a heart attack in late 2019*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/04/us/politics/bernie-sanders-hospital.html), with the presidential primary season looming, and hardly skipped a beat.

But Mr. Fetterman will remain off the campaign trail for some time.

“Doctors have told me I need to continue to rest, eat healthy, exercise and focus on my recovery, and that’s exactly what I’m doing,” he said in his statement. He added: “It’s frustrating — all the more so because this is my own fault — but bear with me, I need a little more time. I’m not quite back to 100 percent yet, but I’m getting closer every day.”

Rebecca Katz, a strategist for Mr. Fetterman, strongly denied that the campaign had been keeping his condition hidden. Campaign officials announced he needed a pacemaker as soon as they learned it, and the campaign released Friday’s statement as soon as the doctor gave his permission, she said. Democratic officials had grown so worried that there was chatter about recruiting a new nominee, gossip that she pushed back on hard.

“All we have is the truth, and that’s what we chose to share,” she said.

If Mr. Fetterman is limping into the general election, so is Dr. Oz. Ms. Longwell said the Democrat’s overwhelming popularity with his base was the mirror opposite of the reaction to Dr. Oz, who elicits strong suspicion from some conservative Pennsylvania voters, despite the endorsement of former President Donald J. Trump. And the Fetterman campaign has already started attacking the Republican as [*a New Jersey interloper*](https://twitter.com/JohnFetterman/status/1533096928245841920)who is coming to Pennsylvania via Hollywood.

Given the overall political environment, Mr. Yost said the race is a true tossup, but he too wondered how Dr. Oz’s lack of connection with his new state will work in the commonwealth.

“There’s a sense of place here among long-term residents,” he said, “and Oz really isn’t from here. I wonder how that plays out.”

In [*a video statement, Dr. Oz vowed*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9itoDnx3bTs) to start afresh after a difficult primary fight.

“I’m going to reach to every corner of this commonwealth,” he said. “I know we’ve got to heal. We’ve got to pull people together again. I want to make sure that happens again.”

PHOTO: Lt. Gov. John Fetterman of Pennsylvania, who is 52, said he “almost died” from a recent stroke. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 6, 2022

**End of Document**



[***I Did Not Feel the Need to See People Like Me on TV or in Books; John McWhorter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67WC-R121-DXY4-X2HR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 28, 2023 Tuesday 18:20 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1454 words

**Byline:** John McWhorter

**Highlight:** As a Black man from a relatively comfortable background, I preferred stories that taught me about other people.

**Body**

I didn’t know that I wanted there to be Band-Aids for Black people. There are now, in a nice range of shades. Crayola has also put out a set of magic markers that includes an array of un-Caucasian skin tones, and I love those. When I was a kid, there was no way to draw myself with a realistic-looking color — the browns and tans and umbers all fell far from the mark. But Band-Aids? Not only did I never expect them to look like me, but I always kind of liked the contrast between the beige and my lightish brown.

It reminds me of how many people complain that they don’t see themselves in movies, books, etc. When I was growing up, I didn’t much, either, but I can’t say that it bothered me. By the 1970s, Black people in general were by no means rare on the tube, whether it was “Sanford and Son,” “The Jeffersons” or “Roots.” But I still saw little of Black people like me specifically — as in, a comfortably middle-class, bookish Black teenager slightly on the weird side. It was nice to see a “me” on TV now and then, as in one [*episode*](http://cousingeri.blogspot.com/2016/04/recap-episiode-2-4-who-am-i-or-did-you.html) of “The Facts of Life” (yes, I watched it; remember, there was less to do before the internet and prestige television) that had a guest character who was a Black girl given to standing up and proclaiming passages in Latin.

But that kind of character was rare. For the most part, I had to be satisfied with the gawky, squeaky Steve Urkel nerd character on “Family Matters” as the closest thing to a representation of me on TV. (I lost count of how many times people compared me with him, thinking of it as a compliment.) But what I enjoyed about TV was seeing something other than myself. I liked it as a window on the world, not as a look into my own life.

It was the same with books. The last thing I expected when growing up was to read about myself. There were plenty of books about Black people, but they tended to be about poor or ***working-class*** Black people and often depicted Black lives proscribed by discrimination and inequality. I was aware of two instances of myself in fiction of the time. One was the nerdy teenage middle-class Black girl in Louise Fitzhugh’s “Nobody’s Family Is Going to Change.” Then there was “[*Sarah Phillips*](https://www.enotes.com/topics/sarah-phillips)” by Andrea Lee in 1984. That one was a near-sacred experience for me, in depicting a middle-class Black girl who grew up outside Philadelphia, went to Harvard and then moved to Europe. Here was someone I could have been, a variation on some people I knew. She might as well have been any number of Black kids from my neighborhood of Mount Airy in Philadelphia or who went to the Montessori and Quaker schools I was sent to.

But I neither needed nor sought out more such books. How much me did I need? I read to learn about what I didn’t know.

Recently a linguist made the understandable mistake of assuming that the reason I became a linguist was to study Black English. It’s easy to think so, given that I comment often on the dialect in public venues. But in fact, when I started my graduate study, I explicitly did not want to study Black English. It was too close to home. What fascinated me, and still does, are languages utterly unlike the one I grew up with. This is what I do my academic work on. I am happy to write about Black English, but I do it out of civic duty. What first hooked me on languages was hearing someone speak Hebrew.

This idea that one, if brown, is to seek one’s self in what one reads and watches gets around quite a bit. I remember an African American studies major, a Black guy, telling me in 1994 that if he couldn’t study things having to do with himself, he wouldn’t want to go to college at all. Now, he didn’t mean solely his very self; his main interest at the time was the Negritude school of thought pioneered by Francophone intellectuals in the 1930s such as Aimé Césaire.

But still, the idea that Black people are deprived in not exploring what they already relate to is not as natural as it sounds. This position is rooted, one suspects, as a defense against racism, in a sense that learning most meaningfully takes place within a warm comfort zone of cultural membership. But it’s a wide, wide world out there, and this position ultimately limits the mind and the soul. I question its necessity in 2023. The etymology of the word “education” is related to the Latin “educere,” meaning to lead outward, not inward.

It can be especially ticklish to hear white people taking up the idea that Black people stray from their selves when taking up things beyond Blackness. The Black cabaret pianist and singer Bobby Short spent a glittering career of several decades performing the lesser-known songs of Broadway’s golden era. I have every single recording he made; generations of fans of the Great American Songbook learned the B-side corpus of this genre from his work. He often seasoned his renditions with a bit of soul, but the overall tone of Short was tuxedos, the haut monde Café Carlyle where he played for eons, his friendship with Gloria Vanderbilt — an ongoing affectionate salute to a bygone aristocracy of manner.

In the mid-1990s I attended a showing of a [*documentary*](https://www.neh.gov/divisions/public/grant-news/james-baldwin-the-price-the-ticket-rebroadcast) about James Baldwin, in which at one point Short visited Baldwin in France and the two of them played some blues at the piano. I chatted with one of the film’s contributors afterward, a white woman, and mentioned that it had been neat to see Short in the blues scene. To my memory, she said something along the lines of, “Yeah, maybe it helped bring him back to that.” Hmm. Back to it. She seemed to mean that the blues was where Short belonged and that his career doing Cole Porter and Noël Coward had been an act, not the real him, and perhaps even a little suspect or regrettable.

It was just something she said in passing, and she probably assumed that I, as a Black person, would agree with her. But I couldn’t help thinking that by my reading, I do not believe that Ralph Ellison, Richard Wright or Lorraine Hansberry would have seen Short’s career in that way, and Baldwin clearly didn’t. I seriously doubt that anyone ever ventured such a thought about, or to, a Black man with a similar career a generation before Short’s, [*Leslie Hutchinson*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leslie_Hutchinson). (He appears to be a model for the Black singer in later episodes of “Downton Abbey.”) Rather, I sense the idea that real Blackness means ever seeking yourself in your reading and viewing is a post-1966 thing, to refer to [*what I wrote here last week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/21/opinion/black-power-wokeness.html).

W.E.B. Du Bois had no such idea. He wrote: “I sit with Shakespeare, and he winces not. Across the color line I move arm in arm with Balzac and Dumas, where smiling men and welcoming women glide in gilded halls. From out the caves of evening that swing between the strong-limbed Earth and the tracery of the stars, I summon Aristotle and Aurelius and what soul I will, and they come all graciously with no scorn nor condescension.”

Du Bois adapted these “white” works to his own needs and predilections. Even the naked racism he lived with daily did not lead him to draw a line around “white” things as something alien to his essence. Rather, he insisted that these works were, in fact, part of his self, regardless of how wider society saw that self or how figures like Shakespeare and Aristotle would have seen him.

Du Bois, in this, was normal. Today I sit with “Succession,” Steely Dan and Saul Bellow, and they wince not. I see myself in none of them. Yes, Bellow had some nasty moments on race, such as a gruesomely prurient [*scene*](https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/arts-letters/articles/mr-sammlers-planet-howard-jacobson) in “Mr. Sammler’s Planet.” But I’m sorry: I cannot let that one scene — or even two — deprive me of the symphonic reaches of “Herzog” and “Humboldt’s Gift.” What they offer, after all, becomes part of me along with everything else.

It isn’t that I don’t engage with books, films, television and theater by and about Black people. And the truth is that characters I can see as me are now not uncommon on television in particular. Andre Braugher’s Captain Holt on “Brooklyn Nine-Nine” was about as close to me as I expect a sitcom character ever to be, for example. That was fun. But honestly, I didn’t need it. I live with me. I watch TV to see somebody else.

In any case, I did buy some of the brown Band-Aids. I used one recently. OK, I get it. It’s kind of swell that one shade matches my color. I guess there’s something to its being a little less obvious that I have the Band-Aid on. But I’m also always going to keep some of the old beige ones around. I like the contrast.

John McWhorter ([*@JohnHMcWhorter*](https://twitter.com/JohnHMcWhorter)) is an associate professor of linguistics at Columbia University. He is the author of “[*Nine Nasty Words*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/624619/nine-nasty-words-by-john-mcwhorter/): English in the Gutter: Then, Now and Forever” and, most recently, “[*Woke Racism*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/696856/woke-racism-by-john-mcwhorter/): How a New Religion Has Betrayed Black America.”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Pablo Delcan FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 28, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Four Stark Lessons From a Democratic Upset; Michelle Goldberg***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66VX-MXD1-JBG3-605C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 14, 2022 Monday 17:39 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 965 words

**Byline:** Michelle Goldberg

**Highlight:** What we can learn from Marie Gluesenkamp Perez’s victory.

**Body**

When I reached Marie Gluesenkamp Perez on Monday morning, the Democratic representative-elect from Washington State was sitting on the steps of the U.S. Capitol.

Her race against Joe Kent, a stolen-election conspiracy theorist endorsed by Donald Trump, had been called on Saturday, giving her enough time to get to Capitol Hill for new-member orientation. Because of the Republican lean of her district, Washington’s Third, her victory was widely considered the biggest upset of any House contest; FiveThirtyEight’s final forecast had given her a mere 2 percent chance of winning. “A lot of people sacrificed to get me here,” she told me, speaking with particular gratitude of all the mothers who called in babysitting favors to knock on doors for her.

I’d gone to Gluesenkamp Perez’s district in September because I saw it as a [*microcosm*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/24/opinion/house-republican-elections.html) of the midterms. Kent, a Fox News regular who put a member of the Proud Boys on his payroll, had ousted Jaime Herrera Beutler, one of the 10 Republicans who voted to impeach Trump after the Jan. 6 insurrection, in the primary. Gluesenkamp Perez hoped that there would be enough moderate Republicans worried about the future of American democracy, and aghast at the end of Roe v. Wade, to offset Kent’s partisan advantage. The outcome, I thought, would tell us whether Republicans would pay any price for their extremism.

It is a profound relief to see that they have. Having spent a fair amount of time thinking about this bellwether race, I see four main takeaways from it.

1. Democrats need to recruit more ***working-class*** and rural candidates.

Gluesenkamp Perez is a young mother who owns an auto repair shop with her husband. They live in rural Skamania County, in a hillside house they built themselves when they couldn’t get a mortgage to buy one. On the trail she spoke frequently of bringing her young son to work because they couldn’t find child care. She shares both the cultural signifiers and economic struggles of many of the voters she needed to win over.

“I hope that people see this as a model,” she told me on Monday. “We need to recruit different kinds of candidates. We need to be listening more closely to the districts — people want a Congress that looks like America.”

2. Voters can see the link between abortion bans and authoritarianism.

During her campaign, Gluesenkamp Perez spoke about having a miscarriage and being forced to make her way through a wall of protesters to get medical care at a Planned Parenthood clinic. While Kent called for a national abortion ban, she appealed to her district’s libertarian streak by including both gun rights and reproductive rights in her [*promise*](https://twitter.com/MGPforCongress/status/1584586578890231810?s=20&amp;t=SCb7d7BCEcYq9HLZW65lsw) to “protect our freedoms.”

On Monday, she said that voters connected abortion bans to a broader narrative of right-wing radicalism. Even if voters thought abortion rights in Washington State were safe with Democrats in charge, the end of Roe showed that Republicans are willing to upend some basic assumptions undergirding American life. “It made people take Republicans, especially the extreme wing, seriously when they say they want to defund the Department of Education, the Department of Justice, the F.B.I.,” she said.

3. MAGA Republicans are stuck in a media echo chamber.

A common rap on liberals is that they’re trapped in their own ideological bubble, unable to connect with normal people who don’t share their niche concerns. This cycle, that was much truer of conservatives. The ultimate example of this was the Arizona Senate candidate Blake Masters, the human incarnation of a [*right-wing message board*](https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2022/08/12/blake-masters-king-of-the-trolls-00051318), who [*lauded*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/blake-masters-a-new-kind-of-politics/id1547129171?i=1000554227184) the Unabomber manifesto and put out gun fetishist [*campaign ads*](https://twitter.com/bgmasters/status/1445208944184487937?s=20&amp;t=SCb7d7BCEcYq9HLZW65lsw) that made him look like a serial killer.

Kent suffered from a similar sort of insularity. He attacked [*sports fans*](https://twitter.com/joekent16jan19/status/1493015797916225539?s=20&amp;t=fxLjeIZev300VZHNyfqSkw), suggesting it’s not masculine for men to “watch other men compete in a silly game,” a view common in corners of the alt-right but unintelligible to normies. Gluesenkamp Perez said Kent seemed shocked when, during a debate, his line about vaccines as “experimental gene therapy” didn’t go over well, which she took as a sign that he’d spent too much time “operating in the chat rooms.”

The ultimate expression of the right-wing echo chamber was the Stop the Steal movement itself. Conservatives might have been less credulous about it if they weren’t so out of touch with the Biden-voting majority.

4. Data isn’t everything.

As FiveThirtyEight’s Nathaniel Rakich [*acknowledged*](https://twitter.com/baseballot/status/1591598366089256962?s=20&amp;t=fxLjeIZev300VZHNyfqSkw) on Twitter, the site’s model didn’t take into account Kent’s personal weaknesses, and included only one post-Labor Day poll. An overreliance on a few data points made Gluesenkamp Perez’s position look weaker than it really was. Democrats I spoke to in Washington State — as well as some Republicans — believed she had a decent shot, but national Democrats seem to have remained unconvinced. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee gave her no financial support.

Democrats obviously shouldn’t disregard poll numbers or data about the partisan breakdown of the electorate. But we underestimate the human factor in politics at our peril.

“You’ve got a Trump cult-of-personality acolyte, and everybody writes off the district,” Brian Baird, a Democrat who represented the Third District from 1999 to 2011, told me in September. “But up steps this young, feisty, bright, moderate woman, with a young child, trying to run a small business, and she says, ‘I’m not going to put up with this.’” Sometimes stories tell you what statistics can’t.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** November 15, 2022

**End of Document**



[***When Ron DeSantis Takes On 'Woke Capitalism'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6712-4J51-DXY4-X1R0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 4, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 3; JAMELLE BOUIE

**Length:** 1147 words

**Byline:** By Jamelle Bouie

**Body**

With their new majority, House Republicans are planning to take on ''woke capitalism.''

''Republicans and their longtime corporate allies are going through a messy breakup as companies' equality and climate goals run headlong into a G.O.P. movement exploiting social and cultural issues to fire up conservatives,'' Bloomberg reports. ''Most directly in the G.O.P. cross hairs is the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which is under pressure from the likely House Speaker Kevin McCarthy to replace its leadership after the nation's biggest business lobby backed some Democratic candidates.''

I wrote last year about this notion of ''woke capitalism'' and the degree to which I think this ''conflict'' is little more than a performance meant to sell an illusion of serious disagreement between owners of capital and the Republican Party. As I wrote then, ''the entire Republican Party is united in support of an anti-labor politics that puts ordinary workers at the mercy of capital.'' Republicans don't have a problem with corporate speech or corporate prerogatives as a matter of principle; they have a problem with them as a matter of narrow partisan politics.

That the governor of Florida, Ron DeSantis, railed this week against the ''raw exercise of monopolistic power'' by Apple, for example, has much more to do with the cultural politics of Twitter and its new owner, Elon Musk, than any real interest in the power of government to regulate markets and curb abuse. (In fact, DeSantis argued in his book, ''Dreams From Our Founding Fathers,'' that the Constitution was designed to ''prevent the redistribution of wealth through the political process'' and stop any popular effort to ''undermine the rights of property.'')

Nonetheless, there is something of substance behind this facade of conflict. It is true that the largest players in the corporate world, compelled to seek profit by the competitive pressures of the market, have mostly ceased catering to the particular tastes and preferences of the more conservative and reactionary parts of the American public. To borrow from and paraphrase the basketball legend Michael Jordan: Queer families buy shoes, too.

Republicans have discovered, to their apparent chagrin, that their total devotion to the interests of concentrated, corporate capital does not buy them support for a cultural agenda that sometimes cuts against those very same interests.

Here it's worth noting, as the sociologist Melinda Cooper has argued, that what we're seeing in this cultural dispute is something of a conflict between two different segments of capital. What's at stake in the ''growing militancy'' of the right wing of the Republican Party, Cooper writes, ''is less an alliance of the small against the big than it is an insurrection of one form of capitalism against another: the private, unincorporated, and family-based versus the corporate, publicly traded, and shareholder-owned.'' It is the patriarchal and dynastic capitalism of Donald Trump against the more impersonal and managerial capitalism of, for example, Mitt Romney.

To the extent that cultural reactionaries within the Republican Party have been caught unaware by the friction between their interests and those of the more powerful part of the capitalist class, they would do well to take a lesson from one of the boogeymen of conservative rhetoric and ideology: Karl Marx.

Throughout his work, Marx emphasized the revolutionary character of capitalism in its relation to existing social arrangements. It annihilates the ''old social organization'' that fetters and keeps down ''the new forces and new passions'' that spring up in the ''bosom of society.'' It decomposes the old society from ''top to bottom.'' It ''drives beyond national barriers and prejudices'' as well as ''all traditional, confined, complacent, encrusted satisfactions of present needs, and reproduction of old ways of life.''

Or, as Marx observed in one of his most famous passages, the ''bourgeois epoch'' is distinguished by the ''uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions.'' Under capitalism, ''All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at least compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.''

In context, Marx is writing about precapitalist social and economic arrangements, like feudalism. But I think you can understand this dynamic as a general tendency under capitalism as well. The interests and demands of capital are sometimes in sync with traditional hierarchies. There are even two competing impulses within the larger system: a drive to dissolve and erode the barriers between wage earners until they form a single, undifferentiated mass and a drive to preserve and reinforce those same barriers to divide workers and stymie the development of class consciousness on their part.

But that's a subject for another day and a different column.

For now, I'll simply say that the problem of ''woke capitalism'' for social and political conservatives is the problem of capitalism for anyone who hopes to preserve anything in the face of the ceaseless drive of capital to dominate the entire society.

You could restrain the power of capital by strengthening the power of labor to act for itself, in its own interests. But as conservatives are well aware, the prerogatives of workers can also undermine received hierarchies and traditional social arrangements. The ***working class***, after all, is not just one thing, and what it seeks to preserve -- its autonomy, its independence, its own ways of living -- does not often jibe with the interests of reactionaries.

Conservatives, if their policy priorities are any indication, want to both unleash the free market and reserve a space for hierarchy and domination. But this will not happen on its own. The state must be brought to bear, not to restrain capital per se but to make it as subordinate as possible to the political right's preferred social agenda. Play within those restraints, goes the bargain, and you can do whatever you want. Put differently, the right doesn't have a problem with capitalism; it has a problem with who appears to be in charge of it.

There is even a clear strategy at work. If you can stamp out alternative ways of being, if you can weaken labor to the point of desperation, then perhaps you can force people back into traditional families and traditional households. But no matter how hard you try, you cannot stop the dynamic movement of society. It will churn and churn and churn, until eventually the dam breaks.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/02/opinion/mccarthy-desantis-capitalism.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/02/opinion/mccarthy-desantis-capitalism.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR3.

**Load-Date:** December 4, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Hard-Fought Journey From East Africa to an Award-Winning Detroit Restaurant; Making it work***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6815-KH71-DXY4-X442-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 15, 2023 Saturday 20:36 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** DINING

**Length:** 1574 words

**Byline:** Amy Haimerl

**Highlight:** Hamissi Mamba, a refugee from Burundi, knew little of American culture when he arrived eight years ago and learned English watching the “Peppa Pig” cartoon. But he opened his dream restaurant, and the accolades have rolled in.

**Body**

Hamissi Mamba, a refugee from Burundi, knew little of American culture when he arrived eight years ago and learned English watching the “Peppa Pig” cartoon. But he opened his dream restaurant, and the accolades have rolled in.

“Making It Work” is a series is about small-business owners striving to endure hard times.

When Hamissi Mamba arrived in Detroit from the landlocked African nation of Burundi in 2015, it was snowing. His wife, Nadia Nijimbere, was waiting for him at the airport with their 2-year-old twin daughters. He had never met his children before.

Two years earlier, his wife, a human-rights activist, had fled to the United States seeking political asylum. Unable to get a visa at the time, Mr. Mamba had to stay behind. Neither of them knew Ms. Nijimbere was pregnant.

The family was now reunited, but the journey was just beginning. The couple had to learn the culture and the food, and raise two children. Mr. Mamba, who speaks French, Swahili and Kirundi, taught himself English by watching the TV cartoon “Peppa Pig.”

He also had a big dream: to bring the food of their home country to Detroit. He competed in a local entrepreneurship program in 2017, and the couple won the $50,000 prize to help them get their restaurant started. They finally opened the doors to their airy restaurant, [*Baobab Fare*](https://baobabfare.com/), in early 2021 — in the throes of the pandemic.

The accolades have rolled in. In February, the couple were named for the second time as semifinalists for best chef in the [*James Beard awards*](https://www.jamesbeard.org/blog/the-2023-james-beard-awards-semifinalists), and in March, Mr. Mamba won an episode of “[*Chopped*](https://www.foodnetwork.com/shows/chopped),” a cooking competition on the Food Network, and with it, $10,000. Now they are donating that prize money to [*Freedom House Detroit*](https://freedomhousedetroit.org/), the nonprofit that helped Ms. Nijimbere, and other asylum seekers like her, escape persecution.

“Mamba is what you want the rest of humanity to be like,” said Elizabeth Orozco-Vasquez, the chief executive of Freedom House Detroit.

Growing up in Burundi in East Africa, Mr. Mamba, 42, learned to cook traditional regional flavors from his mother, who owned a restaurant. She taught him to cook with his senses, not just by recipes, which gave him an advantage on “Chopped” when he was confronted with proteins unfamiliar to him, like ostrich and scallops. But, he said the culinary skills that landed him on the show don’t compare to his wife’s talent.

“The best cook is not even me, it’s Nadia,” he said.

Ms. Nijimbere, 41, is not one for the limelight, though, and didn’t want to go on national television. Mr. Mamba nearly turned down the “Chopped” producers, but decided to compete himself because he felt it was important to share their food and the story of how two refugees became small-business owners.

“The American dream is still there, and people don’t believe in it anymore,” Mr. Mamba said.

But the path toward that dream wasn’t always smooth, even when they believed.

It was awkward at first, he said, to fit himself into his family, who had already learned to adjust to a new life that he was just starting. He spent long, lonely days staring out the window of their nondescript apartment in Lincoln Park, a ***working-class*** enclave just outside Detroit, while Ms. Nijimbere was at work as a hotel housekeeper and a caregiver, and the girls were at day care. Mr. Mamba was used to the bustling streets of Burundi, filled with bright colors and people, but in the bleak Detroit winter he found the streets desolate and imposing.

“Everything in this country is big,” he said. “Cars are big, roads are big, houses are big. Food are huge. Everything for me, from Burundi, was big, big, big. That was my first impression of this country.”

His only outlets to lessen his isolation were visiting Freedom House Detroit to talk with other refugees and watching animated TV shows, especially “Peppa Pig,” with his daughters as a way to improve his English. He loved that Peppa Pig’s younger brother, George, was limited in his speech, which made him feel better. “You start learning from there, like the toddler, like the kid,” he said.

It was in those early quiet months that the idea of bringing the flavors of his mother’s kitchen to Detroit started to form. Mr. Mamba, who had earned a college marketing degree in Burundi, began taking business classes through Freedom House and testing the city’s appetite for their food. He persuaded local chefs to lend him their restaurants for an evening so he could host pop-up dinners featuring his menus.

His signature dish, the one that most evokes Burundian food, is nyumbani, a cut of beef simmered in tomato sauce and served with fried plantains and peanut-stewed spinach. When Mr. Mamba heard about an annual competition hosted by the nonprofit [*Hatch Detroit*](https://hatchdetroit.com/) for small businesses to win start-up money, he knew it was his shot.

At first Ms. Nijimbere was hesitant to help him, because she thought they had no chance of winning.

“I’m crazy risk taker,” Mr. Mamba said. “I can jump from nothing, but she’s more like, ‘Whoa, wait, let’s see.’ I have to convince her.”

She finally agreed to help by cooking a batch of pilau, a rice dish with spiced beef and vegetables, and a chicken stew with onions and plantains for Mr. Mamba to submit to the Hatch judges, along with a business plan that he developed in his classes at Freedom House. The food wowed the judges, as it later did on “Chopped.”

“It was just incredible; like nothing I’d ever tasted before,” said Vittoria Katanski, who then was the executive director of Hatch Detroit. “Their personality and passion just came out in the food.”

Winning the contest, and the $50,000 prize, in 2017 — beating out nearly 160 other competitors — changed everything. It was the couple’s big moment that changed the trajectory of their business dreams.

“That was, for us, a sign that Detroit is home,” Mr. Mamba said. “These people, they never see this food before. The whole concept is new for them. But they choose us. That is powerful.”

Starting a small business is rarely easy, though, and landlords weren’t convinced that it was a smart risk to lease restaurant space to two refugees with few resources and no credit score. The couple didn’t give up hope, however, and the Hatch organization helped connect them with professionals who could offer legal and architectural services, and access to additional funding.

“Everything that has happened, I would call it a miracle,” Mr. Mamba said. “People have made this for us.”

One of those miracle workers was Sue Mosey. Her nonprofit economic development organization, Midtown Inc., agreed to lease Mr. Mamba and Ms. Nijimbere a prime spot in an emerging culinary district, just north of downtown Detroit, at a price they could afford.

Ms. Mosey said Midtown Inc. could offer below-market rates to the couple because the nonprofit had purchased a number of empty buildings in the area with the hope of filling them with tenants reflecting a variety of cultures and ethnicities.

The couple set May 2020 for the opening of Baobab Fare, named after a broad-trunked tree common to Burundi that is also known as the “tree of life.”

But before they could open, Covid-19 restrictions shut down construction.

Mr. Mamba had no income, but the bills were still coming. When Ms. Mosey called to check in, he started crying in his car, afraid she was going to evict them from their restaurant space.

Instead, she offered help. Midtown Inc. had received funds to provide free rent for a year to the small businesses in the nonprofit’s buildings, including Baobab Fare. “There are some very generous people in Detroit that stepped up to help our local independent businesses,” Ms. Mosey said.

In February 2021, Baobab Fare finally welcomed its first customers into the restaurant, a bright space with a gray-and-yellow décor. Mr. Mamba wasn’t sure anyone would come. After all, mask mandates were still in place in Michigan, coronavirus case counts were high, and the Delta variant was just beginning to sweep the country.

But another miracle happened: The place was packed. By November 2021, the popular food website [*Eater*](https://www.eater.com/c/22593864/best-new-restaurants-america-2021) named Baobab Fare one of the 11 best new restaurants in the country. In February 2022, they earned their first semifinalist nomination from the James Beard Foundation for best chef in the Great Lakes region.

Now the couple is trying to manage their growth. They see Baobab Fare as more than a business, but as a place for the entire community. They have 38 employees, mostly fellow refugees they’ve met through Freedom House Detroit. They are working on a second location and have expanded into wholesale packaged foods, such as hot sauce and a passion-fruit juice that was so in demand during the pandemic that they were selling 300 bottles a week. And they just introduced a food truck specializing in East African street foods that will make the rounds of festivals and other community events.

“We are working hard not only for us but for others,” Mr. Mamba said. “I feel like I’m not the owner now. Now this is for our staff. For our clients. For our community.”

PHOTOS: Top, from left: Baobab Fare, whose interior design includes details that celebrate Burundi architecture; Nadia Nijimbere and her husband, Hamissi Mamba, owners of the Detroit restaurant. They see Baobab Fare, which employs mostly refugees, as a place for the entire community. Above, coffee beans imported from Burundi are among the items the restaurant sells. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALI LAPETINA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page D8.

**Load-Date:** April 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Time for a Bigger Role and a Deep Breath***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67PF-G8C1-DXY4-X0M9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 5, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1296 words

**Byline:** By Chris Vognar

**Body**

Chris Chalk put his stamp on HBO's dark, dynamic ''Perry Mason'' during a key scene in the first season, when his character, the deeply conflicted beat cop Paul Drake, pays a visit to Perry's home. Paul has just danced around the truth on the witness stand to protect himself and his white superiors, and it doesn't sit well. Nor does the cash payoff he received for his obedience.

''Every day I got to wake up with this ball of fear inside of me,'' he tells Perry, the defense attorney played by Matthew Rhys. ''Gotta go put on that uniform, and go out there and play the fool.'' And the wad of cash he received? ''What they give me for being a good boy. I do not like feeling owned.''

It's a central moment in the series, which returns on Monday, a searing encapsulation of how it feels to be a principled and ambitious Black man in 1930s Los Angeles. Chalk conveys every nuance with relaxed intensity, a trait for which he is known by viewers and admired by peers.

''He vacillates between being very intense and focused about his work and just really silly and fun,'' Diarra Kilpatrick, who plays Paul's wife, Clara, said in a video interview. ''He lives between those two spaces.''

This is an exciting time for Chalk. He plays a bigger role in the new ''Perry Mason'' season, as Paul goes to work as Perry's chief investigator. He just returned from the Sundance Film Festival, where the new film in which he stars, ''All Dirt Roads Taste of Salt,'' received a mostly positive reception. He recently directed his first feature, ''Our Deadly Vows,'' in which he stars alongside his wife, K.D. Chalk.

But Chalk, like Paul, also carries a good deal of stress. During a video interview last month from his home in Los Angeles, he gulped from a large glass of corn silk tea, intended to ease some prostate issues that he said might be stress-related. He wears small bandages on a finger and a thumb, casualties of excessive smartphone use.

''It's life, isn't it?'' he said. ''We all got our things, and we just have to breathe through it and be grateful.''

For all of these slings and arrows, Chalk, 45, remains one of those actors for whom seemingly nobody has an unkind word.

''I would love to talk about how awesome Chris Chalk is, it's one of my favorite subjects!'' wrote Alison Pill, who worked with Chalk on the HBO series ''The Newsroom,'' from 2012 to 2014. ''Chris Chalk is like a one-in-a-million human,'' Kilpatrick said. ''When he walks into the makeup trailer, I'm always slightly envious-slash-borderline resentful, because he's a physical specimen,'' Rhys said in a video interview.

''And he's always very stylish -- he looks good in every sense,'' Rhys added. ''I'm always like, ah, [expletive] you, Chalk.''

Chalk, and Paul, are crucial to the mission of ''Perry Mason.'' Kilpatrick joked that the original ''Perry Mason,'' which starred Raymond Burr and aired on CBS from 1957 to 1966, was ''the favorite show of every Black grandmother in the world.'' But this is not your grandmother's show. This ''Perry Mason'' is savvy about race, gender and class -- the second season centers on two Mexican American teens charged with murdering a white businessman -- elements that were rarely front and center in the original series.

''Old-school 'Perry Mason' is lovely, but it's literally only white people, and barely any women,'' Chalk said.

The new version, which premiered in 2020, focuses on a group of three outsiders in a gritty, noir-drenched Los Angeles: Perry, a disheveled, heavy-drinking private investigator-turned attorney still traumatized by his World War I experiences; Della Street (Juliet Rylance), Perry's right hand, who is navigating the sexism of the courtroom and life as a closeted lesbian; and Paul, who is trying to do right by his conscience and his people in a time and place where the racism is out in the open.

Michael Begler, who, with Jack Amiel, assumed showrunner duties in the new season from Ron Fitzgerald and Rolin Jones, said that none of it worked without Chalk. (Fitzgerald and Jones stepped down to focus on other projects, a spokesman for HBO said; to take over, the network tapped Begler and Amiel, who had created ''The Knick'' for Cinemax, an HBO subsidiary.)

''What was great about working with him is he was constantly challenging me as the writer to get it right,'' Begler said in a video interview. ''The story that we're telling with him really lets us dive into not just the typical, 'Oh yeah, there's a lot of racism' idea. We go deeper into what he's feeling, and his ethics.

''He goes deeper, and I think that speaks to Chris and who he is as a person.''

He learned early. Chalk grew up poor in Asheville, N.C. ''Asheville is lovely for tourists, but it's a pretty racist place,'' he said. ''I definitely had shotguns put to the back of my head. I don't think there are many people who would want to trade childhoods with me.''

But his upbringing also turned out to provide unexpected training. ''I believed at that time that the only way to survive was to shift who I was depending on how dangerous of a room I was in,'' he said. ''I became very good at that.''

Chalk studied theater at the University of North Carolina Greensboro, then moved to New York, where he immersed himself in the drama world. He was a reader at Labyrinth Theater Company under the artistic director Philip Seymour Hoffman, and soon won parts of his own, culminating in the 2010 Broadway production of ''Fences'' opposite Denzel Washington and Viola Davis. Television and film followed, including roles in ''Homeland,'' ''Gotham,'' ''Detroit'' and ''When They See Us.''

There are, by most accounts, two Chris Chalks. One likes to joke around on the set and make friends. The other is an intense professional who seeks out serious conversation and cuts up his scripts and pastes the segments into an ever-ready notebook so he can make notes on each scene.

Sometimes the two Chalks converge. Pill fondly remembered Chalk engaging her to read Amiri Baraka's 1964 play ''Dutchman'' with him during downtime on the ''Newsroom'' set. The confrontational and allegorical play is about a Black man and a white woman on the New York subway.

''So many of our conversations are about race and misogyny and the world, and they also come back to why we make art, and pragmatism and reality, and what the game is,'' Pill said by phone. ''He operates on all of these different levels all the time, and hopping back and forth between them is something that I think he does really well.''

Chalk's facility for switching modes -- and codes -- sounds a lot like Paul Drake. He spends his personal life with his family in the ***working class*** Black neighborhood of South Central Los Angeles. Then he enters the world of investigating for Perry, a world that sometimes puts him at odds with his own values and other Black people, an internal conflict that comes to a head in the new season. He has definitively moved on from his identity as a go-along-to-get-along police officer.

''Paul was this ideal man, if one is behaving within the constructs of a white supremacist America,'' Chalk said. ''He was your Negro; you knew he was safe. And now, I don't know. Paul might even be, dare I say, reckless.''

Paul could stand to relax a little. So could Chalk, by his own admission. He'd like to get those prostate numbers to a better place. Reduce that cellphone usage. Maybe even tap into his lighter side a little more.

''I like to do very dark and complicated things,'' he said. But it might not be the worst idea, he ventured, to ''throw some comedy in there to relax the system a little bit.''

''The stuff I've done has largely been surrounding trauma,'' he added. ''I do enjoy doing that. But it might be time to do 'Sesame Street.'''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/02/arts/television/chris-chalk-perry-mason.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/02/arts/television/chris-chalk-perry-mason.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Chris Chalk plays a bigger role in Season 2 of ''Perry Mason,'' which encapsulates how it feels to be a principled, ambitious Black man in 1930s Los Angeles. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL TYRONE DELANEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (AR14)

Above, from left, Matthew Rhys, Chris Chalk and Juliet Rylance in a scene from ''Perry Mason.'' In Season 2, Chalk's character, Paul, has become Perry's chief investigator. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MERRICK MORTON/HBO) (AR15) This article appeared in print on page AR14.

**Load-Date:** March 5, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Hard Question of Affirmative Action and Slavery***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:684K-DFF1-DXY4-X0BP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 1, 2023 Monday 06:49 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1816 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** If there were an affirmative action program for the descendants of enslaved people, would you consider that to be race-based?

**Body**

If there were an affirmative action program for the descendants of enslaved people, would you consider that to be race-based?

During oral arguments for the biggest Supreme Court cases, the justices’ questions are often pointed, meant to advance their own view of the case. Conservative justices ask friendly questions of lawyers on the conservative side and [*burrow into the logical weaknesses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/26/us/26bar.html) of the liberal side. Liberal justices do the opposite.

The five hours of oral arguments on two affirmative action cases in October mostly fit this pattern. But, about three hours into the session, Justice Brett Kavanaugh asked a less typical question. It involved slavery, and it raised an inconvenient issue for Kavanaugh’s fellow conservatives.

“So today, a benefit to descendants of slaves would not be race-based, correct?” Kavanaugh said to Cameron Norris, a lawyer arguing for the end of race-based affirmative action.

Norris seemed caught off guard. “I — I think that’s incorrect, Justice Kavanaugh,” he said.

Kavanaugh then noted that Norris had already acknowledged that the post-Civil War benefits that formerly enslaved people received from the federal government were not race-based. Those benefits were based on their status as having been enslaved, not their skin color.

“If that’s correct, then the benefit for descendants of former slaves is also not race-based,” Kavanaugh said. “You can make other arguments if you want about that, but it does not seem to be race-based.”

The conversation quickly moved on (partly because Justice Neil Gorsuch, another conservative, moved it along). But the exchange highlighted a tension that’s likely to be central to the debate over affirmative action after the Supreme Court rules. Put simply, getting rid of race-based admissions policies may turn out to be harder than it sounds.

Today’s newsletter is the first in what will be an occasional series on the future of affirmative action. I welcome reader questions and suggestions via email at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

Grit and character

The court is expected to rule on affirmative action in June, and observers expect [*tight restrictions on race-based considerations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/31/us/supreme-court-harvard-unc-affirmative-action.html) in college admissions. The six Republican-appointed justices, including Kavanaugh, all seem opposed to the status quo, in which many colleges have different admissions criteria for different racial groups. Black, Latino and Native American applicants are now admitted with lower test scores and grades than Asian and white applicants.

But even most opponents of the current system agree that colleges should take into account some parts of an applicant’s background. Consider two teenagers: One grew up with ***working-class*** parents, attended a high-poverty high school and scored 1390 on the SAT. The other went to an elite private high school, took SAT prep classes and scored 1400. Surely, the 1390 is more impressive.

When a person has overcome hardship, as Patrick Strawbridge, another lawyer opposing racial preferences, said to the justices, “it tells you something about the character and experience of the applicant other than their skin color.”

Opponents of today’s affirmative action have tried to draw a clean distinction between racial and nonracial considerations, and the opponents are correct that colleges now use race itself as a major factor. But if the court bars that practice, colleges are likely to become more aggressive about using measures of socioeconomic disadvantage. And that’s where the situation could get tricky. Many socioeconomic measures, after all, are strongly correlated with race.

Legacy at U.N.C.

Kavanaugh’s question about slavery was jarring because the overlap was complete: An admissions policy based on a family’s history of enslavement certainly sounds like a race-based policy, without being one on paper.

Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson pointed out another example during oral arguments: For a long time universities, including public schools like the University of North Carolina, refused to enroll Black students. Jackson compared a hypothetical applicant who would be a fifth-generation U.N.C. student — and thus receive the so-called legacy boost — with an applicant whose family had lived in the state just as long but whose ancestors had been barred from attending. As Jackson asked, shouldn’t the second applicant receive a boost, too?

Both Jackson’s and Kavanaugh’s hypotheticals might seem narrow, involving discrimination that occurred long ago. But the practical questions are broader. Because of the deep racial inequities in the U.S. — caused partly by government policies like [*whites-only housing subsidies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/24/upshot/how-redlinings-racist-effects-lasted-for-decades.html) — many admission criteria based on economic disadvantage would apply disproportionately to applicants of color, especially Black applicants.

One example would be an admissions policy that gave extra consideration to a student who grew up in a family with a net worth of less than $30,000. Most Black households fall into that category; only a small share of white households do. There are even greater racial disparities in measures based on neighborhood wealth.

I’m not suggesting that criteria like these are merely dressed-up versions of today’s system. To many people, they’re more justifiable because they can apply to disadvantaged members of all races. (Here’s [*a Times profile of Richard Kahlenberg*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/us/richard-kahlenberg-affirmative-action.html), a researcher who makes that case, arguing for a new class-based system.)

Still, the legal fights will not end with a Supreme Court decision. Adam Liptak, who covers the court for The Times, says that he expects a flurry of lawsuits over what constitutes a race-based admissions policy in disguise versus a class-based policy that happens to affect different races differently.

As with abortion, a Supreme Court ruling will reshape the political debate without ending it.

Is your podcast queue empty? I enjoyed listening to the oral arguments on affirmative action, [*starting here*](https://www.supremecourt.gov/oral_arguments/audio/2022/21-707) and [*continuing here*](https://www.supremecourt.gov/oral_arguments/audio/2022/20-1199).

THE LATEST NEWS

Business

* Regulators [*seized First Republic Bank*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/business/first-republic-bank-jpmorgan.html) and sold it to JPMorgan Chase, ending the lender’s weekslong free fall.

1. The move is an attempt to curb a U.S. banking crisis after the failures of two other banks. [*Here’s what to know*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/business/first-republic-deposits-sale.html).
2. Geoffrey Hinton [*was an artificial intelligence pioneer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/technology/ai-google-chatbot-engineer-quits-hinton.html) before he quit his job at Google to warn the public of the [*dangers posed by A.I.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/technology/ai-problems-danger-chatgpt.html)
3. A push by some states to impose [*age restrictions on sites like TikTok and Pornhub*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/business/louisiana-kids-age-porn-law.html) could alter how adults experience the internet, too.
4. [*Whole Foods is closing a San Francisco store*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/us/san-francisco-whole-foods-crime-economy.html)out of safety concerns, reflecting the city’s economic and crime troubles.

International

* [*Explosions echoed in Kyiv overnight*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/world/europe/explosions-over-kyiv-as-ukraine-braces-for-broad-russian-attack.html)as Ukrainian officials warned of a large-scale Russian missile attack.

1. [*Paraguay elected Santiago Peña*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/world/americas/paraguay-election-santiago-pena.html), a conservative economist, as president, resisting the leftward shift across Latin America.

* As hospitals close and doctors flee the fighting in Sudan, the [*medical professionals who remain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/world/africa/sudan-hospitals-doctors-fighting.html) face harrowing conditions.

1. A top Iranian official shared nuclear secrets with the West as a spy for Britain, intelligence officials said. After his execution, [*his identity was revealed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/world/middleeast/british-spy-execution-iran.html).
2. Freya, the walrus killed by the Norwegian authorities last year, has been [*immortalized as a bronze sculpture*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/world/europe/freya-walrus-statue-norway.html) in Oslo.

Other Big Stories

* The [*prospect of a Trump-Biden rematch*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/01/us/politics/biden-trump-independent-voters-arizona-2024.html) is Democrats’ greatest advantage in getting people to vote. But some former Biden voters want an alternative.

1. A top adviser to New York’s governor, Kathy Hochul, [*said he would resign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/nyregion/adam-sullivan-resignation-hochul.html), citing a Times report that described a toxic work environment.
2. Hundreds of Texas officers are [*looking for the gunman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/us/texas-shooting-manhunt-victims.html) accused of killing five people after a dispute between neighbors.
3. The government is [*easing rules on past drug use*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/us/marijuana-drugs-federal-jobs.html) to help recruiters attract younger workers.
4. An elite New Jersey boarding school admitted that it had failed to [*protect a bullied student*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/nyregion/lawrenceville-school-suicide.html) who died by suicide.

Opinions

We have [*become a lonely nation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/opinion/loneliness-epidemic-america.html). It’s time to fix that, writes Vivek H. Murthy, the surgeon general.

And here are columns from David French on [*Disney v. Ron DeSantis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/opinion/disney-desantis-florida-lawsuit.html), and Jamelle Bouie on [*Republicans expelling members of state legislatures*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/29/opinion/zooey-zephyr-montana.html).

MORNING READS

Red carpet ride: Stretch limos [*aren’t cool anymore*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/business/limo-service-decline.html).

Quirky venue: Inside a [*bizarre, secret New York penthouse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/nyregion/secret-penthouse-artist-studio.html).

World Chess Championship: [*Ding Liren became the first Chinese man*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/sports/ding-liren-chess-world-championship.html) to hold the title.

Oregon: How a man became homeless in the city [*where he was once mayor.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/28/us/bend-oregon-mayor-homeless.html)

News Quiz: Take [*our latest news quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/04/28/briefing/quiz-carlson-biden-desantis.html) and share your score (the average was 8.8).

Metropolitan Diary: Women outside a psychic shop [*predict a baby’s gender*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/nyregion/metropolitan-diary.html).

Coffee subscription: A [*good one is on sale*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/reviews/atlas-coffee-club-review/).

Advice from Wirecutter: What to [*avoid on your work computer*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/blog/what-not-to-do-on-your-work-computer/).

Lives Lived: Dr. LeRoy Carhart performed late-term abortions and argued cases at the Supreme Court, undeterred by arson at his home and by the murder of a colleague. [*He died at 81*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/obituaries/dr-leroy-carhart-fierce-defender-of-abortion-rights-dies-at-81.html).

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

Game 7: Stephen Curry scored 50 points and led the Golden State Warriors to a series-clinching victory over the Sacramento Kings. He [*gave a rare speech*](https://theathletic.com/4475672/2023/04/30/stephen-curry-50-point-speech-warriors-kings/) to his team ahead of the game.

Shocking night for hockey: The [*Panthers eliminated the Bruins*](https://theathletic.com/4475812/2023/05/01/bruins-game-7-loss-patrice-bergeron/), the best regular-season team in N.H.L. history. The Colorado Avalanche — the defending Stanley Cup champions — are out as well.

Good draft, bad draft: N.F.L. draft expert Dane Brugler [*ranked draft classes*](https://theathletic.com/article/4470702) from No. 1 to 32. Philadelphia’s haul came out on top.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Embracing curls, again

The [*perm is making a comeback*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/29/style/korean-men-perm.html). But the hairstyle has changed a lot since its 1980s heyday: Instead of tight curls and loads of hair spray, the modern perm is tender and loose.

The style has long been popular in South Korea, but has grown globally since the early 2000s as Korean pop culture became more influential in the West. “I love my curls. I feel so much more self-confident,” Brendan Noji, 25, told The Times. “The waves add a lot more personality that feels a lot closer to my own.”

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

Start your week with a [*spicy egg-and-cheese on toast*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1018717-eggs-kejriwal?module=Recipe+of+The+Day&amp;pgType=homepage&amp;action=click).

What to Listen To

Our pop critic curated [*a workout playlist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/25/arts/music/amplifier-newsletter-readers-workout-songs.html) for you.

What to Read

[*The racy novel “Ex-Wife,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/30/books/she-wrote-frankly-about-divorce-and-suffered-the-consequences.html) and a new biography of its author, remind us of the brazenly talented women sidelined by convention.

Now Time to Play

The pangrams from yesterday’s Spelling Bee were pentacle, placenta and placental. Here are [*today’s puzzle*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee) and [*the Bee Buddy*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/upshot/spelling-bee-buddy.html), which helps you find remaining words.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/sudoku/easy) and [*Tiles*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/tiles).

Correction: Yesterday’s newsletter misstated the name of the president of the Philippines. He’s Ferdinand Marcos Jr., not Ferdinand Marco.

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow.

P.S. The Met Gala is tonight. [*Here’s everything you need to know*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/met-gala-theme-karl-lagerfeld.html).

And [*here’s today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2023/05/01/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

PHOTO: The Supreme Court in October during oral arguments. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Shuran Huang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** May 1, 2023

**End of Document**



[***As DeSantis Campaigns on Education, Crist Picks Teacher as Running Mate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:667Y-CX11-DXY4-X2GH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 27, 2022 Saturday 09:39 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 756 words

**Byline:** Patricia Mazzei

**Highlight:** Karla Hernández-Mats, head of the largest teachers union in the region, criticized the Republican governor for attacking educators. “This is what dictators do,” she said.

**Body**

Karla Hernández-Mats, head of the largest teachers union in the region, criticized the Republican governor for attacking educators. “This is what dictators do,” she said.

MIAMI — In choosing the head of the largest teachers union in the Southeast as his running mate, Charlie Crist, the [*Democratic nominee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/23/us/politics/charlie-crist-desantis.html) for [*Florida governor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/21/us/desantis-florida-governor-democrats.html), said he found a partner to embody the caring and empathy that he argues Gov. Ron DeSantis sorely lacks.

Mr. Crist named Karla Hernández-Mats, the president of the United Teachers of Dade, as his lieutenant governor pick on Saturday, casting the former middle school special education science teacher — who is unknown to the vast majority of Florida voters — as a passionate parent and advocate ready to govern at his side, despite her lack of experience in elective office.

Ms. Hernández-Mats has “a good heart,” Mr. Crist said in a brief interview, the first after making his decision. “That moves me more than anything, always.”

The daughter of Honduran immigrants, Ms. Hernández-Mats taught for a decade in [*Hialeah*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/us/coronavirus-florida-hialeah.html), a ***working class***, heavily Cuban American and heavily Republican city northwest of Miami. In 2010, she was named Florida’s teacher of the year. Her mother was a secretary, she said, and her father a farmworker who cut sugar cane and picked tomatoes until he landed a union job as a carpenter.

“It epitomizes the American dream,” Ms. Hernández-Mats said of her life in a separate interview, her first since becoming Mr. Crist’s running mate.

Mr. Crist said he would continue to emphasize how unaffordable the state has become under Mr. DeSantis and how the governor has restricted people’s rights, including by opposing abortion, which is now illegal in Florida [*after 15 weeks of pregnancy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/03/us/florida-abortion-ban.html).

But in selecting a teachers union leader, Mr. Crist has ensured, for better or worse, that the governor’s race will remain focused at least in part on matters of education, a topic that Mr. DeSantis, a Republican, [*has seized*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/28/us/politics/ron-desantis-florida-politics.html) as an electoral strength in the wake of the coronavirus pandemic.

Mr. DeSantis, who gained a national following for [*bucking*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/23/us/florida-surgeon-general-ladapo.html) public health experts and reopening Florida businesses and schools [*sooner than other states*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/13/us/coronavirus-florida-booming.html?searchResultPosition=1), has made “parents’ rights” a centerpiece of his message. [*He has waged cultural battles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/27/us/desantis-schools-dont-say-gay.html) against the teaching of [*gender identity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/28/us/desantis-florida-dont-say-gay-bill.html) and racism in schools. And he campaigned for 30 [*school board candidates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/24/us/politics/ron-desantis-florida-school-board.html), almost all of whom won or made it into runoffs in Tuesday’s primary election. Two of the winners were in Miami-Dade County.

The Republican Party of Florida wasted no time in criticizing Mr. Crist’s pick, saying before the campaign officially named Ms. Hernández-Mats that she represented “another slap in the face to Florida’s parents.”

“It confirms how out of touch Crist is with Florida families,” the party said in a statement on Friday.

Mr. Crist dismissed the notion that voters would agree with the criticism that sharing the ticket with a teachers union chief would somehow put him in opposition to parents.

“I believe that parents being involved is incredibly important, and teachers should also be respected for their expertise,” he said. “They’re not mutually exclusive.”

Democrats argued that Ms. Hernández-Mats could relate to voters as a working mother who understands the challenges inside classrooms. And, as a Spanish speaker, she can reach Hispanic voters whom the party [*has struggled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/21/us/miami-hispanic-voters.html) to win.

“Hispanic voters are obviously immensely critical to building a winning coalition for Democrats,” said Christian Ulvert, a Democratic political consultant in Miami who is Nicaraguan American. “The best way to go toe-to-toe is if you have someone in the community to fight back.”

In the interview, the energetic Ms. Hernández-Mats seemed eager to fulfill a running mate’s frequent role in attacking the opposing candidate.

“The state is stripping away freedoms,” she said. “Governor DeSantis doesn’t want women to choose or have autonomy over their bodies or health care. They take away one freedom and then they take away more freedom.”

“Just a few months ago, people were like, ‘Teachers are amazing!’” she added, recalling how teachers were praised for teaching online early in the pandemic. “And now we have a governor that attacks teachers and public education. To what end? This is what dictators do.”

PHOTO: By selecting a teachers union leader as his running mate in the Florida governor’s race, Charlie Crist has ensured that the campaign will remain at least partly focused on education. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Zack Wittman for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Real Reason for the Postwar Boom***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60JD-NBB1-DXY4-X099-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 9, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 7; NEWS ANALYSIS

**Length:** 1395 words

**Byline:** By Jim Tankersley

**Body**

How expanding opportunity for women, immigrants and nonwhite workers helped everyone -- and why we need to do so again.

The United States long reserved its most lucrative occupations for an elite class of white men. Those men held power by selling everyone else a myth: The biggest threat to workers like you are workers who do not look like you. Again and again, they told ***working-class*** white men that they were losing out on good jobs to women, nonwhite men and immigrants.

It was, and remains, a politically potent lie. It is undercut by the real story of how America engineered its Golden Era of shared prosperity -- the great middle-class expansion in the decades after World War II.

Americans deserve to know the truth about that Golden Era, which was not the whitewashed, ''Leave It to Beaver'' tale that so many people have been led to believe. They deserve to know who built the middle class and can actually rebuild it, for all workers, no matter their race or gender or hometown.

We need to hear it now, as our nation is immersed in a pandemic recession and a summer of protests demanding equality, and as American workers struggle to shake off decades of sluggish wage growth. We need to hear it because it is a beacon of hope in a bleak time for our economy, but more important because the lies that elite white men peddle about workers in conflict have made the economy worse for everyone, for far too long.

The hopeful truth is that when Americans band together to force open the gates of opportunity for women, for Black men, for the groups that have long been oppressed in our economy, everyone gets ahead.

I have spent my career as an economics reporter consumed by the questions of how America might revive the Golden Era of the middle class that boomed after World War II. I have searched for the secret to restoring prosperity for the sons of lumber-mill workers in my home county, where the timber industry crashed in the 1980s, or the burned-out factories along the Ohio River, where I chased politicians in the early 2000s who were promising -- and failing -- to bring the good jobs back.

The old jobs are not coming back. What I have learned over time is that our best hope to create a new wave of good ones is to invest in the groups of Americans who were responsible for the success of our economy at the time it worked best for working people.

The economy thrived after World War II in large part because America made it easier for people who had been previously shut out of economic opportunity -- women, minority groups, immigrants -- to enter the work force and climb the economic ladder, to make better use of their talents and potential. In 1960, cutting-edge research from economists at the University of Chicago and Stanford University has documented, more than half of Black men in America worked as janitors, freight handlers or something similar. Only 2 percent of women and Black men worked in what economists call ''high-skill'' jobs that pay high wages, like engineering or law. Ninety-four percent of doctors in the United States were white men.

That disparity was by design. It protected white male elites. Everyone else was barred entry to top professions by overt discrimination, inequality of schooling, social convention and, often, the law itself. They were devalued as humans and as workers. (Slavery was the greatest devaluation, but the gates of opportunity remained closed to most enslaved Americans and their descendants through Emancipation and its aftermath.)

Women and nonwhite men gradually chipped away at those barriers, in fits and starts. They seized opportunities, like a war effort creating a need for workers to replace the men being sent abroad to fight. They protested and bled and died for civil rights. And when they won victories, it wasn't just for them, or even for people like them. They generated economic gains that helped everyone.

The Chicago and Stanford economists calculated that the simple, radical act of reducing discrimination against those groups was responsible for more than 40 percent of the country's per-worker economic growth after 1960. It's the reason the country could sustain rapid growth with low unemployment, yielding rising wages for everyone, including white men without college degrees.

America's ruling elites did not learn from that success. The aggressive expansion of opportunity that had driven economic gains was choked off by a backlash to social progress in the 1970s and '80s. The white men who ran the country declared victory over discrimination far too early, consigning the economy to slower growth. Sustained shared prosperity was replaced by widening inequality, lost jobs and decades of disappointing income growth for workers of all races.

In important ways, much of the work of breaking down discrimination stalled soon after the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. ''It was fundamentally over by the time of the Reagan presidency,'' William A. Darity Jr., a Duke University economist who is one of his profession's most accomplished researchers on racial discrimination, told me. Over the past several decades, some barriers to advancement for women and nonwhite men have grown back. New ones have grown up beside them.

A host of studies illustrate this. A recent and devastating one is co-authored by a University of Tennessee economic historian, Marianne Wanamaker, who served a year in the White House on President Trump's Council of Economic Advisers. She and a co-worker went back to Reconstruction and measured how much easier it was for the sons of poor white men to climb the economic ladder than the sons of poor Black men.

In terms of economic mobility, they found, the penalty for being born Black is the same today as it was in the 1870s.

Women have made more progress in recent decades than Black men, but they are nowhere close to equality. They still earn less for the same work, and they are still blocked by harassment, discrimination and policies from reaching the same heights as white men in many of America's most important industries.

Take Silicon Valley. In 2018, venture capitalists in the United States distributed $131 billion to start-up businesses, hoping to seed the next Google or Tesla. That money went to nearly 9,000 companies. Just over 2 percent of them were founded entirely by women. Another 12 percent had at least one female founder. The rest, 86 percent, were founded entirely by men.

The statistics show tragedy. They also show opportunity. If America can once again tear down barriers to advancement, it can tap a geyser of entrepreneurship, productivity and talent, which could by itself produce the strong growth and low unemployment that historically drive up wages for the ***working class***, including ***working-class*** white men.

If you want to know where the new good jobs will come from -- those that will help millions of Americans climb back into the middle class -- this is where you should look, to the great untapped talent of America's women, of its Black men, of the highly skilled immigrants that study after study show to be catalysts of innovation and job creation.

That is not the appeal that populist politicians make to ***working-class*** white men, who have been rocked by globalization and automation and the greed of the governing class. But it should be.

All Americans have a stake in the protests for equality they see every night on the news. ***Working-class*** white men, like the guys I went to high school with, have a bond with the Black men, the immigrants and the women of all races who have taken to the streets.

The real story of America today is this: If you want to restore the greatness of an economy that doesn't work for you or your children the way that it used to, those women and men are your best shot at salvation. Their progress will lift you up.

Jim Tankersley covers economic policy in the Washington bureau of The Times. He is the author of ''The Riches of This Land: The Untold, True Story of America's Middle Class,'' from which this essay is adapted.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/06/sunday-review/middle-class-prosperity.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/06/sunday-review/middle-class-prosperity.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY AJ Dungo FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 9, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Before He Takes On ‘Woke Capitalism,’ Ron DeSantis Should Read His Karl Marx; Jamelle Bouie***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:670K-NGS1-JBG3-62KW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 2, 2022 Friday 16:54 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1141 words

**Byline:** Jamelle Bouie

**Highlight:** The churn of capitalism can be very disruptive to traditional hierarchies.

**Body**

With their new majority, House Republicans are planning to take on “woke capitalism.”

“Republicans and their longtime corporate allies are going through a messy breakup as companies’ equality and climate goals run headlong into a G.O.P. movement exploiting social and cultural issues to fire up conservatives,” [*Bloomberg*](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-11-27/new-republican-house-majority-primed-to-pick-a-fight-over-woke-capitalism?leadSource=uverify%20wall) reports. “Most directly in the G.O.P. cross hairs is the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which is under pressure from the likely House Speaker Kevin McCarthy to replace its leadership after the nation’s biggest business lobby backed some Democratic candidates.”

[*I wrote last year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/09/opinion/republicans-fake-war-against-woke-capital.html) about this notion of “woke capitalism” and the degree to which I think this “conflict” is little more than a performance meant to sell an illusion of serious disagreement between owners of capital and the Republican Party. [*As I wrote then*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/09/opinion/republicans-fake-war-against-woke-capital.html), “the entire Republican Party is united in support of an anti-labor politics that puts ordinary workers at the mercy of capital.” Republicans don’t have a problem with corporate speech or corporate prerogatives as a matter of principle; they have a problem with them as a matter of narrow partisan politics.

That the governor of Florida, Ron DeSantis, [*railed this week against*](https://nypost.com/2022/11/29/ron-desantis-backs-elon-musk-warns-apple-against-axing-twitter-from-app-store-2/) the “raw exercise of monopolistic power” by Apple, for example, has much more to do with the cultural politics of Twitter and its new owner, Elon Musk, than any real interest in the power of government to regulate markets and curb abuse. (In fact, [*DeSantis argued*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/article/ron-desantis-trumpism.html) in his book, “Dreams From Our Founding Fathers,” that the Constitution was designed to “prevent the redistribution of wealth through the political process” and stop any popular effort to “undermine the rights of property.”)

Nonetheless, there is something of substance behind this facade of conflict. It is true that the largest players in the corporate world, compelled to seek profit by the competitive pressures of the market, have mostly ceased catering to the particular tastes and preferences of the more conservative and reactionary parts of the American public. [*To borrow from and paraphrase*](https://www.vulture.com/2020/05/did-michael-jordan-say-republicans-buy-sneakers-too-yes.html) the basketball legend Michael Jordan: Queer families buy shoes, too.

Republicans have discovered, to their apparent chagrin, that their total devotion to the interests of concentrated, corporate capital does not buy them support for a cultural agenda that sometimes cuts against those very same interests.

Here it’s worth noting, as the sociologist Melinda Cooper has argued, that what we’re seeing in this cultural dispute is something of a conflict between two different segments of capital. What’s at stake in the “growing militancy” of the right wing of the Republican Party, [*Cooper*](https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/family-capitalism-and-the-small-business-insurrection) writes, “is less an alliance of the small against the big than it is an insurrection of one form of capitalism against another: the private, unincorporated, and family-based versus the corporate, publicly traded, and shareholder-owned.” It is the patriarchal and dynastic capitalism of Donald Trump against the more impersonal and managerial capitalism of, for example, Mitt Romney.

To the extent that cultural reactionaries within the Republican Party have been caught unaware by the friction between their interests and those of the more powerful part of the capitalist class, they would do well to take a lesson from one of the boogeymen of conservative rhetoric and ideology: Karl Marx.

Throughout his work, Marx emphasized the revolutionary character of capitalism in its relation to existing social arrangements. It [*annihilates*](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch32.htm) the “old social organization” that fetters and keeps down “the new forces and new passions” that spring up in the “bosom of society.” It decomposes the old society from “top to bottom.” It “[*drives beyond national barriers and prejudices*](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1857/grundrisse/ch08.htm)” as well as “all traditional, confined, complacent, encrusted satisfactions of present needs, and reproduction of old ways of life.”

Or, as Marx observed in [*one of his most famous passages*](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm), the “bourgeois epoch” is distinguished by the “uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions.” Under capitalism, “All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at least compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.”

In context, Marx is writing about precapitalist social and economic arrangements, like feudalism. But I think you can understand this dynamic as a general tendency under capitalism as well. The interests and demands of capital are sometimes in sync with traditional hierarchies. There are even two competing impulses within the larger system: a drive to dissolve and erode the barriers between wage earners until they form a single, undifferentiated mass and a drive to preserve and reinforce those same barriers to divide workers and stymie the development of class consciousness on their part.

But that’s a subject for another day and a different column.

For now, I’ll simply say that the problem of “woke capitalism” for social and political conservatives is the problem of capitalism for anyone who hopes to preserve anything in the face of the ceaseless drive of capital to dominate the entire society.

You could restrain the power of capital by strengthening the power of labor to act for itself, in its own interests. But as conservatives are well aware, the prerogatives of workers can also undermine received hierarchies and traditional social arrangements. The ***working class***, after all, is not just one thing, and what it seeks to preserve — its autonomy, its independence, its own ways of living — does not often jibe with the interests of reactionaries.

Conservatives, [*if their policy priorities*](https://www.politico.com/f/?id=0000017f-1cf5-d281-a7ff-3ffd5f4a0000) are any indication, want to both unleash the free market and reserve a space for hierarchy and domination. But this will not happen on its own. The state must be brought to bear, not to restrain capital per se but to make it as subordinate as possible to the political right’s preferred social agenda. Play within those restraints, goes the bargain, and you can do whatever you want. Put differently, the right doesn’t have a problem with capitalism; it has a problem with who appears to be in charge of it.

There is even a clear strategy at work. If you can stamp out alternative ways of being, if you can weaken labor to the point of desperation, then perhaps you can force people back into traditional families and traditional households. But no matter how hard you try, you cannot stop the dynamic movement of society. It will churn and churn and churn, until eventually the dam breaks.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

This article appeared in print on page SR3.

**Load-Date:** December 3, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Can Affluence and Affordable Housing Coexist in Colorado’s Rockies?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68YM-0921-JBG3-63KT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 17, 2023 Thursday 10:40 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 3275 words

**Byline:** Talmon Joseph Smith and Joanna Kulesza

**Highlight:** The outdoorsy lifestyle of Colorado mountain towns has become a magnet for the new remote-worker class, upending life for those already rooted there.

**Body**

In the recreation-fueled, amenity-rich economy of Colorado’s Rocky Mountain region, there are two peak seasons: summer, with its rafting, hiking, fishing and biking, and the cold months filled with skiing and other winter activities.

And then there is “mud season” — a liminal moment in spring when the alpine environment, slowly then suddenly, begins to thaw and only a trickle of tourists linger.

It’s a period that workers in other places might bemoan. But for much of the financially stretched work force serving the assemblage of idyllic mountain towns across the state, a brief drop-off in business this spring was a respite.

During a slow shift on a 51-degree day at the Blue Stag Saloon — a nook on Main Street in the vacation hub of Breckenridge — Michelle Badger, a veteran server, half-joked with her co-workers that “this winter was hell.”

Crowds were larger than ever. And workers in the [*old Gold Rush*](https://www.townofbreckenridge.com/live/heritage-history/town-history/early-settlement-and-the-gold-rush) town still enjoy the highs of the easy camaraderie and solid tips that come with service jobs in the area. But it was all sobered by the related headaches of soaring rents and acute understaffing, which left employees, managers and demanding customers feeling strained.

Working in mountain towns like Breckenridge and others in Summit County — including Silverthorne, Dillon and Frisco — would feel like a fairer bargain, Ms. Badger and her colleagues said, if they could better afford living close by.

Long commutes are common throughout America. But rental prices in hamlets among the wilderness on the outskirts of town are becoming burdensome too.

Job growth has severely outpaced the stock of shelter [*throughout Colorado*](https://commonsenseinstituteco.org/colorado-springs-housing/#:~:text=The%20housing%20deficit%20in%202022,will%20need%20to%20be%20built.). Median rent in Frisco — which a decade ago was considered a modest “[*bedroom community*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/01/realestate/mahopac-ny-a-bedroom-community-with-an-elegant-past.html)” for commuting employees — is [*about $4,000*](https://www.zillow.com/rental-manager/market-trends/frisco-co/) a month, according to Zillow, and 90 percent above the national median. Home buyers buttressed by family money abound.

The wage floor for most jobs in and around the county — from line cook to ski lift operator — is at least $18 an hour, or roughly $37,000 a year. Yet for those not lucky enough to land a rare slot in subsidized [*local employee housing*](https://www.friscogov.com/your-government/workforce-housing/frisco-workforce-housing-inventory/), it’s not uncommon to live an hour or more away to attain a livable budget.

As that happens, the contingent displaced by the rich ripples outward down rural highway corridors and, in turn, displaces the farther-flung working poor.

Inequality has always been rampant within the orbit of popular destinations. But the financial knock-on effects of those ritzy spheres have expanded as the pandemic-induced surge in remote work has supercharged divides.

Wanderlust-filled white-collar workers abruptly discovered that multiweek visits or even permanent relocations were possible for them and their families. Those seeking investment properties saw the opportunities of this hybrid-driven land rush as well, and pounced.

Longtime residents have had a front-row seat.

Matt Scheer — a 48-year-old musician who grew up on a ranch eastward in El Paso County, where “as soon as we could carry the milk bucket we were milking the cow” — is the sort of extroverted jack-of-all-trades who typifies the spirit (and the wistful brand) of Summit County.

Having moved near Breckenridge in the early 2000s to ski, hike, fly fish and work around town, he’s relieved that he managed to pick up his place in 2012 for $240,000 with a fixed-rate mortgage. Prices in his tucked-away French Creek neighborhood — a hilly, unincorporated patch with modest double-wide manufactured homes — have more than tripled.

Though he’s a loyal resident with little interest in ever moving, Mr. Scheer said he “can’t really leave.”

For a payout of tens of thousands of dollars from the local government, he recently signed onto a hefty “deed restriction” for his property, banning its use for Airbnb stays, limiting any potential renter or buyer to the work force of Summit, and limiting any potential resale price. And he did it with pride.

It’s part of a growing program led by Breckenridge and other local governments to limit gentrification without licensing a large buildup of new developments. (Deed restrictions in destination areas got off to a quieter start in the 2010s but have ticked up.)

Incumbent property owners willing to sacrifice lucrative short-term vacation rental income see it as a fair trade-off, key to keeping long-term residents and the dashing contours of their towns’ terrain. Policy critics, and frustrated local renters fighting over limited spots, say it is an inadequate tool for the scale and source of the problem: a lack of units.

Those critics include the governor of Colorado, Jared Polis, who is skeptical that lump-sum payments to owners in exchange for deed restrictions will be a sufficient incentive to broadly move the needle on affordability.

“There is no silver bullet,” he said in an interview. “But one of the areas that we have focused on is removing the barriers to additional home construction.” He added that “housing is not a problem that you can solve by throwing more money at the existing housing stock.”

His sweeping legislation to ensure “[*a home for every Colorado budget*](https://twitter.com/GovofCO/status/1641863212764127238)” by pre-empting local land-use laws and directly loosening zoning rules statewide died in the State Senate in May, after some initial momentum. All but one of the mayors in the state’s [*Metro Mayors Caucus*](https://www.metromayors.org/) issued a letter opposing the plan.

‘It’s Either Five Mil or Five Jobs’

As politicians jockey, many resourceful Coloradans find ways to make do.

Mr. Scheer, for instance, has picked up over 30 music gigs through the end of summer, paying about $100 an hour — though he acknowledges it’s his locked-in, lower housing costs that make his lifestyle workable.

During a practice jam session and impromptu afternoon party of 20- to 40-somethings at Mr. Scheer’s place in the spring, his pal and fellow guitarist, Bud Hallock (the other half of their occasional duo band, Know Good People), explained the grind people face by echoing the playfully hard-nosed aphorism uttered around town: “It’s either five mil or five jobs.”

“If you’re willing to put in the work, you’ll be able to,” argues Mr. Hallock, who moved out West shortly after graduating from St. Lawrence University in 2015. Mr. Hallock has three jobs, he said, adding, “I don’t think it’s the God-given right of anyone to come to a ski town and have it easy.”

For many longtime residents and transplants alike, it has become harder to finesse: Even as Summit County adds waves of remote workers, it has experienced [*net negative migration*](https://www.axios.com/local/denver/2023/04/10/colorado-population-growth-pandemic-census-2022) since 2020. It’s [*a trend mirrored*](https://www.denverpost.com/2023/03/30/denver-colorado-census-population-2022/?utm_email=246A6492A436D552D4B1E43EBE&amp;g2i_eui=EjYq%2FVzE7uyNuYruxQJkSYi1Z67nf32j&amp;g2i_source=newsletter&amp;lctg=246A6492A436D552D4B1E43EBE&amp;active=yesP&amp;utm_source=listrak&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_term=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.denverpost.com%2F2023%2F03%2F30%2Fdenver-colorado-census-population-2022%2F&amp;utm_campaign=denver-breaking-news&amp;utm_content=alert) in the larger urban areas of [*Denver and Boulder*](https://kdvr.com/news/data/colorado-cities-have-some-of-the-highest-shares-of-remote-workers/#:~:text=Boulder%20ranks%2018th%20in%20the,work%20from%20home%20in%202021.), where [*the*](https://www.denverpost.com/2022/04/27/boulder-work-from-home-ranking-2020/) [*share of people working remotely*](https://bouldercolorado.gov/sites/default/files/2021-08/2021-boulder-business-survey-report-final.pdf) is among the highest in the country, as homelessness rises.

Tamara Pogue, a member of Summit County’s governing board, said the mountain towns and valley cities of the Front Range near Fort Collins and Colorado Springs as well as those out by the Western Slope struggled with an “affordability issue” similar to the nation’s big cities for the same reason: “We’re supply-constrained.”

“The problem is the average cost of a single-family home in Summit County so far this year is $2.14 million,” Ms. Pogue said. “Not one job makes that affordable.”

The stock available is limited: 70 percent of homes in the county are second homes that sit vacant most of the year or serve as short-term rentals, she said, typically Airbnbs.

As a single mother of three, Ms. Pogue bought a 1,400-square-foot duplex for $525,000 in 2018 — a rarity, if not an impossibility, now. She said a determination to prevent “mountain communities” from becoming “towns without townspeople” had driven her to become a staunch YIMBY, or a “yes in my backyard” supporter of home-building efforts, against the wishes of perceived NIMBYs, or the “not in my backyard” voices.

Ms. Pogue and her allies argue that the relatively slow pace of building in the Rockies, despite the area’s popularity and rising prices, is a subtle form of denial.

“Everyone wants to be here, whether they work here or not,” she added, “and so we have this spiral.”

If, When, Where and How to Build More

A few [*affordable-housing projects*](https://www.summitdaily.com/news/silverthorn-town-officials-celebrate-competition-of-8-6-million-public-works-building/) visibly chug along in Summit near the airport service road, not far from Kingdom Park Court, one of a handful of mobile home parks in the county with pricey lot rents. But getting middle-income developments greenlit can be a slog. Many proponents of limiting development note that about 80 percent of the county is restricted federal public land, putting a ceiling on what can be done. (There’s [*a nascent pilot program*](https://www.cpr.org/2023/08/03/summit-county-to-lease-federal-land-to-build-housing-under-new-farm-bill-rules/?utm_source=www.mountainwestnews.org&amp;utm_medium=newsletter&amp;utm_campaign=ancestral-footprints) with the U.S. Forest Service to approve some apartments on leased land.) In the meantime, the well-off are gobbling up much of what’s left.

Just north of downtown Silverthorne sits Summit Sky Ranch — a sprawling development with homes starting around $1 million, with a pledge of “bringing modern mountain living to over 400 acres of pristine natural beauty” in the valley. It quickly sold out and many have moved in, lured by a private observatory and private access to a river bend.

Laurie Best, the longtime planning manager for housing in the community development department for the Town of Breckenridge, said she had emphasized deed-restriction policies and more generally trying to preserve existing units to reduce the need for new ones.

Ms. Best and her backers have acceded to some construction at a slow and steady pace, but they staunchly oppose taller, dense multifamily buildings, which are not, as she put it, “consistent with the character of the town.”

In several counties, there has been a swell in “conservation easements” — legal agreements between private landowners and local governments or land trusts [*to guard wildlife and scenic open space*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wz7Upw5vM2g&amp;t=30shttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wz7Upw5vM2g&amp;t=30s) by [*permanently*](https://cowestlandtrust.org/easements-intro/#:~:text=Conservation%20easements%20are%20perpetual%20agreements,divide%2C%20or%20subdivide%20the%20land.) banning development. The trend led the state to create a [*Division of Conservation*](https://conservation.colorado.gov/) in 2018 with an oversight commission to authenticate the contracts.

Eric Budd, a leader of a movement in Colorado called Bedrooms Are for People — which favors expanding land use and more widely permitting apartments, duplexes and triplexes — scoffs at the uptick in easements. He contends that what he tartly calls a “xenophobic attitude of ‘there’s only so much to go around’” is self-defeating.

Trying to restrict access to a hot commodity — in this case, half of a state — won’t end well for anyone, he said, and a California-level, cost-of-living crisis is only five or 10 years away.

Down in the foothills of the Rockies in Boulder, where Mr. Budd lives, school enrollment and the overall population have declined along with affordability, as [*remote-worker migration*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/06/17/upshot/17migration-patterns-movers.html) has picked up.

In some sense, the arguments against restrictionism amount to a water-balloon analogy: squeezing leads to odd bulges in random places.

Before the pandemic, Leadville, an old mining town 15 minutes from the trailhead of the highest peak in the Rockies, was an affordable harbor for ***working-class*** Hispanic employees of the nearby vacation economies: just out of reach of the affluence around Aspen to the west and resorts near Vail to the north.

Since 2020, though, Leadville has become engulfed as those realms of wealth expand and overlap, causing rents and home prices to spike beyond what many can feasibly afford over time, with few other places to go.

Second-home owners constituted half of all home sales in 2020 and 2021.

The Downside of Good Intentions

Half of Colorado renters are officially defined as cost-burdened — spending more than 30 percent of their income on housing costs. And local economists suggest that the rate has ticked even higher in mountain locales.

For Kimberly Kreissig, a real estate agent in Steamboat Springs, a year-round recreation hub with natural hot springs near Wyoming, the affordability crisis in “the high country” has no simple villain. For years, her practice in Steamboat — where the average home price is above $1 million, compared with $580,000 in early 2019 — included both upper-middle-class, first-time home buyers and luxury-market sellers.

In 2018, she and her husband, a developer, broke ground on a dense, 50-unit multifamily project in Steamboat designed for people “in that $75,000 range,” she said — “for instance, my office manager here.”

“We had grandiose plans that we were going to be able to sell these things for $300,000,” Ms. Kreissig said, but they were foiled by several factors.

Even before Covid-19 struck, “the demand was just so through the roof that people were offering us more than list price right out of the chutes,” she said, with precontract bids coming in “twice as high as we anticipated.”

Then, once lockdowns in early 2020 ended, the remote-working cohort swooped in — just as labor and material costs shot up for the contractors still finishing some units. Before long, many families she sold units to in 2019 for around $400,000 realized that because of the housing boom they had “over $300,000 in equity” in their homes — and with interest rates so low, they could parlay a different (or additional) purchase. Many apartment owners began independently flipping their units to investors and buyers of second homes who were willing to pay well above the list prices.

“One flip near the end for one of the units was for $800,000,” Ms. Kreissig said. “We tried to be the good guys.”

One way to respond to house flippers is through greater deed restriction, which Steamboat has [*enforced in a few*](https://yvha.org/deed-restricted-home-ownership/#:~:text=Steamboat%20Springs%20has%20several%20communities,income%2C%20asset%20and%20employment%20criteria.) neighborhoods, along with some [*short-term rental restrictions*](https://www.steamboatpilot.com/news/short-term-rental-regulations-in-steamboat-officially-approved/), not unlike other hot spots. The area has also benefited from the state’s Middle Income Housing Authority pilot program, which has put up a few buildings in town. But Steamboat still has a shortage of 1,400 units, [*according to a report from local authorities*](https://brownranchsteamboat.org/2022/11/04/brown-ranch-community-development-plan-2022/).

A big break came when an anonymous donor recently purchased a 534-acre farm property, Brown Ranch, and turned it over to the Yampa Valley Housing Authority, with instructions that it be used for long-term affordable housing for local workers.

It came as welcome news to the area’s middle class. And yet the sheer surprise, and luck, of the donation is indicative of broader, underlying tensions that typically drive community-level and state debates: Is more supply a threat to both cultural vibes and property price appreciation, or a win-win opportunity to flourish?

Ms. Kreissig thinks it all comes back to “the kind of ‘not in my backyard’ mentality” that a silent majority holds.

“For the people that are already ‘in,’ there’s a fair share of folks that are saying, ‘You know, ‘I’m in, we don’t we don’t need any more growth,’” she said. “But you can’t stop growth.”

Adrift Between Uphill and Down

In March 2020, Nancy Leatham, 34, was making just above the minimum wage, living with her husband and their baby daughter in Idaho Springs — a little city above 7,000 feet wedged between a steep crag and an I-70 exit, far downhill from chic resort land.

They struggled to get by “right during the height of the pandemic, when everything was shut down,” wiping out their income, she said. It felt like a repeat of her teenage years during the mortgage-induced financial crisis when her family’s business as excavation contractors — preparing sites for home construction — went belly-up, and their house was foreclosed upon.

In spring 2020, “I had to start going to food banks and stuff to get food,” she said. “And we had to sell a car, and just stuff like that to, like, to make ends meet.”

By 2021, her husband, Austin, had found a job at Walmart making $19 an hour, while she was promoted at Starbucks, becoming a manager at $18 an hour, plus bonus — and “we had our child tax credit,” she added.

“I started looking for a house because we had really great income,” roughly $80,000 before taxes, she said. “I grew up in poverty, since 2008 especially, and we’d been living with food insecurity and stuff, so I was like ‘Look at us, we made it!’”

But almost as soon as she started house hunting, she realized that, within months, the booming housing market had far outpaced the good labor market. They had been priced out of their sleepy, snowy town, after merely a few bidding wars. The average home price — $340,000 at the start of 2019 — is up 66 percent. Higher mortgage rates hurt, too.

Many of the Starbucks employees Ms. Leatham managed owned their homes rather than rented, she said, and “half left because they were able to sell their house off for considerably more than they were when they bought.”

Hoping to buy or rent something bigger than what she called a “closet” apartment, Ms. Leatham, who now has a second child, is preparing for the cold reality of “having to move downhill” — though where exactly is unclear: 15 miles down the corridor, renters and buyers run into coveted areas near Golden and Denver.

Recently, a woman visited the Starbucks Ms. Leatham works at, she said, and was dressed very much like an out-of-towner. They chit-chatted at the register, and the woman mentioned she was in town to check on a recent property purchase.

Getting her hopes up for a nicer place, Ms. Leatham pried a bit:

“I was like, ‘Oh, nice, what are you going to do with it?’ And she’s like, ‘Oh, it’s for rental.’”

“And I’m like, ‘Oh, cool.’ And then she goes, ‘Short-term rental.’”

“And then, I went ‘Dang it!’ But really loud, and I made her feel awful — I didn’t mean to make her feel that way.”

Irresistible Allure, Harsh Reality

Back up the I-70 corridor in Frisco, a sprawling Walmart parking lot often occupied by unhoused people living out of their cars and campers is tucked in front of a commercial complex with a high-end furniture store, a Whole Foods and a craft microbrewery.

It’s one of the few places for the growing homeless population to go, since overnight parking is widely banned in Summit County, even in sparse hamlets like Blue River, perched just beyond Breckenridge above 10,000 feet.

The effects of [*the global and national wealth parked*](https://www.travelandleisure.com/travel-tips/best-places-to-buy-vacation-home-in-colorado) in the Rockies often cascade downstream like the snow melt that carves the rivers. But it’s a force that can be identified in any direction.

For many, if not most, homeowners in high-country counties like Summit, the hard truth is that only so much can be done if the very idea of mountain living — experiencing nature, removed from the bustling downhill hassles of the outside world — is to be maintained.

“It’s funny, on our little block, there’s probably, you know, 10 homes — and on a beautiful day, which we have a lot of, you’ll see all of us standing out in our driveway, taking pictures,” said Ms. Best of Breckenridge’s community development department. “I must have the same picture 100 times because it’s so stunning when you go out there, and you’re still in awe of where we live. So I totally get the folks that want to be here.”

PHOTOS: Downtown Idaho Springs, Colo., where the average home price — $340,000 at the start of 2019 — is up 66 percent. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOANNA KULESZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BU1); At top, from left: downtown Breckenridge; houses among the trees in Breckenridge; and the Frisco Bay Marina in Frisco. Below right, Matt Scheer bought his house in the French Creek section of Breckenridge in 2012 for $240,000. Prices for homes in his neighborhood have more than tripled in the past decade.; Above, from far left: a construction site in Silverthorne; dining out in Steamboat Springs; a storefront in downtown Idaho Springs; the Yampa River flowing through Steamboat Springs; the Gold Mountain Village Apartments outside Idaho Springs, where Nancy Leatham, below left, and her husband live. Though the Leathams are now earning decent incomes, the booming housing market in Idaho Springs has priced them out. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOANNA KULESZA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (BU6-BU7) This article appeared in print on page BU1, BU6, BU7.

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Fever Is Breaking***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66V3-X7F1-DXY4-X2G7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 11, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 27; DAVID BROOKS

**Length:** 975 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

A convulsion has shaken America and many other Western democracies over the past few years. People became disgusted with established power, trust in many institutions neared rock bottom, populist fury rose from right and left.

On the right, in America, this manifested as Donald Trump. To his great credit, Trump reinvented the G.O.P. He destroyed the corporate husk of Reaganism and set the party on the path to being a multiracial ***working-class*** party. To his great discredit, he enshrouded this transition in bigotry, buffoonery and corruption. He ushered in an age of performance politics -- an age in which leaders put more emphasis on attention-grabbing postures than on practical change.

The left had its own smaller version of performative populism. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez became a major political figure thanks to her important contributions to Instagram. The Green New Deal was not a legislative package but a cotton candy media concoction. Slogans like ''Abolish ICE'' and ''Defund the police'' were not practical policies, just cool catchphrases to put on posters.

The populist convulsion had its moment, but on the left, prominent Democrats tried to harness its energy while reining in its unelectable excesses. In 2020, James Clyburn threw his weight behind an establishmentarian moderate, Joe Biden. That year, after progressives appeared to cost the Democrats several House seats with randy talk of socialism, moderate Democrat Abigail Spanberger roasted the left and was one of those who helped pull the party back toward the center on crime and other issues. Biden rejected the performative style of the populist moment while harnessing some progressive ideas.

Performative populism has begun to ebb. Twitter doesn't have the hold on the media class it had two years ago. Peak wokeness has passed. There seem to be fewer cancellations recently, and less intellectual intimidation. I was a skeptic of the Jan. 6 committee at first, but I now recognize it's played an important cultural role. That committee forced America to look into the abyss, to see the nihilistic violence that lay at the heart of Trumpian populism.

The election of 2022 marked the moment when America began to put performative populism behind us. Though the results are partial, and Trump acolytes could still help Republicans control Congress, this election we saw the emergence of an anti-Trump majority.

According to a national exit poll, nearly 60 percent of voters said they had an unfavorable view of Trump. Almost half of the voters who said they ''somewhat disapprove'' of Biden as president still voted for Democrats, presumably because they were not going to vote for Trumpianism. In a Reuters/Ipsos poll in September, 58 percent of respondents said that the MAGA movement was threatening America's democratic foundations.

The single most important result of this election was the triumph of the normies. Establishmentarian, practical leaders who are not always screaming angrily at you did phenomenally well, on right and left: Mike DeWine in Ohio, Josh Shapiro in Pennsylvania. Workmanlike incumbents from John Thune in South Dakota to Ron Wyden in Oregon had successful nights. Gov. Tony Evers of Wisconsin had the quotation that summarized the election: ''Boring wins.''

Americans are still deeply unhappy with the state of the country, but their theory of change seems to have begun to shift. Less histrionic media soap opera. Less existential politics of menace. Let's find people who can get stuff done.

The telling election results were at the secretary of state level. The America First Secretary of State Coalition features candidates who rejected the 2020 election results and who would have been a threat to election integrity if they had won Tuesday. Most either lost or seem on their way to losing. Meanwhile, Brad Raffensperger, the secretary of state of Georgia who stood up to Trump's bullying, won by a wide margin.

Because Democrats restrained their more extreme tendencies while Republicans didn't, they held their own among independents in a year that could have been a G.O.P. romp. On abortion and many other issues, the median voter rule still applies. If you can get toward the spot where moderate voters reside, you will win elections.

To be clear, I am not saying the fever has broken within the minds of those in the MAGA movement. I am not saying MAGA Republicans won't unleash a lot of looniness in the next Congress. I am saying voters have built a wall around that movement to make sure it no longer wins the power it once enjoyed. I am saying voters have given Republicans clear marching orders -- to do what Democrats did and beat back the populist excesses on their own side.

There are two large truths I'll leave you with. The first is that both parties are fundamentally weak. The Democrats are weak because they have become the party of the educated elite. The Republicans are weak because of Trump. The Republican weakness is easier to expunge. If Republicans get rid of Trump, they could become the dominant party in America. If they don't, they will decline.

Second, the battle to preserve the liberal world order is fully underway. While populist authoritarianism remains a powerful force worldwide, people, from Kyiv to Kalamazoo, have risen up to push us toward a world in which rules matter, practicality matters, stability and character matter.

As Irving Kristol once wrote, the people in our democracy ''are not uncommonly wise, but their experience tends to make them uncommonly sensible.''

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/the-fever-is-breaking.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/the-fever-is-breaking.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A27.

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Real Reason the American Economy Boomed After World War II; NEWS ANALYSIS***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:60HS-5YT1-DXY4-X0N6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 6, 2020 Thursday 13:52 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** SUNDAY-REVIEW

**Length:** 1393 words

**Byline:** Jim Tankersley

**Highlight:** How expanding opportunity for women, immigrants and nonwhite workers helped everyone — and why we need to do so again.

**Body**

How expanding opportunity for women, immigrants and nonwhite workers helped everyone — and why we need to do so again.

The United States long reserved its most lucrative occupations for an elite class of white men. Those men held power by selling everyone else a myth: The biggest threat to workers like you are workers who do not look like you. Again and again, they told ***working-class*** white men that they were losing out on good jobs to women, nonwhite men and immigrants.

It was, and remains, a politically potent lie. It is undercut by the real story of how America engineered its Golden Era of shared prosperity — the great middle-class expansion in the decades after World War II.

Americans deserve to know the truth about that Golden Era, which was not the whitewashed, “Leave It to Beaver” tale that so many people have been led to believe. They deserve to know who built the middle class and can actually rebuild it, for all workers, no matter their race or gender or hometown.

We need to hear it now, as our nation is immersed in a pandemic recession and a summer of protests demanding equality, and as American workers struggle to shake off decades of sluggish wage growth. We need to hear it because it is a beacon of hope in a bleak time for our economy, but more important because the lies that elite white men peddle about workers in conflict have made the economy worse for everyone, for far too long.

The hopeful truth is that when Americans band together to force open the gates of opportunity for women, for Black men, for the groups that have long been oppressed in our economy, everyone gets ahead.

I have spent my career as an economics reporter consumed by the questions of how America might revive the Golden Era of the middle class that boomed after World War II. I have searched for the secret to restoring prosperity for the sons of lumber-mill workers in my home county, where the timber industry crashed in the 1980s, or the burned-out factories along the Ohio River, where I chased politicians in the early 2000s who were promising — and failing — to bring the good jobs back.

The old jobs are not coming back. What I have learned over time is that our best hope to create a new wave of good ones is to invest in the groups of Americans who were responsible for the success of our economy at the time it worked best for working people.

The economy thrived after World War II in large part because America made it easier for people who had been previously shut out of economic opportunity — women, minority groups, immigrants — to enter the work force and climb the economic ladder, to make better use of their talents and potential. In 1960, [*cutting-edge research*](http://klenow.com/HHJK.pdf) from economists at the University of Chicago and Stanford University has documented, more than half of Black men in America worked as janitors, freight handlers or something similar. Only 2 percent of women and Black men worked in what economists call “high-skill” jobs that pay high wages, like engineering or law. Ninety-four percent of doctors in the United States were white men.

That disparity was by design. It protected white male elites. Everyone else was barred entry to top professions by overt discrimination, inequality of schooling, social convention and, often, the law itself. They were devalued as humans and as workers. (Slavery was the greatest devaluation, but the gates of opportunity remained closed to most enslaved Americans and their descendants through Emancipation and its aftermath.)

Women and nonwhite men gradually chipped away at those barriers, in fits and starts. They seized opportunities, like a war effort creating a need for workers to replace the men being sent abroad to fight. They protested and bled and died for civil rights. And when they won victories, it wasn’t just for them, or even for people like them. They generated economic gains that helped everyone.

The Chicago and Stanford economists calculated that the simple, radical act of reducing discrimination against those groups was responsible for more than 40 percent of the country’s per-worker economic growth after 1960. It’s the reason the country could sustain rapid growth with low unemployment, yielding rising wages for everyone, including white men without college degrees.

America’s ruling elites did not learn from that success. The aggressive expansion of opportunity that had driven economic gains was choked off by a backlash to social progress in the 1970s and ’80s. The white men who ran the country declared victory over discrimination far too early, consigning the economy to slower growth. Sustained shared prosperity was replaced by widening inequality, lost jobs and decades of disappointing income growth for workers of all races.

In important ways, much of the work of breaking down discrimination stalled soon after the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964. “It was fundamentally over by the time of the Reagan presidency,” William A. Darity Jr., a Duke University economist who is one of his profession’s most accomplished researchers on racial discrimination, told me. Over the past several decades, some barriers to advancement for women and nonwhite men have grown back. New ones have grown up beside them.

A host of studies illustrate this. A [*recent and devastating one*](http://klenow.com/HHJK.pdf) is co-authored by a University of Tennessee economic historian, Marianne Wanamaker, who served a year in the White House on President Trump’s Council of Economic Advisers. She and a co-worker went back to Reconstruction and measured how much easier it was for the sons of poor white men to climb the economic ladder than the sons of poor Black men.

In terms of economic mobility, they found, the penalty for being born Black is the same today as it was in the 1870s.

Women have made more progress in recent decades than Black men, but they are nowhere close to equality. They still earn less for the same work, and they are still blocked by harassment, discrimination and policies from reaching the same heights as white men in many of America’s most important industries.

Take Silicon Valley. In 2018, venture capitalists in the United States distributed $131 billion to start-up businesses, hoping to seed the next Google or Tesla. That money went to nearly 9,000 companies. Just over 2 percent of them were founded entirely by women. Another 12 percent had at least one female founder. The rest, 86 percent, were founded entirely by men.

The statistics show tragedy. They also show opportunity. If America can once again tear down barriers to advancement, it can tap a geyser of entrepreneurship, productivity and talent, which could by itself produce the strong growth and low unemployment that historically drive up wages for the ***working class***, including ***working-class*** white men.

If you want to know where the new good jobs will come from — those that will help millions of Americans climb back into the middle class — this is where you should look, to the great untapped talent of America’s women, of its Black men, of the highly skilled immigrants that study after study show to be catalysts of innovation and job creation.

That is not the appeal that populist politicians make to ***working-class*** white men, who have been rocked by globalization and automation and the greed of the governing class. But it should be.

All Americans have a stake in the protests for equality they see every night on the news. ***Working-class*** white men, like the guys I went to high school with, have a bond with the Black men, the immigrants and the women of all races who have taken to the streets.

The real story of America today is this: If you want to restore the greatness of an economy that doesn’t work for you or your children the way that it used to, those women and men are your best shot at salvation. Their progress will lift you up.

Jim Tankersley covers economic policy in the Washington bureau of The Times. He is the author of “[*The Riches of This Land: The Untold, True Story of America’s Middle Class*](http://klenow.com/HHJK.pdf),” from which this essay is adapted.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](http://klenow.com/HHJK.pdf) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](http://klenow.com/HHJK.pdf). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](http://klenow.com/HHJK.pdf).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](http://klenow.com/HHJK.pdf), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://klenow.com/HHJK.pdf) and [*Instagram*](http://klenow.com/HHJK.pdf).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY AJ Dungo FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 9, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Where the Cool Kids No Longer Go***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:68BB-W4B1-JBG3-652W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 28, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section RE; Column 0; Real Estate Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1978 words

**Byline:** By Anna Kodé

**Body**

The summer resort has lost its cool among younger people who are turned off by housing rules, housing costs and the culture of conspicuous wealth.

For years, the Hamptons were a hot summer destination for young, up-and-coming New Yorkers and the old and new moneyed alike. It was a place to see and be seen. Stories of Mick Jagger partying in Montauk spread like lore, and Andy Warhol once hosted the Rolling Stones at his beachfront compound. It wasn't uncommon for young college graduates in the city to save up and pool together to rent a summer house and get a taste of the glamour.

In a 1999 interview with New York Magazine, Jay-Z put it simply: ''I mean, the Hamptons is cool.''

The Hamptons still have a mythological reputation, fueled by the celebrity cachet that comes with square footage, seclusion and ocean waves. ''Kaia Gerber, Ina Garten and Diplo walk into a bar -- that is to say, the Hamptons holds a certain, je ne sais quoi? Where else would these mega names be in the same sentence?'' said Jacob Rutledge, a 22-year-old model and content creator.

But the Hamptons are not what they once were. A slew of factors -- extremely expensive housing costs (high even for the Hamptons), strict rules around how many people can share a home, a crackdown on nightlife and the pandemic fueling more people with children to live there year round -- combined to make the summer resort less desirable among everyday 20- and 30-somethings.

Despite his instinct to marvel at the Long Island refuge, Mr. Rutledge, who lives in Ridgewood, Queens, isn't going out to the Hamptons this summer. Instead, he'll be close by at Fire Island.

''There's a certain air when you take the boat to Fire Island, like a school bus taking these gay men to an amusement park,'' said Mr. Rutledge. ''The culture that Fire Island provides will always be the reason it stays in style. When I'm 50 plus, find me in the Hamptons.''

Even Gen Z's favorite 80-something icon and recent Sports Illustrated swimsuit issue cover star, Martha Stewart, has divested, selling her East Hampton estate in 2021 for $16.5 million.

How Did the Hamptons Become the Hamptons?

The hipness of the Hamptons has always been cyclical, defined by whoever was trying to take control of it next -- going from bohemian cool, upscale art world cool and eventually to glamour and glitterati cool.

Over the decades, new groups of people would come to the Hamptons and try to make the resort theirs, warping and grooming them to fit their own unique needs and desires. ''The continuity in the Hamptons is that really wealthy people are looking to find something new to conquer,'' said Corey Dolgon, the author of ''The End of the Hamptons'' and a professor of sociology at Stonehill College.

Sometime after the existence of Pangea but before Gwyneth Paltrow bought a place there, the Hamptons formed as a region on the southeastern end of Long Island, surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean -- as in, there's a lot of desirable waterfront real estate.

Before European colonizers arrived in the 1600s, Native Americans, including the Shinnecock and Montauk tribes, occupied much of Eastern Long Island. The outsiders co-opted Indigenous values and culture, enforced a money economy and introduced a patriarchal system of governance, Mr. Dolgon said. Clashes over land use between the newcomers and Indigenous people continue today. Wealthy residents and local officials have objected to the Shinnecock people's construction of highway billboards and plans to open a casino on its reservation -- both attempts to dampen the high poverty rate they face.

Centuries later, another early wave of outsiders -- artists and writers -- descended on the land. In the late 1800s, Walt Whitman published several works on his fascination with the natural wonder of the Hamptons. In an article in The Brooklyn Standard, he wrote, ''To a mineralogist, I fancy Montauk Point must be a perpetual feast. Even to my unscientific eyes there were innumerable wonders and beauties all along the shore, and edges of the cliffs.''

Such descriptions ''encouraged people -- especially the Bohemian, artist types and young people with money -- to go out to this unspoiled land,'' Mr. Dolgon said.

The migration of artists then began to entice the wealthy to build summer cottages there, Mr. Dolgon said.

In the post World War II era, the Hamptons drew a new group of artists. With a loan from Peggy Guggenheim, in 1945 Lee Krasner and Jackson Pollock bought a home in the East Hampton hamlet of Springs for $5,000.

The postwar economic boom, along with the construction of the urban planner Robert Moses' highways along Long Island, allowed for people of means to go out to the Hamptons more frequently and for shorter stretches of time, Mr. Dolgon pointed out.

The reputation of the Hamptons as a weekend getaway and summer vacation spot continued to grow, and by the 1990s and 2000s, ''everybody wants a piece of the Hamptons,'' Mr. Dolgon said. The dot-com boom and the rise of telecommuting led to ''a new wave of money trying to put their imprimatur on the land.''

This is when the Hamptons become fashionable in an aspirational sense, and college graduates would save up to rent summer homes together. ''For people who are up and coming,'' Mr. Dolgon said, ''they have to have a place in the Hamptons.''

In 1998, Diddy threw the first of his strictly all-white-dress-code parties at his East Hampton home, which Paris Hilton called ''iconic.'' The next year, Ivana Trump and Busta Rhymes sat together at Jay-Z's Fourth of July soiree. One tabloid story that epitomized the craze at the time was of Lizzie Grubman, a publicist who New York Magazine crowned the ''reigning queen of New York nightlife.'' In 2001, after a fight with a bouncer outside of a club in Southampton, Ms. Grubman backed her Mercedes into a crowd of partygoers. It would become known as the ''Summer of Lizzie.''

So, Then What Happened?

Now, it's more likely to be coined the summer of sleepiness.

Last summer, when Ms. Paltrow's daughter, Apple Martin, threw a bash at their Amagansett estate, cops reportedly shut it down. But Ms. Paltrow's Cartier-sponsored pajama party, where ''sleep milk'' was handed out as a party favor, didn't ruffle any feathers.

Decades back, towns began rolling out rules that would regulate the revelry. In 1975, East Hampton adopted legislation that barred groups of more than four unrelated people from living together in houses. Southampton has restrictions specifically on the number of people that can occupy bedrooms.

For a while, many looked the other way as friends, lovers and strangers split the cost of a summer house more than a dozen ways -- sharing rooms, mattresses and more. In an episode of ''Sex and the City,'' Samantha Jones tells her friends about her 25-year-old assistant, who has ''a summer share in Bridgehampton with 18 other girls. They have to sleep in shifts.''

Such a setup would be difficult to come by today, as residents began demanding stricter enforcement of the longtime laws. ''The long tradition of dozens of young people crowding into a Hamptons house for a summer of wild abandon is under attack,'' The Times reported in 2003, following several police raids, neighbors spying on each other and Southampton imposing tougher penalties for violators.

In a clampdown reminiscent of ''Footloose,'' even dancing can be punishable.

Shagwong Tavern, an unfussy, old-school restaurant and bar in Montauk that dates back to the 1920s, was a haunt visited by John Lennon, Bianca Jagger and Andy Warhol. ''Get Off of My Cloud'' by The Rolling Stones blasted from the jukebox, and people shimmied shoulder to shoulder into the A.M.

Present day, a sign out front reads ''piano player wanted must have knowledge of opening clams.'' All walks of life have known that they can come together there through music.

''It's for everybody -- the fisherman, the Wall Street guy, the celebrity, the contractor,'' said Jon Krasner, who bought the tavern in 2015.

Last year, a building inspector ruled that moving furniture to allow dancing meant that Shagwong was illegally operating as a nightclub, which is a special permitted use in the region.

''We're not going to make money being the best filet mignon place in town. We're a bar,'' Mr. Krasner said. ''If people want to listen to a band and dance, then hell yeah, that's what a bar is for.''

Rumors of 'Fancy People'

But who are the Hamptons for?

It's a given these days that it takes money to enjoy the Hamptons. During the pandemic, many New Yorkers moved to the Hamptons full-time and the region's D.N.A. changed -- more businesses stayed open year round, and school enrollment went up. According to census data, the population of East Hampton rose by more than 30 percent from April 2010 to April 2021.

Prices went up even more. For the first quarter of 2023, the average sales price of a home reached a record-breaking $3.08 million, according to Douglas Elliman. Rentals aren't cheap either. ''For a relatively updated three-bedroom house with a pool, you're looking at like $1,000 a night,'' said Joseph Van Asco, a broker. ''The high end begins around $100,000 a month.''

''Housing is probably the number one driver of why the 20s and 30s are sort of retreating from the Hamptons,'' said Britton Bistrian, an Amagansett-based land-use consultant. ''A share house, back in the day in the '80s and '90s and even into the 2000s, was something that was attainable to a young professional. And I would say that it's not anymore. They've been priced out just as much as ***working class*** people have been priced out.''

Demand is going down. There have been reports that summer rental prices are dropping, as there are more homes in the region than people willing to rent them. But that might not be enough to draw back trendy young folks.

The Hamptons represent a conspicuous wealth that isn't as celebrated as it may have been in the 1990s and 2000s. The media we consume is largely dominated by eat-the-rich plotlines -- think, ''Triangle of Sadness,'' ''The Menu,'' and ''White Lotus.'' So maybe it's not unanticipated that young people would have little interest in conforming to the lifestyle of the Hamptons.

''I think of the Hamptons as a vacation spot for a certain subset of affluent New Yorkers who probably use 'summer' as a verb rather than a noun,'' said Jade Song, a 26-year-old art director and the author of ''Chlorine: A Novel.'' She won't be leaving New York this summer, but will still get her beach fix -- ''I will be eating vareniki, lagman and khachapuri at Brighton Beach,'' Ms. Song said.

Sunny Hostin, 54, a co-host on ABC's ''The View'' and an author, also used to feel that same way. When she was in her 20s, Ms. Hostin ''had heard rumors of this place where fancy people visited.''

Even though she was intrigued, Ms. Hostin wasn't in a rush to visit at first. ''It didn't have the reputation, in my view, as a haven for people of color,'' she said. ''While inviting, in my mind, because it was this glitzy, wealthy, rich place, I didn't really gravitate toward it at first, because I didn't know if it was a fit for me.''

But her opinion changed in her 30s, when she discovered the historically Black beach community known as SANS in Sag Harbor. She began renting a home there during the summer months, and it quickly became a tradition. ''I have memories of clam digging in the bay, searching for crabs with my kids,'' she said. ''I have real history there now.''

Inspired by these experiences, Ms. Hostin wrote ''Summer on Sag Harbor,'' set in SANS. She hopes it can help change young people's minds about the Hamptons. ''I can't believe I felt that way,'' Ms. Hostin said. ''They need to visit A.S.A.P., even if it's just for a day -- one day is all you need to know that you belong there.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/26/realestate/hamptons-summer-housing-costs.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/26/realestate/hamptons-summer-housing-costs.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page RE6.

**Load-Date:** May 28, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Erika L. Sánchez Wishes More Authors Would Write About Money; By the Book***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65W1-TSD1-JBG3-64S5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 7, 2022 Thursday 09:23 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1440 words

**Highlight:** “I grew up ***working class*** and money was a factor in everything we did,” says the poet and novelist, whose new book is the memoir “Crying in the Bathroom.” “That’s why I always write about the financial realities of my characters.”

**Body**

What books are on your night stand?

“Memphis,” by Tara M. Stringfellow, “The School for Good Mothers,” by Jessamine Chan, and “All the Flowers Kneeling,” by Paul Tran.

What’s the last great book you read?

“The Love Songs of W.E.B. Du Bois,” by Honorée Fanonne Jeffers. Oh my goodness, it blew me away. It was devastating, but I couldn’t stop reading it. It still haunts me.

Describe your ideal reading experience (when, where, what, how).

I love, love, love reading in bed freshly showered, preferably when it’s warm enough to open a window. Bonus points for the sound of rain and rustling leaves. It’s not always possible now because I have an 18-month-old baby and I am so very tired when I go to bed. Gone are the days of reading marathons until the wee hours. I used to literally sleep with books when I was single. I also read a lot in my office in the attic. I make a nest on my rug with blankets and pillows and other books. No one besides my husband is allowed to come up to my office unless they ask me for permission. A room of my own, you know? I’m a bit of an attic witch.

What’s your favorite book no one else has heard of?

“Story of the Eye,” by Georges Bataille. What in the world? LOL This was a doozy! I read it in high school and I’ve never forgotten it. Perhaps “favorite” is a strong word. More sexually bizarre than anything else. It was unforgettable, that’s for sure.

Which writers — novelists, playwrights, critics, journalists, poets — working today do you admire most?

Oh boy. This question brings me both joy and anxiety. Let me try: Jesmyn Ward, Rebecca Solnit, Rigoberto González, Eduardo C. Corral, María Inés Zamudio, Reyna Grande, Phillip B. Williams, Jaxin Jackson, Isaac Gómez, Safiya Sinclair, Maria Hinojosa, Arundhati Roy, Paul Tran, Sandra Cisneros, Jennifer Fitzgerald, Louise Erdrich, Diane Seuss, Samantha Irby, Jason Reynolds, Natasha Tretheway, Jhumpa Lahiri, Zadie Smith, Prisca Dorcas Mojica Rodríguez, Pema Chodron and countless others.

Your new book is a memoir, but you’ve also published poetry and young adult fiction. What other cross-genre writers do you particularly recommend?

Elizabeth Acevedo is a national treasure. She does so many things well while being a lovely person. Read everything she writes. My friend Safiya Sinclair is also extraordinary. She’s an incredible poet whose memoir will be out soon. I’ve had a glimpse of it, and I can’t wait to read the rest. Poets really know how to write a sentence. But I’m biased, of course.

What distinguishes young adult literature from adult literature, for you?

I think it would have to be voice. Young people need to be able to connect to the protagonist on a deep level, and that means understanding their worldview at that age as well as capturing what they truly sound like. That’s why Y.A. is usually written in first person. I think you must write Y.A. with your inner teenager at the forefront of your mind. You need to remember how incredibly uncomfortable it can be to simply exist. The language should also be accessible but still spicy. Kids really do see through our bull and have shorter attention spans.

Do you count any books as guilty pleasures?

Sometimes I keep reading books that I think are terrible because it’s weirdly satisfying to me. There was a book, for instance, that I threw across the room because it was so poorly written. It hurt my feelings. But then I kept reading it and telling my boyfriend how bad it was. It was a “Sex and the City” rip-off with Latina characters that felt very one-dimensional. I’ll leave it at that.

You used to write an advice column about sex and love. What authors are especially good on those topics?

Toni Morrison writes about sex and desire in a way that makes me want to close the book and pray to the sky. “Paradise” comes immediately to mind. The way Lisa Taddeo in “Animal” writes about sex makes me gasp and shudder. That book blew my mind.

What’s the most interesting thing you learned from a book recently?

I’ve been reading about the horrors of slavery since I was a child. As a girl, I read all sorts of books that were not appropriate for my age. However, there were some forms of violence that I had never read about until “The Love Songs of W.E.B. Du Bois.” That book was an emotionally difficult but necessary read. There were details that I can’t share here out of context because they were so horrific, but the intergenerational trauma I learned about in this text left me shaken and angry.

Which subjects do you wish more authors would write about?

Money. White authors often write about money (or don’t) in a way that disregards the realities of most people. It’s as if they assume that everyone simply has it. Or at least their readers. I remember reading “Fear of Flying,” by Erica Jong, many years ago, for instance, and getting very angry when the protagonist went to Europe for months with no concern for money or a job. I assumed she was relying on family money, but it was never explained. It took me out of the text because I couldn’t get over it. Maybe it’s because I grew up ***working class*** and money was a factor in everything we did. Marginalized people could never in their wildest dreams make these kinds of choices. That’s why I always write about the financial realities of my characters. I don’t expect everyone to assume what they are. Those details really matter to me.

What moves you most in a work of literature?

A beautiful image can really knock the mess out of me. I’m a poet before anything, so I need all my senses to be awakened in anything I read. The tiniest details make a world of difference.

Do you prefer books that reach you emotionally, or intellectually?

I need them to intersect. A good book for me will make me think and feel deeply — and likely cry, likely startling my family.

How do you organize your books?

I don’t! Most of them are in my attic shelved willy-nilly because I’m disorganized as hell. Every time I need a book, I have to scan all my shelves and piles throughout the house to find it and it takes an eternity. It causes me anxiety when I really need to refer to a book and I can’t find it. I have paid my stepkids small sums to find books for me. I have notions of organizing them by genre and then arranged alphabetically, but I don’t know when I will ever have the bandwidth to actually do it. Perhaps I’ll just wait until I can ask my daughter to be the family librarian. She’s currently 18 months old.

What book might people be surprised to find on your shelves?

Probably Gillian Flynn books. I’m typically not into thrillers, but her books are so pleasurable to read. I can stay up all night reading them because I simply can’t live without knowing what happens next. Her women characters are so flawed and broken and interesting. Those are my favorite kind of characters for reasons that are probably very obvious.

Who is your favorite fictional hero or heroine? Your favorite antihero or villain?

Ifemelu from “Americanah,” by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, and Amy Dunne from “Gone Girl,” by Gillian Flynn. Complicated ladies, am I right?

How have your reading tastes changed over time?

I always try to read widely, so I don’t know that my tastes have changed much. My interests are all over the place. I just love beautifully written books that will enrich my life in some form, usually written by women. Recently, I did try to incorporate more fantasy books into my life since I teach many of students who are interested in the genre, but I realized that I’m simply not built for it. None of it sticks in my brain. I have a hard time entering completely invented worlds. I need to be more grounded in something I recognize. I think it’s a “me” problem.

You’re organizing a literary dinner party. Which three writers, dead or alive, do you invite?

Toni Morrison, James Baldwin and Gabriel García Márquez. They’ve all been major influences on my work. Imagine the banter! The cackles! The shade! The clouds of cigarette smoke!

What books are you embarrassed not to have read yet?

An entire book by Borges, “The New Jim Crow,” by Michelle Alexander, “Pedro Páramo,” by Juan Rulfo, and “To the Lighthouse,” by Virginia Woolf. They are all hovering over me making me feel like a bad literary citizen. I used to be slightly ashamed of never having read Harry Potter, but I have made peace with it now. It’s not my thing. Honestly, I always feel under-read. I don’t think that will ever change for me. I have mountains of books in my office that I’m eager to take on but have little time for.

What do you plan to read next?

“The 1619 Project.” It feels like a very urgent read right now.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Rebecca Clarke FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 11, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Why Aren’t You Voting in Your Financial Self-Interest?; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66CR-TCG1-JBG3-60SC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 14, 2022 Wednesday 11:08 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3145 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall

**Highlight:** The conflict between elites and populists may not be what it seems.

**Body**

Why do millions of Americans on both the right and the left ignore their own economic interests when they choose which political party to support?

Partisan prioritization of cultural and racial issues has, to a notable extent, superseded the economic conflicts that once characterized the nation’s politics, leading to what scholars call a dematerialization of American electoral competition.

On the right, millions of working- and middle-class white people have shifted their focus away from the goal of income redistribution — an objective Democrats have customarily promoted — to support the Republican preference for traditional, even reactionary, sociocultural values. At the same time, college-educated white voters have come to support tax and spending initiatives that subordinate their own financial interests in favor of redistribution and liberal social values.

[*Benjamin Enke*](https://benjamin-enke.com/) and [*Alex Wu*](https://www.hbs.edu/faculty/Pages/profile.aspx?facId=1239265#:~:text=Alex%20Wu%20is%20a%20doctoral,in%20the%20Business%20Economics%20program.), economists at Harvard, and [*Mattias Polborn*](https://my.vanderbilt.edu/polborn/), a political scientist at Vanderbilt, capture the rationale underlying this push-me, pull-you cycle in their April paper, “[*Morals as Luxury Goods and Political Polarization*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w30001)”:

The logic is that when the rich get disproportionately richer, they place a higher weight on moral considerations, which induces some rich moral liberals to swing Democratic. This, in turn, induces the parties to polarize on social issues because their voter bases have now both become more extreme. Faced with such socially increasingly polarized parties, a poor, morally conservative voter may well become more likely to vote Republican, even when his materially preferred economic policy has moved to the left as a result of increased income inequality. In turn, when poor moral conservatives swing Republican, this further pushes the Republican Party position on social issues to the right and the Democratic one further left.

The idea that moral values are, in that sense, luxury goods, Enke, Wu and Polborn write, “is not new but has appeared in different terminology across the social sciences, such as in Abraham Maslow’s (1943) ‘[*hierarchy of needs*](https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1943-03751-001),’ the influential ‘[*postmaterialism*](https://press.princeton.edu/books/hardcover/9780691641515/the-silent-revolution)’ literature initiated by Ronald Inglehart (1997, 2020) or the argument that modernization [*increases demand for democracy*](https://www.jstor.org/stable/1951731) (Seymour Martin Lipset, 1959).”

These trends manifest, the authors continue, “in two ways: first, in any given survey year, rich people report being less materialist than the poor. Second, as average incomes increased over time, the U.S. population as a whole became less materially oriented.”

In a separate 2020 paper, “[*Moral Values and Voting*](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/708857),” Enke found that

starting in the 1960s, Republicans and Democrats polarized in their moral appeal: For more than 30 years, Democrats increasingly placed a stronger emphasis on universalist moral concepts, a trend that was considerably weaker among Republicans. Thus, today the Democratic Party has a substantially more universalist profile than the Republican Party.

Enke measured the level of support for universalist values by using what he calls “a moral foundation questionnaire” that “elicits respondents’ agreement with moral value statements,” including such “universalist statements” as “Compassion with suffering is a crucial virtue,” “Laws should treat everyone fairly” and “Justice most important requirement for society,” in contrast to such “communal values” statements as “Be loyal to your family even if they have done something wrong,” “Be a team player, rather than express oneself” and “Soldiers must obey even if they disagree with an order.”

Analyzing the speeches of recent presidential candidates, Enke contends that Donald Trump stood apart for his focus on the world of his followers:

Trump’s moral language is less universalist, or equivalently, more communal, than that of any other presidential nominee in recent history. Trump is also more communal than his 2016 primary contenders. Moreover, the difference in moral appeal between Trump and Hillary Clinton is particularly pronounced.

In their paper on morals as luxury goods, Enke, Wu and Polborn contend that it is the most affluent and best-educated citizens who propel the contemporary political emphasis on moral and cultural issues, stressing that “the cultural or moral conflict is between different subsets of the elite. This conflict among elites induces party polarization, which then propagates into changes in voting behavior among the poor.”

In an email, Enke and his co-authors elaborated on this process:

As the rich become richer over time, they place a higher weight on their moral values relative to their material incentives. As a result, some voters who are both rich and morally liberal who used to vote Republican swing to the Democrats. The Democratic constituency becomes more morally liberal, on average, while the Republican constituency becomes more morally conservative, on average. To make these new constituencies happy, the Democratic Party moves to the left on social issues and the Republican Party to the right.

White voters who are low income, morally conservative and formerly Democrats, the authors continue,

can now swing Republican because of the change in party positions. Now that the parties are polarized socially, it becomes more relevant for people to vote based on their values, simply because the stakes have increased. As a result, in our model, poor moral conservatives can swing Republican over time even though they don’t become richer and even though economic inequality increased to their disadvantage. In our model, this is all driven by the fact that the parties partly accommodate the changing priorities of the rich, which are now more moral in nature.

In “[*Identity, Beliefs, and Political Conflict*](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1XrKZ1wKxs3_SfnExs7KYk4aDRphkfnRs/view),” [*Giampaolo Bonomi*](https://economics.ucsd.edu/graduate-program/about/grad-profiles/cohort%202019/Bonomi-giampaolo.html), a doctoral candidate in economics at the University of California, San Diego, and [*Nicola Gennaioli*](https://didattica.unibocconi.eu/docenti/cv.php?rif=154156) and [*Guido Tabellini*](https://didattica.unibocconi.eu/mypage/index.php?IdUte=48805&amp;idr=1872&amp;lingua=eng), professors of economics at Bocconi University in Milan, make a similar argument:

Economic shocks that boost conflict among cultural groups can also trigger a shift to cultural identity. We offer two examples: skilled biased technical change and globalization. If these shocks hurt less educated and hence more conservative voters, and benefit more educated and hence more progressive voters, they make cultural cleavages more salient and can induce a switch to cultural identity. As a result, economic losers become more socially and fiscally conservative.

In support of their argument, [*Bonomi*](https://economics.ucsd.edu/graduate-program/about/grad-profiles/cohort%202019/Bonomi-giampaolo.html), [*Gennaioli*](https://didattica.unibocconi.eu/docenti/cv.php?rif=154156) and [*Tabellini*](https://didattica.unibocconi.eu/mypage/index.php?IdUte=48805&amp;idr=1872&amp;lingua=eng) cite the work of [*David Autor*](https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/aer.20170011) and of [*Italo Colantone and Piero Stanig*](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2904105) to “show that, both in the U.S. and in Europe, losses from international trade foster support for right-wing and conservative parties.”

Their analysis reveals how economic issues mesh with cultural issues in ways that make it difficult to define whether the economic framework creates the moral framework or vice versa.

In an email, Gennaioli noted that their paper “helps explain important real-world phenomena that cannot be understood under the conventional rational choice theory,” which then leads to the question: Why do voters adopt seemingly irrational positions?

Gennaioli wrote:

This question must be broken down into two. First: Why do economic losers identify as “cultural conservatives” as opposed to “***working class***”? Second: How does the “cultural conservative” identity shape the policies that economic losers do or do not demand?

In answer to the first question, Gennaioli contended that

cultural identity is triggered by shocks of a specific kind: those that amplify the economic conflict between culturally conservative vs. progressive voters. Examples of such shocks are expanded international trade or introduction of labor-saving technologies. These shocks hurt less-educated workers — who tend to be more conservative — while they often benefit more educated voters — who tend to be more progressive because of their higher education. These shocks thus focus the losers on what they have in common, that they belong to a culturally conservative local community particularly exposed to import competition. Thus, losers of trade and technology shocks tend to view social conflict as “us, the conservatives” versus “them, the progressives.”

Gennaioli observed further:

On the one hand, as economic losers abandon the ***working class***, they also abandon its very stereotypical idea that fighting income disparities is a social priority. On the other hand, culturally conservative losers do not want the universal redistribution of the left, which may go to progressive people or ethnic minorities they dislike. Instead, they may favor specific policies such as protectionism or subsidies to specific sectors/places/workers.

[*Rob Henderson*](https://www.robkhenderson.com/), a doctoral candidate in psychology at Cambridge, received widespread attention in conservative circles after he published “‘[*Luxury Beliefs’ Are the Latest Status Symbol for Rich Americans*](https://nypost.com/2019/08/17/luxury-beliefs-are-the-latest-status-symbol-for-rich-americans/)” in the summer of 2019 in The New York Post.

His argument, in brief: “In the past, upper-class Americans used to display their social status with luxury goods. Today, they do it with luxury beliefs.” With the lost salience of luxury items, “the upper classes have found a clever solution to this problem: luxury beliefs. These are ideas and opinions that confer status on the rich at very little cost while taking a toll on the lower class.”

This month, [*Zach Goldberg*](https://www.manhattan-institute.org/expert/zach-goldberg), a policy analyst at the Manhattan Institute, examined the Henderson thesis in “[*Is Defunding the Police a ‘Luxury Belief’?*](https://media4.manhattan-institute.org/sites/default/files/is-defunding-the-police-a-luxury-belief.pdf) Analyzing White vs. Nonwhite Democrats’ Attitudes on Depolicing.”

Goldberg writes:

Greater household income is found to significantly increase the odds of supporting defunding and depolicing policies — though these relationships are substantially confounded by educational attainment. White and Asian Democrats — the groups that score highest on all available indicators of socioeconomic status — are significantly more likely than Black and Hispanic Democrats, therefore, to support these policies.

Significantly, according to Goldberg, higher “local violent-crime levels significantly reduce support among nonwhite Democrats but have no effect, or significantly positive effects, on support among white Democrats.” Goldberg argues that his data suggest “that white Democrats’ defunding and depolicing attitudes are powered by a unique group-based (or ‘privilege conscious’) moral ideology that boosts their support for such policies in high-crime areas.”

Goldberg asks how much this phenomenon is driven by ideology and how much by economic status. His answer: “Differences in ideological self-identification alone” — a higher percentage of whites and Asian Americans identify as liberal than African Americans or Hispanics — “are a much more important driver of the white versus nonwhite support gap than all socioeconomic and demographic variables combined.”

In sum, Goldberg writes:

White Democrats’ policing attitudes are subject to unique group-based moral pressures, including collective moral shame and guilt; these pressures function to constrain the expression of self-interested policing policy preferences while promoting those that are perceived to protect people of color from institutional racism. Thus, as threats to self-interest (or personal safety) are likely to be greatest in high-crime areas, so, too, is the importance of moral pressures for support for defunding and depolicing policies.

In an email, Goldberg noted that:

those of higher social status are more likely to prioritize post-material/moral issues and concerns. At the same time, I think the relationship is at least partially confounded by cognitive predispositions that are conducive to attaining higher social status and the formation of sophisticated moral ideologies. So, I guess my point is that such moral ideation is more prevalent among those of higher social status, but the reasons for this are not only that material security facilitates post-materialism, but also that those inclined toward post-materialism are also those with traits (openness, verbal ability, etc.) that facilitate the attainment of material security.

I asked [*Jared Clemons*](https://jaredkclemons.weebly.com/), a postdoctoral fellow in political science at Princeton and the author of “From ‘Freedom Now!’ to ‘Black Lives Matter,’” for his take on the Enke and Goldberg papers. Clemons is skeptical of the professed convictions of white liberals. He notes “three important themes that have emerged in American politics over the past decade.”

The first, he writes,

is that so-called social issues (abortion, gun control, etc.) predominate over economic issues (taxation, redistributive policy, etc.). Second, how many white Democrats have become far more liberal since Obama, and even more so since Trump, especially on racial issues? Third, the relative affluence of these white liberals.

Clemons continues:

What is the mechanism behind these changing attitudes among white liberals? Does this change in attitudes portend a behavior change, or is it all just cheap talk, so to speak? Finally, what do we make of the fact that affluent white liberals often express support for policies that would likely be materially costly if implemented?

Clemons raises questions about the strength of the ideological commitment of white progressives:

There are limits to white liberalism, as many Black activists noted when the civil rights movement attempted to transition from civil and voting rights (which, by and large, required little to no material sacrifice from affluent, white liberals) toward economic issues like equal access to housing and public schools, which white liberals supported at far lower levels. Martin Luther King Jr., in particular, spoke about the hollowness of racial liberalism and believed the best way to secure material gains for Black people was by building a cross-racial movement of ***working-class*** individuals that could make demands of the federal government (like full employment), rather than depending on the moral resolve of affluent white liberals.

What then, Clemons asks

to make of white liberals’ recent leftward turn, particularly on racial issues? My work suggests that a change in behavior is only likely when the political act in question is relatively costless. For as we know — as evidenced by places likely Berkeley, Calif.; Boston; or D.C. — some of the most liberal cities are also the ones in which racial inequalities, particularly in the realm of housing and education, are their most pronounced. This is because it is much more costly to stake the more left-wing position on these issues. Once economic matters of this sort are on the table, research shows that white liberals’ progressivism wanes.

In support of his view, Clemons cites an October 2021 study, “[*Where Self-Interest Trumps Ideology*](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/711717): Liberal Homeowners and Local Opposition to Housing Development,” by [*William Marble*](https://williammarble.co/) and [*Clayton Nall*](https://www.polsci.ucsb.edu/people/clayton-nall), political scientists at Stanford and the University of California, Santa Barbara. The study found that when faced with proposals to build “dense and affordable housing,” liberal homeowners “join conservatives in opposing dense housing in their own communities. Two survey experiments show that liberal homeowners are cross-pressured and barely more likely than conservative homeowners to support dense housing development.”

I asked [*Robert Sampson*](https://scholar.harvard.edu/sampson/home), a social scientist at Harvard, about Zach Goldberg’s analysis. He pointed out in an email that “the report looks carefully done,” adding, however, that survey data may be exaggerated by the fact that it was acquired in 2020 at the height of the Black Lives Matter protests over the murder of George Floyd. “I bet those white Democrat numbers would be substantially lower today,” Sampson said.

From a broader perspective, Sampson wrote that “there is wide variability by race in attitudes toward criminal justice that don’t comport with common stereotypes. There is a tendency to assume much more homogeneous (and often liberal) attitudes among minorities than exist, especially on crime and criminal justice.”

These misperceptions, in fact, occur on both the left and right, according to Sampson, “including racist stereotypes like the idea of the so-called subculture of violence in the ghetto that at one point was (still is?) prominent in conservative circles. On the other end, more recently, Democrats seemed to assume demography aligns with liberal voting patterns on key issues in ways that should never have been believed.”

Sampson pointed to data from a 2021 survey asking voters whether the participants in the Jan. 6 storming of the Capitol were “extremists.”

In “[*Visualizing How Race, Support for Black Lives Matter, and Gun Ownership Shape Views of the U.S. Capitol Insurrection of Jan. 6, 2021*](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/23780231221110124),” Sampson, writing with [*Rebecca Bucci*](https://www.rebeccaabucci.com/), a postdoctoral fellow in sociology at Harvard, and [*David S. Kirk*](https://www.sociology.ox.ac.uk/people/david-kirk), a professor of sociology at Oxford, argues that on the surface “the main story is the sheer lack of racial differences overall.”

“The clear majority (more than 70 percent) view participants of the insurrection as extremists,” they wrote. On closer examination, however, Bucci, Kirk and Sampson report that significant differences began to surface. Survey respondents were asked whether they supported the Black Lives Matter movement. The result: “Overall, supporters of B.L.M. are approximately 1.5 times more likely to view the individuals who stormed the Capitol as extremists than are nonsupporters of B.L.M. This pattern persists across all racial groups,” although “the largest differences were among whites and Hispanics.”

The pattern was even more complex when respondents were asked whether they owned guns. “White gun owners are significantly less likely to view Jan. 6 participants as extremists compared with whites who do not own guns,” Sampson and his colleagues wrote, but “for Black respondents, the pattern is reversed, with gun owners significantly more likely to view the Jan. 6 participants as extremists than non-gun owners.”

The displacement of economically based partisan conflict by racial and cultural issue-based conflict has escalated political and social animosity. In the postwar period, as long as American voters were willing to accept the outcome of closely fought elections, their differences over economic and cultural policy objectives could be contained within the existing system, although often at a very high cost. In the 21st century, in a period of political instability, the refusal by Trump and many of his followers to accept the outcome of the 2020 election has set a supremely dangerous precedent.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 21, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Fever Is Breaking; David Brooks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66V2-MTT1-DXY4-X2B9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2022 Thursday 21:35 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 975 words

**Byline:** David Brooks

**Highlight:** This has been a good year for liberalism.

**Body**

A convulsion has shaken America and many other Western democracies over the past few years. People became disgusted with established power, trust in many institutions neared rock bottom, populist fury rose from right and left.

On the right, in America, this manifested as Donald Trump. To his great credit, Trump reinvented the G.O.P. He destroyed the corporate husk of Reaganism and set the party on the path to being a multiracial ***working-class*** party. To his great discredit, he enshrouded this transition in bigotry, buffoonery and corruption. He ushered in an age of performance politics — an age in which leaders put more emphasis on attention-grabbing postures than on practical change.

The left had its own smaller version of performative populism. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez became a major political figure thanks to her important contributions to Instagram. The Green New Deal was not a legislative package but a cotton candy media concoction. Slogans like “Abolish ICE” and “Defund the police” were not practical policies, just cool catchphrases to put on posters.

The populist convulsion had its moment, but on the left, prominent Democrats tried to harness its energy while reining in its unelectable excesses. In 2020, James Clyburn threw his weight behind an establishmentarian moderate, Joe Biden. That year, after progressives appeared to cost the Democrats several House seats with randy talk of socialism, moderate Democrat Abigail Spanberger roasted the left and was one of those who helped pull the party back toward the center on crime and other issues. Biden rejected the performative style of the populist moment while harnessing some progressive ideas.

Performative populism has begun to ebb. Twitter doesn’t have the hold on the media class it had two years ago. Peak wokeness has passed. There seem to be fewer cancellations recently, and less intellectual intimidation. I was a skeptic of the Jan. 6 committee at first, but I now recognize it’s played an important cultural role. That committee forced America to look into the abyss, to see the nihilistic violence that lay at the heart of Trumpian populism.

The election of 2022 marked the moment when America began to put performative populism behind us. Though the results are partial, and Trump acolytes could still help Republicans control Congress, this election we saw the emergence of an anti-Trump majority.

According to a [*national exit poll*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2022/exit-polls/national-results/house), nearly 60 percent of voters said they had an unfavorable view of Trump. Almost half of the voters who said they “somewhat disapprove” of Biden as president still voted for Democrats, presumably because they were not going to vote for Trumpianism. In a [*Reuters/Ipsos poll*](https://www.reuters.com/world/us/most-americans-see-trumps-maga-threat-democracy-reutersipsos-2022-09-07/) in September, 58 percent of respondents said that the MAGA movement was threatening America’s democratic foundations.

The single most important result of this election was the triumph of the normies. Establishmentarian, practical leaders who are not always screaming angrily at you did phenomenally well, on right and left: Mike DeWine in Ohio, Josh Shapiro in Pennsylvania. Workmanlike incumbents from John Thune in South Dakota to Ron Wyden in Oregon had successful nights. Gov. Tony Evers of Wisconsin had the quotation that summarized the election: “Boring wins.”

Americans are still deeply unhappy with the state of the country, but their theory of change seems to have begun to shift. Less histrionic media soap opera. Less existential politics of menace. Let’s find people who can get stuff done.

The telling election results were at the [*secretary of state level*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/us/politics/trump-election-candidates-voting.html). The America First Secretary of State Coalition features candidates who rejected the 2020 election results and who would have been a threat to election integrity if they had won Tuesday. Most either lost or seem on their way to losing. Meanwhile, Brad Raffensperger, the secretary of state of Georgia who stood up to Trump’s bullying, won by a wide margin.

Because Democrats restrained their more extreme tendencies while Republicans didn’t, they [*held their own among independents*](https://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/meetthepressblog/democrats-buck-trends-independents-exit-poll-shows-rcna56402) in a year that could have been a G.O.P. romp. On abortion and many other issues, the median voter rule still applies. If you can get toward the spot where moderate voters reside, you will win elections.

To be clear, I am not saying the fever has broken within the minds of those in the MAGA movement. I am not saying MAGA Republicans won’t unleash a lot of looniness in the next Congress. I am saying voters have built a wall around that movement to make sure it no longer wins the power it once enjoyed. I am saying voters have given Republicans clear marching orders — to do what Democrats did and beat back the populist excesses on their own side.

There are two large truths I’ll leave you with. The first is that both parties are fundamentally weak. The Democrats are weak because they have become the party of the educated elite. The Republicans are weak because of Trump. The Republican weakness is easier to expunge. If Republicans get rid of Trump, they could become the dominant party in America. If they don’t, they will decline.

Second, the battle to preserve the liberal world order is fully underway. While populist authoritarianism remains a powerful force worldwide, people, from Kyiv to Kalamazoo, have risen up to push us toward a world in which rules matter, practicality matters, stability and character matter.

As Irving Kristol once wrote, the people in our democracy “are not uncommonly wise, but their experience tends to make them uncommonly sensible.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

This article appeared in print on page A27.

**Load-Date:** November 10, 2022

**End of Document**



[***France’s Fault Lines Are Exposed in an American Film Showcase; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67NV-51T1-JBG3-6544-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 2, 2023 Thursday 07:22 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1460 words

**Byline:** Beatrice Loayza

**Highlight:** The selections in Rendez-Vous With French Cinema at Lincoln Center explore hard truths about the nation in the years since the 2015 terrorist attacks.

**Body**

The selections in Rendez-Vous With French Cinema at Lincoln Center explore hard truths about the nation in the years since the 2015 terrorist attacks.

For much of Alice Winocour’s “Revoir Paris” — the opening-night film of this year’s [*Rendez-Vous With French Cinema*](https://www.filmlinc.org/festivals/rendez-vous-with-french-cinema/) — Virginie Efira’s Mia seems to have fallen under a terrible spell. She struggles to make sense of her life after it is upended by a terrorist shooting, one not unlike the 2015 attacks on the Bataclan concert hall and surrounding areas in Paris.

Like many of the strongest selections at Film at Lincoln Center’s annual showcase of contemporary French cinema, “Revoir Paris” (or “Paris Memories”) lays bare the state of the national psyche, shaken by a confrontation with hard truths about French society.

The attacks marked a turning point in the country’s recent history, leading to increased anti-immigrant sentiment underpinned by the passage of punitive legislation and the fearmongering rhetoric of a revitalized far right. Winocour’s drama is not the first domestic production that speaks to the mood — see Bertrand Bonello’s teen-terrorist provocation “[*Nocturama*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/10/movies/nocturama-review-bertrand-bonello.html)” (2017) or last year’s [*“Novembre,”*](https://variety.com/2022/film/reviews/november-review-novembre-1235274809/) a slick procedural that detailed the ensuing manhunt. But “Revoir Paris” is, perhaps, the most personal, with the filmmaker drawing inspiration from the experiences of her younger brother, who witnessed the carnage at the Bataclan.

“Revoir Paris” cuts through the political chaos by centering on the emotional lives of those directly affected by the violence as Mia strives to connect with other survivors, namely the undocumented kitchen hand with whom she hid from a gunman. Though the film begins with a scene of unnervingly realistic brutality, it unfolds as a meditative character study teeming with doubts, contradictions and great empathy — an effect achieved in no small part by the performance of Efira, who last month took home the César Award (the French equivalent of the Oscar) for best actress for her efforts.

The Césars’ biggest winner, “The Night of the 12th,” is also screening at Rendez-Vous. Though the French awards body has made little effort to address the accusations of sexism leveled against it — this year it failed to nominate a single woman for best director — voters clearly had gender politics on their minds. Directed by Dominik Moll, this austere Grenoble-set policier raises questions about the [*prevalence of misogyny*](https://www.france24.com/en/france/20230123-france-still-very-sexist-watchdog-says-as-women-report-widespread-violence) in French culture and the country’s [*high rates of sexual violence*](https://www.lemonde.fr/en/france/article/2022/11/20/gender-violence-protesters-call-for-women-s-lives-to-no-longer-to-be-filed-away-and-forgotten-about_6004984_7.html). When a young woman is set on fire while walking home alone at night, a detective (Bastien Bouillon) is plunged into a rabbit hole of slut-shaming and dead ends that recalls the existential malaise of David Fincher’s “Zodiac.” All the suspects — ex-boyfriends, lovers and local weirdos — exhibit potentially incriminating attitudes toward the victim and women in general. As the investigation deepens, it becomes increasingly difficult to single out a clear culprit because the seedlings that give rise to gendered violence are seemingly everywhere.

A more transgressive take on the horrors of toxic masculinity comes from a female director, Patricia Mazuy, a modern master who remains relatively unknown to Americans. Her latest, “Saturn Bowling,” takes no prisoners. In this minimalistic serial-killer thriller, we’re thrown into a nocturnal abyss of hereditary barbarism and emotional detachment wherein big-game hunters rub shoulders with date-rape killers — all men who derive pleasure from wicked games of objectification and domination, no matter the corpses they produce as a result. With explicit scenes of sexual violence, the film will surely prove divisive, but there is no denying the haunting force of the world Mazuy summons as well as its eerily recognizable power dynamics.

With “The Plough,” Philippe Garrel returns to color after a decade of films in black-and-white. It’s the veteran filmmaker’s most inspired turn in recent memory on the vagaries of love and seduction, his perennial fixation. A kind of passing of the torch, it stars Garrel’s three children — Lena, Esther and Louis (whose latest directorial effort, the punchy caviar-heist comedy “The Innocent,” is also part of the Rendez-Vous lineup)— as a family of puppeteers contending with the art form’s growing obsolescence. Winner of the best director prize at the Berlin Film Festival, Garrel leads a pack of Rendez-Vous regulars, among which Arnaud Desplechin (“Brother and Sister”), Christophe Honoré (“Winter Boy”) and Rebecca Zlotowski (“Other People’s Children”) stand out.

The French, of course, are experts in the art of the bourgeois drama, with Garrel and company as practitioners of the highest order. But also worth your while are films that burst the white and/or middle-class bubble. Take Rachid Hami’s “For My Country,” a tragedy about an immigrant Algerian family that depicts their adopted European home as a bastion of cruel deceptions and broken dreams. There’s also Philippe Faucon’s “Harkis,” a sober historical portrait of the war for Algerian independence that focuses on a group ultimately disowned by both sides: “harkis,” a term derived from Arabic and roughly synonymous with “traitor,” referring to the native Algerians, mostly young and impoverished men, who joined the French army.

The slippery pseudo-documentary “The Worst Ones,” from Lise Akoka and Romane Gueret, explores the ethics of street-casting — the too easily exploitative practice of scouting for nonprofessional actors who belong to the same community the filmmaker wants to portray. Four teenagers from the housing projects in the north of France are plucked from obscurity; they’re the “worst” behaved, the most problematic among the kids who showed up to audition. The film follows the would-be stars — one, for instance, is a foster child, another suffers from A.D.H.D. — as they participate in the shoot; the film within a film seems to be a scrappy, sentimental vision of ***working-class*** life à la “The Florida Project” or one of the many coming-of-age tales by Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne. Both satirizing the methods of those docufictional reference points and engaging in the same processes — albeit with pointed awareness and ambivalence — the film questions the pursuit of authenticity so central to the history of cinema, bringing awareness to its fraught dynamics of class and control without sinking into didacticism.

For a lighter touch, see Sébastien Marnier’s Hitchcock-inspired nouveau riche thriller, “The Origin of Evil,” a criminal romp that occasionally reverts to split-screen stylings as it tracks the shady maneuverings of relatives vying for possession of the family empire.

An engagement with history and the travails of inheritance hovered over this year’s selection with a ghostlike presence, which is no surprise considering the heated state of the country’s various reckonings — with ingrained cultural values about [*sex and gender that many denounce as patriarchal*](https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/liberty-equality-patriarchy-why-so-many-french-women-are-opposed-to-metoo), for instance, or the clash between the nation’s ideals about assimilationism and its increasingly diverse ethnic makeup. Léa Mysius’s “The Five Devils” offers a science-fictional interpretation of such heavy baggage, unveiling the secret history of an interracial family with cool, hypnotic swagger. Adèle Exarchopoulos stars as Joanne, the mother of a creepy little girl whose precise sense of smell is essentially a superpower. Time bends in flashbacks that double as the child’s dream visions, provoked by the appearance of Joanne’s troubled ex-lover, Julia (Swala Emati), her French-Senegalese sister-in-law. Uninterested in spelling things out, Mysius relies on uncanny, elemental imagery — Julia is known to play with fire, literally, while Joanne routinely swims in frigid lake waters — to bring about a sense of the murky, primordial connections between mother, daughter, aunt and father.

Then there is Léonor Serraille’s “Mother and Son,” an intergenerational triptych set in the 1980s about an Ivorian single mother and her two sons. At first glance, the film is a straightforward naturalistic drama about the immigrant experience, but it refuses to stoop to clichés of victimhood — a rare feat among contemporary French titles that deal with the subject so directly. Though the latter half of the film delves into the sons’ lives, it is the section on the mother, Rose (Annabelle Lengronne), that dazzles, offering a vision of womanhood full of sensuality, conflicted responsibility, humor and grace. Seek Rose out.

“Rendez-Vous With French Cinema” runs Thursday through March 12 at Lincoln Center. Go to filmlinc.org for more information.

PHOTO: Virginie Efira’s character in “Revoir Paris” is trying to cope after a terrorist attack in the city. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Music Box Films FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Chris Chalk of ‘Perry Mason’ Takes a Deep Breath***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67NT-23G1-DXY4-X204-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 2, 2023 Thursday 22:18 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1354 words

**Byline:** Chris Vognar

**Highlight:** Chalk has pushed himself hard lately, playing deeply conflicted roles like a 1930s beat cop in “Perry.” “It might be time to do ‘Sesame Street,’” he mused.

**Body**

Chris Chalk put his stamp on HBO’s dark, dynamic “Perry Mason” during a key scene in the first season, when his character, the deeply conflicted beat cop Paul Drake, pays a visit to Perry’s home. Paul has just danced around the truth on the witness stand to protect himself and his white superiors, and it doesn’t sit well. Nor does the cash payoff he received for his obedience.

“Every day I got to wake up with this ball of fear inside of me,” he tells Perry, the defense attorney played by Matthew Rhys. “Gotta go put on that uniform, and go out there and play the fool.” And the wad of cash he received? “What they give me for being a good boy. I do not like feeling owned.”

It’s a central moment in the series, which returns on Monday, a searing encapsulation of how it feels to be a principled and ambitious Black man in 1930s Los Angeles. Chalk conveys every nuance with relaxed intensity, a trait for which he is known by viewers and admired by peers.

“He vacillates between being very intense and focused about his work and just really silly and fun,” Diarra Kilpatrick, who plays Paul’s wife, Clara, said in a video interview. “He lives between those two spaces.”

This is an exciting time for Chalk. He plays a bigger role in the new “Perry Mason” season, as Paul goes to work as Perry’s chief investigator. He just returned from the Sundance Film Festival, where the new film in which he stars, “All Dirt Roads Taste of Salt,” received a mostly positive reception. He recently directed his first feature, “Our Deadly Vows,” in which he stars alongside his wife, K.D. Chalk.

But Chalk, like Paul, also carries a good deal of stress. During a video interview last month from his home in Los Angeles, he gulped from a large glass of corn silk tea, intended to ease some prostate issues that he said might be stress-related. He wears small bandages on a finger and a thumb, casualties of excessive smartphone use.

“It’s life, isn’t it?” he said. “We all got our things, and we just have to breathe through it and be grateful.”

For all of these slings and arrows, Chalk, 45, remains one of those actors for whom seemingly nobody has an unkind word.

“I would love to talk about how awesome Chris Chalk is, it’s one of my favorite subjects!” wrote Alison Pill, who worked with Chalk on the HBO series “The Newsroom,” from 2012 to 2014. “Chris Chalk is like a one-in-a-million human,” Kilpatrick said. “When he walks into the makeup trailer, I’m always slightly envious-slash-borderline resentful, because he’s a physical specimen,” Rhys said in a video interview.

“And he’s always very stylish — he looks good in every sense,” Rhys added. “I’m always like, ah, [expletive] you, Chalk.”

Chalk, and Paul, are crucial to the mission of “Perry Mason.” Kilpatrick joked that the original “Perry Mason,” which starred Raymond Burr and aired on CBS from 1957 to 1966, was “the favorite show of every Black grandmother in the world.” But this is not your grandmother’s show. This “Perry Mason” is savvy about race, gender and class — the second season centers on two Mexican American teens charged with murdering a white businessman — elements that were rarely front and center in the original series.

“Old-school ‘Perry Mason’ is lovely, but it’s literally only white people, and barely any women,” Chalk said.

The new version, [*which premiered in 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/18/arts/television/review-perry-mason-hbo.html), focuses on a group of three outsiders in a gritty, noir-drenched Los Angeles: Perry, a disheveled, heavy-drinking private investigator-turned attorney still traumatized by his World War I experiences; Della Street (Juliet Rylance), Perry’s right hand, who is navigating the sexism of the courtroom and life as a closeted lesbian; and Paul, who is trying to do right by his conscience and his people in a time and place where the racism is out in the open.

Michael Begler, who, with Jack Amiel, assumed showrunner duties in the new season from Ron Fitzgerald and Rolin Jones, said that none of it worked without Chalk. (Fitzgerald and Jones stepped down to focus on other projects, a spokesman for HBO said; to take over, the network tapped Begler and Amiel, who had created “The Knick” for Cinemax, an HBO subsidiary.)

“What was great about working with him is he was constantly challenging me as the writer to get it right,” Begler said in a video interview. “The story that we’re telling with him really lets us dive into not just the typical, ‘Oh yeah, there’s a lot of racism’ idea. We go deeper into what he’s feeling, and his ethics.

“He goes deeper, and I think that speaks to Chris and who he is as a person.”

He learned early. Chalk grew up poor in Asheville, N.C. “Asheville is lovely for tourists, but it’s a pretty racist place,” he said. “I definitely had shotguns put to the back of my head. I don’t think there are many people who would want to trade childhoods with me.”

But his upbringing also turned out to provide unexpected training. “I believed at that time that the only way to survive was to shift who I was depending on how dangerous of a room I was in,” he said. “I became very good at that.”

Chalk studied theater at the University of North Carolina Greensboro, then moved to New York, where he immersed himself in the drama world. He was a reader at Labyrinth Theater Company under the artistic director Philip Seymour Hoffman, and soon won parts of his own, culminating in the 2010 Broadway production of “Fences” opposite Denzel Washington and Viola Davis. Television and film followed, including roles in “Homeland,” “Gotham,” “Detroit” and “When They See Us.”

There are, by most accounts, two Chris Chalks. One likes to joke around on the set and make friends. The other is an intense professional who seeks out serious conversation and cuts up his scripts and pastes the segments into an ever-ready notebook so he can make notes on each scene.

Sometimes the two Chalks converge. Pill fondly remembered Chalk engaging her to read Amiri Baraka’s 1964 play “Dutchman” with him during downtime on the “Newsroom” set. The confrontational and allegorical play is about a Black man and a white woman on the New York subway.

“So many of our conversations are about race and misogyny and the world, and they also come back to why we make art, and pragmatism and reality, and what the game is,” Pill said by phone. “He operates on all of these different levels all the time, and hopping back and forth between them is something that I think he does really well.”

Chalk’s facility for switching modes — and codes — sounds a lot like Paul Drake. He spends his personal life with his family in the ***working class*** Black neighborhood of South Central Los Angeles. Then he enters the world of investigating for Perry, a world that sometimes puts him at odds with his own values and other Black people, an internal conflict that comes to a head in the new season. He has definitively moved on from his identity as a go-along-to-get-along police officer.

“Paul was this ideal man, if one is behaving within the constructs of a white supremacist America,” Chalk said. “He was your Negro; you knew he was safe. And now, I don’t know. Paul might even be, dare I say, reckless.”

Paul could stand to relax a little. So could Chalk, by his own admission. He’d like to get those prostate numbers to a better place. Reduce that cellphone usage. Maybe even tap into his lighter side a little more.

“I like to do very dark and complicated things,” he said. But it might not be the worst idea, he ventured, to “throw some comedy in there to relax the system a little bit.”

“The stuff I’ve done has largely been surrounding trauma,” he added. “I do enjoy doing that. But it might be time to do ‘Sesame Street.’”

PHOTOS: Chris Chalk plays a bigger role in Season 2 of “Perry Mason,” which encapsulates how it feels to be a principled, ambitious Black man in 1930s Los Angeles. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL TYRONE DELANEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (AR14); Above, from left, Matthew Rhys, Chris Chalk and Juliet Rylance in a scene from “Perry Mason.” In Season 2, Chalk’s character, Paul, has become Perry’s chief investigator. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MERRICK MORTON/HBO) (AR15) This article appeared in print on page AR14.

**Load-Date:** March 4, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Unity Proves Elusive in Democrats’ Fight for $15; On Politics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:623D-R931-DXY4-X0BM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 26, 2021 Friday 14:32 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1043 words

**Byline:** Giovanni Russonello

**Highlight:** If the Democrats have a problem, it’s with the ***working class***.

**Body**

[*Sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) to get On Politics in your inbox every weekday.

If the Democrats have a problem, it’s with the ***working class***. Their support from [*voters without college degrees*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) (particularly white voters, but not exclusively) has been [*slipping*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) in [*recent years*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline).

The Republican Party, meanwhile, finds its own base more heavily tilted than ever before toward the white ***working class***. These voters remain devoted to former President Donald Trump but don’t have much nostalgia for the pro-corporate version of the G.O.P. that predated him and that many Republican leaders are [*now wishing*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) they could return to.

Many Democrats are now eager to seize upon the opportunity, demonstrating to voters that they haven’t become the party of elites and urbanites only.

So when legislators on the party’s left flank pushed to make a $15 minimum wage a top priority this year, Democratic leaders got on board, figuring it might signal the party’s commitment to working people. Senator Chuck Schumer, the Democratic leader, gave it his firm support, and President Biden included the proposal in his $1.9 trillion Covid-19 relief proposal — along with the now-standard stimulus checks and unemployment extension.

“There should be a national minimum wage of $15 an hour,” Biden said last month as he prepared to enter the Oval Office. “Nobody working 40 hours a week should be living below the poverty line.”

Polling suggests that an increase to $15 an hour is popular: Sixty-one percent of Americans, in a [*Quinnipiac University poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) released this month, said they supported it, including 63 percent of independents and a majority of voters across all major income groups.

But the Democratic Party is still not totally unified — and in an evenly divided Senate, the Democrats need total unity. Senator Joe Manchin of West Virginia has indicated that he isn’t ready to support an increase to $15 an hour, calling it too steep. And Senator Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona said she was against raising the minimum wage through the budgetary reconciliation process, meaning Democrats would need some Republican support unless they get rid of the filibuster (which Sinema also opposes doing).

“At the end of the day, we do still struggle with the fact that our 50th vote represents a state that went for Trump by something like 40 points,” Sean McElwee, a founder of Data for Progress, a strategy firm that advises top Democrats in Congress, said of Manchin.

So when the Senate’s parliamentarian [*ruled yesterday*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) that a $15 increase did not belong in a bill passed through the budgetary reconciliation process — a decision meaning that it would require at least 60 votes to pass and would therefore be dead on arrival in the Senate — the White House was [*reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) to have breathed a quiet sigh of relief. The Covid-19 relief bill is now set to move ahead without a blanket minimum-wage increase. (Democrats are exploring other partial solutions, including tax incentives for corporations to get them to raise their own wage floors to $15.)

But without a blanket wage increase, observers in and around the Democratic Party say, this issue is not likely to go away. It remains a top priority both for progressives and for Democratic leaders like Schumer and Biden, both of whom objected — at least publicly — to the parliamentarian’s announcement.

“The minimum wage is very popular,” McElwee said. “I do think that if I was Joe Biden, I would like to be able to run for re-election on the fact that the average worker is making much more because I was president than they were before.”

McElwee pointed to the fact that in various swing states, minimum-wage ballot referendums tend to be popular — far more so, in fact, than Democratic candidates on the same ballots. In Sinema’s home state of Arizona, in 2016, voters increased the state minimum wage to $12 an hour by a 58 percent majority, even as the state supported Trump over Hillary Clinton. In 2020, Florida voted even more resoundingly to raise its state minimum wage to $15, with 61 percent supporting it.

“What we saw in Florida is that a $15 minimum wage is over 10 points more popular than Democratic electeds,” McElwee said. “It’s an open-and-shut case.”

The strategist Simon Rosenberg — whose moderate-leaning New Democrat Network often finds itself at odds with Data for Progress’s vision for the Democratic Party — said that he saw a minimum-wage increase as a winning issue with voters including those toward the center. Rosenberg called Republican lawmakers’ seemingly unanimous opposition to it a political “mistake.” But he also noted that Republican-led messaging campaigns have been building opposition to the idea of minimum-wage increases for decades.

“The investment of right-wing business interests in demonizing the minimum wage has been one of the most consistent projects of the right in the last generation,” Rosenberg said, referring to major donors such as Charles Koch. “It’s a touchstone issue.”

The Quinnipiac poll this month found that despite its broad popularity, a $15 minimum wage remained deeply unpopular with Republicans, who opposed it by a 2-to-1 ratio. White people without college degrees, Trump’s base, were more evenly split: 47 percent in favor, 51 percent opposed.

Manchin’s state is trending away from him politically; it had never voted Republican for president by as wide a margin as it did in 2016 and 2020. So he cannot afford to ignore the effects that the anti-wage-increase messaging campaign has had on core Republican voters.

Rosenberg said that if Democrats were able to burnish their brand by passing other major legislation aimed at workers and families, it could bode well for a minimum-wage increase — even in West Virginia. “I think Joe Manchin wants to be with the Democrats as much as he possibly can, and in order to do that, in his mind, he has to oppose them on certain things,” he said. “If in six months the Covid package is popular and the economy is coming back, Manchin’s going to have much more running room.”

On Politics is also available as a newsletter. [*Sign up here*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline) to get it delivered to your inbox.

Is there anything you think we’re missing? Anything you want to see more of? We’d love to hear from you. Email us at [*onpolitics@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/politics?module=inline).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 27, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Cost of Fish and Chips Rises in War Economy, And U.K. Feels the Bite***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:656G-0YG1-JBG3-653X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 11, 2022 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1133 words

**Byline:** By Stephen Castle

**Body**

The costs for fish and chips, a ***working-class*** staple in Britain for well over a century, have rocketed as the war in Ukraine has made the main ingredients scarcer. Of 10,000 shops, 3,000 may close.

HARTLEPOOL, England -- When it opened in 2020, business was booming at Chunks, a store serving dozens of portions each day of Britain's best known takeout meal: battered and deep-fried cod with fries, or chips as they are known here.

But even before the war in Ukraine further pushed up the shop's bills for energy, fish and cooking oil, inflation had already forced the owners, Sayward and Michael Lewis, to raise their prices twice.

Now, with another spike in prices driving away customers, Chunks is on the brink of failing.

''We might not be able to make it to the end of the month,'' said Ms. Lewis, sitting in the back of the store in Hartlepool, a port town in northeastern England where her husband, Michael, was raised.

The fighting in Ukraine is, Ms. Lewis added, ''the straw that broke the camel's back'' -- and not just for Chunks, but possibly for thousands of other fish-and-chips shops up and down the country.

The war, which has devastated cities in Ukraine and killed thousands, has in Britain piled more pressure on a sector that was already struggling with pandemic-related inflation. Costs of gas and electricity have surged. The price of cod has risen after countries announced plans to ban or penalize Russian fish imports, making North Sea supplies scarcer and pricier.

Ukraine and Russia are large producers of sunflower oil, used by many fish-and-chips shops, and that is running out. And even potatoes are destined to become more expensive, as rising gas prices push up the cost of fertilizer.

''My industry is directly affected by the Ukraine issue because all our four main ingredients are directly affected, and we use a lot of them,'' said Andrew Crook, the president of the National Federation of Fish Friers, referring to fish, oil, flour (for batter) and potatoes.

As a result, Britain stands to lose perhaps as many as 3,000 of its approximately 10,000 fish-and-chips shops, according to Mr. Crook, who describes the situation as the industry's biggest crisis since such stores first opened in the 1860s.

More than 150 years later, at least one store -- or ''chippy'' -- is to be found in most towns of any size, churning out an inexpensive takeout meal that inspired the British idiom ''cheap as chips.''

Not any more.

To add to the gloom, and higher prices, the government recently ended a reduced rate of sales tax on takeout food that it had applied as a pandemic measure.

When the Lewises opened Chunks, they assumed a fish-and-chips business was a safe bet. After all, it was a product deemed so important to morale that it was never rationed during World War II -- a culinary combination referred to by Winston Churchill as the ''good companions.''

But as inflation squeezes their incomes, some of their customers have reacted to the increased prices with anger or even abuse, while others have stayed away. Costs have even risen for preparing mushy peas, a gooey green side dish. After the last price hike, sales at Chunks fell by 1,000 pounds, or about $1,300, in a week.

''I feel as though the things that are happening externally are now going to stop us because it's out of our control: The only thing we can do is to raise prices but people won't pay,'' said Mr. Lewis, who went back to his old job as an electrical inspector to keep money coming in.

A short drive away, things are even worse for Peter Weegram, who, after a quarter-century, recently closed his store and laid off two workers.

Mr. Weegram said he felt sick when he shuttered his shop, The Chippy, concluding that he could no longer make a living. He still hopes that fish prices will fall enough for him to reopen.

''I'm climbing up the walls now -- I've never been unemployed in my life,'' he said at his empty shop.

Within two weeks, the cost for boxes of cod he bought increased to £185 from £141, while his gas and electricity bill almost doubled, meaning he would have had to raise his prices for a single serving to about £9 from £5.60 just to break even.

''People around here wouldn't have paid it,'' he said, adding that fish and chips ''used to be a cheap meal and now it will end up as a luxury.''

A few miles south, in the seaside town of Redcar, Nicola Atkinson is determined that her store, Seabreeze, will survive, but she is also feeling the pinch.

''I've been doing this for 25 years -- I have never seen anything like it,'' she said as she explained how she had raised prices for the fourth time since the beginning of last year.

''How do you keep explaining that to customers?'' she asked. ''People don't have the disposable income, so what are they going to do? Are they going to come less? We can't afford not to put the prices up because we would be running at a loss, and then we would not be here for tomorrow. But there is a cap on what people can afford to spend.''

Some customers in England's northeast still think fish and chips is worth the higher price.

''It's a British staple,'' said El Jepson, a nail technician who frequents Chunks. ''Who doesn't eat fish and chips?''

But in Redcar, David Bell was less sanguine. ''Two pounds fifty for a bag of chips? You could buy a sack of potatoes for that.''

A staple of ***working-class*** life across their long history, fish-and-chips shops are expected to be cheap but must compete with chains whose primary offerings -- burgers, fried chicken and pizza -- are typically less costly than fish.

''Prices are already at a record high, they're going up between 5 and 10 percent each week,'' said Mr. Crook, of the federation of fish friers. Britain buys relatively few fish from Russia -- and has threatened to add significant tariffs on those -- but Mr. Crook said that a United States ban on Russian fish imports had increased competition for supplies from Iceland and Norway, which fish-and-chip shops rely on.

Mr. Crook runs a chippy in Euxton in Lancashire where his last supplies of Ukrainian sunflower oil are stacked in the front. When that runs out, he might opt for palm oil, but other food producers are also seeking supplies, sending prices up.

While Mr. Crook is confident he can survive financially, he is certain many other store owners will not. And he said Britain would lose more than takeout meals if thousands of neighborhood chippies disappeared.

''There's a bit of theater in a fish-and-chip shop, it's bit like being behind a bar,'' Mr. Crook said. ''I've got customers that just come in for the banter and, for some of the older people, we might be the only people they speak to all day.''

He added, ''It's something special, it's part of the culture of the nation.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/10/world/europe/uk-fish-chips-inflation.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/10/world/europe/uk-fish-chips-inflation.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Peter Weegram had to close the fish and chip shop he ran in Hartlepool, England, for 25 years after food and energy prices spiked.

The owner of Seabreeze, a restaurant in Redcar, England, had to raise prices on the menu four times since the beginning of 2021.

''It's a British staple,'' said El Jepson, right, in Hartlepool. Winston Churchill referred to fish and chips as ''good companions.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 11, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Page 76***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66MK-D1F1-JBG3-606P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 16, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section M2; Column 0; TGreats; Pg. 50; PAGE 76

**Length:** 859 words

**Body**

The artist Fiza Khatri envisions new releases by John Banville, Yiyun Li and more.

The DeceptionsA novel by Jill Bialosky

''Good luck, I say to the new mother as she pushes the buggy away to find her companions. I look down to my hands, clutching my coat and my bag. Blue veins make raised rivers and tributaries in my skin. I walk back to the Greek and Roman galleries to find the marble girl I've come to know over all these years.''

With her mind full of thoughts of her marriage, her son and an impending review of her new book, a poet and teacher takes refuge in art, specifically that found at New York's Metropolitan Museum. There, among classical statues of gods and mortals, she sees her desires and her mistakes, particularly as they pertain to a former colleague, reflected back at her. Published by Counterpoint on Sept. 6.

The SingularitiesA novel by John Banville

''Yet, as I cautiously fitted on the lid of the marmalade pot, my mood turned glum. I felt embarrassed, I might even say shamed, to be so eagerly, so cravenly, agreeable to young Adam's offer. Oh, I had been noticed, had I, and not only noticed but singled out? What a big baba I am become of late, tugging at the hem of mama's skirt and whining for attention.''

A man going by the name of Felix Mordaunt, a convicted murderer whom Banville fans will recognize from ''The Book of Evidence'' (1989), has been released from prison and returned to Arden House, his family's former estate. He finds it occupied by the family of Adam Godley (''The Infinities,'' 2009), a mathematician famous for his contributions to quantum theory. A professional rival of Godley's also appears on the premises, leaving Mordaunt to chase his version of justice alongside a fellow interloper. To be published by Knopf on Oct. 25.

Sugar StreetA novel by Jonathan Dee

'''Should the shut-off take place, the sheriff will accompany a technician from --'

''The sheriff? Not clear why law enforcement would need to be involved.

'''There are a lot of laws governing things like turning people's power off,' the man says. 'The sheriff is present to act as a witness that all of those laws are observed. Plus also, there is sometimes a confrontational aspect to, uh, to the act itself.'''

Moving eastward along a network of back roads with an envelope of cash tucked beneath his seat, the narrator of Dee's novel is determined to leave his previously privileged existence behind -- and to avoid surveillance cameras along the way. He stops in a small ***working-class*** city and rents a room on Sugar Street, resolving to live quietly and altruistically. Inevitably, though, his past threatens to catch up with him. Published by Grove Press on Sept. 13.

If I Survive YouStories by Jonathan Escoffery

''St. Pierre lingered outside my door for some reason, I guess to ask, 'Ain't you go away to some bigwig school? Marquette or Notre Dame or someplace? What happened?'

'''Graduation.'

''He laughed, stretching his arms over the Raider's roof before flinching from the heat, drawing them to his sides. His nose brushed the glass, eyes filling the space above. 'Them degrees don't do much for people like us, huh? They're going to hold us down either way. 'Swhy I didn't bother.'

'''Smart,' I said, wondering what the hell he meant by people like us.''

When Topper and Sanya left a Kingston, Jamaica, rife with political violence in the 1970s, they were in pursuit, as so many are, of better opportunities. But in Florida, as we learn in the first of eight linked stories, their younger son, Trelawny, must construct a sense of self amid prejudice, racial clannishness and familial discord. In ''Odd Jobs,'' he's living out of his car and responds to a Craigslist ad written by a woman who wants to be punched in the face. Published by MCD on Sept. 6.

The Book of GooseA novel by Yiyun Li

'''Why can't it just be your name?' I asked.

'''You wrote the stories down,' she said.

'''You made them up.'

'''I'm not interested in being an author.'

'''Why not?'

'''I'm fine being who I am.'

''That couldn't possibly be true, I thought, and yet who else could Fabienne be?''

Now living in Pennsylvania, Agnès receives word that Fabienne, her childhood best friend, has died. As teenagers in postwar France, the pair were artistic collaborators: The wild, inventive Fabienne would come up with ideas for stories and the more reserved Agnès would write them. It is Agnès, credited as the sole author, who gains notoriety and attends a British boarding school -- and who, so many years later, sifts through her memories to try to make sense of the relationship and what it wrought. Published by FSG on Sept. 20.

About the artist: Fiza Khatri was born in Karachi, Pakistan, and lives in New Haven, Conn., where she is currently an M.F.A. candidate at the Yale School of Art. Her largely figurative drawings, which she makes with graphite, charcoal and colored pencil, explore the body's relationship with its environment, as well as with society at large. Khatri's work has been shown at the Clemente in New York, Twelve Gates Arts in Philadelphia and Jhaveri Contemporary in London, among other venues.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/t-magazine/page-76-john-banville-yiyun-li.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/t-magazine/page-76-john-banville-yiyun-li.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GUILLERMO CANO) This article appeared in print on page M250, M252, M253, M254.

**Load-Date:** October 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***‘Cusp’ Review: Teenage Girls, Stuck With Shrugging Off Harm***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:642B-F4J1-JBG3-61P0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 11, 2021 Thursday 00:41 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 402 words

**Byline:** Beatrice Loayza

**Highlight:** What starts as a documentary about three Texan high schoolers becomes a look at the normalization of sexual abuse.

**Body**

What starts as a documentary about three Texan high schoolers becomes a look at the normalization of sexual abuse.

Directed by Isabel Bethencourt and Parker Hill, the verité-style documentary “Cusp” follows three Texan teenage girls on summer vacation. The group of friends, Brittney, Aaloni, and Autumn, ages 15 to 16, live a seemingly carefree existence. But as we partake in the girls’ shenanigans — house parties, back seat gossiping, bedroom intimacies — their recurring testimonies about sexual trauma and consent stand out.

A portrait of modern girlhood, this documentary ultimately becomes a bleak look at the normalization of sexual abuse among the very victimized young women.

The film begins on a disturbing note: Two girls laze around on a tire swing as a boy nonchalantly approaches with a rifle slung over his shoulder. Though the location in Texas is unspecified, grassy flatlands, gravel roads and isolated bungalows suggest these are rural, ***working-class*** parts. (Press materials say the filmmakers, based in New York, met the girls on a road trip a few summers ago.)

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/QNjk85n_9g4)]

Brittney, who wears contoured makeup that adds years to her appearance, discusses her daily drinking and partying with a grin and shrug. Aaloni worships her freewheeling mother and loathes her chauvinistic father, who is never captured on camera. Autumn suffers a bad breakup, which sends her spiraling into reckless party mode. She even gets her nipple pierced by Aaloni, the one moment in the film not centered on boys and trauma.

Either in voice-over or in discussions caught on camera, the girls speak candidly to their experiences with rape or sexual abuse and the regularity with which they are approached by older men who initially feign concern about their status as minors. Their hyper-awareness of these dynamics feels all the more tragic when one of them begins dating a controlling adult man.

The film ends on a hopeful note, which feels contrived given the bottom line: that the cyclical nature of sexual abuse is resilient and yet unbroken.

Cusp

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 32 minutes. In theaters currently. On [*Showtime*](https://www.sho.com/titles/3505532/cusp) beginning Nov. 26.

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 32 minutes. In theaters. On Showtime platforms beginning Nov. 26.

PHOTO: The documentary “Cusp” focuses on three teenage girls in Texas.  (PHOTOGRAPH BY Parker Hill and Isabel Bethencourt/Showtime FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 12, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Are the Hamptons Still Hip?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:689X-D341-JBG3-63P8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 26, 2023 Friday 12:26 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** REALESTATE

**Length:** 1954 words

**Byline:** Anna Kodé

**Highlight:** The summer resort has lost its cool among younger people who are turned off by housing rules, housing costs and the culture of conspicuous wealth.

**Body**

The summer resort has lost its cool among younger people who are turned off by housing rules, housing costs and the culture of conspicuous wealth.

For years, the Hamptons were a hot summer destination for young, up-and-coming New Yorkers and the old and new moneyed alike. It was a place to see and be seen. Stories of Mick Jagger [*partying*](https://hamptons.curbed.com/2013/6/28/10229744/mick-the-memory-motel-montauk-and-me-1975) in Montauk spread like lore, and Andy Warhol once hosted the Rolling Stones at his beachfront [*compound*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/andy-warhols-hamptons-estate-sells-for-a-record-50-million-1450215206). It wasn’t uncommon for young college graduates in the city to save up and pool together to rent a summer house and get a taste of the glamour.

In a 1999 [*interview*](https://nymag.com/nymetro/travel/hamptons/features/382/) with New York Magazine, Jay-Z put it simply: “I mean, the Hamptons is cool.”

The Hamptons still have a mythological reputation, fueled by the celebrity cachet that comes with square footage, seclusion and ocean waves. “Kaia Gerber, Ina Garten and Diplo walk into a bar — that is to say, the Hamptons holds a certain, je ne sais quoi? Where else would these mega names be in the same sentence?” said Jacob Rutledge, a 22-year-old [*model*](https://www.instagram.com/jacobmrutledge/) and content [*creator*](https://www.instagram.com/tasteofimpossible/).

But the Hamptons are not what they once were. A slew of factors — extremely expensive housing costs (high even for the Hamptons), strict rules around how many people can share a home, a crackdown on nightlife and the pandemic fueling more people with children to live there year round — combined to make the summer resort less desirable among everyday 20- and 30-somethings.

Despite his instinct to marvel at the Long Island refuge, Mr. Rutledge, who lives in Ridgewood, Queens, isn’t going out to the Hamptons this summer. Instead, he’ll be close by at Fire Island.

“There’s a certain air when you take the boat to Fire Island, like a school bus taking these gay men to an amusement park,” said Mr. Rutledge. “The culture that Fire Island provides will always be the reason it stays in style. When I’m 50 plus, find me in the Hamptons.”

[*Even Gen Z’s favorite 80-something icon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/28/style/martha-stewart-tiktok.html) and [*recent Sports Illustrated swimsuit issue cover star,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/15/style/martha-stewart-sports-illustrated-cover.html) Martha Stewart, has divested, [*selling her East Hampton estate*](https://www.marthastewart.com/8143875/martha-stewart-lily-pond-hamptons-home-tour) in 2021 for $16.5 million.

How Did the Hamptons Become the Hamptons?

The hipness of the Hamptons has always been cyclical, defined by whoever was trying to take control of it next — going from bohemian cool, upscale art world cool and eventually to glamour and glitterati cool.

Over the decades, new groups of people would come to the Hamptons and try to make the resort theirs, warping and grooming them to fit their own unique needs and desires. “The continuity in the Hamptons is that really wealthy people are looking to find something new to conquer,” said Corey Dolgon, the author of “[*The End of the Hamptons*](https://nyupress.org/9780814719978/the-end-of-the-hamptons/)” and a professor of sociology at Stonehill College.

Sometime after the existence of Pangea but before Gwyneth Paltrow bought a place there, the Hamptons formed as a region on the southeastern end of Long Island, surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean — as in, there’s a lot of desirable waterfront real estate.

Before European colonizers arrived in the 1600s, Native Americans, including the Shinnecock and Montauk tribes, occupied much of Eastern Long Island. The outsiders co-opted Indigenous values and culture, enforced a money economy and introduced a patriarchal system of governance, Mr. Dolgon said. Clashes over land use between the newcomers and Indigenous people continue today. Wealthy residents and local officials have objected to the Shinnecock people’s construction of highway [*billboards*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/27/nyregion/hamptons-shinnecock-billboards.html) and plans to open a [*casino*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/22/nyregion/casino-hamptons-shinnecock.html) on its reservation — both attempts to dampen the high poverty rate they face.

Centuries later, another early wave of outsiders — artists and writers — descended on the land. In the late 1800s, Walt Whitman published several works on his fascination with the natural wonder of the Hamptons. In an article in The Brooklyn Standard, he wrote, “To a mineralogist, I fancy Montauk Point must be a perpetual feast. Even to my unscientific eyes there were innumerable wonders and beauties all along the shore, and edges of the cliffs.”

Such descriptions “encouraged people — especially the Bohemian, artist types and young people with money — to go out to this unspoiled land,” Mr. Dolgon said.

The migration of artists then began to entice the wealthy to build summer cottages there, Mr. Dolgon said.

In the post World War II era, the Hamptons drew a new group of artists. With a loan from Peggy Guggenheim, in 1945 Lee Krasner and Jackson Pollock bought a home in the East Hampton hamlet of Springs for $5,000.

The postwar economic boom, along with the construction of the urban planner Robert Moses’ highways along Long Island, allowed for people of means to go out to the Hamptons more frequently and for shorter stretches of time, Mr. Dolgon pointed out.

The reputation of the Hamptons as a weekend getaway and summer vacation spot continued to grow, and by the 1990s and 2000s, “everybody wants a piece of the Hamptons,” Mr. Dolgon said. The dot-com boom and the rise of telecommuting led to “a new wave of money trying to put their imprimatur on the land.”

This is when the Hamptons become fashionable in an aspirational sense, and college graduates would save up to rent summer homes together. “For people who are up and coming,” Mr. Dolgon said, “they have to have a place in the Hamptons.”

In 1998, Diddy threw the first of his strictly all-white-dress-code parties at his East Hampton home, which Paris Hilton [*called*](https://www.billboard.com/music/rb-hip-hop/diddy-white-party-turns-20-pictures-hamptons-8342051/) “iconic.” The next year, Ivana Trump and Busta Rhymes sat together at Jay-Z’s Fourth of July soiree. One tabloid story that epitomized the craze at the time was of Lizzie Grubman, a publicist who [*New York Magazine*](https://nymag.com/nymetro/news/media/features/2917/) crowned the “reigning queen of New York nightlife.” In 2001, after a fight with a bouncer outside of a club in Southampton, Ms. Grubman backed her Mercedes into a crowd of partygoers. It would become known as the “[*Summer of Lizzie*](https://www.nytimes.com/2002/08/24/nyregion/grubman-pleads-guilty-in-crash-that-hurt-16-at-club-in-hamptons.html).”

So, Then What Happened?

Now, it’s more likely to be coined the summer of sleepiness.

Last summer, when Ms. Paltrow’s daughter, Apple Martin, threw a bash at their Amagansett estate, cops [*reportedly*](https://pagesix.com/2022/08/19/gwyneth-paltrows-daughters-hamptons-party-shut-down-by-cops/) shut it down. But Ms. Paltrow’s [*Cartier-sponsored pajama party*](https://goop.com/beauty/skin/goop-and-cartier-hamptons-sleep-milk-dinner-party/), where “sleep milk” was handed out as a party favor, didn’t ruffle any feathers.

Decades back, towns began rolling out rules that would regulate the revelry. [*In 1975, East Hampton adopted legislation*](https://www.nytimes.com/1976/03/26/archives/groupers-plan-for-sun-and-sociability.html) that barred groups of more than four unrelated people from living together in houses. Southampton has restrictions specifically on the number of people that can occupy bedrooms.

For a while, many looked the other way as friends, lovers and strangers split the cost of a summer house more than a dozen ways — sharing rooms, mattresses and more. In an episode of “Sex and the City,” Samantha Jones tells her friends about her 25-year-old assistant, who has “a summer share in Bridgehampton with 18 other girls. They have to sleep in shifts.”

Such a setup would be difficult to come by today, as residents began demanding stricter enforcement of the longtime laws. “The long tradition of dozens of young people crowding into a Hamptons house for a summer of wild abandon is under attack,” The Times [*reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/25/travel/havens-is-the-party-over-for-summer-shares-in-the-hamptons.html) in 2003, following several police raids, neighbors spying on each other and Southampton imposing tougher penalties for violators.

In a clampdown reminiscent of “Footloose,” even dancing can be punishable.

Shagwong Tavern, an unfussy, old-school restaurant and bar in Montauk that dates back to the 1920s, was a haunt visited by John Lennon, Bianca Jagger and Andy Warhol. “Get Off of My Cloud” by The Rolling Stones blasted from the jukebox, and people shimmied shoulder to shoulder into the A.M.

Present day, a sign out front reads “piano player wanted must have knowledge of opening clams.” All walks of life have known that they can come together there through music.

“It’s for everybody — the fisherman, the Wall Street guy, the celebrity, the contractor,” said Jon Krasner, who bought the tavern in 2015.

Last year, a building inspector [*ruled*](https://www.easthamptonstar.com/government/2023223/shagwong-about-face) that moving furniture to allow dancing meant that Shagwong was illegally operating as a nightclub, which is a special permitted use in the region.

“We’re not going to make money being the best filet mignon place in town. We’re a bar,” Mr. Krasner said. “If people want to listen to a band and dance, then hell yeah, that’s what a bar is for.”

Rumors of ‘Fancy People’

But who are the Hamptons for?

It’s a given these days that it takes money to enjoy the Hamptons. During the pandemic, [*many New Yorkers moved to the Hamptons full-time*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/13/realestate/hamptons-montauk-business.html) and the region’s D.N.A. changed — more businesses stayed open year round, and school enrollment went up. According to census data, the population of East Hampton rose by more than 30 percent from April 2010 to April 2021.

Prices went up even more. For the first quarter of 2023, the average sales price of a home reached a record-breaking $3.08 million, according to [*Douglas Elliman*](http://www.elliman.com/marketreports). Rentals aren’t cheap either. “For a relatively updated three-bedroom house with a pool, you’re looking at like $1,000 a night,” said Joseph Van Asco, a broker. “The high end begins around $100,000 a month.”

“Housing is probably the number one driver of why the 20s and 30s are sort of retreating from the Hamptons,” said Britton Bistrian, an Amagansett-based land-use [*consultant*](https://brittonbistrian.com/). “A share house, back in the day in the ’80s and ’90s and even into the 2000s, was something that was attainable to a young professional. And I would say that it’s not anymore. They’ve been priced out just as much as ***working class*** people have been priced out.”

Demand is going down. There have been [*reports*](https://www.cnbc.com/2023/05/15/hamptons-summer-rental-prices.html) that summer rental prices are dropping, as there are more homes in the region than people willing to rent them. But that might not be enough to draw back trendy young folks.

The Hamptons represent a conspicuous wealth that isn’t as celebrated as it may have been in the 1990s and 2000s. The media we consume is largely dominated by eat-the-rich plotlines — think, “Triangle of Sadness,” “The Menu,” and “White Lotus.” So maybe it’s not unanticipated that young people would have little interest in conforming to the lifestyle of the Hamptons.

“I think of the Hamptons as a vacation spot for a certain subset of affluent New Yorkers who probably use ‘summer’ as a verb rather than a noun,” said [*Jade Song*](https://www.jadessong.com/), a 26-year-old art director and the author of “[*Chlorine: A Novel*](https://www.harpercollins.com/products/chlorine-jade-song?variant=40567092346914).” She won’t be leaving New York this summer, but will still get her beach fix — “I will be eating vareniki, lagman and khachapuri at Brighton Beach,” Ms. Song said.

Sunny Hostin, 54, a co-host on ABC’s “The View” and an author, also used to feel that same way. When she was in her 20s, Ms. Hostin “had heard rumors of this place where fancy people visited.”

Even though she was intrigued, Ms. Hostin wasn’t in a rush to visit at first. “It didn’t have the reputation, in my view, as a haven for people of color,” she said. “While inviting, in my mind, because it was this glitzy, wealthy, rich place, I didn’t really gravitate toward it at first, because I didn’t know if it was a fit for me.”

But her opinion changed in her 30s, when she discovered the historically Black beach community known as [*SANS*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/01/t-magazine/sag-harbor.html) in Sag Harbor. She began renting a home there during the summer months, and it quickly became a tradition. “I have memories of clam digging in the bay, searching for crabs with my kids,” she said. “I have real history there now.”

Inspired by these experiences, Ms. Hostin wrote “[*Summer on Sag Harbor*](https://www.harpercollins.com/products/summer-on-sag-harbor-sunny-hostin?variant=40695023796258),” set in SANS. She hopes it can help change young people’s minds about the Hamptons. “I can’t believe I felt that way,” Ms. Hostin said. “They need to visit A.S.A.P., even if it’s just for a day — one day is all you need to know that you belong there.”

This article appeared in print on page RE6.

**Load-Date:** May 28, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Cusp***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:642G-H9P1-DXY4-X23F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 12, 2021 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 379 words

**Byline:** By Beatrice Loayza

**Body**

What starts as a documentary about three Texan high schoolers becomes a look at the normalization of sexual abuse.

Directed by Isabel Bethencourt and Parker Hill, the verité-style documentary ''Cusp'' follows three Texan teenage girls on summer vacation. The group of friends, Brittney, Aaloni, and Autumn, ages 15 to 16, live a seemingly carefree existence. But as we partake in the girls' shenanigans -- house parties, back seat gossiping, bedroom intimacies -- their recurring testimonies about sexual trauma and consent stand out.

A portrait of modern girlhood, this documentary ultimately becomes a bleak look at the normalization of sexual abuse among the very victimized young women.

The film begins on a disturbing note: Two girls laze around on a tire swing as a boy nonchalantly approaches with a rifle slung over his shoulder. Though the location in Texas is unspecified, grassy flatlands, gravel roads and isolated bungalows suggest these are rural, ***working-class*** parts. (Press materials say the filmmakers, based in New York, met the girls on a road trip a few summers ago.)

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Brittney, who wears contoured makeup that adds years to her appearance, discusses her daily drinking and partying with a grin and shrug. Aaloni worships her freewheeling mother and loathes her chauvinistic father, who is never captured on camera. Autumn suffers a bad breakup, which sends her spiraling into reckless party mode. She even gets her nipple pierced by Aaloni, the one moment in the film not centered on boys and trauma.

Either in voice-over or in discussions caught on camera, the girls speak candidly to their experiences with rape or sexual abuse and the regularity with which they are approached by older men who initially feign concern about their status as minors. Their hyper-awareness of these dynamics feels all the more tragic when one of them begins dating a controlling adult man.

The film ends on a hopeful note, which feels contrived given the bottom line: that the cyclical nature of sexual abuse is resilient and yet unbroken.

CuspNot rated. Running time: 1 hour 32 minutes. In theaters currently. On Showtime beginning Nov. 26.Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 32 minutes. In theaters. On Showtime platforms beginning Nov. 26.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/11/movies/cusp-review-documentary.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/11/movies/cusp-review-documentary.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The documentary ''Cusp'' focuses on three teenage girls in Texas. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Parker Hill and Isabel Bethencourt/Showtime FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 12, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Saying No to College***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:694R-TB71-DXY4-X09V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 10, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section MM; Column 0; Magazine Desk; Pg. 31

**Length:** 4178 words

**Byline:** By Paul Tough

**Body**

A decade or so ago, Americans were feeling pretty positive about higher education. Public-opinion polls in the early 2010s all told the same story. In one survey, 86 percent of college graduates said that college had been a good investment; in another, 74 percent of young adults said a college education was ''very important''; in a third, 60 percent of Americans said that colleges and universities were having a positive impact on the country. Ninety-six percent of parents who identified as Democrats said they expected their kids to attend college -- only to be outdone by Republican parents, 99 percent of whom said they expected their kids to go to college.

In the fall of 2009, 70 percent of that year's crop of high school graduates did in fact go straight to college. That was the highest percentage ever, and the collegegoing rate stayed near that elevated level for the next few years. The motivation of these students was largely financial. The 2008 recession devastated many of the industries that for decades provided good jobs for less-educated workers, and a college degree had become a particularly valuable commodity in the American labor market. The typical American with a bachelor's degree (and no further credential) was earning about two-thirds more than the typical high school grad, a financial advantage about twice as large as the one a college degree produced a generation earlier. College seemed like a reliable runway to a life of comfort and affluence.

A decade later, Americans' feelings about higher education have turned sharply negative. The percentage of young adults who said that a college degree is very important fell to 41 percent from 74 percent. Only about a third of Americans now say they have a lot of confidence in higher education. Among young Americans in Generation Z, 45 percent say that a high school diploma is all you need today to ''ensure financial security.'' And in contrast to the college-focused parents of a decade ago, now almost half of American parents say they'd prefer that their children not enroll in a four-year college.

The numbers on campus have shifted as well. In the fall of 2010, there were more than 18 million undergraduates enrolled in colleges and universities across the United States. That figure has been falling ever since, dipping below 15.5 million undergrads in 2021. As recently as 2016, 70 percent of high school graduates were still going straight to college; now the figure is 62 percent.

Outside the United States, meanwhile, higher education is more popular than ever. Our global allies and competitors have spent the last couple of decades racing to raise their national levels of educational attainment. In Britain, the number of current undergraduates has risen since 2016 by 12 percent. (Over the same period, the American figure fell by 8 percent.) In Canada, 67 percent of adults between 25 and 34 are graduates of a two- or four-year college, about 15 percentage points higher than the current American attainment rate.

Britain and Canada are not the outliers on this point; we are. On average, countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development have increased their college-degree attainment rate among young adults by more than 20 percentage points since 2000, and 11 of those countries now have better-educated labor forces than we do, including not only economic powerhouses like Japan and South Korea and Britain but also smaller competitors like the Netherlands, Ireland and Switzerland. Americans have turned away from college at the same time that students in the rest of the world have been flocking to campus. Why? What changed in the last decade to make a college education -- and higher education as an institution -- so unappealing to so many Americans?

When it comes to higher education worldwide, the United States is an outlier in more ways than one. In Canada and Japan, public-university tuition is now about $5,000 a year. In Italy, Spain and Israel, it's about $2,000. In France, Denmark and Germany, it's essentially zero. A few decades ago, the same thing was true in the United States; government funding covered much of the cost of public college. Now students and their families bear much of the burden, and that fact has changed what used to be a pretty straightforward calculation about the economic value of college into a complex math problem.

Economists have a term for the gap that exists between the incomes of college graduates and high school graduates: the college wage premium. It reflects the relative demand in the labor market for college-educated workers. When employers want more college graduates, the premium goes up; when there is a surplus of college grads, the premium goes down. After World War II, the G.I. Bill flooded the American labor market with college diplomas, and for a few decades, the gap between the median income of high school graduates and that of college graduates remained pretty narrow; having a college degree produced an income boost of 30 percent or so. But in the early 1980s, the college wage premium began to rise steadily. In the early 2000s, it surpassed 60 percent, and ever since, it has hovered around 65 percent.

In theory, today's sky-high college wage premium should mean a surge of young people onto college campuses, not the opposite. But as a measure of the true value of higher education, the college wage premium has one important limitation. It can tell you how much college graduates earn, but it doesn't take into account how much they owe -- or how much they spent on college in the first place.

For a long time, there were no good alternative measures to the college wage premium. But a few years ago, a group of economic researchers in St. Louis introduced a new one: the college wealth premium. Unlike the college wage premium, the college wealth premium looks at all your assets and all your debts: what you've got in the bank, whether you own a house, your student-loan balance. It addresses a simple but important question: How much net wealth does a typical college graduate accumulate over their life span, compared with that of a typical high school graduate?

These three researchers at the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis -- Lowell Ricketts, William Emmons and Ana Hernández Kent -- used the Fed's survey of thousands of American households to consider the financial advantage that college graduates receive. When they analyzed the data through the lens of wealth, as opposed to income, the benefits to a college degree began to evaporate.

They split Americans into age cohorts based on the decade of their birth and categorized them by race and ethnicity. Then they used statistical regressions to predict the average wealth that families in each cohort would accumulate over a lifetime. When they looked at the college wage premium for each cohort -- the standard measure -- they found that it mostly held up across those divisions. In every racial group and generation, the college graduates were earning more money.

Then the researchers looked at the wealth premium, and a different picture emerged. Older white college graduates, those born before 1980, were, as you might expect, a lot wealthier than their white peers who had only a high school degree. On average, they had accumulated two or three times as much wealth as high school grads of the same race and generation. But younger white college graduates -- those born in the 1980s -- had only a bit more wealth than white high school graduates born in the same decade, and that small advantage was projected to remain small throughout their lives.

The data for Black families showed the same pattern, but with an even more pronounced downturn. As with the white graduates, older Black college grads were enjoying sizable wealth advantages over their less-educated peers, with generally two or three times the assets of comparable Black high school grads. But Black college graduates born after 1980 were experiencing almost no wealth premium at all. In fact, the researchers found that the wealth premium for Black grads disappeared even earlier than it did for the white graduates. Black college graduates born in the 1970s weren't receiving any substantial wealth benefit, either, only those born in the 1960s and earlier. Latino families followed a similar pattern. If they were headed by someone born after 1980, they had accumulated no significant additional resources beyond those of a comparable family headed by a high school graduate.

When the researchers looked at young Americans who had gone on to get a postgraduate degree, the situation was even more dire. ''Among families whose head is of any race or ethnicity born in the 1980s and holding a postgraduate degree, the wealth premium is ... indistinguishable from zero,'' the authors concluded. ''Our results suggest that college and postgraduate education may be failing some recent graduates as a financial investment.''

These are startling data, and they present a kind of paradox. Millennials with college degrees are earning a good bit more than those without, but they aren't accumulating any more wealth. How can that be?

Lowell Ricketts told me he had a pretty good idea of the cause, even though the group's data couldn't be conclusive on this point. The likely culprit, he said, was cost: the rising expense of college and the student debt that often goes along with it. Carrying debt obviously diminishes your net worth through simple subtraction, but it can also prevent you from taking important wealth-generating steps as a young adult, like buying a house or starting a small business. And even if you (or your parents) were able to pay your tuition without loans, the savings you used are gone when you graduate, and thus are no longer available to serve as a down payment on a starter home or the beginning of a nest egg for retirement.

A few decades ago, tuition costs were manageable for many Americans. But since 1992, the sticker price has almost doubled for four-year private colleges and more than doubled for four-year public colleges, even after adjusting for inflation. Today the average total cost of attending a private college, including living expenses, is about $58,000 a year. After financial aid, the average net price for private-college students is about $33,000 a year; at public institutions, it is about $19,000. Those averages conceal a great deal of variation, however; at the University of Michigan (a public university), tuition, fees and expenses for out-of-state juniors and seniors total more than $80,000 a year.

Over the last decade and a half, more and more young Americans have turned to loans to cover those rising costs. In 2007, total student debt stood at $500 billion. Today it is $1.6 trillion, and for many borrowers, their debt is becoming a serious burden. Among student borrowers who opened their loans between 2010 and 2019, more than half now owe more than what they originally borrowed.

When you do take cost and debt into account, the financial benefits of college begin to look quite different. Douglas Webber, who was a professor at Temple University until he joined the Federal Reserve Board last year as a senior economist, has spent the last decade looking for new ways to calculate the value of a college degree. For Americans in the aggregate, he has found, the college wage premium remains robust. On average, more education still means more income. What has changed, he has written, is that the premium now varies much more than it used to among individuals and groups: The ''downside risk'' to enrolling in college, he argues, has become ''nontrivial.'' When you look at Webber's data, higher education no longer resembles a safe, reliable blue-chip investment, like buying a Treasury bill. It's now more like going to a casino. It's a gamble that can still sometimes produce a big windfall, but it can also bring financial disaster.

A few years ago, Webber set out to try to make sense of that variability. For whom does college pay off, and for whom does it not? He analyzed the data by college major, by academic ability and by tuition costs, and was able to show in more detail exactly who was winning at the higher education casino and who was losing.

Start here: If your tuition is free and you can be absolutely certain that you're going to graduate within six years, then you enter college with a 96 percent chance that your gamble is going to pay off, meaning that your lifetime earnings will be greater than those of a typical high school graduate.

The problem, though, is that many students who start college don't graduate -- about 40 percent of them, by one estimate. When Webber factors in that risk, your chances of coming out ahead of the typical high school grad start to shrink. If tuition is still free, you now have about a 3 in 4 chance of winning the bet.

The second problem is that going to college isn't free. If you're paying $25,000 a year in tuition and expenses, Webber calculated, your chance of coming out ahead drops to about 2 in 3. At $50,000 a year in college costs, your odds are no better than a coin flip: Maybe you'll wind up with more than the typical high school grad, but you're just as likely to wind up with less.

Webber next considered the impact of a student's major. If you choose a business or STEM degree, your chance of winning the college bet goes back up to 3 in 4, even if you're paying $50,000 a year in tuition and expenses while you're in college. But if you're majoring in anything else -- arts, humanities or social sciences -- your odds turn negative at that price; worse than a coin flip. In fact, if your degree is in the arts or humanities, you're likely to lose the bet even if your annual college expenses are just $25,000.

Last month, Webber and a colleague published some new research that identified the people who are making out the worst at the casino: students who borrow money to attend college but don't graduate. In Federal Reserve surveys, half the borrowers who didn't finish their degrees said they were ''just getting by'' or ''finding it difficult to get by.'' Two-thirds said they would have a hard time coming up with $400 to cover an unexpected expense. Financially, they were not only doing much worse than college graduates; they were doing worse than adults who had never gone to college at all. For these former students, the college wage premium had turned upside down.

When you look at the polling trends on higher education over the past few decades, you notice one other striking development. A decade ago, there was not much difference between members of the two political parties when it came to their opinions about higher education. Then around 2015, that consensus shattered, and Republican sentiments suddenly nose-dived. In an ongoing Pew survey, the portion of Republicans (and those who lean Republican) saying colleges and universities had a negative effect on the country rose to 58 percent from 37 percent in just two years, between 2015 and 2017, while the responses of Democrats (and those who lean Democrat) held steady. The Republican decline persisted: In a 2023 Gallup poll, only 19 percent of Republicans said they had a lot of confidence in higher education, down from 56 percent in 2015.

When pollsters ask Republicans to expand on why they've turned against college, the answer generally has to do with ideology. In a Pew survey published in 2019, 79 percent of Republicans said a major problem in higher education was professors' bringing their political and social views into the classroom. Only 17 percent of Democrats agreed. In a 2017 Gallup poll, the No. 1 reason Republicans gave for their declining faith in higher ed was that colleges had become ''too liberal/political.''

The question of how liberal is too liberal is obviously a subjective one, but there is some objective data to substantiate the leftward lean of American college campuses. The Higher Education Research Institute at U.C.L.A., which regularly surveys students, found last year that three times as many American college freshmen identified as liberal or far left as said they were conservative or far right. Among college faculty, the ratio is even more pronounced, and it has been growing more unbalanced over time, shifting from a 2-to-1 left-right ratio in the mid-1990s to a roughly 5-to-1 ratio in the early 2010s. Then there are the administrators. A separate poll from 2018 found that among student-facing university administrators, 12 times as many defined themselves as liberal as defined themselves as conservative.

This leftward shift on American campuses corresponded with a realignment in the American electorate. In 2012, a majority of voters with a bachelor's degree (and no further credential) chose Mitt Romney for president over Barack Obama; in fact, B.A. holders were the only educational cohort Romney won. Obama made up for his losses among college grads by winning a majority of voters with only a high school diploma. Four years later, the education skew flipped: Donald Trump beat Hillary Clinton among noncollege graduates, but he won only 36 percent of voters with college or graduate degrees.

Frederick Hess, an education-policy analyst at the conservative American Enterprise Institute, says that this political realignment has contributed to the growing public-opinion divide on higher ed. As the Democrats have become the party of the college-educated, and as higher education has become dominated by left-leaning staff and students, Hess says, Republicans have grown more skeptical that colleges are environments where either their ideas or their children are welcome.

Hess's more pointed critique, though, is a populist one, and it reflects sentiments that can be found these days on the left as well as the right. Economists have shown that higher education as a whole has become more stratified by income and class over the last 20 years. After the Great Recession, state governments cut their funding for public colleges, and the colleges responded by raising tuition and cutting spending on instruction and student services. Many private colleges, meanwhile, competed to attract more affluent students, which often meant becoming more selective in admissions, spending more on facilities and amenities and raising tuition in order to pay for it all.

Hess says many conservatives have grown skeptical that students are learning much at these selective institutions. Instead, he says, college has become simply a place for students to collect a gold-plated credential.

''It's a racketeering situation,'' Hess said when we spoke last month. ''In many elite occupations, the price of admission is now an elite degree. That's true whether it's a posh D.C. think tank or a big consulting firm or a fancy journalistic outlet.'' For many students, Hess said, the point of an expensive college education is not to gain practical job skills. ''It's just a really expensive toll that lets you jump the queue and get the good jobs.''

In July, the economists Raj Chetty, John Friedman and David Deming helped illuminate exactly how that system works when they published the most recent in their series of research papers analyzing the intersections of social class and higher education. They examined admissions practices among what they call Ivy-Plus colleges (the Ivy League plus a few comparably selective institutions) and found a pervasive pattern of affirmative action for the very wealthy. According to their data, the children of the richest American families are twice as likely to be admitted to an Ivy-Plus college as middle-class students with the same standardized test scores.

Chetty and Friedman and Deming showed that these institutions employ a variety of admissions practices that put a thumb on the scale for the rich and powerful: They soften admission standards for the children of alumni, and especially the children of wealthy alumni; they put extra weight on the extracurricular accomplishments and recommendation letters that students collect at exclusive private schools; and they recruit athletes from wealthy families. (It's no accident that Ivy-Plus colleges field teams in sailing, squash, fencing and horseback riding.)

The ''racket,'' as Hess puts it, continues after college, when graduates of these institutions are three times as likely as similar non-Ivy-Plus students to be hired by a prestigious firm and 60 percent more likely to earn a salary high enough to land them in the top 1 percent of earners. Chetty and Friedman and Deming -- all of whom work at Ivy League universities -- put it starkly: ''We conclude that highly selective private colleges currently amplify the persistence of privilege across generations.''

The college casino, in other words, is not entirely a game of chance. Your odds of coming out ahead depend largely on who your parents are. If you possess the social and financial advantages necessary to gain admission to one of the nation's most selective colleges, you'll probably make out fine, even if the table stakes do seem awfully high. Most American college students, however, don't have access to the benefits that those selective colleges produce. Only about 10 percent of students today are enrolled at a college that admits fewer than half its applicants. The rest of the American collegegoing population attend mostly less selective public institutions, local community colleges or for-profit schools. Students at those institutions are more likely to be rural, Black or Latino, ***working class*** or low income or all of the above. They are less likely to graduate and more likely to incur debt they can't pay back. For them -- a large majority of American college students -- the risks they face when they walk into the casino are considerably higher.

With those odds, it is not a surprise that young Americans, especially, are eager to believe that they will be able to thrive in the job market without having to worry about college. Remember that 45 percent of Generation Z respondents this year told pollsters that they believe that a high school diploma will be enough to ensure financial security.

The reality, though, is that in the decade ahead, opportunities for those without a postsecondary credential are projected to shrink even further. It is true that there are still some well-paying jobs that don't require a degree -- plumbers make a median of almost $60,000 a year, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics -- but the B.L.S. predicts that fewer than 10,000 new plumbing jobs will be created in the United States between now and 2031. The fastest-growing jobs available to those with only a high school diploma, meanwhile, are mostly low-wage service jobs: home health aides (924,000 new jobs by 2031), food-service workers and waiters (570,000 new jobs), restaurant cooks (419,000 new jobs) and warehouse workers (358,000 new jobs). None of these jobs have a median salary above $31,000 a year.

At the same time, economists expect demand for American college graduates to keep rising faster than colleges can keep up, which means the college wage premium is likely to increase as well. A 2018 report by the consulting firm Korn Ferry projected that by 2030, the American labor market would face a significant shortage of workers with associate and bachelor's degrees -- a shortage of 6.5 million college grads, to be precise. More recently, Douglas Holtz-Eakin, who served as the chief economist of President George W. Bush's Council of Economic Advisers, wrote, with Tom Lee, a series of papers predicting an even greater shortage: 8.5 million missing American B.A. holders by the end of the decade.

For the nation's more affluent families (and their children), the rules of the higher education game are clear, and the benefits are almost always worth the cost. For everyone else, the rules seem increasingly opaque, the benefits are increasingly uncertain and the thought of just giving up without playing seems more appealing all the time.

But just as individual students pay a cost in lost wages when they opt out (or drop out) of college, there is a larger cost when millions of students do so -- especially as other nations keep charging ahead. Holtz-Eakin and Lee calculated the price to the American economy of the millions of missing college grads they are projecting: $1.2 trillion in lost economic output by the end of the decade. That is one cost we are likely to bear together, winners and losers alike.

Paul Tough is a contributing writer for the magazine and the author, most recently, of the book ''The Inequality Machine: How College Divides Us.'' He first wrote about higher education for the magazine almost a decade ago, and his article in this issue investigates how the national mood about college has evolved over time. Sean Dong is a motion and 3-D designer in Baltimore. His work often condenses stories of intricate subjects into brief looping animations.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/magazine/college-worth-price.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/magazine/college-worth-price.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page MM30, MM31, MM32, MM33, MM34, MM35.

**Load-Date:** September 10, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The MAGA Transformation of Elise Stefanik; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:677F-VBH1-JBG3-64KG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 3, 2023 Tuesday 23:12 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION; letters

**Length:** 1124 words

**Highlight:** How Representative Stefanik turned into a MAGA Republican. Also: A child tax credit; Hasidic schools; threats to everyone; a crying baby.

**Body**

To the Editor:

“[*‘I Am Ultra-MAGA’: Invention of Elise Stefanik*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/31/us/politics/elise-stefanik.html)” (front page, Jan. 1) traces the evolution of an emerging congressional leader driven by a restless political ambition and a quest for power and influence.

Ms. Stefanik herself defends her shift from a moderate brand of Republicanism to a full-throated embrace of MAGA doctrine as simply reflecting the views among her constituents.

But surely we must demand more of our leaders than that they be mere conduits for expressing what they perceive to be the will of those they represent. True leadership does indeed involve taking into account the views of various constituents in shaping one’s words and actions, but ultimately grounding them in a set of principles that makes morality — the desire to do that which is right, fair and just — the force that most animates our exercise of leadership.

In his recent book about Abraham Lincoln, “And There Was Light,” Jon Meacham writes that “politics divorced from conscience is fatal to the American experiment in liberty under law.”

Representative Stefanik, along with anyone who aspires to a position of leadership, would do well to heed those words.

Richard Stopol

New York

To the Editor:

Elise Stefanik’s Gumby-like transformation from moderate Republican to ultra-MAGA Trumpster is emblematic of today’s G.O.P., which has now given us George Santos. Malleability and dissembling have replaced honesty and conviction.

Groucho Marx famously said, “Those are my principles, and if you don’t like them … well, I have others.”

James B. Fishman

New York

The Benefits of an Expanded Child Tax Credit

To the Editor:

Re “[*Don’t Expand the Child Tax Credit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/20/opinion/child-tax-credit-basic-income.html),” by Scott Winship (Opinion guest essay, Dec. 21):

Dr. Winship writes that while a short-term bump in the child tax credit has been shown to reduce child poverty, the long-term consequences are likely to be a disincentive for parents to work. This trope has been a conservative talking point going back to the Reagan administration.

The glaring omission in Mr. Winship’s analysis is the cost and unavailability of reliable, quality day care for low-income and single parents.

The Times recently published a hand-wringing article about the [*cost of day care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/16/us/child-care-centers-private-equity.html), which can reach heights beyond that of college tuition. A [*Nov. 17 article in Fortune magazine*](https://fortune.com/2022/11/17/parents-missing-work-childcare-problems-rsv-covid/) bemoaned the frequency with which parents miss work for lack of child care, especially during winter flu and cold seasons.

When are conservatives going to see the elephant in the room? The problem is the cost and availability of child care, not parents’ inherent unwillingness to work if they receive a benefit in the form of a child tax credit from the government.

Meredith Watts

San Francisco

To the Editor:

If the money from the tax credit enables ***working-class*** parents to quit or reduce the hours of an undervalued, low-paying job and stay home to nurture and raise their children, to avoid the stress and anxiety of dealing with unreliable child care and transportation, what’s so wrong with that? Let them enjoy the same options more financially secure parents enjoy.

Iris Lee Stoler

Brooklyn

To the Editor:

As Scott Winship explains in his essay, the expanded Child Tax Credit dramatically reduced child poverty in 2021. The monthly payments also reduced food insecurity and lessened parent financial stress.

But I disagree with Mr. Winship on one key point — the expanded Child Tax Credit wouldn’t dramatically change parents’ work behavior. Findings from the 2021 University of Chicago study he mentions have been rebutted by the libertarian-leaning[*Niskanen Center*](https://www.niskanencenter.org/will-the-child-tax-credits-effect-on-work-decrease-its-poverty-impact/) and other researchers. Evidence from the similar tax benefits in Canada also [*found*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w28556) no negative employment effects among parents.

If anything, a permanently expanded Child Tax Credit would, in the long run, support employment outcomes for parents and children. Providing additional cash to families [*improves*](https://www.cbpp.org/research/federal-tax/eitc-and-child-tax-credit-promote-work-reduce-poverty-and-support-childrens) outcomes in school, health and even future earnings.

In fact, the tax credit [*helped*](https://www.clasp.org/publications/report/brief/the-expanded-child-tax-credit-is-helping-families-but-national-survey-shows-continued-outreach-remains-essential/) some parents work more hours. The payments allow parents to afford the transportation and child care needed to work.

The expanded Child Tax Credit supports children, families and our economies — in both the short and the long term.

Ashley Burnside

Washington

The writer is a senior policy analyst at the Center for Law and Social Policy.

Special Ed Funds for Hasidim: Require Proof of Disability

To the Editor:

Re “[*Hasidic Schools Seize on Special Ed Windfall*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/29/nyregion/hasidic-orthodox-jewish-special-education.html)” (front page, Dec. 29):

A few months ago, The Times published an article about how the Hasidim in New York City were failing to provide basic instruction in the state’s elementary and high school curriculums.

We now learn that they are labeling so many of their children disabled in a bid to obtain state and federal special education funds to augment their inferior schools and unjustly enrich their community. This fraudulent conduct takes scarce resources from the truly needy disabled children in other schools.

As a retired special education attorney, I was appalled that the school administration in New York has apparently shirked its responsibility to students and to the taxpayers by allowing this fraud to continue. At a minimum, it should have trained staff, if not a practicing attorney, at each hearing, forcing the students and parents to prove the disability and to prove what services are necessary.

It should also be conducting annual evaluations to determine the student’s progress and if special education and related services continue to be necessary. The burden of proof in these cases lies with the student and the parent.

The flood of cases will quickly wane when the parents realize that they will be on the hook for attorneys’ fees for both sides if they pursue untenable claims of disability. This can happen only if the public school administration does its job.

Sharon Robinson

Los Angeles

What About Threats to the Rest of Us?

To the Editor:

Re “[*Chief Justice Roberts Addresses Threats to Judges’ Safety in His Year-End Report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/31/us/supreme-court-chief-justice-roberts-letter.html?searchResultPosition=1)” (news article, Jan. 1):

Chief Justice John Roberts is right to address threats to judges’ safety in his year-end report. I only wish he recognized the threat to women’s safety posed by the court’s Dobbs decision and the threat to the safety of us all posed by the court’s decision in New York State Rifle &amp; Pistol Association Inc. v. Bruen.

Cynthia Hicks

San Leandro, Calif.

A Crying Baby

To the Editor:

Re “[*The Disappearing Act of a Magical Baby Toy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/23/technology/beaming-buggie-baby-toy.html?searchResultPosition=4)” (Sunday Business, Dec. 25):

Whatever happened to picking up your crying baby so she can smell and feel the parent’s warm body and hear the parent’s soothing voice? Sure, clicking a switch on an electronic toy will stop a baby from crying, but that is not being a responsible parent.

Joan Hecht

Fair Lawn, N.J.

This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** January 3, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Contradictions of Climate Activism; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66MD-J151-DXY4-X032-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 15, 2022 Saturday 14:54 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 951 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** The energy crisis exposes the cracks in a low-carbon vision.

**Body**

On Friday morning two young women approached Vincent van Gogh’s “Sunflowers,” on display in the National Gallery in London, and hurled tomato soup across the blooms, before gluing themselves to the gallery wall.

The two activists were part of a climate-protest outfit with an illuminating name: Just Stop Oil. Celebrating their vandalism, the group [*declared*](https://juststopoil.org/2022/10/14/just-stop-oil-supporters-throw-soup-over-van-goghs-sunflowers-to-demand-no-new-oil-and-gas/) that the “disruption is in response to the government’s inaction on both the cost of living crisis and the climate crisis,” and that it was deliberately timed to protest both the “launch of a new round of oil and gas licensing” and “an energy price hike” that threatens to throw “almost 8 million households” into “fuel poverty.”

It’s a mistake to demand perfect consistency from activists, but if you read the preceding paragraph carefully you will note a certain tension. The activists are protesting both the expansion of energy supply, on the grounds that fossil fuels are pushing the world toward climate apocalypse, and the energy supply’s constriction, on the grounds that higher prices are cruel to struggling households.

This tension has always lurked beneath the surface of left-wing climate activism, whose vision often imagines rich societies accepting a certain austerity, a retreat from the growth mentality of capitalism, a simpler, more ecologically wholesome way of life … while also imagining that somehow this austerity will fall only on the greedy rich and consumerist upper middle class, while the poor and ***working class*** experience the post-capitalist, de-growth future as more affordable, not less.

But in the energy crisis of 2022, this tension is no longer merely theoretical, an obvious crack running through a crystalline utopia. Thanks to Vladimir Putin’s war and its attendant shocks, we are [*getting a version*](https://compactmag.com/article/why-greens-love-putin) of the just-stop-oil world: immediate unavailability of normal flows of energy, forced transitions to alternative fuels, a price on oil and gas that’s closer to what the most aggressive advocates of energy taxes would argue is appropriate, given global warming’s threat.

This reality has been acknowledged widely, but in a tone of optimism, with various European authorities and experts casting the crisis as a green-energy opportunity, the push that the continent needs to further decarbonize itself. (The made-for-Twitter placement of Putin atop Politico Europe’s Green 28 rankings is a puckish example of this mind-set.)

But the incommensurate demands of the van Gogh vandals are a better guide to the new reality than the green-future optimism of officialdom. Yes, the world has made great progress on alternative energy, which is one reason climate change’s existential risks have dropped meaningfully in recent years, with worst-case [*scenarios*](https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2019/12/climate-change-worst-case-scenario-now-looks-unrealistic.html) becoming [*much less likely*](https://rogerpielkejr.substack.com/p/more-good-news-from-the-most-recent) than before.

This progress, though, has only been possible without declining living standards because of the continued extraction of oil and gas, the [*reliable foundation*](https://www.slowboring.com/p/beating-climate-change-absolutely) on which the more variable benefits of wind and solar rest. And to the extent that Western leaders have pushed further in the just-stop-oil direction, by limiting drilling or fracking or pipeline construction, they have made their societies more vulnerable to exactly the kind of shock that has now arrived.

The result is likely to be an object lesson in why just-stop-oil is a disastrous answer to the problem of a warming world. It’s not just that instead of a harmonious eco-future, we’re likely to get a poorer Europe burning more coal and wood and suffering further populist disturbances. It’s also that when higher energy prices fall hard on citizens of a wealthy country like Britain, they fall even harder on the world’s developing economies, which in time of shortages will be simply outbid for energy.

If unaffordable energy destabilizes Western politics, in other words, we should expect even more destabilization in blackout-beset nations like [*Bangladesh and Pakistan*](https://www.dw.com/en/lng-european-thirst-for-natural-gas-puts-bangladesh-and-pakistan-in-the-dark/a-63401354), which are currently struggling to afford the rising price of liquefied natural gas.

This reality distills the whole challenge of climate change mitigation. As activists point out, the dangers of rising temperatures are unevenly distributed, with parts of the developing world facing the starkest environmental threats.

But the dangers of an economic slowdown, an age of green austerity, are also unevenly distributed, and the African and Asian countries playing catch-up have much more to lose, relative to developed economies, from a future that’s safer from floods and heat waves but much poorer than it otherwise might be.

Similarly, Europe, more economically stagnant than the United States and more maxed-out on oil-and-gas restrictions, has more to lose than we do from the greener, poorer, colder world that Putin’s war has ushered in.

For a long time those of who are [*lukewarm*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/03/opinion/sunday/neither-hot-nor-cold-on-climate.html) about the climate-change debate — accepting the reality of warming, but doubting the sweeping policies proposed in response — have had to reckon with a reasonable question: What’s the harm of a little overreaction in the face of such grave long-term risk?

In 2022, though, the answer is that those harms are here and their costs are ready to be paid upfront — paid by poorer people and poorer countries, especially, but by all of us for as long as the just-stop-oil movement gets a version of its wish.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTOpinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: A Just Stop Oil protester in London last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Henry Nicholls/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Why Are All Those People Outside H&amp;M, Again?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:686P-H4Y1-JBG3-6483-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 11, 2023 Thursday 07:46 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 1874 words

**Byline:** Jessica Testa

**Highlight:** How consumers became obsessed with fashion collaborations, courtesy of the Swedish mall staple.

**Body**

How consumers became obsessed with fashion collaborations, courtesy of the Swedish mall staple.

The year is 2015. The Supreme Court has ruled in favor of same-sex marriage. Negotiations are about to begin on the Paris Climate Accords. Mainstream pop culture is essentially “Hamilton,” “Hotline Bling” and true crime docuseries. And Olivier Rousteing is at the H&amp;M store on the Champs-Élysées, where he is starting to feel the pressure of the pandemonium outside. A policeman, he recalled, told him it was unsafe and he should leave.

Mr. Rousteing, the creative director of the French luxury brand Balmain, was making an in-store appearance for the debut of his collaboration with H&amp;M. Just about every year since 2004, the [*mega-retailer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/18/fashion/hms-supply-chain-transparency.html) has released at least one collection in partnership with a luxury fashion designer.

Much has changed in fashion in the past 20 years: the power players, the priorities of consumers, the trends and the platforms that amplify those trends. At least one thing hasn’t: the frenzy around H&amp;M’s high-end designer collaborations.

Modern shopping has been shaped by this frenzy; collaborations have infested the landscape of fashion, from low to high. Just ask anyone swept up in the mess of [*Yeezy Gap*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/25/style/yeezy-gap-balenciaga.html) in 2020 or [*Louis Vuitton and Supreme*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/19/fashion/mens-style/louis-vuitton-supreme-collaboration-fall-2017-menswear.html) in 2017, or who has indulged in Dior Birkenstocks or an Hermès Apple Watch. Arguably, it all began with H&amp;M.

Several of H&amp;M’s limited-edition collections have sold out within hours. Thousands have lined up outside its stores, sometimes overnight, including resellers looking to flip the sold-out pieces on eBay.

When Balmain’s collaboration was released, one shopper in London [*described the scene*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/06/fashion/release-of-hm-x-balmain-collection-creates-chaos-in-london.html) as “dangerous” because of all the jostling. But for many fans of Mr. Rousteing, this was their first chance to buy his work — to dress in the curve-hugging metallics of the “[*Balmain Army*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/28/fashion/balmain-army-soho.html),” whose generals have included Beyoncé, Rihanna and Kim Kardashian.

Balmain’s dresses typically cost more than $1,000, but at H&amp;M, thanks to cheaper materials and production processes, a plunging sequined minidress that seemed to contour the body like celebrities of the era contoured their faces was $199. A velvet blazer with strong shoulders and intricate pearl-like embellishments was $549, as opposed to $3,000; a cotton T-shirt with Balmain’s logo was $34.99, not $395. The ad campaign was shot on a fake subway car, as if to emphasize that this collection was made for people who rode public transportation.

In a recent interview with The New York Times, Mr. Rousteing called the collaboration one of the “top three chapters” of his career. It was a validation to him, he said, proof of his appeal with the public, even to critics who may not have appreciated the young designer’s aesthetic.

“It changed my positioning in the fashion industry,” said Mr. Rousteing, then 30. “I was still ‘the kid’ in fashion at the time, and sometimes the press has been really tough on me. When they saw that the clients responded in such a humongous way, I think people started to realize that it was just not fireworks. My clothes, my vision, works.”

On Thursday, another designer will take a turn at this right of passage: Casey Cadwallader of Mugler, who has devoted much of his [*H&amp;M collection*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/10/style/mugler-h-and-m-collaboration.html) to resurrecting archival designs, simplifying Mugler’s existing designs, or to making the sexy-alien aesthetic slightly more wearable. (Nipples may get three more centimeters of fabric coverage, for example.) In some cases, he replicated his [*“greatest hits”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/03/style/corset-hoodie-sweatshirt.html) almost exactly, only using H&amp;M fabrics and mass-production methods, as with a two-tone cropped denim jacket, priced by Mugler around $1,000 and by H&amp;M at $299.

“Fashion is here to make people happy,” Mr. Cadwallader said. “The more people that the work can reach and make happy, the happier I am.”

Karl Did It First

When Karl Lagerfeld became the first designer to collaborate with H&amp;M in 2004, people were in shock, said Shawn Grain Carter, an associate professor of fashion business management at the Fashion Institute of Technology. “Remember, that was the death knell for [*Halston*](https://www.nytimes.com/1990/03/28/obituaries/halston-symbol-of-fashion-in-america-in-70-s-dies-at-57.html), when he did a collaboration with J.C. Penney,” she said. Because of the collaboration, she noted, Bergdorf Goodman stopped selling Halston.

At the time (1983), the concept of mixing “high” and “low” was not yet in vogue. But at the start of the 21st century, it came to define fashion. The first lady [*shopped*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/17/business/media/17crew.html) at J. Crew. Bloggers [*infiltrated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/27/fashion/27BLOGGERS.html) the editorial elite, and emerging social media platforms gave rise to new style stars. Before all that, though, the designer Isaac Mizrahi made a splashy [*debut*](https://www.nytimes.com/2003/09/14/style/fashion-week-review-in-mizrahiland-at-target-stores-a-lines-and-suede.html) at Target in 2003. The next year, Mr. Lagerfeld brought his sleek collection to H&amp;M.

According to H&amp;M lore, Mr. Lagerfeld immediately said yes after being approached by Donald Schneider, who later became H&amp;M’s artistic director. They knew each other already; Mr. Schneider had worked at French Vogue.

Mr. Lagerfeld’s participation signaled to other designers that they could follow suit. The next H&amp;M collaborator was Stella McCartney, who was followed by a wide range of names. For every designer who went in the direction of streetwear (Moschino) and sport (Alexander Wang), others were inspired by deconstruction (Maison Martin Margiela) and the avant-garde (Comme des Garçons).

Ann-Sofie Johansson, the creative adviser at H&amp;M, said the best-selling collaborations have generally been the “more glamorous” ones, versus conceptual collections, like Roberto Cavalli and Balmain.

“I think every designer is a little bit worried,” said Ms. Johansson, who has been with H&amp;M for 35 years. “We all always tell them, there’s going to be a long queue, you don’t have to worry.” The designer Alber Elbaz was so concerned that he pulled up in a limousine outside the Fifth Avenue store to spy on the line for his Lanvin collaboration in 2010. He then took selfies and chatted with customers, Ms. Johansson said.

From the designer’s perspective, the upsides are clear: H&amp;M offers intense exposure, including press coverage and a robust marketing budget. Prince and Nicki Minaj performed at a party celebrating Versace’s collaboration in 2011. Sofia Coppola directed a commercial for Marni’s collection in 2012, as did Baz Luhrmann for Erdem in 2017.

It can also be personally lucrative for them. The Times has reported that Stella McCartney and Mr. Lagerfeld were [*each paid $1 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/17/fashion/designer-retailer-union-remains-lucrative.html) for their collaborations. “And in many cases, beyond that, there’s some sort of a royalty or a revenue share on top,” said Marc Beckman, whose advertising firm DMA United has brokered fashion collaborations involving Gucci, LeSportsac and the N.B.A. H&amp;M declined to comment on its financial agreements with designers.

Yet some designers, such as [*Rick Owens*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/22/fashion/rick-owens-on-corrupting-the-classics.html), have spoken out against working with fast-fashion companies, citing concerns over waste and disposability — an image H&amp;M has spent years toiling to shed.

Here, the designers provide an upside to H&amp;M: a “halo effect,” Mr. Beckman said.

“Some people will stay interested in the environmental concerns, regardless of these top-tier types of aspirational collaborations,” he said. “But a lot of people will look the other way so that they can get a piece of luxury.”

Democratization or Dilution?

A decade ago, Jessica Y. Flores waited in line overnight for H&amp;M’s Versace collaboration at a store in Midtown Manhattan. She sat on the sidewalk, she said, recalling that it was so cold outside that people took turns warming up inside a nearby pharmacy.

She was there because she’d grown up admiring Versace. “But I am someone who was a first-generation American, and I come from a ***working-class*** family,” said Ms. Flores, now 36. “Buying high-end luxury to wear was not something that was available to me. I heard about this collection, and I was like: ‘Oh, I can buy this.’”

Afterward, she posted a video of her haul to her new YouTube channel. Today, she calls herself the “collaboration collection girl of YouTube,” having tracked 11 years of explosive growth in the mass-market collaboration landscape. She has made [*vlogs*](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL9RxnG0a-Wn4PcnneWNXYIr8e-SYO1Sfq) about buying bags from [*Fendace*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/27/style/milan-fashion-week-fendi-versace-fendace.html), sneakers from Nike and Tiffany and clothes from Target’s collections with Victoria Beckham and many more. (She has not received free or discounted clothes from these brands but has occasionally produced sponsored content for other companies.)

Ms. Flores has seen how collaborations have gone from mass-market efforts at democratization — a term used by most people interviewed for this story — to in-house drops led by high-end brands. When Gucci and Balenciaga collaborated with Adidas, for example, the pieces were sold on the luxury brands’ platforms and at their prices: $850 for a pair of logo-covered Gazelles or pre-worn-down Stan Smiths.

Lately she has noticed some negative comments about the accessibility of Mugler’s collaboration. “One of the phrases that keeps coming up, over and over again, is that ‘It’ll cheapen the brand,’” she said. Complicating matters is Mugler’s decision to offer some near-replicas of its core pieces.

“If the silhouette is so similar to the runway collection that you can’t distinguish why you would offer it at such a low price point, you are very close to the line,” Ms. Grain Carter said — the line being “the dilution of the brand.”

Quality and craftsmanship are what traditionally set low-end and high-end fashion apart. So what happens when H&amp;M sells pieces that closely resemble the high-end versions, and made with more expensive materials than its regular lines?

“I was very much expecting the cheap substitute for every fabric that we normally use,” Mr. Cadwallader said of the development process with H&amp;M. But in many cases, he said, the company was using materials similar to his. “It really looks like the real thing.”

Still, Ms. Flores is not convinced the “cheapening” conversation she has seen online is anything more than elitism. “Some people do not want the everyday person to have access to the things that they have access to,” she said.

As for Thursday, she doesn’t know whether she’ll try to shop the collaboration. Her favored H&amp;M store in Queens closed last year. And the designs are a little too revealing and body-conscious for her current tastes.

But many signs point to another swift clearing out of every last pair of sheer leggings and all the [*corset hoodie*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/03/style/corset-hoodie-sweatshirt.html)s. Because, as Mr. Beckman said, “H&amp;M just dominates this.”

PHOTOS: One item in Donatella Versace’s collaboration collection with H&amp;M at Pier 57. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EVAN SUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D1); Left, the Balmain introduction at the H&amp;M store at Oxford Circus in London in 2015. Above, Donatella Versace with Nicki Minaj, who performed at the introduction of the Versace H&amp;M collaboration at Pier 57 in New York in 2011. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROB STOTHARD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; EVAN SUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Clockwise from top left: Karl Lagerfeld clothes at H&amp;M on Fifth Avenue in 2004; H&amp;M collaboration items; previewing an H&amp;M-Mugler collaboration in April; and a Balmain-H&amp;M collaboration illustration. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BARBARA ALPER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; MATTEO PRANDONI/BFA VIA H&amp;M) (D5) This article appeared in print on page D1, D5.

**Load-Date:** May 12, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘Falling for Figaro’ Review: When the Overtures Are Operatic***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63RB-88G1-JBG3-62VM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 30, 2021 Thursday 23:42 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 353 words

**Byline:** Beatrice Loayza

**Highlight:** An American finance executive leaves behind her cushy life in favor of a musical career in this humdrum romance set in the Scottish Highlands.

**Body**

An American finance executive leaves behind her cushy life in favor of a musical career in this humdrum romance set in the Scottish Highlands.

I must admit it’s refreshing to see a plus-size woman not only nab the promotion and the hunky guy, but throw it all away within the first 15 minutes. Unfortunately, my plaudits for “Falling for Figaro” mostly end there.

Directed by Ben Lewis, this thoroughly generic and often monotonous romance about an aspiring opera singer who falls in love with the competition does, on another positive note, have the virtue of never succumbing to played-out body image commentary.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/jXCTuQZrS6s)]

Millie (Danielle Macdonald), a whip-smart but unfulfilled finance executive whose boyfriend worships the ground she walks on, runs off to the Scottish Highlands to study with a renowned vocal coach, the sharp-tongued Meghan (Joanna Lumley). Millie demonstrates potential, drawing the jealous irritation of Meghan’s longtime pupil, Max (Hugh Skinner), a ***working-class*** chap who bristles at his wealthy American rival’s sense of entitlement. Millie, after all, pays an abnormally high rate for to study with Meghan.

Like too many movies about singers, “Falling for Figaro” builds toward a shot at fame and glory. Naturally, Millie and Max start to get cozy just as the big “Singer of Renown” contest approaches, complicating their plans to stay focused on their training. Good thing their (relatively muted) emotional turmoil actually spices up the quality of their performances, and kudos to Skinner for bolstering the film’s only convincing character arc when Max’s infatuation with Millie veers into fittingly operatic territory. As for Millie, well, she had it all in the beginning and she has it all in the end, not that you’d expect anything different.

Falling for Figaro

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 44 minutes. In theaters and available to rent or buy on Apple TV, Google Play and other streaming platforms and pay TV operators.

PHOTO: From left, Joanna Lumley and Danielle Macdonald in “Falling for Figaro,” directed by Ben Lewin. (PHOTOGRAPH BY IFC Films FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 30, 2021

**End of Document**



[***H&M Makes Collaborations Work***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:686P-G0J1-DXY4-X0M7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 11, 2023 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Style Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1772 words

**Byline:** By Jessica Testa

**Body**

How consumers became obsessed with fashion collaborations, courtesy of the Swedish mall staple.

The year is 2015. The Supreme Court has ruled in favor of same-sex marriage. Negotiations are about to begin on the Paris Climate Accords. Mainstream pop culture is essentially ''Hamilton,'' ''Hotline Bling'' and true crime docuseries. And Olivier Rousteing is at the H&M store on the Champs-Élysées, where he is starting to feel the pressure of the pandemonium outside. A policeman, he recalled, told him it was unsafe and he should leave.

Mr. Rousteing, the creative director of the French luxury brand Balmain, was making an in-store appearance for the debut of his collaboration with H&M. Just about every year since 2004, the mega-retailer has released at least one collection in partnership with a luxury fashion designer.

Much has changed in fashion in the past 20 years: the power players, the priorities of consumers, the trends and the platforms that amplify those trends. At least one thing hasn't: the frenzy around H&M's high-end designer collaborations.

Modern shopping has been shaped by this frenzy; collaborations have infested the landscape of fashion, from low to high. Just ask anyone swept up in the mess of Yeezy Gap in 2020 or Louis Vuitton and Supreme in 2017, or who has indulged in Dior Birkenstocks or an Hermès Apple Watch. Arguably, it all began with H&M.

Several of H&M's limited-edition collections have sold out within hours. Thousands have lined up outside its stores, sometimes overnight, including resellers looking to flip the sold-out pieces on eBay.

When Balmain's collaboration was released, one shopper in London described the scene as ''dangerous'' because of all the jostling. But for many fans of Mr. Rousteing, this was their first chance to buy his work -- to dress in the curve-hugging metallics of the ''Balmain Army,'' whose generals have included Beyoncé, Rihanna and Kim Kardashian.

Balmain's dresses typically cost more than $1,000, but at H&M, thanks to cheaper materials and production processes, a plunging sequined minidress that seemed to contour the body like celebrities of the era contoured their faces was $199. A velvet blazer with strong shoulders and intricate pearl-like embellishments was $549, as opposed to $3,000; a cotton T-shirt with Balmain's logo was $34.99, not $395. The ad campaign was shot on a fake subway car, as if to emphasize that this collection was made for people who rode public transportation.

In a recent interview with The New York Times, Mr. Rousteing called the collaboration one of the ''top three chapters'' of his career. It was a validation to him, he said, proof of his appeal with the public, even to critics who may not have appreciated the young designer's aesthetic.

''It changed my positioning in the fashion industry,'' said Mr. Rousteing, then 30. ''I was still 'the kid' in fashion at the time, and sometimes the press has been really tough on me. When they saw that the clients responded in such a humongous way, I think people started to realize that it was just not fireworks. My clothes, my vision, works.''

On Thursday, another designer will take a turn at this right of passage: Casey Cadwallader of Mugler, who has devoted much of his H&M collection to resurrecting archival designs, simplifying Mugler's existing designs, or to making the sexy-alien aesthetic slightly more wearable. (Nipples may get three more centimeters of fabric coverage, for example.) In some cases, he replicated his ''greatest hits'' almost exactly, only using H&M fabrics and mass-production methods, as with a two-tone cropped denim jacket, priced by Mugler around $1,000 and by H&M at $299.

''Fashion is here to make people happy,'' Mr. Cadwallader said. ''The more people that the work can reach and make happy, the happier I am.''

Karl Did It First

When Karl Lagerfeld became the first designer to collaborate with H&M in 2004, people were in shock, said Shawn Grain Carter, an associate professor of fashion business management at the Fashion Institute of Technology. ''Remember, that was the death knell for Halston, when he did a collaboration with J.C. Penney,'' she said. Because of the collaboration, she noted, Bergdorf Goodman stopped selling Halston.

At the time (1983), the concept of mixing ''high'' and ''low'' was not yet in vogue. But at the start of the 21st century, it came to define fashion. The first lady shopped at J. Crew. Bloggers infiltrated the editorial elite, and emerging social media platforms gave rise to new style stars. Before all that, though, the designer Isaac Mizrahi made a splashy debut at Target in 2003. The next year, Mr. Lagerfeld brought his sleek collection to H&M.

According to H&M lore, Mr. Lagerfeld immediately said yes after being approached by Donald Schneider, who later became H&M's artistic director. They knew each other already; Mr. Schneider had worked at French Vogue.

Mr. Lagerfeld's participation signaled to other designers that they could follow suit. The next H&M collaborator was Stella McCartney, who was followed by a wide range of names. For every designer who went in the direction of streetwear (Moschino) and sport (Alexander Wang), others were inspired by deconstruction (Maison Martin Margiela) and the avant-garde (Comme des Garçons).

Ann-Sofie Johansson, the creative adviser at H&M, said the best-selling collaborations have generally been the ''more glamorous'' ones, versus conceptual collections, like Roberto Cavalli and Balmain.

''I think every designer is a little bit worried,'' said Ms. Johansson, who has been with H&M for 35 years. ''We all always tell them, there's going to be a long queue, you don't have to worry.'' The designer Alber Elbaz was so concerned that he pulled up in a limousine outside the Fifth Avenue store to spy on the line for his Lanvin collaboration in 2010. He then took selfies and chatted with customers, Ms. Johansson said.

From the designer's perspective, the upsides are clear: H&M offers intense exposure, including press coverage and a robust marketing budget. Prince and Nicki Minaj performed at a party celebrating Versace's collaboration in 2011. Sofia Coppola directed a commercial for Marni's collection in 2012, as did Baz Luhrmann for Erdem in 2017.

It can also be personally lucrative for them. The Times has reported that Stella McCartney and Mr. Lagerfeld were each paid $1 million for their collaborations. ''And in many cases, beyond that, there's some sort of a royalty or a revenue share on top,'' said Marc Beckman, whose advertising firm DMA United has brokered fashion collaborations involving Gucci, LeSportsac and the N.B.A. H&M declined to comment on its financial agreements with designers.

Yet some designers, such as Rick Owens, have spoken out against working with fast-fashion companies, citing concerns over waste and disposability -- an image H&M has spent years toiling to shed.

Here, the designers provide an upside to H&M: a ''halo effect,'' Mr. Beckman said.

''Some people will stay interested in the environmental concerns, regardless of these top-tier types of aspirational collaborations,'' he said. ''But a lot of people will look the other way so that they can get a piece of luxury.''

Democratization or Dilution?

A decade ago, Jessica Y. Flores waited in line overnight for H&M's Versace collaboration at a store in Midtown Manhattan. She sat on the sidewalk, she said, recalling that it was so cold outside that people took turns warming up inside a nearby pharmacy.

She was there because she'd grown up admiring Versace. ''But I am someone who was a first-generation American, and I come from a ***working-class*** family,'' said Ms. Flores, now 36. ''Buying high-end luxury to wear was not something that was available to me. I heard about this collection, and I was like: 'Oh, I can buy this.'''

Afterward, she posted a video of her haul to her new YouTube channel. Today, she calls herself the ''collaboration collection girl of YouTube,'' having tracked 11 years of explosive growth in the mass-market collaboration landscape. She has made vlogs about buying bags from Fendace, sneakers from Nike and Tiffany and clothes from Target's collections with Victoria Beckham and many more. (She has not received free or discounted clothes from these brands but has occasionally produced sponsored content for other companies.) (While Target's collaboration program has continued since Mr. Mizrahi's days, the company's focus has turned increasingly to emerging designers rather than luxury brands.)

Ms. Flores has seen how collaborations have gone from mass-market efforts at democratization -- a term used by most people interviewed for this story -- to in-house drops led by high-end brands. When Gucci and Balenciaga collaborated with Adidas, for example, the pieces were sold on the luxury brands' platforms and at their prices: $850 for a pair of logo-covered Gazelles or pre-worn-down Stan Smiths.

Lately she has noticed some negative comments about the accessibility of Mugler's collaboration. ''One of the phrases that keeps coming up, over and over again, is that 'It'll cheapen the brand,''' she said. Complicating matters is Mugler's decision to offer some near-replicas of its core pieces.

''If the silhouette is so similar to the runway collection that you can't distinguish why you would offer it at such a low price point, you are very close to the line,'' Ms. Grain Carter said -- the line being ''the dilution of the brand.''

Quality and craftsmanship are what traditionally set low-end and high-end fashion apart. So what happens when H&M sells pieces that closely resemble the high-end versions, and made with more expensive materials than its regular lines?

''I was very much expecting the cheap substitute for every fabric that we normally use,'' Mr. Cadwallader said of the development process with H&M. But in many cases, he said, the company was using materials similar to his. ''It really looks like the real thing.''

Still, Ms. Flores is not convinced the ''cheapening'' conversation she has seen online is anything more than elitism. ''Some people do not want the everyday person to have access to the things that they have access to,'' she said.

As for Thursday, she doesn't know whether she'll try to shop the collaboration. Her favored H&M store in Queens closed last year. And the designs are a little too revealing and body-conscious for her current tastes.

But many signs point to another swift clearing out of every last pair of sheer leggings and all the corset hoodies. Because, as Mr. Beckman said, ''H&M just dominates this.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/11/style/fast-fashion-h-and-m-why-are-all-those-people-outside-hm-again.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/11/style/fast-fashion-h-and-m-why-are-all-those-people-outside-hm-again.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: One item in Donatella Versace's collaboration collection with H&M at Pier 57. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EVAN SUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (D1)

Left, the Balmain introduction at the H&M store at Oxford Circus in London in 2015. Above, Donatella Versace with Nicki Minaj, who performed at the introduction of the Versace H&M collaboration at Pier 57 in New York in 2011. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROB STOTHARD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

EVAN SUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Clockwise from top left: Karl Lagerfeld clothes at H&M on Fifth Avenue in 2004

H&M collaboration items

previewing an H&M-Mugler collaboration in April

and a Balmain-H&M collaboration illustration. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BARBARA ALPER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MATTEO PRANDONI/BFA VIA H&M) (D5) This article appeared in print on page D1, D5.

**Load-Date:** May 11, 2023

**End of Document**



[***In Shaky Start, Ron DeSantis Joins 2024 Race, Hoping to Topple Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:689J-17T1-DXY4-X0P4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 24, 2023 Wednesday 09:23 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 2055 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas and Shane Goldmacher

**Highlight:** The Florida governor, Donald Trump’s strongest challenger since 2016, made an unusual and glitch-marred entrance on Twitter alongside Elon Musk. He now faces a daunting clash with Mr. Trump and his scorched-earth tactics.

**Body**

The Florida governor, Donald Trump’s strongest challenger since 2016, made an unusual and glitch-marred entrance on Twitter alongside Elon Musk. He now faces a daunting clash with Mr. Trump and his scorched-earth tactics.

Ron DeSantis’s long-awaited official entry into the 2024 presidential campaign went haywire at its start on Wednesday during a glitch-filled livestream over Twitter.

Despite the problems, Mr. DeSantis, the combative 44-year-old Republican governor of Florida who has championed conservative causes and thrown a yearslong flurry of punches at America’s left, provides Donald J. Trump the most formidable Republican rival he has faced since his ascent in 2016. His candidacy comes at a pivotal moment for the Republican Party, which must choose between aligning once more behind Mr. Trump — who lost in 2020 and continues to rage falsely about a stolen election — or uniting around a new challenger to take on President Biden.

But on Wednesday, Mr. DeSantis’s official run for the White House got off to an embarrassing start as the planned livestream with Twitter’s eccentric billionaire owner, Elon Musk, was marred by technical problems and dead air. The audio cut in and out amid talk of “melting the servers,” hot mic whispering and on-the-spot troubleshooting.

When, after more than 25 minutes, Mr. DeSantis finally spoke, he declared, “I am running for president of the United States to lead our great American comeback.”

The extended social media hiccup — as more than 500,000 people were waiting — was gleefully cheered on the very platform Mr. DeSantis was supposed to be commandeering for his campaign. Donald Trump Jr. wrote a single word: “#DeSaster.” Mr. Biden posted a donation button to his re-election campaign with the words, “This link works.” The audience when Mr. DeSantis did deliver his remarks was smaller than it had been during the initial minutes when no one was speaking.

Despite his inauspicious start on Wednesday and having [*slipped well behind Mr. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/13/us/politics/desantis-trump-2024.html) in polls in recent months, Mr. DeSantis retains a host of strengths: a mountain of cash, a robust campaign operation and a series of conservative policy victories in Florida after a landslide re-election triumph last fall. The governor, who rose to national prominence with his restriction-averse handling of the coronavirus pandemic, argues that his “Florida Blueprint” can be a model for reshaping the United States in a starkly conservative mold, especially on social issues.

“American decline is not inevitable,” Mr. DeSantis said. “It is a choice. And we should choose a new direction, a path that will lead to American revitalization.” He accused Mr. Biden of taking “his cues from the woke mob.”

Mr. DeSantis did not mention Mr. Trump by name. But he did sketch out some of the contrasts he is expected to sharpen in the coming months. “We must look forward, not backwards,” he said on the Twitter Space livestream. “We need the courage to lead and we must have the strength to win.”

The DeSantis campaign had invited prominent donors to Miami on Wednesday for a fund-raising event, hosting them at a conference space at the Four Seasons as the Twitter discussion was projected onto a large screen. Then they waited. And waited.

“Elon’s got to staff up a little more to boost that server capacity,” said Brandon Rosner, a donor from Milwaukee. He was not discouraged. “Once we got through the original glitch there, I think people were very excited,” he said.

Mr. DeSantis is confronting the daunting endeavor of toppling a former president whose belligerence and loyal base of support have discouraged most leading Republicans from making frontal attacks against him. Mr. Trump, who has a mounting list of [*legal*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/03/30/nyregion/trump-indictment-news) [*troubles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/04/us/politics/trump-documents-subpoenas-justice-department.html), clearly sees Mr. DeSantis as a political threat and has unloaded on him for months, mocking him as “Ron DeSanctimonious” and slamming his stewardship of Florida.

“Trump is not as invincible as he once seemed and DeSantis is a serious contender,” said Mike Murphy, a veteran Republican strategist. “There are Republican voters looking for someone who can move beyond Trump, someone who can fight the liberals but also win elections. That’s the space DeSantis is trying to inhabit.”

Mr. DeSantis’s chances of capturing the nomination may depend on whether the Republican primary becomes a crowded, Trump-dominated food fight — something similar to what unfolded in 2016 — or if he can turn the contest into a two-man race. The Republican field has slowly ballooned, with Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina [*announcing a bid this week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/22/us/politics/tim-scott-2024-campaign-trump.html) and Vice President Mike Pence [*expected to join soon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/15/us/politics/pence-2024-preparations.html).

To winnow the field back down, Mr. DeSantis is likely to need strong showings in Iowa and New Hampshire, the first two nominating states, with anti-Trump voters coalescing around him. His advisers and allies see a victory in socially conservative Iowa as a must, and believe he needs to follow with at least a close second-place finish in more moderate New Hampshire.

Mr. DeSantis has the financial ammunition to compete: He is likely to start with more money in an outside group than any Republican primary candidate in history. He has more than $80 million expected to be [*transferred*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/08/us/politics/ron-desantis-2024-fundraising-trump.html) from his state account to his super PAC, which says it has also [*raised*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/24/us/politics/ron-desantis-2024-super-pac.html) $40 million, in addition to having tens of millions more in donor commitments, according to people familiar with the fund-raising.

A key focus of the primary, and the general election should Mr. DeSantis make it that far, will be his record as governor. He and a pliant Florida Legislature have [*passed contentious laws*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/desantis-florida-bills.html) that have excited the right and angered many Democrats, including Black and L.G.B.T.Q. people, students and abortion-rights supporters in Florida. The bills seem to reflect Mr. DeSantis’s plan to run to the right of Mr. Trump in the primary, which could leave him vulnerable with moderates and independents.

In the most recent legislative session alone, Florida Republicans [*banned abortion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/13/us/florida-six-week-abortion-ban.html#:~:text=MIAMI%20%E2%80%94%20Florida%20lawmakers%20voted%20to,most%20restrictive%20in%20the%20country.) after six weeks of pregnancy; [*expanded*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/20/us/desantis-death-penalty-florida.html) the use of the death penalty; allowed Floridians to [*carry*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/05/06/us/politics/desantis-florida-bills.html) concealed guns without a permit; restricted [*gender-transition care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/05/us/transgender-care-ban-florida-ron-desantis.html) for minors; [*limited*](https://apnews.com/article/desantis-florida-lgbtq-education-health-c68a7e5fe5cf22ab8cca324b00644119) teaching about gender identity and sexual orientation; [*defunded*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/15/us/politics/ron-desantis-dei-bill.html) diversity, equity and inclusion programs at public colleges; and shielded records of his [*own scrutinized travel*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/20/us/politics/desantis-private-jets-donors.html) from the public.

Mr. DeSantis has also shown a willingness to use executive power in ways little seen before in Tallahassee, the state capital, leading some Democrats and civil rights leaders to worry that he shares Mr. Trump’s strongman style but has a greater ability to carry out that vision.

He has [*picked a long-running fight*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/26/us/politics/desantis-disney-republicans.html) with Disney, one of Florida’s largest employers and a [*canny political adversary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/18/business/disney-ron-desantis-florida.html). He removed a local prosecutor from office in what records show was a [*decision motivated by politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/11/us/politics/desantis-andrew-warren-liberal-prosecutor.html), installed his allies at a public liberal arts university in a bid to [*transform*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/14/us/ron-desantis-new-college-florida.html) it into a bastion of conservative thought, said he would [*reject*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/01/us/college-board-advanced-placement-african-american-studies.html) a high school Advanced Placement course on African American studies for “indoctrinating” students and had state law enforcement officers [*monitor*](https://www.miamiherald.com/news/politics-government/state-politics/article273247175.html) holiday drag shows for lewd behavior.

While his stump speech focuses on a lengthy recounting of those and other conservative policy achievements, Mr. DeSantis is expected to start talking more about his biography, with help from his wife, [*Casey DeSantis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/24/us/politics/casey-desantis-strategy.html), a former television journalist who plays an influential role in his office and decision-making.

Raised in Dunedin, a suburb of Tampa, Mr. DeSantis grew up in a ***working-class*** home. He excelled at baseball, captaining the squad at Yale University as a hard-hitting outfielder.

He later enrolled at Harvard Law School, then served in the Navy as a military lawyer, deploying to Guantánamo Bay and Iraq. He worked as a federal prosecutor in Florida before winning election to Congress in 2012. He was a founding member of the House Freedom Caucus, a group of anti-establishment conservatives.

After three terms in Washington, he ran for Florida’s open governorship, winning the Republican primary largely thanks to an endorsement from Mr. Trump. But they fell out when Mr. DeSantis began making noises about running for president in 2024.

The pandemic turned Mr. DeSantis into a Fox News fixture. He has criticized social distancing measures, masks and vaccines — tools [*fitfully employed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/31/us/politics/trump-coronavirus.html) by the Trump administration — and has already hinted that he will contrast his actions in Florida with Mr. Trump’s approach. In particular, Mr. DeSantis has gone after Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, who led the nation’s pandemic response.

But the step-up from a statewide campaign, even one as successful as Mr. DeSantis’s nearly 20-percentage-point romp, to a presidential campaign is not easy. As the initial Twitter Space floundered on Wednesday, Mr. Musk was forced to post a new link, severely reducing the audience for Mr. DeSantis’s announcement.

While more than 500,000 people tuned in to the first Twitter Space, the second one had only 163,000 listeners by the time Mr. Musk and the technology entrepreneur David Sacks began interviewing the governor. The conversation quickly turned into a surprisingly dry discussion about the overreach of federal agencies, the merits of Twitter and occasionally bizarre tangents like the license plate number of Representative Thomas Massie, a Kentucky Republican who has endorsed Mr. DeSantis and joined the online conversation.

Mr. DeSantis’s campaign tried to put a positive spin on the technical mishaps, writing on Twitter: “It seems we broke the internet with so much excitement.” An aide announced they had raised $1 million in an hour. All the while, Mr. Trump’s team rejoiced. “This is criminal for a campaign,” said Chris LaCivita, a senior adviser to the former president.

Mr. DeSantis had waited months to declare his candidacy, citing a need for Florida’s Legislature to first complete its session in early May. The delay allowed Mr. Trump to test out attacks on Mr. DeSantis and secure the endorsement of numerous members of Congress, including several from Florida.

As Mr. DeSantis ramped up his presidential preparations this year with a book tour and a trip abroad, he has seemed to struggle at points.

Awkward moments — including [*cringeworthy facial expressions*](https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/ron-desantis-face) — generated negative headlines. So did some poorly calculated policy pronouncements, particularly his declaration that defending Ukraine from the Russian invasion [*was not a vital U.S. interest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/14/us/politics/ron-desantis-ukraine-republicans.html). Some major donors who once saw him as the most suitable Trump challenger [*backed away*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/25/us/politics/ron-desantis-ken-griffin-2024.html).

At the heart of the criticism is the perception that Mr. DeSantis, a supreme believer in his own abilities, can seem aloof and quick to anger. Even his allies acknowledge he is not the backslapping, baby-kissing type — concerns he has tried to address by spending more time greeting voters and taking selfies.

“He is an introvert in an extrovert’s job,” said Alex Andrade, a Republican state representative from the Florida Panhandle who says he admires the governor’s reserved and analytical approach.

In recent weeks, Mr. DeSantis has seemed to recover from his wobbles, hitting back with more force against Mr. Trump. He has criticized the former president for not endorsing Florida’s six-week abortion ban and has described a “culture of losing” overtaking the Republican Party under Mr. Trump. He also [*told donors in a private call*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/05/18/us/politics/desantis-2024-presidential-bid.html) that Mr. Trump could not beat Mr. Biden.

In the Twitter event, Mr. DeSantis took some sideswipes at the former president, a onetime reality television star, at one point saying, “Government is not entertainment. It’s not about building a brand or virtue-signaling.”

As they wrapped up the hourlong conversation, which meandered from Article 2 of the Constitution to Bitcoin, Mr. DeSantis said, “We should do it again. I mean, I think it was fun.”

Mr. Sacks concurred. “It’s not how you start,” he added, “it’s how you finish.”

Jonathan Swan and Alyce McFadden contributed reporting.

Jonathan Swan and Alyce McFadden contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Ron DeSantis has forged a conservative record in Florida. (A1); Advisers to Ron DeSantis, Florida’s Republican governor, see early contests in Iowa and New Hampshire as crucial to his candidacy. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES); PHOTOS (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** May 25, 2023

**End of Document**



[***No New Trial in Murder Mystery That Gripped France, Court Rules***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66M0-51D1-DXY4-X38B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 13, 2022 Thursday 23:05 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 841 words

**Byline:** Aurelien Breeden

**Highlight:** Omar Raddad was convicted in the 1991 killing of a wealthy widow, but scant evidence and a grammatical error sowed doubts about his guilt. He sought a retrial based on new DNA evidence.

**Body**

Omar Raddad was convicted in the 1991 killing of a wealthy widow, but scant evidence and a grammatical error sowed doubts about his guilt. He sought a retrial based on new DNA evidence.

PARIS — A Moroccan-born man convicted three decades ago in the grisly killing of a wealthy widow on the French Riviera will not get a new trial, a top French court ruled on Thursday, the latest twist in [*one of France’s most enduring murder mysteries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/20/world/europe/france-murder-ghislaine-marchal-omar-raddad.html?searchResultPosition=7).

Omar Raddad had been found guilty of the 1991 murder of Ghislaine Marchal, 65, who lived by herself in a large villa north of Cannes. Police found her dead in the locked basement of an annex to the villa, where a message written in Ms. Marchal’s own blood seemed to accuse Mr. Raddad, her gardener at the time.

Mr. Raddad, now 60, has always maintained his innocence. He was released from prison more than two decades ago, but sought a new trial to reverse his conviction and clear his name.

France was long captivated by the unresolved mysteries of the brutal murder and by the social undertones of the case, which involved two protagonists from starkly different backgrounds: a wealthy victim from a prominent family, and a ***working-class*** Arab immigrant who was unable to read or write and spoke little French.

The case proved particularly gripping because of a strange grammatical error in the message supposedly scrawled by Ms. Marchal, who was found with multiple bruises and cuts behind a barricaded door. While she appeared to have written “Omar killed me,” the sentence contained a glaring mistake — in the original French, “Omar m’a tuer,” instead of “m’a tuée,” using the infinitive rather than a form of past tense.

Mr. Raddad’s defenders argued that a woman of Ms. Marchal’s background would not have made such an error, even in her dying moments.

His DNA and fingerprints were never found at the crime scene. Mr. Raddad’s supporters suggested that he was framed and easily convicted because of his background, and famous intellectuals took up his cause.

His lawyers succeeded in [*partially reopening the case*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/16/world/europe/omar-raddad-cote-dazur-dna-france.html?searchResultPosition=1) last year and requested a retrial, after presenting new DNA evidence that they said exonerated him. Judges on France’s top appeals court ordered further analysis of the new evidence, in what Mr. Raddad’s supporters had hoped was the first step toward a new trial.

But on Thursday, the court rejected the request.

Sylvie Noachovitch, Mr. Raddad’s lawyer, told reporters at the courthouse in Paris that she was “absolutely scandalized” and said she would appeal before the European Court of Human Rights.

“I will never abandon Omar Raddad,” Ms. Noachovitch said. “My determination is even stronger, stronger than ever.”

Retrials are rare in France, and retrials where convictions are overturned are even rarer. In 2002, a similar request by Mr. Raddad, based on new testimony and earlier DNA evidence, had [*already been rejected*](https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/2002/11/22/la-cour-de-cassation-rejette-la-requete-en-revision-du-proces-d-omar-raddad_4248942_1819218.html).

Ms. Marchal’s family has always maintained that Mr. Raddad is guilty and had opposed a new trial. In a statement issued on Thursday by Sabine du Granrut, Ms. Marchal’s niece, the family said it hoped the decision would “put a definitive end to a case that it has painfully experienced.”

“The family regrets that for the past 30 years this affair has been the subject of media agitation,” the statement said.

At his trial, in 1994, prosecutors said that Mr. Raddad had a gambling problem and had killed his employer in a fit of rage when she refused to give him an advance on his wages. Mr. Raddad’s supporters argued that he got along well with Ms. Marchal and had no reason to kill her.

Mr. Raddad was convicted and sentenced to 18 years in prison, although he was freed after four years following a request from King Hassan II of Morocco, where the case was followed closely, and a partial pardon from France’s president at the time, Jacques Chirac.

In 2015, advances in DNA technology placed the DNA of four unidentified men — none of them Mr. Raddad — at the crime scene, including one whose genetic traces were mixed with the victim’s blood.

Mr. Raddad’s supporters said the new evidence would help identify the real murderer. Ms. Marchal’s family countered that evidence was handled with less care three decades ago and that the DNA traces were contamination from an unrelated source.

In its ruling on Thursday, the court said that the discovery of new DNA at the scene did not constitute sufficient grounds to order a new trial. There was too much uncertainty about where it came from and it was impossible to establish when it had been left there, the court said.

The newly discovered DNA “is not sufficient, in itself, to establish their connection with the case, as these traces may have been left before or after the murder,” the court wrote in its ruling.

Ms. Noachovitch, Mr. Raddad’s lawyer, disputed that reasoning, arguing that the judges had ignored a 2014 law that relaxed the criteria for retrials and that the new evidence, even if impossible to date, cast enough doubt on Mr. Raddad’s conviction to justify a new hearing.

This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2022

**End of Document**



[***What the Democrats Need to Do***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64WB-9341-DXY4-X3P5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 27, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 10; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 2589 words

**Byline:** By Michael Kazin

**Body**

Why have Joe Biden's ambitions for a new New Deal stalled, if not completely run aground? The pitch for the president's Build Back Better program on the White House website certainly sounds like something Franklin Roosevelt could have said during the Great Depression: It calls ''the hard work and ingenuity of the American people'' the greatest ''economic engine'' the world has ever seen, but charges that ''for too long, the economy has worked great for those at the top, while working families continually get squeezed.''

What's more, a majority of Americans favor the particulars of Build Back Better -- even after Senator Joe Manchin of West Virginia rejected the bill a week before Christmas. Polls show that Americans want Congress to spend big to make the transition to renewable energy, guarantee every employee four weeks of paid leave, renew the expired Child Tax Credit, and create universal prekindergarten -- and they love the idea of expanding Medicare to cover hearing care.

But Democrats have a problem that has bedeviled their leaders on and off ever since shrewd political bosses from Albany and stalwart Jeffersonians from Virginia founded what would become the party roughly 200 years ago. They lack a social movement of working people that could turn passive support for universal social programs into a force large and vocal enough to enact lasting change. Over the past decade, Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter and the Resistance have come and gone without achieving systemic reforms that reshaped this nation or rectified the durable injustices that plague it. That is because none of those movements had what the party needs: a message that can unite ordinary Americans across racial lines.

The possibility of such a coalition exists in American politics, lurking just outside the field of our vision: As young workers seek to unionize Starbucks branches and Google offices, they are breathing fresh life into the labor movement for the first time in a generation. And while they face formidable obstacles, Democrats need to grab this opportunity if they intend to birth a new era of progressive change. Without such a movement, hopes for a transformative age of reform are likely to be stillborn. Throughout American history, political elites have never started fundamental policy changes on their own; they need a well-organized force of discontented, determined citizens to make them do it.

Three times in the 20th century, Democrats produced major progressive gains, erecting pillars of corporate regulation and social welfare that endure to this day. The New Deal, from 1933 to 1939, did the most to transform the nation. But Democrats also created landmarks in social policy during the brief, yet consequential, periods from 1913 to 1916 under Woodrow Wilson, and from 1961 to 1966 under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. These three eras of progressive triumph offer two central lessons for Mr. Biden and his fellow partisans.

First, to enact change, a social movement has to grow large and powerful enough to compel Democrats to listen to its demands and grant some of them. Wilson and his fellow Democrats rode a long wave of public hostility to the ''monopoly'' that united farmers who suffered from high tariffs, workers chafing under the long hours and low pay offered by big companies like U.S. Steel, and anyone for whom ''Wall Street'' was shorthand for a power that corrupted politics and made a small minority of Americans obscenely rich.

During Wilson's first term, Democratic lawmakers responded to the populist mood by enacting major pieces of legislation that sought to fulfill the pledge in their 1912 platform ''to protect the people from injustice at the hands of those who seek to make the government a private asset in business.'' The Underwood Tariff Act instituted an income tax on the richest Americans. The Federal Reserve Act aimed to break the dominion of the ''money trust.'' The Adamson Act guaranteed an eight-hour day to railroad workers, then the most critical employees in the land.

In the 1930s, the burgeoning Congress of Industrial Organizations relatively quickly won recognition from such manufacturing giants as General Motors and Westinghouse. Anger at autocratic bosses and the misery of the Great Depression helped unions like the Teamsters and Machinists, which belonged to the older American Federation of Labor, to make inroads as well. And in industrial states and cities through the upper Midwest and Northeast, the labor movement became the life of the party, electing liberal Democrats in formerly Republican strongholds like Michigan and Pennsylvania and turning big cities from New York to San Francisco into bastions of support for Roosevelt and his allies. Those politicians passed such measures as Social Security, a federal minimum wage and the G.I. Bill, which have withstood conservative assaults for more than eight decades.

In the 1960s, organized labor also gave vital assistance to the Black freedom movement as it surged in the South and then across the nation, helping finance the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963 and sending busloads of members to the protest on the Mall. Their D.C. staff members lobbied not only for the civil rights and voting rights bills, but also for other items on Johnson's progressive to-do list. Without labor -- a strong social movement challenging congressional Democrats to push for transformative change -- none of this would have been possible.

A second lesson to take away from this history is that the most durable progressive programs Democrats enacted not only aided the great majority of Americans, no matter their race, but were also perceived to be helping everyone. The reforms Wilson signed failed that standard. Nearly every member of his party in Congress who voted to curb monopolies and tax the rich was committed to maintaining the brutal system of Jim Crow that restricted and terrorized the lives of Black people. Such blatant racism did not merely alienate and anger those Black people who still could exercise their right to vote and help persuade others to move to the North. It also meant that Democrats could rely on just a single region of the nation to reliably back their nominees.

Labor progressives during the New Deal era sought to remedy this gross moral and political error. From the start, C.I.O. unions welcomed African Americans as equal members and pressed Democrats to take a strong stand for civil rights. The battle against white supremacy, union officials contended, was a class issue. ''Behind every lynching,'' asserted the C.I.O.'s national director, a former coal miner, ''is the figure of the labor exploiter, the man or the corporation who would deny labor its fundamental rights.'' It was a message universal enough to ally Black people with the organized white ***working class***, bringing half a million African Americans into unions by the end of the 1930s, and making it increasingly difficult, at least in the North and West, for a Democratic politician to be both an ardent New Dealer and a vocal defender of Jim Crow.

In crafting most of the signature bills of the Great Society, Johnson, a different kind of Southern Democrat, neglected a primary lesson of the New Deal, the genesis of his own political career. Under Roosevelt, Democrats had enacted measures that established programs like Social Security they could credibly claim served the needs of the most citizens. But the most widely publicized measures Johnson signed, with the exception of Medicare, were described as benefits to minorities who were poor and disproportionately nonwhite. The president and his aides argued that the better-off majority should back these programs more out of sympathy than solidarity. It was a sincere appeal to the better angels of the nation -- and a laudable break with American apartheid.

But in a society still plagued by racism, it was not effective politics. Since Johnson left office, neither his party nor the G.O.P. has dominated the electoral terrain for more than a few years at a stretch.

For Democrats to reconstruct a majoritarian coalition, they will need a social movement with which to ally, one that would combine the searing critique of corporate power that drove reforms when Wilson was president with the grass-roots numbers and energy of the unions that once helped the party secure an interracial ***working-class*** base.

The strength of the current Democratic coalition -- unlike its predecessors under Wilson, Roosevelt, and Johnson -- does not reside in the bottom half of the income scale. Its core voters sit at the poles of the social and educational hierarchy: well-educated professionals at one end and poorer people of color at the other. That demographic reality hamstrung President Barack Obama, himself a rather perfect embodiment of his party's current base: the interracial child of parents with advanced degrees. In 2011, Mr. Obama declared that the Great Recession was ''a make-or-break moment for the middle class, and for all those who are fighting to get into the middle class.'' But aside from signing the Affordable Care Act, he was unable or unwilling to back up that alarm with any significant new program to aid the ***working class***.

The social movements that somewhat grudgingly back Democrats today represent Americans in disparate types of groups as well. Activists for reforming the criminal justice system, curbing climate change, and securing equal rights for L.G.B.T.Q. people often endorse the common vision of an egalitarian, sustainable world. But there is little overlap among the main demands of these movements or among those who devote their lives to fighting for them. No contemporary movement has the size or political clout of the unions that helped finance Democratic campaigns in their liberal heyday -- and advance their legislative priorities.

Another problem for Democrats is geography: Progressive activists form a consistent critical mass only in deep-blue cities or states -- which limits their ability to win over moderate voters in other parts of the country. Universities and progressive think tanks like the Roosevelt Institute and Economic Policy Institute abound with innovative ideas about how to narrow the income gap, expand and lower the cost of health care, put together a Green New Deal, curb the power of Amazon and its corporate ilk. But their plans lie fallow without a well-organized constituency of ***working-class*** Americans that can elect enough politicians to turn them into law.

One can detect some shoots of a potential revival. Workers at Starbucks, a rising number of websites and periodicals, and high-tech companies like Google and Apple are joining unions and fighting to get their employers to recognize them. And most Americans appear to share their esteem for institutions whose purpose has always been to bring a semblance of democracy to the job. In recent polling, organized labor is more popular than it has been since the mid-1960s.

However, as with social media, to ''like'' a group does not mean one will take action to join or build it or even know how to go about doing either. Most contemporary Americans see unions as a good idea, but not an institution to which people they know belong and cherish. With union membership down to only a tenth of the work force nationwide, only government employee unions remain a powerful factor in most Democratic campaigns.

Still, progressive politicians who consistently talk about class inequality can win, even in red areas. Sherrod Brown, a stalwart champion of unions who has made fighting for ''the dignity of work'' his signature issue, has been elected three times to the U.S. Senate in increasingly Republican-friendly Ohio. So has Montana's Jon Tester, who has proposed a bill to bar corporations that lock out their employees during labor conflicts from receiving tax breaks, deductions, or credits.

In his two runs for the White House, Bernie Sanders articulated a similar message with a blunt passion no other politician with national standing could match. But his identity as a proud Socialist may have cost him the nomination by turning off the strong partisans who vote in Democratic primaries.

The Democrat who did get elected president could take some actions that would help stoke a movement of working people. Mr. Biden could speak often and forcefully about how Build Back Better would improve the lives of most Americans. He could stress the virtues of the Protect the Right to Organize Act, which passed the House a year ago, but remains stalled in the Senate by the seemingly unbreakable filibuster. Right now, few people outside the Beltway bubble are likely to have even heard of this measure.

Last fall, a liberal polling firm conducted a survey in swing states and battleground districts to test how voters would react to a Democratic candidate who articulated such an aggressive pro-worker, anti-corporate message:

People are living paycheck to paycheck and struggling to pay their bills and taxes. They need a government that looks out for the middle class, working families, small businesses, and the vulnerable who work hard. They don't need a government that jumps whenever the biggest corporations send money and lobbyists. My approach is blue collar. We should bend over backwards for those who work hard so we create jobs in America and grow the middle class again.

After hearing that pitch, respondents increased their backing for Democrats to eight percentage points from three, enough to win seats in nearly every battleground district and state. Bruised by the hardships of the long pandemic, many of those polled, according to the longtime strategist Stanley B. Greenberg, were ''surprised to hear that Democrats are dissatisfied with an economy where many of the voters ... live paycheck to paycheck'' and that ''Democrats prioritize big changes in the economy and who holds power.''

Of course, even if Mr. Biden's party did start putting out such a message in clear and memorable ways, it would still face formidable structural obstacles to enacting anything that might resemble a modest version of the New Deal or Great Society. In 1935, when Congress passed the Social Security and National Labor Relations Acts, there were a scant 25 Republicans in the then 96-member Senate -- half as many as exist to do Mitch McConnell's bidding today. Not so long ago, Democrats routinely got elected to the Senate from Nebraska to North Dakota and Oklahoma; their candidates have almost no chance in such states today.

Lacking the kind of mass movement that catalyzed reform surges in the past, it's hardly surprising that Mr. Biden and his party have disappointed many of their voters and themselves. Such pressure must come mainly from outside Washington -- from ordinary working people and their family members, particularly those disgusted with both parties but who retain the ability to spark the kind of citizen activism on which progressives have always relied.

Michael Kazin is a professor of history at Georgetown University. This essay is adapted in part from his new book, ''What It Took to Win: A History of the Democratic Party.''

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/25/opinion/democrats-biden-reform.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/25/opinion/democrats-biden-reform.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ryan Peltier FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 27, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Meter Eats First***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6771-9MJ1-DXY4-X0NW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 1, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 7; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1102 words

**Byline:** By Kerry Hudson

**Body**

GLASGOW -- I grew up in a string of dilapidated slum rentals, project housing and homeless hostels. I grew up with a monster in most of those homes.

Small but cruel, it could be found under the stairs, sometimes in the kitchen. You had to feed it with coins, later with cards and keys, or be punished. When there wasn't anything to feed it, everything would go dark. The TV turned off, whatever you were cooking stopped bubbling on the stove, the shower ran cold and the food in the refrigerator started to spoil. That monster could stop us from bathing, eating or sleeping. It could, and did, make us ill. And it followed us, a single-parent ***working-class*** family, up and down the country, from one damp and drafty home to the next, no matter how often we fled to what we hoped was a fresh start.

The monster was a prepayment meter. The Meter, as it was called in our house. Effectively a slot machine for pay-as-you-use energy. Some people have meters that can be topped up online, but typically you go to your local convenience store or post office, add money to your card, take it home and insert it into the Meter. You can use energy until your credit runs out. When it does, you're given about $12 of ''emergency credit,'' but you'll need to repay that the next time you top up, before anything goes toward energy.

The saying goes, if you want to add tension to a story, add a ticking clock. That's my memory of the Meter. We'd get down on our knees daily -- somehow they were always placed to force you prostrate before them -- and stare disbelievingly as the numbers ticked down. A literal countdown on top of all of the other stresses of trying to get a too-small income to stretch through the day, week or month.

So what did we do? We used the smallest amount of energy we could. My mother performed a frustrating, occasionally heartbreaking, arithmetic: Could she cook dinner and get the clothes dry on the radiator? If she had a hot shower in the morning, would she be able to put on the heating in our room that night? Was there enough energy left to watch our favorite TV show if all the lights were off?

But nothing was ever enough to appease the Meter. We watched the numbers count down, we negotiated, and we hoped. We hoped it wouldn't run out in the middle of the night, or while we were sick, when we had homework due or had school friends visiting. Most of all, we hoped it wouldn't happen in winter, in freezing temperatures, without even a light to read by as a distraction. But, as inevitably as Monday follows Sunday, it always happened at the worst possible time.

Who'd choose this precarity? Who would want the Meter instead of a monthly bill from the energy company? More than seven million households in Britain have one. There are people who prefer the control of paying as they go, and a lot of Britons are more afraid of huge fuel bills than they used to be. But a lot of people don't get to choose. They're in debt, or have a poor credit rating or move into low-income housing and find one already installed. Sometimes a landlord insists, or they fall behind on their bills and the energy company does.

And the number of people in debt to energy companies has risen markedly this year. The invasion of Ukraine has had a vertiginous impact on the cost of energy here. The British government has offered some belated financial assistance, but most people, however they're billed, are feeling the strain. And as people have fallen behind on payments, power companies have moved aggressively to switch them to prepayment meters -- more than 300,000 applications to forcibly install one have been approved by the courts this year.

The trouble with this is that a prepayment meter is a more expensive way to pay for energy -- more than $300 more this winter, according to an estimate from the charity Citizens Advice. If people are in debt because they can't afford to pay for energy, a plan that insists that they pay for energy at a higher rate while they pay off their debts seems doomed to fail.

And then there is the process of forcibly switching, which is what it sounds like. In my 20s, I lived with my college roommate in a cheap apartment in London above a bookmakers. One night we came home to a letter on our kitchen table. Our power company had been authorized to enter our home and install a prepayment meter because we were behind on our bills. In fact, we were not in debt, but we did have a shady landlord who hadn't legally registered our address, and for almost a year we'd been paying our neighbor's bills. We protested but the engineer arrived anyway and the Meter was installed on the wall by our kitchen table. Though we eventually sorted it out with the power company, the violation of someone being empowered to enter our home remained long after the Meter had gone.

In November the End Fuel Poverty Coalition, a loose grouping of anti-poverty, environmental and health campaigners, and some local councils called for a moratorium on forcibly switching people who have fallen behind on their bills this winter. The argument was that it would lead to ''self-disconnecting'' -- that is, when you have already used your small amount of emergency credit and have no money to top up. To me, describing having no money for heat or light as ''self-disconnecting'' is like calling having no money for food a hunger strike.

I write this just half an hour away from one of the flats I grew up in, where black mold climbed the walls, ice crept across the inside of the windows and the Meter could never be satiated. For much of this month the weather was very cold, and everything was covered in powdered-sugar frost. This year my Christmas tree is strung with colorful lights and I've joyfully baked cookies with my toddler without negotiating with the Meter for the pleasure. I don't believe anyone would choose to do without light or heat, to ''self-disconnect'' if any better option was available.

The government will cut its financial help in the spring. Another generation is growing up with its own monster. Some seven million meters, many of them in the homes of the poor, the sick, the vulnerable, the old; ticking down to sudden darkness, silence and cold.

Kerry Hudson is the author, most recently, of ''Lowborn,'' a memoir of growing up poor in Britain.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/30/opinion/prepayment-meters-uk.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/30/opinion/prepayment-meters-uk.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR7.

**Load-Date:** January 1, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Forgotten Americans, Now Under Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5Y5M-4MF1-JBG3-627V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 9, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 913 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Kristof

**Body**

The economy may get the president re-elected, but not everyone is sharing in its strength.

President Trump declared in his State of the Union address that ''our economy is the best it has ever been.''

Put aside the Trumpian hyperbole, and it's true that the economy is strong -- and that this is critical to Trump's chances for re-election. The Obama recovery has continued under Trump, with the stock market surging and corporate profits swelling. Just last month, employers added 225,000 jobs.

Private wealth owned by American households and nonprofits has soared just since 2000 by the equivalent of more than $800,000 per household, according to Federal Reserve data. Wow! I feel richer already.

Yet we live in two Americas, and there's another side of the country that Trump didn't mention -- one that helped elect him but that he has neglected since. In the other America, suicide rates are at a record high in the post-World War II era, and more Americans die every two weeks from drugs, alcohol and suicide -- ''deaths of despair'' -- than died in 18 years of war in Afghanistan and Iraq.

These deaths are symptoms of a larger economic malaise for ***working-class*** Americans that predates Trump. It's not his fault, but neither has he tried seriously to address it; in some ways, especially in health care, he has worsened it.

Important new research finds that 20 million Americans, particularly those with low levels of education, describe all 30 of the last 30 days as ''bad mental health days.''

''These men and women report in effect that every day of life is a bad day,'' said David G. Blanchflower, a Dartmouth economist who conducted the research. Blanchflower noted that self-reported happiness in America has continued to fall.

Low-income Americans also report levels of physical pain impairing their lives that are higher than reported by wealthier Americans, and far higher than in other advanced countries. One-third of Americans say that they have been in pain ''often'' or ''very often'' in the last four weeks.

Some of the pain probably results from a lack of universal health care. Millions of Americans endure constant toothaches in a way that doesn't happen in our peer countries.

In effect, we have a bifurcated economy, marked by prosperity for millions of Americans and by a Social Great Depression for millions of others.

It's strange to make a comparison to the Great Depression, for output is surging. But consider the effect on mortality: Even during the Great Depression, life expectancy rose strongly, while in three of the last four years it fell because of deaths of despair.

We're used to thinking of a depression as geographic, but this one is demographic. ***Working-class*** Americans, often defined as those without a college degree, are caught in a dust bowl.

''The crisis is almost invisible for those with a college degree,'' noted Anne Case, a Princeton economist who is an author, with her husband, fellow-economist Angus Deaton, of an excellent book coming out this spring about deaths of despair.

It is these ***working-class*** Americans, white and black alike, who have seen earnings collapse, family structure disintegrate and mortality climb. These Americans are earning less on average, adjusted for inflation, than their counterparts back in the 1970s.

''Our story of deaths of despair is essentially a long-run account of destruction of the ***working class***,'' Deaton said.

In the 1930s, President Franklin Roosevelt worked hard to address the Depression with the New Deal. This time, Trump in some ways has exacerbated the pain -- such as by chipping away at access to health care. Some 400,000 children have lost health insurance under Trump.

It's true that unemployment has dropped and that workers at the bottom are enjoying some of the largest wage gains, a pattern that is drawing some people back into the labor force. That's significant and welcome (albeit the wage gains result partly from local increases in the minimum wage and the economic strength partly from trillion-dollar deficits). But Case says that even so, almost half of Americans aged 25 and over with only a high school diploma are no longer in the labor force.

Meanwhile, the central fact of America today is not its economic vigor but its profound inequity.

I noted that private wealth has increased by $800,000 per household. It's similarly true that whenever Jeff Bezos walks into a room, average wealth there shoots up so that each person becomes, on average, a billionaire.

Interesting, but not very meaningful.

\*

Last week, I told how U.S. Bank had fired two employees who had used $20 of their own money to help a stranded customer. Within hours of the column going online, I received a call from the bank's C.E.O., Andrew Cecere, who previously wouldn't return my calls, apologizing and saying that he would correct the situation.

Here's an update. Abigail Gilbert, the manager who was fired, confirms that she will return to her old job. Cecere says the bank is talking with Emily James, the other fired employee, about a job with more responsibility and higher pay; she is also discussing jobs with other companies.

This all sounds promising, but indignant columns are not a scalable solution to the problem of labor injustices.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/08/opinion/sunday/trump-economy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/08/opinion/sunday/trump-economy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A rally last June in Washington sought to push lawmakers to combat suicide. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EVELYN HOCKSTEIN/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST, VIA GETTY IMAGES)

**Load-Date:** February 9, 2020

**End of Document**



[***In Tim Ryan’s Ohio Senate Race, the D Is Often Silent***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66P8-9J61-JBG3-6007-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 24, 2022 Monday 12:13 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 2078 words

**Byline:** Matt Flegenheimer

**Highlight:** Mr. Ryan, the Ohio Democrat who is challenging J.D. Vance, has turned the state into perhaps the country’s unlikeliest Senate battleground.

**Body**

Mr. Ryan, the Ohio Democrat who is challenging J.D. Vance, has turned the state into perhaps the country’s unlikeliest Senate battleground.

COLUMBUS, Ohio — Tim Ryan is the kind of candidate who appears to put some thought into appearing to put no thought into appearances.

His daily uniform exudes well-practiced campaign casual: an Ohio State hoodie on game day; a T-shirt from Dropkick Murphys, the union-minded Celtic punk band, for a recent speech at an A.F.L.-C.I.O. gathering, where he took the stage to Metallica’s “Enter Sandman”; untied white Nikes for a canvass kickoff in the capital, laced tastefully days later for a condolence visit to a Toledo union hall.

His stump speech is a hits reel befitting an eastern Ohio congressman, as if culled from the down-home liner notes of a Springsteen track about the industrial Midwest.

“My grandfather was a steelworker…”

“I’m campaigning for the exhausted majority…”

“Star of the high school football team…”

“O-H!” (I-O.)

Most political races are about authenticity on some level: who tries too hard, who doesn’t try hard enough, who can read the electorate without staring. Mr. Ryan, 49, has made Ohio perhaps the country’s unlikeliest Senate battleground by taking this premise to its logical extreme.

He is seeking to depict his Republican opponent, J.D. Vance, the author and venture capitalist made famous by a memoir of life in Appalachia, as something of a political fabulist — a playacting fraud (“Uncomfortable in Flannel,” the text flashes in [*one attack ad*](https://twitter.com/TimRyan/status/1581300400518361089)) who opposed Donald J. Trump before he supported him. He is trying to make the contest about whose public persona is closer to the truth, and closer to Ohio’s — often eliding his own political calibrations through the years as a [*former abortion opponent*](https://www.usnews.com/news/blogs/god-and-country/2009/08/24/rep-tim-ryan-my-plan-for-common-ground-on-abortion) who once [*earned an “A” rating*](https://www.cleveland.com/metro/2017/10/rep_tim_ryan_gives_his_nra_don.html) from the National Rifle Association.

Mr. Ryan is, if polls are to be believed even a little, in contention in a state that Mr. Trump twice carried by eight points and Democrats had effectively written off, complicating Republican plans to flip the chamber. The Senate Leadership Fund, the super PAC closely aligned with Mitch McConnell, the Republican Senate leader, grew concerned enough over the summer to [*reserve $28 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/13/us/politics/midterm-republican-ad-spending.html) in television and radio ads to prop up Mr. Vance, who has raised far less money than Mr. Ryan on his own. A spokesman for the super PAC said it was spending notably more in only two states, Georgia and Pennsylvania, both considered tossups.

The race in Ohio has become a real-time experiment with national ramifications for a party desperate for a new template to engage white ***working-class*** voters who have come to distrust most Democrats.

Mr. Ryan has, accordingly, suggested common cause with such Ohioans by frequently expressing ambivalence about Democrats. He has said that President Biden, [*whom he endorsed*](https://www.politico.com/news/2019/11/13/tim-ryan-endorses-joe-biden-democratic-primary-070405) shortly after abandoning his own quixotic 2020 run, should not seek re-election. Or come campaign with him. “I mean, he understands,” Mr. Ryan said in a wide-ranging interview at a fish fry in Columbus, declining a hypothetical offer from the president. “I don’t know what his rating is here.” But he knows the gist.

The Democrat, who often avoids the word “Democrat” in public, has highlighted his appearances on Fox News, [*running one ad*](https://twitter.com/TimRyan/status/1546480385328136192) that includes an approving clip from Tucker Carlson. [*In another spot*](https://twitter.com/timryan/status/1568585673929621506), he chucks a football at a television monitor that reads, “Defund the Police.” (“Still got it,” he says, after tossing a last spiral at a screen showing Mr. Vance’s face.)

On policy, Mr. Ryan has associated himself with elements of the Trump trade agenda, attributing the struggles of Ohio workers to China. “It is us versus China,” he has said, [*drawing rebukes*](https://rollcall.com/2022/04/04/facing-criticism-tim-ryan-defends-anti-china-ad-in-ohio-senate-race/) from some Democrats who accused Mr. Ryan of inflaming hostility toward Asian Americans.

Testimonials from allies can devolve into a kind of homespun word cloud, generally dominated by “normal,” “Ohio” and “guy” and specked with details from his local arc: the son of the Mahoning Valley, reared during the steel crisis; the teenage quarterback recruited to play at Youngstown State, before an injury rerouted him to politics; the 20-something elected to Congress.

“Ryan is Ohio,” said Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers.

“He really is kind of a normal guy,” said Senator Sherrod Brown, Ohio’s sole nonjudicial statewide elected Democrat.

Mr. Ryan’s curated political brand can obscure some nominal contradictions within it. He is a 10-term Washington mainstay who has previously pursued the presidency, now accusing his opponent of opportunism and coastal elitism. (After publishing “Hillbilly Elegy” in 2016, Mr. Vance became a fascination among liberals hoping to understand the Trump phenomenon.)

Mr. Ryan has preached generational change for most of the last two decades, long enough to become a graying candidate himself. (“We are not in good shape,” he wrote in his first book, “A Mindful Nation,” about the benefits of meditation. “If our country were an alcoholic, we would be bottomed out and headed to rehab.” This was 2012.)

He is the sort of Democrat many Democrats decided they needed after reading “Hillbilly Elegy”: plausible as a diner-goer, firm with a handshake, white and male.

“They’ve got to put you in this little box,” Mr. Ryan lamented of “the culture elite” in the interview, chafing at being pigeonholed sometimes as “the white ***working-class*** guy.” “That’s how we lose.”

That Mr. Ryan might well be running the best race of any Democratic Senate candidate this cycle can feel by turns immaterial and existential for his supporters, the campaign doubling now as a kind of referendum: If he falls short anyway, what does that say about his state? His party? The notion that the right messenger can sell in any political environment?

“Ohio is Ohio,” said Ted Strickland, the state’s former Democratic governor, who lost his own Senate bid six years ago by more than 20 points. “He is threading the eye of a very small needle.”

‘Restlessly ambitious’

As the 2016 election drew near, Mr. Ryan could not escape the conclusion that became the Democratic consensus in Ohio: His party was blowing it.

Former aides to Hillary Clinton’s campaign said Mr. Ryan was an unsubtle (if well-meaning and generally prescient) back-seat driver. While he knew and liked Mrs. Clinton personally, he fumed at [*the candidate’s prediction*](https://cnnpressroom.blogs.cnn.com/2016/03/13/full-rush-transcript-hillary-clinton-partcnn-tv-one-democratic-presidential-town-hall/), during a forum in Columbus, that she would “put a lot of coal miners and coal companies out of business” in a more modern economy. He scolded her staff for cluelessness in planning a Friday night rally during high school football season. He pressed her team, according to one former Clinton aide, to go after Omarosa Manigault Newman, a prominent Trump supporter from Youngstown. (A spokeswoman for Mr. Ryan said he was “not familiar with any calls for the Clinton team to run a campaign against Omarosa.”)

As Democrats looked inward after Mrs. Clinton underperformed significantly in union towns that were once party strongholds, Mr. Ryan decided to take a major political gamble: He ran against Nancy Pelosi for House Democratic leader, ignoring the counsel of several friends.

It was an unusual move for a largely anonymous congressman, known on the House floor as a chummy veteran of the backslapping “Pennsylvania corner.” “He always has been kind of restlessly ambitious,” said Mr. Strickland, who remembered discouraging him. “He just saw an opportunity to test his mettle.”

Privately, Ms. Pelosi seemed to view the challenge as more curious nuisance than serious threat. “I don’t know what he’s doing,” she told one associate then, convinced (correctly) that she had the votes. “If you’re going to do this kind of stuff, win.”

But Mr. Ryan saw a symbolic rationale, channeling the disillusionment with Democrats in the communities he represented. He may have also recognized the future political benefits. Today, as Mr. Vance notes the congressman’s unswerving support for the Democratic agenda in his Biden-era voting record, Mr. Ryan raises his race against Ms. Pelosi unprompted.

“People are like, ‘You don’t have the guts — you’re a rank-and-file Democrat, you just go toe the party line,’” he said in the interview. “I get to say, ‘Well, I ran against Nancy Pelosi.’” (Mr. Ryan described his presidential bid in similar terms, flagging a debate clash with Senator Bernie Sanders.)

Back home, Mr. Ryan has likewise positioned himself as a national ambassador for the region.

Four years ago, he helped organize a [*well-publicized bus tour*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/04/technology/silicon-valley-midwest.html) through the Midwest for venture capitalists eyeing investment opportunities in overlooked areas. In photographs from the trip, one face stands out now, grinning with peers a few feet from Mr. Ryan, a lanyard hanging over his checkered button-down.

“J.D. Vance,” Mr. Ryan recalled. “On the bus!”

Finding a balance

In a midterm season that Democrats have often framed around fury at the overturning of Roe v. Wade — hopeful that prolific turnout from women can carry the day — it is striking how much of Mr. Ryan’s argument for himself can feel tethered to male bravado.

[*During a debate*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/10/10/us/ohio-senate-debate-ryan-vance) with Mr. Vance this month, Mr. Ryan said that Mr. Trump had taken the Republican nominee’s “dignity” from him by [*suggesting*](https://www.latimes.com/politics/story/2022-09-17/trump-rally-ohio-vance) that Mr. Vance had been “kissing my ass” to win favor. “Ohio needs an ass-kicker, not an ass-kisser,” Mr. Ryan said.

He has called Mr. Vance “pathetic” for leaning on out-of-state surrogates, including Mr. Trump, to co-star at his events.

Mr. Ryan has sought a careful balance between insulting the Trump supporter he is facing and insulting them all, hoping to create a permission structure for Republican voters who admire the former president but might consider a Democrat, just this once. “We’re not judging them,” Mr. Ryan said. “We’re saying, ‘Look, I agreed with Trump on trade, I agreed with Trump on China.’ It doesn’t mean I support all this craziness.”

He has described Mr. Vance as an “extremist” who must be isolated and thwarted, noting his embrace of far-right figures like Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene. “Democracy is a decision,” Mr. Ryan has told audiences. “It’s not like gravity that just happens.”

Mr. Vance’s case to voters is more straightforward. “I am running against a Democrat,” the Republican told a crowd of 150 or so assembled inside a dimly lit banquet hall in Perrysburg on a recent afternoon. “You might not believe it from his TV commercials.”

After seven minutes of remarks, Mr. Vance introduced his co-headliner: “Ladies and gentlemen, the great Donald Trump Jr.!”

Hours later, Mr. Ryan could be found a short drive away at United Steelworkers Local 1-346 in Toledo, which was mourning [*the deaths of two workers*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2022/09/21/bp-husky-toledo-oil-refinery-fire-deaths-facility-shut-down/8071916001/) in a refinery fire last month. He arrived in a “Beers Made in Ohio Just Taste Better” T-shirt and pulled the local’s president in for a hug, heading inside without cameras.

“Not a lot of politics today here in Toledo,” Mr. Ryan told reporters, who had been invited to the stop by his political operation. The campaign did park Mr. Ryan’s campaign bus a respectful distance down the road.

Once considered an indifferent campaigner and less-than-energetic fund-raiser by some local Democrats, Mr. Ryan has maintained a relentless schedule, so much so that both admirers and opponents seem tickled at an encounter with him in the wild.

“The guy with the football!” an Ohio State student shouted as Mr. Ryan worked a tailgate on a recent Saturday.

“Taxing Tim Ryan!” said another attendee, echoing a refrain from the super PAC ads against him.

“I was in your house!” announced a third young man, who said he had done HVAC work in the Ryan home.

The matchup on the field that afternoon was supposed to be lopsided. Even Mr. Ryan, ostensible champion of the underdog, had taunted the Buckeyes’ overmatched opponent. “I think we’ve got Rutgers today,” he said, as a laugh line, at his first event of the day.

But this underdog had come to play. Rutgers took a stunning early lead with a quick touchdown, as Mr. Ryan greeted a few last stragglers outside the stadium, imploring supporters to believe in his cause. “It’s David versus Goliath,” he has said of his race.

Shortly after Mr. Ryan left the tailgate, the Goliath on the field got its act together, winning comfortably, 49-10.

PHOTO: Tim Ryan, who once ran against Nancy Pelosi for House Democratic leader, is pushing authenticity in his race against J.D. Vance. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GAELEN MORSE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** October 24, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Selfless Art of Michael K. Williams***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63KP-3G31-DXY4-X1PW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 13, 2021 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 19; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1369 words

**Byline:** By David Simon

**Body**

The second season of our fledgling HBO drama in Baltimore did not shoot its first frame of film before one key cast member was in the writers' offices, scripts in hand, showing his disappointment.

''Why are we even doing this?'' Michael K. Williams asked.

The initial season of ''The Wire,'' in which Mike had delivered his first magnificent turn as Omar Little, a freelance stickup artist and street warrior, had been largely set in Baltimore's poorer Black neighborhoods. Now, with the new season, our story had shifted to the predominantly white ***working-class*** world of Baltimore's port. Mike wasn't the only actor of color distressed at the new scripts; he was simply the one with the gumption to walk into the show runner's office.

At first, I misapprehended the depth of Mike's complaint, assuming -- as is often true -- that an actor was simply counting his character's lines and hoping for more screen time.

It wasn't the first time I was late to Michael K. Williams, the man whose sudden death at the age of 54 on Monday deprived us of one of the most careful and committed actors of our age. To be honest, I misread the man from the start, and it was my writing partner, Ed Burns, who had first spotted Mike's read for Omar on a tape of two dozen New York auditions a year earlier.

''There's this one guy on there with this amazing scar all the way down his face, and his presence is just extraordinary,'' Ed insisted. ''Take a look.''

Hoping to use Omar's arc to lure a well-known actor with an established following, I checked his credits and frowned: Not much there. But when Ed would not relent, I watched the audition tape with care, and Mike was hired.

Now, in the writers' offices, I was underestimating the man again, assuming the complaint was all about professional hunger. I began to explain that, yes, Omar would be losing some screen time this season, but as the story expanded ...

Mike interrupted. ''I'm not here about my screen time. I just want to know why we are doing this. Why is the show changing?''

He pressed the point: ''I'm saying, there are all these shows on television, and we made the one that was about Black characters and written for a Black audience. And now, it's like we're walking away from that.''

To Mike, at that moment, we were the white custodians of a rare majority-Black drama in the majority-white world of American television, and we might well be walking away from that unique responsibility.

He was asking a big question. To answer, I had to pause and regroup, and reach for an honest answer -- the one less likely to please a hungry actor. I told him that we had never imagined ''The Wire'' as a Black drama, or even as a drama with race as its central theme. We were writing about how power and money are routed in an American city, and being from Baltimore, a majority Black metropolis, we had simply depicted our hometown.

And a bigger truth, I argued, is that if we don't now expand the show's field of vision beyond what happens on the streets of West Baltimore, then we stay a cops-and-robbers drama, a police procedural. But if we build the rest of the city -- its fragile ***working class***, its political world, its schools, its media culture -- then we get a chance to say something more.

''We want to have a bigger argument about what has gone wrong. Not just in Baltimore, but elsewhere, too.''

Mike thought about this for a long moment. Waiting for him, I still worried it would come down to his character's work. He had done marvelous things with Omar -- his smile and the cavernous barrel of a high-powered handgun were the closing moments of the first season -- and he was maybe one more good story arc from elevating his character into a star turn. With the leverage he had already acquired, Mike could have sat there and insisted on the writers gilding his every narrative arc.

Instead, he stood up, curled the early season two scripts in his hand, nodded, and asked one last question:

''So what is this stuff at the port about? What are we going to say?''

It's about the death of work, I told him. When legitimate work itself dies in an American city, I argued, and the last factory standing is the drug corners, then everyone goes to a corner.

''If we do this season, we also make clear going forward that the drug culture is not a racial pathology, it's about economics and the collapse of the ***working class*** -- Black and white both.''

Mike left the writers' office that day and went to work, weaving more depth and nuance into a character that he ultimately made iconic and timeless. And from that moment forward, his questions about our drama and its purposes were those of someone sharing the whole of the journey. It became something of a ritual with us: To begin every season that followed, Michael K. Williams would walk into the writers' office and sit on the couch.

''So,'' he would ask, ''what are we going to say this year?''

He gave us an astounding gift -- an act of faith from a magnificent actor who could have played his hand very differently. Television usually chases its audience -- if they love them some Omar, you feed them more Omar. If they can't stop looking at Stringer, you write more Stringer. Never mind story and theme.

Instead, Mike bent his beautiful mind to a task that even the best writers and show runners often avoid. He thought about the whole story, the whole of the work.

Perhaps more than any in that talented cast, I came to trust Mike to speak publicly to our drama and its purposes, to take personal pride in all that we were trying, however improbably, to build. He became increasingly political as the show aged, and in interviews took to addressing societal and political issues, his arguments ranging well beyond Omar's arc.

''I started to realize that, oh, this is not about me,'' Williams once told an interviewer, looking back. ''It had everything to do with ... just great tapestry, this great narrative of social issues ... things that are wrong in our country.''

Watching Mike reflect on our work in such a way left me with the deepest pride in our collaboration, in the promises kept and purposes shared. ''The Wire,'' he told that interviewer, ''was a love letter to our nation. Like a blueprint to show where we're broken.''

Yes, there were some demons. Yes, there was cost to delivering himself so completely to a character as vibrant as Omar and then having to walk away from that exquisite creation after five years. All of us caught glimpses of his pain.

Once, in the years following, I found myself running another drama in New Orleans and came up with the notion of sponsoring a battle-of-the-bands for charity in which New Orleans and Baltimore musicians -- brass bands, funk outfits, go-go ensembles -- would try to cut each other on the stage at Tipitina's. Wendell Pierce, an actor native to New Orleans, would hype the local acts in the guise of his ''Treme'' character. I asked Mike to fly down, on almost no notice, and intro the Baltimore acts in the persona of Omar Little. He was there at the asking.

For a few hours, I watched him inhabit that character one last time. When it was over, we stood outside the club, and I watched a weight descend as he slipped back into Michael from Flatbush, the gentle, self-effacing and utterly committed professional who never gave a camera the wrong moment, but who somehow never took enough comfort from that great skill, who was always, I came to understand, looking for it to mean more.

''Was that what you wanted?'' he asked. ''Did that go OK?''

I felt ashamed for having asked for one last, selfless favor from my friend. But he had my back. Always. Along with the talent, charm and honesty, I'll miss that part, too.

David Simon (@AoDespair) is a Baltimore-based author, and television writer-producer currently filming a mini series for HBO. He created ''The Wire'' and ''Treme,'' among other shows.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/12/opinion/michael-k-williams-david-simon-the-wire.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/12/opinion/michael-k-williams-david-simon-the-wire.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY BALDOMERO FERNANDEZ/DAY REPS)

**Load-Date:** September 13, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Used to Be Able to Get Things Done. What Happened?; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:64VW-SXV1-DXY4-X1WM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 25, 2022 Friday 14:27 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2583 words

**Byline:** Michael Kazin

**Highlight:** They need a social movement powerful enough to force liberal elites to advance sweeping reforms, rather than tinker around the edges of a broken system.

**Body**

Why have Joe Biden’s ambitions for a new New Deal stalled, if not completely run aground? The pitch for the president’s Build Back Better program on the White House website certainly sounds like something Franklin Roosevelt could have said during the Great Depression: It calls “the hard work and ingenuity of the American people” the greatest “economic engine” the world has ever seen, but charges that “for too long, the economy has worked great for those at the top, while working families continually get squeezed.”

What’s more, a majority of Americans [*favor the particulars*](https://www.dataforprogress.org/blog/2021/12/23/build-back-better-was-popular-all-year) of Build Back Better — even after Senator Joe Manchin of West Virginia rejected the bill a week before Christmas. Polls show that Americans want Congress to spend big to make the transition to renewable energy, guarantee every employee four weeks of paid leave, renew the expired Child Tax Credit, and create universal prekindergarten — and they love the idea of expanding Medicare to cover hearing care.

But Democrats have a problem that has bedeviled their leaders on and off ever since shrewd political bosses from Albany and stalwart Jeffersonians from Virginia founded what would become the party roughly 200 years ago. They lack a social movement of working people that could turn passive support for universal social programs into a force large and vocal enough to enact lasting change. Over the past decade, Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter and the Resistance have come and gone without achieving systemic reforms that reshaped this nation or rectified the durable injustices that plague it. That is because none of those movements had what the party needs: a message that can unite ordinary Americans across racial lines.

The possibility of such a coalition exists in American politics, lurking just outside the field of our vision: As young workers seek to [*unionize Starbucks branches*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/23/business/economy/starbucks-union-vote-mesa.html) and [*Google offices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/04/technology/google-employees-union.html), they are breathing fresh life into the labor movement for the first time in a generation. And while they face formidable obstacles, Democrats need to grab this opportunity if they intend to birth a new era of progressive change. Without such a movement, hopes for a transformative age of reform are likely to be stillborn. Throughout American history, political elites have never started fundamental policy changes on their own; they need a well-organized force of discontented, determined citizens to make them do it.

Three times in the 20th century, Democrats produced major progressive gains, erecting pillars of corporate regulation and social welfare that endure to this day. The New Deal, from 1933 to 1939, did the most to transform the nation. But Democrats also created landmarks in social policy during the brief, yet consequential, periods from 1913 to 1916 under Woodrow Wilson, and from 1961 to 1966 under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. These three eras of progressive triumph offer two central lessons for Mr. Biden and his fellow partisans.

First, to enact change, a social movement has to grow large and powerful enough to compel Democrats to listen to its demands and grant some of them. Wilson and his fellow Democrats rode a long wave of public hostility to the “monopoly” that united farmers who suffered from high tariffs, workers chafing under the long hours and low pay offered by big companies like U.S. Steel, and anyone for whom “Wall Street” was shorthand for a power that corrupted politics and made a small minority of Americans obscenely rich.

During Wilson’s first term, Democratic lawmakers responded to the populist mood by enacting major pieces of legislation that sought to fulfill the pledge in their 1912 platform “to protect the people from injustice at the hands of those who seek to make the government a private asset in business.” The Underwood Tariff Act instituted an income tax on the richest Americans. The Federal Reserve Act aimed to break the dominion of the “money trust.” The Adamson Act guaranteed an eight-hour day to railroad workers, then the most critical employees in the land.

In the 1930s, the burgeoning Congress of Industrial Organizations relatively quickly won recognition from such manufacturing giants as General Motors and Westinghouse. Anger at autocratic bosses and the misery of the Great Depression helped unions like the Teamsters and Machinists, which belonged to the older American Federation of Labor, to make inroads as well. And in industrial states and cities through the upper Midwest and Northeast, the labor movement became the life of the party, electing liberal Democrats in formerly Republican strongholds like Michigan and Pennsylvania and turning big cities from New York to San Francisco into bastions of support for Roosevelt and his allies. Those politicians passed such measures as Social Security, a federal minimum wage and the G.I. Bill, which have withstood conservative assaults for more than eight decades.

In the 1960s, organized labor also gave vital assistance to the Black freedom movement as it surged in the South and then across the nation, [*helping finance*](https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2013/08/19/march-on-washington-labor-unions/2646843/) the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963 and sending busloads of members to the protest on the Mall. Their D.C. staff members lobbied not only for the civil rights and voting rights bills, but also for other items on Johnson’s progressive to-do list. Without labor — a strong social movement challenging congressional Democrats to push for transformative change — none of this would have been possible.

A second lesson to take away from this history is that the most durable progressive programs Democrats enacted not only aided the great majority of Americans, no matter their race, but were also perceived to be helping everyone. The reforms Wilson signed failed that standard. Nearly every member of his party in Congress who voted to curb monopolies and tax the rich was committed to maintaining the brutal system of Jim Crow that restricted and terrorized the lives of Black people. Such blatant racism did not merely alienate and anger those Black people who still could exercise their right to vote and help persuade others to move to the North. It also meant that Democrats could rely on just a single region of the nation to reliably back their nominees.

Labor progressives during the New Deal era sought to remedy this gross moral and political error. From the start, C.I.O. unions welcomed African Americans as equal members and pressed Democrats to take a strong stand for civil rights. The battle against white supremacy, union officials contended, was a class issue. “Behind every lynching,” asserted the C.I.O.’s national director, a former coal miner, “is the figure of the labor exploiter, the man or the corporation who would deny labor its fundamental rights.” It was a message universal enough to ally Black people with the organized white ***working class***, bringing half a million African Americans into unions by the end of the 1930s, and making it increasingly difficult, at least in the North and West, for a Democratic politician to be both an ardent New Dealer and a vocal defender of Jim Crow.

In crafting most of the signature bills of the Great Society, Johnson, a different kind of Southern Democrat, neglected a primary lesson of the New Deal, the genesis of his own political career. Under Roosevelt, Democrats had enacted measures that established programs like Social Security they could credibly claim served the needs of the most citizens. But the most widely publicized measures Johnson signed, with the exception of Medicare, were described as benefits to minorities who were poor and disproportionately nonwhite. The president and his aides argued that the better-off majority should back these programs more out of sympathy than solidarity. It was a sincere appeal to the better angels of the nation — and a laudable break with American apartheid.

But in a society still plagued by racism, it was not effective politics. Since Johnson left office, neither his party nor the G.O.P. has dominated the electoral terrain for more than a few years at a stretch.

For Democrats to reconstruct a majoritarian coalition, they will need a social movement with which to ally, one that would combine the searing critique of corporate power that drove reforms when Wilson was president with the grass-roots numbers and energy of the unions that once helped the party secure an interracial ***working-class*** base.

The strength of the current Democratic coalition — unlike its predecessors under Wilson, Roosevelt, and Johnson — does not reside in the bottom half of the income scale. Its core voters sit at the poles of the social and educational hierarchy: well-educated professionals at one end and poorer people of color at the other. That demographic reality hamstrung President Barack Obama, himself a rather perfect embodiment of his party’s current base: the interracial child of parents with advanced degrees. In 2011, Mr. [*Obama declared that the Great Recession*](https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2011/12/06/143215870/obama-this-is-a-make-or-break-moment-for-the-middle-class) was “a make-or-break moment for the middle class, and for all those who are fighting to get into the middle class.” But aside from signing the Affordable Care Act, he was unable or unwilling to back up that alarm with any significant new program to aid the ***working class***.

The social movements that somewhat grudgingly back Democrats today represent Americans in disparate types of groups as well. Activists for reforming the criminal justice system, curbing climate change, and securing equal rights for L.G.B.T.Q. people often endorse the common vision of an egalitarian, sustainable world. But there is little overlap among the main demands of these movements or among those who devote their lives to fighting for them. No contemporary movement has the size or political clout of the unions that helped finance Democratic campaigns in their liberal heyday — and advance their legislative priorities.

Another problem for Democrats is geography: Progressive activists form a consistent critical mass only in deep-blue cities or states — which limits their ability to win over moderate voters in other parts of the country. Universities and progressive think tanks like the Roosevelt Institute and Economic Policy Institute abound with innovative ideas about how to narrow the income gap, expand and lower the cost of health care, put together a Green New Deal, curb the power of Amazon and its corporate ilk. But their plans lie fallow without a well-organized constituency of ***working-class*** Americans that can elect enough politicians to turn them into law.

One can detect some shoots of a potential revival. Workers at Starbucks, a rising number of websites and periodicals, and high-tech companies like Google and Apple are joining unions and fighting to get their employers to recognize them. And most Americans appear to share their esteem for institutions whose purpose has always been to bring a semblance of democracy to the job. In recent polling, organized labor is more popular than it has been since the mid-1960s.

However, as with social media, to “like” a group does not mean one will take action to join or build it or even know how to go about doing either. Most contemporary Americans see unions as a good idea, but not an institution to which people they know belong and cherish. With union membership down to [*only a tenth of the work force nationwide*](https://thehill.com/homenews/state-watch/590631-union-membership-hits-new-low#:~:text=The%20share%20of%20workers%20represented,worker%20union%20rates%20in%201983), only government employee unions remain a powerful factor in most Democratic campaigns.

Still, progressive politicians who consistently talk about class inequality can win, even in red areas. Sherrod Brown, a stalwart champion of unions who has made fighting for “the dignity of work” his signature issue, has been elected three times to the U.S. Senate in increasingly Republican-friendly Ohio. So has Montana’s Jon Tester, who has proposed a bill to bar corporations that lock out their employees during labor conflicts from receiving tax breaks, deductions, or credits.

In his two runs for the White House, Bernie Sanders articulated a similar message with a blunt passion no other politician with national standing could match. But his identity as a proud Socialist may have cost him the nomination by turning off the strong partisans who vote in Democratic primaries.

The Democrat who did get elected president could take some actions that would help stoke a movement of working people. Mr. Biden could speak often and forcefully about how Build Back Better would improve the lives of most Americans. He could stress the virtues of the Protecting the Right to Organize Act, which passed the House a year ago, but remains stalled in the Senate by the seemingly unbreakable filibuster. Right now, few people outside the Beltway bubble are likely to have even heard of this measure.

Last fall, a liberal polling firm [*conducted a survey*](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1djNX02lWYsnMmg5TYYRW33ad5VG3fDAS/view) in swing states and battleground districts to test how voters would react to a Democratic candidate who articulated such an aggressive pro-worker, anti-corporate message:

People are living paycheck to paycheck and struggling to pay their bills and taxes. They need a government that looks out for the middle class, working families, small businesses, and the vulnerable who work hard. They don’t need a government that jumps whenever the biggest corporations send money and lobbyists. My approach is blue collar. We should bend over backwards for those who work hard so we create jobs in America and grow the middle class again.

After hearing that pitch, respondents increased their backing for Democrats to eight percentage points from three, enough to win seats in nearly every battleground district and state. Bruised by the hardships of the long pandemic, many of those polled, [*according to*](https://prospect.org/politics/democrats-speak-to-working-class-discontent/) the longtime strategist Stanley B. Greenberg, were “surprised to hear that Democrats are dissatisfied with an economy where many of the voters … live paycheck to paycheck” and that “Democrats prioritize big changes in the economy and who holds power.”

Of course, even if Mr. Biden’s party did start putting out such a message in clear and memorable ways, it would still face formidable structural obstacles to enacting anything that might resemble a modest version of the New Deal or Great Society. In 1935, when Congress passed the Social Security and National Labor Relations Acts, there were a scant 25 Republicans in the then 96-member Senate — half as many as exist to do Mitch McConnell’s bidding today. Not so long ago, Democrats routinely got elected to the Senate from Nebraska to North Dakota and Oklahoma; their candidates have almost no chance in such states today.

Lacking the kind of mass movement that catalyzed reform surges in the past, it’s hardly surprising that Mr. Biden and his party have disappointed many of their voters and themselves. Such pressure must come mainly from outside Washington — from ordinary working people and their family members, particularly those disgusted with both parties but who retain the ability to spark the kind of citizen activism on which progressives have always relied.

Michael Kazin is a professor of history at Georgetown University. This essay is adapted in part from his new book, “What It Took to Win: A History of the Democratic Party.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ryan Peltier FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 28, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Monster in My Home Was a Meter, and It Decided Whether I Ate and Slept; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:676J-6F61-JBG3-60YS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 30, 2022 Friday 19:32 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1102 words

**Byline:** Kerry Hudson

**Highlight:** Seven million homes in Britain ticking down to silence, dark and cold.

**Body**

GLASGOW — I grew up in a string of dilapidated slum rentals, project housing and homeless hostels. I grew up with a monster in most of those homes.

Small but cruel, it could be found under the stairs, sometimes in the kitchen. You had to feed it with coins, later with cards and keys, or be punished. When there wasn’t anything to feed it, everything would go dark. The TV turned off, whatever you were cooking stopped bubbling on the stove, the shower ran cold and the food in the refrigerator started to spoil. That monster could stop us from bathing, eating or sleeping. It could, and did, make us ill. And it followed us, a single-parent ***working-class*** family, up and down the country, from one damp and drafty home to the next, no matter how often we fled to what we hoped was a fresh start.

The monster was a prepayment meter. The Meter, as it was called in our house. Effectively a slot machine for pay-as-you-use energy. Some people have meters that can be topped up online, but typically you go to your local convenience store or post office, add money to your card, take it home and insert it into the Meter. You can use energy until your credit runs out. When it does, you’re given about $12 of “emergency credit,” but you’ll need to repay that the next time you top up, before anything goes toward energy.

The saying goes, if you want to add tension to a story, add a ticking clock. That’s my memory of the Meter. We’d get down on our knees daily — somehow they were always placed to force you prostrate before them — and stare disbelievingly as the numbers ticked down. A literal countdown on top of all of the other stresses of trying to get a too-small income to stretch through the day, week or month.

So what did we do? We used the smallest amount of energy we could. My mother performed a frustrating, occasionally heartbreaking, arithmetic: Could she cook dinner and get the clothes dry on the radiator? If she had a hot shower in the morning, would she be able to put on the heating in our room that night? Was there enough energy left to watch our favorite TV show if all the lights were off?

But nothing was ever enough to appease the Meter. We watched the numbers count down, we negotiated, and we hoped. We hoped it wouldn’t run out in the middle of the night, or while we were sick, when we had homework due or had school friends visiting. Most of all, we hoped it wouldn’t happen in winter, in freezing temperatures, without even a light to read by as a distraction. But, as inevitably as Monday follows Sunday, it always happened at the worst possible time.

Who’d choose this precarity? Who would want the Meter instead of a monthly bill from the energy company? More than [*seven million households*](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-63378460) in Britain have one. There are people who prefer the control of paying as they go, and a lot of Britons are more afraid of huge fuel bills than they used to be. But a lot of people don’t get to choose. They’re in debt, or have a poor credit rating or move into low-income housing and find one already installed. Sometimes a landlord insists, or they fall behind on their bills and the energy company does.

And the number of people in debt to [*energy companies has risen markedly this year*](https://www.ofgem.gov.uk/energy-data-and-research/data-portal/all-available-charts?keyword=customers%20repaying%20debt&amp;sort=relevance). The invasion of Ukraine has had a vertiginous impact on the cost of energy here. The British government has offered some belated financial assistance, but most people, however they’re billed, are feeling the strain. And as people have fallen behind on payments, power companies have moved aggressively to switch them to prepayment meters — more than [*300,000 applications*](https://inews.co.uk/news/uk-energy-debt-crisis-half-million-warrants-granted-forced-prepayment-meters-2008884) to forcibly install one have been approved by the courts this year.

The trouble with this is that a prepayment meter is a more expensive way to pay for energy — more than [*$300 more this winter*](https://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/about-us/about-us1/media/press-releases/almost-half-a-million-could-be-forced-onto-pricey-pay-as-you-go-meters-by-the-end-of-the-year-warns-citizens-advice/), according to an estimate from the charity Citizens Advice. If people are in debt because they can’t afford to pay for energy, a plan that insists that they pay for energy at a higher rate while they pay off their debts seems doomed to fail.

And then there is the process of forcibly switching, which is what it sounds like. In my 20s, I lived with my college roommate in a cheap apartment in London above a bookmakers. One night we came home to a letter on our kitchen table. Our power company had been authorized to enter our home and install a prepayment meter because we were behind on our bills. In fact, we were not in debt, but we did have a shady landlord who hadn’t legally registered our address, and for almost a year we’d been paying our neighbor’s bills. We protested but the engineer arrived anyway and the Meter was installed on the wall by our kitchen table. Though we eventually sorted it out with the power company, the violation of someone being empowered to enter our home remained long after the Meter had gone.

In November the End Fuel Poverty Coalition, a loose grouping of anti-poverty, environmental and health campaigners, and some local councils [*called*](https://www.endfuelpoverty.org.uk/immediate-ban-needed-on-forced-pre-payment-meters/) for a moratorium on forcibly switching people who have fallen behind on their bills this winter. The argument was that it would lead to “self-disconnecting” — that is, when you have already used your small amount of emergency credit and have no money to top up. To me, describing having no money for heat or light as “self-disconnecting” is like calling having no money for food a hunger strike.

I write this just half an hour away from one of the flats I grew up in, where black mold climbed the walls, ice crept across the inside of the windows and the Meter could never be satiated. For much of this month the weather was very cold, and everything was covered in powdered-sugar frost. This year my Christmas tree is strung with colorful lights and I’ve joyfully baked cookies with my toddler without negotiating with the Meter for the pleasure. I don’t believe anyone would choose to do without light or heat, to “self-disconnect” if any better option was available.

The government will [*cut its financial help in the spring*](https://www.ft.com/content/103cff69-d867-4ba4-91b5-4979697bd050). Another generation is growing up with its own monster. Some seven million meters, many of them in the homes of the poor, the sick, the vulnerable, the old; ticking down to sudden darkness, silence and cold.

Kerry Hudson is the author, most recently, of “Lowborn,” a memoir of growing up poor in Britain.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

This article appeared in print on page SR7.

**Load-Date:** February 23, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Literary Destinations / Read Your Way Through São Paulo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67TD-X5W1-JBG3-610B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 19, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1635 words

**Byline:** By Paulo Scott

**Body**

Brazil's ultra urban megacity overwhelms the landscape and the imagination. Paulo Scott recommends books that peel back its layers.

The fifth largest city in the world, São Paulo is not only the richest urban center in Brazil: It is a rhizome fed by conflicting moral, ethical and aesthetic ambitions and imaginations, which lead and influence an entire country's cultural production.

Absorbing, concentrating, dominating and replicating other collective imaginations in an ongoing colonizing project, today São Paulo is, for better or worse, the place where many decisions are made about what Brazilian cultural identity and Brazilian culture are understood to be. This causes an important number of artists from all over Brazil to migrate here. Among them are writers -- including the young Black and Indigenous writers whose fictional narratives are, increasingly, and in ways not yet fully understood, opposing this colonizing project in ambitious ways, with language and characters that would have been unacceptable a few years ago.

São Paulo is a daunting metropolis. What are some books that can help me approach the city?

Conceição Evaristo's powerful first novel, ''Ponciá Vicencio,'' translated by Paloma Martinez-Cruz, addresses the emotional impact of structural racism on Black Brazilian people. The eponymous main character, Ponciá, grows up in a small town, Vila Vicêncio, in a Black family working on a small subsistence farm. Her grandfather had been enslaved. Facing racism, Ponciá takes a train to the big city to find a new life. The name of the city is not mentioned, but there is no doubt it is São Paulo.

The São Paulo explored in the literature of the 21st century, as in Evaristo's novel, is a space in which extreme situations unfold under a regime of oppression directed against those who are outside privileged social groups. This, in a dystopian way, is very well addressed by the writer Ignácio de Loyola Brandão in his novel ''And Still the Earth,'' in a translation by Ellen Watson. In this work of speculative fiction, set in a future São Paulo, ''the System'' governs its subjects' every movement and thought.

Another important author for understanding São Paulo, and Brazil, is Carolina Maria de Jesus. Among her books, ''Child of the Dark: The Diary of Carolina Maria de Jesus,'' in a translation by David St. Clair, stands out. De Jesus was a contemporary of the world-renowned novelist Clarice Lispector, whose works capture that other important Brazilian city, Rio de Janeiro. There is an interesting dialectic between these two great writers that reveals Brazilian subjectivities.

The city is known for its bookstores. What are some of your favorites?

While it may not have the natural beauty of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo is a metropolis where encounters, conviviality and affection are fostered by its parks, theaters, museums, cultural spaces, cinemas, restaurants and bookstores. I cannot imagine São Paulo without the charm of its bookshops.

I live a few yards away from what I consider the best bookstore in town: the Ria Livraria in Vila Madalena, in the western part of São Paulo. It stocks nearly exclusively books by independent publishers. More than a place that sells books, it's also a bar where you can find cheap beer and the best pastel de carne, a kind of meat-filled pastry (it's hard to explain in a few words the magical experience of eating a Brazilian pastel). It is a place where concerts, readings and debates take place. It is where the newest generation of writers, as well as more established and acclaimed writers, can be found.

Another bookstore that deserves your attention is 1DASUL, run by the writer Ferréz -- a bookstore that serves a ***working-class*** neighborhood on the outskirts of São Paulo.

Martins Fontes, on Avenida Paulista, a major avenue lined with big glass buildings housing banks and cultural centers, has perhaps the largest collection of books by Brazilian authors translated into English, including a great collection of children's books and art books about Brazil and Brazilian culture written in English.

There's also Megafauna, in the historic center of São Paulo, on the ground floor of the city's most emblematic residential building -- the snaking, Modernist housing block called Edifício Copan. The building itself is well worth visiting: It was designed by Oscar Niemeyer, the architect who also designed the country's capital, Brasília, and the United Nations building in New York. His thoughts and impressions of Brazil and São Paulo can be found in his memoir, ''The Curves of Time,'' in a translation by Izabel Murat Burbridge.

And there's more. Mandarina offers the best home delivery options in town. Gato Sem Rabo only sells books written by women, including Sueli Carneiro, one of the most important Brazilian thinkers, as well as Andréa del Fuego, Eliana Alves Cruz and Cidinha da Silva, three of the most celebrated Brazilian writers in recent years. And Patuscada, which is run by the poet Eduardo Lacerda and his wife, Pricila Gunutzmann, belongs to Patuá, perhaps the most important independent publishing house in Brazil. Among their books -- unfortunately not available in English translation yet, so you'll have to wait! -- are ''Ao pó,'' by Morgana Kretzmann, and ''Nossa Teresa: Vida e Morte de Uma Santa Suicida,'' by Micheliny Verunschk, both of which are winners of the Prêmio São Paulo, one of the three most important literary prizes in Brazil.

And what about the libraries? I've heard the city has a particularly wide range.

Also in the historic center of São Paulo, a few steps from Edifício Copan, is the Mário de Andrade Library, the first and main public library in the city, which houses an important collection as well as a theater and study and meeting spaces. Mário de Andrade was an important Brazilian writer who, among other fundamental works, wrote the foundational work of Brazilian Modernism, the poetry collection ''Hallucinated City,'' which explores the increasingly urban and chaotic metropolis.

Also close to my house is the Alceu Amoroso Lima Public Library, which is the only large public library in Brazil dedicated exclusively to poetry. There you can find many poetry books by Brazilian authors translated into English -- for example, ''Rilke Shake,'' by Angélica Freitas, whose work is an example of how some of the best Brazilian poetry today is being written by women and transgender authors. The English translation of the book, by Hilary Kaplan, was a deserving winner in 2016 of the Best Translated Book Award given by Three Percent, the literary magazine of Open Letter Books, and the National Translation Award, given by the American Literary Translators Association.

Another library that cannot be missed is the Biblioteca de São Paulo, built where one of the largest prisons in the country, the Complexo Penitenciário do Carandiru, used to be. The routine and idiosyncrasies of the prison, where a security crackdown left 111 inmates dead in 1992, was transfigured into fiction by Drauzio Varella, who volunteered as a doctor in the prison for over a decade, in a book that was a best seller in Brazil: ''Lockdown: Inside Brazil's Most Dangerous Prison.''

If the weather is beautiful, what are some parks where I could sit outside with a book?

I can't talk about São Paulo without mentioning its parks, in particular: Ibirapuera, Villa-Lobos and Água Branca. Ibirapuera Park, with its concert venues, planetarium, library, museums and exhibition spaces, is a favorite of residents of the city. If there is time to visit just one of the city's many parks, make it Ibirapuera.

In Villa-Lobos Park, you'll find one of the most modern libraries in São Paulo. The park itself is part of an environmental recovery project on the west side of the city.

Originally designed for agricultural research and animal exhibitions, Água Branca Park, one of the oldest parks in São Paulo, is home to one of the city's main organic farmer's markets. It also has a reading space with children's books. (Speaking of children's book, I'd recommend the work of Ana Maria Machado, a winner of the Hans Christian Andersen Medal for lifetime achievement, given by the International Board on Books for Young People, for books that include ''The History Mystery.'') The park is also the setting for one of the most important passages in ''Resistance,'' by Julián Fuks, which won awards in Brazil and abroad.

One more note: Do get around the city using the public transport system. São Paulo's subway, trains and buses are the best in Brazil. Much more of the city -- this city that is so complex and exciting -- will be revealed as you travel.

Paulo Scott's São Paulo Reading List

''Ponciá Vicencio,'' Conceição Evaristo, translated by Paloma Martinez-Cruz

''And Still the Earth,'' Ignácio de Loyola Brandão, translated by Ellen Watson

''Child of the Dark,'' Carolina Maria de Jesus, translated by David St. Clair

''The Curves of Time,'' Oscar Niemeyer, translated by Izabel Murat Burbridge

The works of Sueli Carneiro

The works of Andréa del Fuego

The works of Eliana Alves Cruz

The works of Cidinha da Silva

''Ao pó,'' Morgana Kretzmann

''Nossa Teresa: Vida e Morte de Uma Santa Suicida,'' Micheliny Verunschk

''Hallucinated City,'' Mário de Andrade, translated by Jack E. Tomlins

''Rilke Shake,'' Angélica Freitas, translated by Hilary Kaplan

''Lockdown: Inside Brazil's Most Dangerous Prison,'' Drauzio Varella

''The History Mystery,'' Ana Maria Machado

''Resistance,'' Julián Fuks, translated by Daniel Hahn

Paulo Scott is the author of, among many works, the novels ''Phenotypes,'' which was longlisted for the International Booker Prize, and ''Nowhere People,'' which won the Machado de Assis Prize, given by the Brazilian Academy of Letters.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/15/books/sao-paulo-brazil-books.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/15/books/sao-paulo-brazil-books.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page BR14.

**Load-Date:** March 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Meter Eats First***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:676J-F2P1-DXY4-X2PH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 30, 2022 Friday

The New York Times on the Web

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section ; Column 0; National Desk; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1102 words

**Byline:** By Kerry Hudson

**Body**

GLASGOW -- I grew up in a string of dilapidated slum rentals, project housing and homeless hostels. I grew up with a monster in most of those homes.

Small but cruel, it could be found under the stairs, sometimes in the kitchen. You had to feed it with coins, later with cards and keys, or be punished. When there wasn't anything to feed it, everything would go dark. The TV turned off, whatever you were cooking stopped bubbling on the stove, the shower ran cold and the food in the refrigerator started to spoil. That monster could stop us from bathing, eating or sleeping. It could, and did, make us ill. And it followed us, a single-parent ***working-class*** family, up and down the country, from one damp and drafty home to the next, no matter how often we fled to what we hoped was a fresh start.

The monster was a prepayment meter. The Meter, as it was called in our house. Effectively a slot machine for pay-as-you-use energy. Some people have meters that can be topped up online, but typically you go to your local convenience store or post office, add money to your card, take it home and insert it into the Meter. You can use energy until your credit runs out. When it does, you're given about $12 of ''emergency credit,'' but you'll need to repay that the next time you top up, before anything goes toward energy.

The saying goes, if you want to add tension to a story add a ticking clock. That's my memory of the Meter. We'd get down on our knees daily -- somehow they were always placed to force you prostrate before them -- and stare disbelievingly as the numbers ticked down. A literal countdown on top of all of the other stresses of trying to get a too-small income to stretch through the day, week or month.

So what did we do? We used the smallest amount of energy we could. My mother performed a frustrating, occasionally heartbreaking, arithmetic: Could she cook dinner and get the clothes dry on the radiator? If she had a hot shower in the morning, would she be able to put on the heating in our room that night? Was there enough energy left to watch our favorite TV show if all the lights were off?

But nothing was ever enough to appease the Meter. We watched the numbers count down, we negotiated, and we hoped. We hoped it wouldn't run out in the middle of the night, or while we were sick, when we had homework due or had school friends visiting. Most of all, we hoped it wouldn't happen in winter, in freezing temperatures, without even a light to read by as a distraction. But, as inevitably as Monday follows Sunday, it always happened at the worst possible time.

Who'd choose this precarity? Who would want the Meter instead of a monthly bill from the energy company? More than seven million households in Britain have one. There are people who prefer the control of paying as they go, and a lot of Britons are more afraid of huge fuel bills than they used to be. But a lot of people don't get to choose. They're in debt, or have a poor credit rating or move into low-income housing and find one already installed. Sometimes a landlord insists, or they fall behind on their bills and the energy company does.

And the number of people in debt to energy companies has risen markedly this year. The invasion of Ukraine has had a vertiginous impact on the cost of energy here. The British government has offered some belated financial assistance, but most people, however they're billed, are feeling the strain. And as people have fallen behind on payments, power companies have moved aggressively to switch them to prepayment meters -- more than 300,000 applications to forcibly install one have been approved by the courts this year.

The trouble with this is that a prepayment meter is a more expensive way to pay for energy -- more than $300 more this winter, according to an estimate from the charity Citizens Advice. If people are in debt because they can't afford to pay for energy, a plan that insists that they pay for energy at a higher rate while they pay off their debts seems doomed to fail.

And then there is the process of forcibly switching, which is what it sounds like. In my 20s, I lived with my college roommate in a cheap apartment in London above a bookmakers. One night we came home to a letter on our kitchen table. Our power company had been authorized to enter our home and install a prepayment meter because we were behind on our bills. In fact, we were not in debt, but we did have a shady landlord who hadn't legally registered our address, and for almost a year we'd been paying our neighbor's bills. We protested but the engineer arrived anyway and the Meter was installed on the wall by our kitchen table. Though we eventually sorted it out with the power company, the violation of someone being empowered to enter our home remained long after the Meter had gone.

In November the End Fuel Poverty Coalition, a loose grouping of anti-poverty, environmental and health campaigners, and some local councils called for a moratorium on forcibly switching people who have fallen behind on their bills this winter. The argument was that it would lead to ''self-disconnecting'' -- that is, when you have already used your small amount of emergency credit and have no money to top up. To me, describing having no money for heat or light as ''self-disconnecting'' is like calling having no money for food a hunger strike.

I write this just half an hour away from one of the flats I grew up in, where black mold climbed the walls, ice crept across the inside of the windows and the Meter could never be satiated. For much of this month the weather was very cold, and everything was covered in powdered-sugar frost. This year my Christmas tree is strung with colorful lights and I've joyfully baked cookies with my toddler without negotiating with the Meter for the pleasure. I don't believe anyone would choose to do without light or heat, to ''self-disconnect'' if any better option was available.

The government will cut its financial help in the spring. Another generation is growing up with its own monster. Some seven million meters, many of them in the homes of the poor, the sick, the vulnerable, the old; ticking down to sudden darkness, silence and cold.

Kerry Hudson is the author, most recently, of ''Lowborn,'' a memoir of growing up poor in Britain.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/30/opinion/prepayment-meters-uk.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/30/opinion/prepayment-meters-uk.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Katherine Lam FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 30, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Assault at Pool Is Flashback to Apartheid***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:676J-F2P1-DXY4-X2M3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 30, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1089 words

**Byline:** By John Eligon

**Body**

Two youths who tried to use a pool at a resort on Christmas Day said they were told it was for ''white people only.'' The violent encounter led to a charge of attempted murder and a call by the president to battle racism.

CAPE TOWN -- A violent attack by a group of white men on two Black teenagers at a resort pool in South Africa on Christmas Day has sparked widespread outrage, reviving images from the ugly days of apartheid and serving as a stinging reminder of the country's unresolved racial tensions.

Cellphone footage of the assault -- which the teenagers said started when they were told the pool was for ''white people only'' -- spread widely on social media. It showed scenes that could have been from decades ago, when apartheid-era laws restricted South Africa's Black majority from using public facilities designated for white people.

A video clip shows one man delivering an open-hand slap to the face of one Black teenager, another graying white man casually holding a cigarette as he tugs the hair of the other Black youth, and one of the men wrapping the taller youth in a head lock and pulling him into the pool, seemingly trying to submerge the teenager's head underwater.

Brian Nakedi, a former underground fighter against apartheid, said his 18-year-old son, Kgokong Nakedi, was one of the teenagers assaulted at the pool in Bloemfontein, a city about four hours south of Johannesburg. Both denied online claims that the youths had provoked the fight.

Mr. Nakedi, who witnessed the assault on his son, said: ''I became incensed. We have to relive the pain through our kids.''

On Wednesday, the police announced they had arrested and charged three white men: Johan Nel, 33, and Jan Stephanus van der Westhuizen, 47, who appeared in court on assault charges; and a third suspect, 48, whose name was not released and who is scheduled to appear in court on Thursday on a charge of attempted murder. None of the suspects or their lawyers could immediately be reached for comment.

Since the fall of apartheid nearly 30 years ago, South Africans have proudly declared their country a ''rainbow nation.'' But the encounter, at Maselspoort Resort and Conference Center, adds to a litany of racist episodes that have induced soul searching and hand wringing among South Africans.

After a bouncer was accused of refusing entry to a Black patron without a white escort last month, protesters descended upon a bar in Cape Town. In May, the elite Stellenbosch University was the site of an uproar after video surfaced of a white student urinating on the belongings of his Black roommate.

Bloemfontein is the capital of Free State, a province that is a particularly hot kettle for racial violence. Once an independent Boer Republic for the white Afrikaans-speaking settlers who led South Africa's apartheid regime, it remains a largely agrarian region. It also sits at the intersection of South Africa's fiercely racialized debate over land.

***Working-class*** white farmers frequently raise concerns about being killed or driven off their land. Black laborers have lamented the strenuous working conditions and unrealized promises of land ownership that were supposed to materialize in a democratic South Africa.

After video of the violence at the pool surfaced, President Cyril Ramaphosa released a statement calling on Black and white South Africans to condemn racism.

''Under the rule of law, we must let investigations take their course,'' he said, ''but under the rule of law, we can and must also declare that racism has no place in our society and racists have no place to hide.''

Mr. Nakedi, 58, said family members had booked a house for three nights at the resort for their first reunion since the coronavirus pandemic began. The venue is divided into two parts, he said -- homes and chalets on one side, where his family was staying, and a wooded campground on the other side that is usually occupied mostly by white visitors.

The resort's management did not respond to a phone message seeking comment.

Kgokong Nakedi said that in the early afternoon on Christmas Day, he and his cousin, Sipho Khumalo, 13, had set out to swim at the pool on the campground side. Almost as soon as they arrived, he said, white guests began asking them what they were doing there and saying that they were not allowed. Kgokong said he got into the pool anyway, but as tensions increased, he and his cousin left to tell his father.

Mr. Nakedi said he went to confront the men who had stopped his son and nephew. It appeared, he said, that they thought the teenagers were not guests at the resort and, therefore, not allowed to use the pool. Mr. Nakedi said he explained that they were, indeed, guests, and the situation appeared to clear up. Mr. Nakedi said he explained to the youths that everything was OK and they could return to the pool.

But when they went back, Kgokong said, one of the men closed the gate and stopped them from entering. An argument ensued, with Kgokong and the man jabbing their fingers at each other, according to security footage from the pool provided by the Nakedi family, who said the resort's management had turned it over.

Kgokong and Sipho hopped over the fence. When Kgokong jumped in the pool, almost all of the white occupants of the pool, a dozen or so adults and children, got out, video footage showed. Two white children remained in the water.

Then, security footage showed, some of the white visitors and Kgokong began yelling at each other. Kgokong swam to the edge of the pool. A white man leaned over and slapped him -- and chaos ensued, with the teenagers fighting back.

Kgokong later said that the man who was trying to hold him underwater kept saying, ''You're fighting for the water; now you'll die.''

Kgokong, who was born after 1994, when apartheid in South Africa ended, said that members of his generation, known as the born-frees, were ''not tolerant at all to such racist acts.'' Still, he said, his parents had raised him to be cautious, knowing that as members of a rising middle-class Black family, they would be venturing into spaces that were once the preserve of white South Africans who would not necessarily welcome them with open arms.

''He made sure that I know myself and I love myself,'' Kgokong said of his father.

He said the pool episode had not destroyed his faith in South Africa's nonracial democratic experiment. ''There are a lot of flaws,'' he said. ''We are a young nation, but great things take time. We are working toward something great.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/28/world/africa/south-africa-black-teenagers-pool.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/28/world/africa/south-africa-black-teenagers-pool.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Two South African youths said they had been told that a pool was for ''white people only.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY NAKEDI FAMILY) This article appeared in print on page A8.

**Load-Date:** December 30, 2022

**End of Document**



[***What Happens on Page 76 of This Season’s Books?; Page 76***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66KH-H411-JBG3-63XJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 11, 2022 Tuesday 22:11 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 862 words

**Highlight:** The artist Fiza Khatri envisions new releases by John Banville, Yiyun Li and more.

**Body**

The artist Fiza Khatri envisions new releases by John Banville, Yiyun Li and more.

The Deceptions

A novel by Jill Bialosky

“Good luck, I say to the new mother as she pushes the buggy away to find her companions. I look down to my hands, clutching my coat and my bag. Blue veins make raised rivers and tributaries in my skin. I walk back to the Greek and Roman galleries to find the marble girl I’ve come to know over all these years.”

With her mind full of thoughts of her marriage, her son and an impending review of her new book, a poet and teacher takes refuge in art, specifically that found at New York’s Metropolitan Museum. There, among classical statues of gods and mortals, she sees her desires and her mistakes, particularly as they pertain to a former colleague, reflected back at her. [*Published by Counterpoint on Sept. 6*](https://www.counterpointpress.com/dd-product/the-deceptions/).

The Singularities

A novel by John Banville

“Yet, as I cautiously fitted on the lid of the marmalade pot, my mood turned glum. I felt embarrassed, I might even say shamed, to be so eagerly, so cravenly, agreeable to young Adam’s offer. Oh, I had been noticed, had I, and not only noticed but singled out? What a big baba I am become of late, tugging at the hem of mama’s skirt and whining for attention.”

A man going by the name of Felix Mordaunt, a convicted murderer whom Banville fans will recognize from “The Book of Evidence” (1989), has been released from prison and returned to Arden House, his family’s former estate. He finds it occupied by the family of Adam Godley (“The Infinities,” 2009), a mathematician famous for his contributions to quantum theory. A professional rival of Godley’s also appears on the premises, leaving Mordaunt to chase his version of justice alongside a fellow interloper. [*To be published by Knopf on Oct. 25*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/591626/the-singularities-by-john-banville/).

Sugar Street

A novel by Jonathan Dee

“‘Should the shut-off take place, the sheriff will accompany a technician from —’

“The sheriff? Not clear why law enforcement would need to be involved.

“‘There are a lot of laws governing things like turning people’s power off,’ the man says. ‘The sheriff is present to act as a witness that all of those laws are observed. Plus also, there is sometimes a confrontational aspect to, uh, to the act itself.’”

Moving eastward along a network of back roads with an envelope of cash tucked beneath his seat, the narrator of Dee’s novel is determined to leave his previously privileged existence behind — and to avoid surveillance cameras along the way. He stops in a small ***working-class*** city and rents a room on Sugar Street, resolving to live quietly and altruistically. Inevitably, though, his past threatens to catch up with him. [*Published by Grove Press on Sept. 13*](https://groveatlantic.com/book/sugar-street/).

If I Survive You

Stories by Jonathan Escoffery

“St. Pierre lingered outside my door for some reason, I guess to ask, ‘Ain’t you go away to some bigwig school? Marquette or Notre Dame or someplace? What happened?’

“‘Graduation.’

“He laughed, stretching his arms over the Raider’s roof before flinching from the heat, drawing them to his sides. His nose brushed the glass, eyes filling the space above. ‘Them degrees don’t do much for people like us, huh? They’re going to hold us down either way. ’Swhy I didn’t bother.’

“‘Smart,’ I said, wondering what the hell he meant by people like us.”

When Topper and Sanya left a Kingston, Jamaica, rife with political violence in the 1970s, they were in pursuit, as so many are, of better opportunities. But in Florida, as we learn in the first of eight linked stories, their younger son, Trelawny, must construct a sense of self amid prejudice, racial clannishness and familial discord. In “Odd Jobs,” he’s living out of his car and responds to a Craigslist ad written by a woman who wants to be punched in the face. [*Published by MCD on Sept. 6*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9780374605988/ifisurviveyou).

The Book of Goose

A novel by Yiyun Li

“‘Why can’t it just be your name?’ I asked.

“‘You wrote the stories down,’ she said.

“‘You made them up.’

“‘I’m not interested in being an author.’

“‘Why not?’

“‘I’m fine being who I am.’

“That couldn’t possibly be true, I thought, and yet who else could Fabienne be?”

Now living in Pennsylvania, Agnès receives word that Fabienne, her childhood best friend, has died. As teenagers in postwar France, the pair were artistic collaborators: The wild, inventive Fabienne would come up with ideas for stories and the more reserved Agnès would write them. It is Agnès, credited as the sole author, who gains notoriety and attends a British boarding school — and who, so many years later, sifts through her memories to try to make sense of the relationship and what it wrought. [*Published by FSG on Sept. 20*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9780374606343/thebookofgoose).

About the artist: Fiza Khatri was born in Karachi, Pakistan, and lives in New Haven, Conn., where she is currently an M.F.A. candidate at the Yale School of Art. Her largely figurative drawings, which she makes with graphite, charcoal and colored pencil, explore the body’s relationship with its environment, as well as with society at large. Khatri’s work has been shown at the Clemente in New York, Twelve Gates Arts in Philadelphia and Jhaveri Contemporary in London, among other venues.

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GUILLERMO CANO) This article appeared in print on page M250, M252, M253, M254.

**Load-Date:** October 15, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Question Michael K. Williams Asked Me Before Every Season of ‘The Wire’; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63KH-8RW1-DXY4-X188-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 12, 2021 Sunday 12:05 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1359 words

**Byline:** David Simon

**Highlight:** As Omar Little, the actor bent his beautiful mind to a task that even the best writers and showrunners often avoid.

**Body**

The second season of our fledgling HBO drama in Baltimore did not shoot its first frame of film before one key cast member was in the writers’ offices, scripts in hand, showing his disappointment.

“Why are we even doing this?” Michael K. Williams asked.

The initial season of “The Wire,” in which Mike had delivered his first magnificent turn as Omar Little, a freelance stickup artist and street warrior, had been largely set in Baltimore’s poorer Black neighborhoods. Now, with the new season, our story had shifted to the predominantly white ***working-class*** world of Baltimore’s port. Mike wasn’t the only actor of color distressed at the new scripts; he was simply the one with the gumption to walk into the show runner’s office.

At first, I misapprehended the depth of Mike’s complaint, assuming — as is often true — that an actor was simply counting his character’s lines and hoping for more screen time.

It wasn’t the first time I was late to Michael K. Williams, the man [*whose sudden death at the age of 54*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/06/arts/michael-k-williams-dead.html) on Monday deprived us of one of the most careful and committed actors of our age. To be honest, I misread the man from the start, and it was my writing partner, Ed Burns, who had first spotted Mike’s read for Omar on a tape of two dozen New York auditions a year earlier.

“There’s this one guy on there with this amazing scar all the way down his face, and his presence is just extraordinary,” Ed insisted. “Take a look.”

Hoping to use Omar’s arc to lure a well-known actor with an established following, I checked his credits and frowned: Not much there. But when Ed would not relent, I watched the audition tape with care, and Mike was hired.

Now, in the writers’ offices, I was underestimating the man again, assuming the complaint was all about professional hunger. I began to explain that, yes, Omar would be losing some screen time this season, but as the story expanded …

Mike interrupted. “I’m not here about my screen time. I just want to know why we are doing this. Why is the show changing?”

He pressed the point: “I’m saying, there are all these shows on television, and we made the one that was about Black characters and written for a Black audience. And now, it’s like we’re walking away from that.”

To Mike, at that moment, we were the white custodians of a rare majority-Black drama in the majority-white world of American television, and we might well be walking away from that unique responsibility.

He was asking a big question. To answer, I had to pause and regroup, and reach for an honest answer — the one less likely to please a hungry actor. I told him that we had never imagined “The Wire” as a Black drama, or even as a drama with race as its central theme. We were writing about how power and money are routed in an American city, and being from Baltimore, a majority Black metropolis, we had simply depicted our hometown.

And a bigger truth, I argued, is that if we don’t now expand the show’s field of vision beyond what happens on the streets of West Baltimore, then we stay a cops-and-robbers drama, a police procedural. But if we build the rest of the city — its fragile ***working class***, its political world, its schools, its media culture — then we get a chance to say something more.

“We want to have a bigger argument about what has gone wrong. Not just in Baltimore, but elsewhere, too.”

Mike thought about this for a long moment. Waiting for him, I still worried it would come down to his character’s work. He had done marvelous things with Omar — his smile and the cavernous barrel of a high-powered handgun were the closing moments of the first season — and he was maybe one more good story arc from elevating his character into a star turn. With the leverage he had already acquired, Mike could have sat there and insisted on the writers gilding his every narrative arc.

Instead, he stood up, curled the early season two scripts in his hand, nodded, and asked one last question:

“So what is this stuff at the port about? What are we going to say?”

It’s about the death of work, I told him. When legitimate work itself dies in an American city, I argued, and the last factory standing is the drug corners, then everyone goes to a corner.

“If we do this season, we also make clear going forward that the drug culture is not a racial pathology, it’s about economics and the collapse of the ***working class*** — Black and white both.”

Mike left the writers’ office that day and went to work, weaving more depth and nuance into a character that he ultimately made iconic and timeless. And from that moment forward, his questions about our drama and its purposes were those of someone sharing the whole of the journey. It became something of a ritual with us: To begin every season that followed, Michael K. Williams would walk into the writers’ office and sit on the couch.

“So,” he would ask, “what are we going to say this year?”

He gave us an astounding gift — an act of faith from a magnificent actor who could have played his hand very differently. Television usually chases its audience — if they love them some Omar, you feed them more Omar. If they can’t stop looking at Stringer, you write more Stringer. Never mind story and theme.

Instead, Mike bent his beautiful mind to a task that even the best writers and show runners often avoid. He thought about the whole story, the whole of the work.

Perhaps more than any other person in that talented cast, I came to trust Mike to speak publicly to our drama and its purposes, to take personal pride in all that we were trying, however improbably, to build. He became increasingly political as the show aged, and in interviews took to addressing societal and political issues, his arguments ranging well beyond Omar’s arc.

“I started to realize that, oh, this is not about me,” Williams [*once told an interviewer*](https://www.vanityfair.com/video/watch/careert-timeline-michael-k-williams-breaks-down-his-career), looking back. “It had everything to do with … just great tapestry, this great narrative of social issues … things that are wrong in our country.”

Watching Mike reflect on our work in such a way left me with the deepest pride in our collaboration, in the promises kept and purposes shared. “The Wire,” he told that interviewer, “was a love letter to our nation. Like a blueprint to show where we’re broken.”

Yes, there were some demons. Yes, there was a cost to delivering himself so completely to a character as vibrant as Omar and then having to walk away from that exquisite creation after five years. All of us caught glimpses of his pain.

Once, in the years following, I found myself running another drama in New Orleans and came up with the notion of sponsoring [*a battle-of-the-bands*](https://davidsimon.com/980/) for charity in which New Orleans and Baltimore musicians — brass bands, funk outfits, go-go ensembles — would try to cut each other on the stage at Tipitina’s. Wendell Pierce, an actor native to New Orleans, would hype the local acts in the guise of his “Treme” character. I asked Mike to fly down, on almost no notice, and intro the Baltimore acts in the persona of Omar Little. He was there at the asking.

For a few hours, I watched him inhabit that character one last time. When it was over, we stood outside the club, and I watched a weight descend as he slipped back into Michael from Flatbush, the gentle, self-effacing and utterly committed professional who never gave a camera the wrong moment, but who somehow never took enough comfort from that great skill, who was always, I came to understand, looking for it to mean more.

“Was that what you wanted?” he asked. “Did that go OK?”

I felt ashamed for having asked for one last, selfless favor from my friend. But he had my back. Always. Along with the talent, charm and honesty, I’ll miss that part, too.

David Simon (@AoDespair) is a Baltimore-based author and television writer-producer currently filming a mini-series for HBO. He co-created “The Wire” and “Treme,” among other shows.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY BALDOMERO FERNANDEZ/DAY REPS)

**Load-Date:** September 13, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Crisis for Ohio. A Parade Route For Politicians.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67MG-VHW1-DXY4-X38H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 24, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1; POLITICAL MEMO

**Length:** 1505 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

The train derailment in Eastern Ohio has spawned conspiracy theories and contradictory narratives, with politicians from both parties parading through town to further their agendas.

To Democrats, the train derailment and chemical leak in the hamlet of East Palestine, Ohio, is a story of logic, action and consequences: Rail safety regulations put in place by the Obama administration were intended to prevent just such accidents. The Trump administration gutted them.

To Republicans, East Palestine is a symbol of something far larger and more emotional: a forgotten town in a conservative state, like so many others in Middle America, struggling for survival against an uncaring mega-corporation and an unseeing government whose concerns have never included the likes of a town of 4,718 souls.

Carrying those irreconcilable narratives, politicians have begun parading through East Palestine with their own agendas to pursue. On Wednesday, it was the former president and current presidential candidate, Donald J. Trump, handing out branded water and campaign hats, while assuring the supportive crowd, ''You are not forgotten.''

On Thursday, three weeks after 38 Norfolk Southern rail cars carrying toxic chemicals skipped the tracks in East Palestine and, days later, a plume of vinyl chloride was intentionally released over the town, Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg arrived, having spent days jousting with Republicans over safety regulations.

''What I'm really proud of is the community that I saw here,'' he told a retinue of right-wing reporters shouting questions at him. ''You've got federal agencies, you've got local first responders, you've got states, but most of all you've got a community that's been through a lot, that I think is pretty frustrated with people trying to take political advantage of this situation.''

In some sense, both sides are right, both sides are wrong and, in the bifurcated politics of this American moment, none of the arguments much matter.

In 2015, after the deadly derailment of an Amtrak train traveling too fast outside Philadelphia, President Barack Obama moved to mandate the installation of lifesaving automatic braking technology by 2023 over the protests of the largest rail companies. In 2018, as part of a broad regulatory rollback, Mr. Trump repealed the rule.

But, according to the website PolitiFact, the rule would have had no impact on the East Palestine derailment. The Norfolk Southern train would not have been covered because it would not have been categorized as a high-hazard cargo train. Besides, the National Transportation Safety Board initially pointed to the failure of a wheel bearing, not the train's speed, as the cause of the derailment.

Such details did not stop the White House from issuing a formal statement on Wednesday with the headline, ''Republicans, stop dismantling rail safety and selling out communities like East Palestine to the rail lobby.'' Nor did it dissuade the anti-Trump Lincoln Project from releasing a video on Wednesday squarely blaming the former president.

Union officials blamed years of cost-cutting and staff reductions for a spate of derailments, a message whose utility to President Biden was undercut by his intervention last year in a rail labor dispute that averted a strike but undermined union efforts to improve work conditions.

Still, the chairwoman of the National Transportation Safety Board, Jennifer Homendy, called the accident ''100 percent preventable'' at a news conference on Thursday in Washington.

''I don't understand why this has gotten so political -- this is a community that is suffering,'' she added.

Republicans have simply ignored that debate, instead pressing the seemingly contradictory cases that the Biden administration cares more about Ukraine than East Palestine and that the White House concocted the downing of three unidentified flying objects to distract attention from the derailment -- which would imply that, in fact, officials care a lot.

The derailment's aftermath coincided with Mr. Biden's surprise visit to Ukraine -- by rail -- and his speech in Poland, in which he pledged billions of dollars more in military support for Ukraine. That fed the Republican narrative that, for all his talk of caring for blue-collar workers, the president would rather deal with geopolitics than a domestic problem.

Neglect and the late arrival of assistance became the dominant talking points about Eastern Ohio on Fox News and in an array of other conservative news outlets, even as the Biden administration said repeatedly that federal officials had arrived on the scene of the accident within hours.

And in Columbiana County, where East Palestine sits, Republicans have been playing on their home field. Mr. Trump won the county with 72 percent of the vote in 2020, against Mr. Biden's 27 percent.

''On Presidents' Day in our country, he is over in Ukraine,'' Mayor Trent Conaway of East Palestine fumed this week. ''That tells you what kind of guy he is.''

Conspiracy theories have only deepened the trauma, bouncing around far-right podcasts and conservative celebrities' social media accounts before reaching Congress via Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, the once-fringe Republican from Georgia whose alliance with Speaker Kevin McCarthy has brought her to the center of congressional power.

''East Palestine, Ohio, is undergoing an ecological disaster because authorities blew up the train derailment cars carrying hazardous chemicals and press are being arrested for trying to tell the story,'' she wrote on Twitter over dramatic footage of the fiery plume and its aftermath. ''Oh but UFO's!''

The Trump campaign on Thursday abetted the narrative with a day-by-day timeline of ''Neglect and Betrayal,'' including ''Feb 5: Shoots the spy balloon down'' and ''Feb 13: Dodges questions about unidentified objects downed on Sunday,'' followed by, ''Feb 16: Delivered a response to unidentified objects in the sky and screened the movie 'Till.'''

Batting down another conspiratorial rumor, the East Palestine fire chief, Keith Drabick, had to spend time this week assuring people that medical identification bracelets being passed out to residents in case they showed signs of debilitation were not tracking devices for the government.

The fever pitch of distrust was understandable for a community that saw what appeared to be an apocalyptic plume of chemicals rise from the wreckage on the rail line, then filmed dead fish and frogs in East Palestine's streams and complained of headaches, sore throats, coughing and skin rashes -- all as government officials assured them the air and water were safe.

But if East Palestine felt ignored in the immediate aftermath of the derailment, its travails are now playing out on a vast national tableau of partisan politics.

The environmental activist Erin Brockovich is planning a town hall event on Friday at the town high school. Tulsi Gabbard, the former Democratic congresswoman-turned-conservative-gadfly, took a spin through the town earlier in the week, then rushed to the television cameras to describe it.

The Fox News anchor Bret Baier did concede that visits to trail derailments by transportation secretaries, including Mr. Trump's, Elaine Chao, were rare, especially when the accidents did not cause fatalities.

But more broadly, the derailment has been a chance for Republicans and their supporters in the conservative news media to showcase the white, ***working-class*** voters who flocked to Mr. Trump, and whom Mr. Biden has struggled to win back -- and the power that Mr. Trump and other celebrities who remain in his orbit still hold in places like East Palestine.

After Mr. Trump on Wednesday praised John Rourke, the owner of the Florida-based company Blue Line Moving, for his relief efforts in Ohio, Tucker Carlson invited Mr. Rourke onto his top-rated cable news show to let him rip into the current president.

''The fact that President Biden has refused to come to this small town when he's supposed to be Scranton Joe, a small-town hero of the working man, and he can't even show his face in a town of American citizens that need his leadership, that need the government's help terribly, he proved what everybody, I think, already knew in this country, is that he's not the leader for this country,'' Mr. Rourke said Wednesday night. ''Donald J. Trump is the leader that we all know he is, and he is the leader of this country.''

On Thursday, Mr. Buttigieg showed up after weeks of Republican taunts demanding to know why he had not bothered. But it was Rudolph W. Giuliani, the former New York mayor and Trump confidant, who garnered much of the attention from residents and local politicians as he toured the accident site and signed memorabilia.

''Politicians come in and they make a big show and then they don't come back,'' he said, promising, ''This is a come-back situation.''

Mark Walker and Aishvarya Kavi contributed reporting.Mark Walker and Aishvarya Kavi contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/23/us/politics/east-palestine-politics.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/23/us/politics/east-palestine-politics.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg visiting East Palestine, Ohio, on Thursday, three weeks after the derailment. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

**Load-Date:** February 24, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Can Trump Squeeze More From His White Base in Pennsylvania and Beyond?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:611V-YNY1-JBG3-61K0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 11, 2020 Sunday 21:00 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1814 words

**Byline:** Shane Goldmacher

**Highlight:** With President Trump trailing Joseph R. Biden Jr. in Pennsylvania in nearly every poll, his last refuge and perhaps best hope is to maximize the turnout of ***working-class*** white voters.

**Body**

With President Trump trailing Joseph R. Biden Jr. in Pennsylvania in nearly every poll, his last refuge and perhaps best hope is to maximize the turnout of ***working-class*** white voters.

OLYPHANT, Pa. — President Trump’s [*narrowing path to victory in Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/09/podcasts/the-daily/biden-trump-pennsylvania-swing-voters.html), and the country, runs through small towns like Olyphant, where Dave Mitchko’s street might be quieter if not for the large sign he put on his front lawn urging supporters of the president to honk when they pass.

Trump signs are Mr. Mitchko’s thing, and his front yard has become something of an informal sign depot for Republicans in greater northeastern [*Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/09/podcasts/the-daily/biden-trump-pennsylvania-swing-voters.html). He estimates that he’s given away more than 26,000 signs this year. And his efforts were rewarded by the campaign with tarmac invitations for recent visits to the region by both Mr. Trump and Vice President Mike Pence, as well as a spot driving in the presidential motorcade. Mr. Mitchko wore a suit and a Trumpian red tie for the occasion.

“Your area — this has always been a Democrat area, and yet the votes for Trump here are through the roof,” Mr. Trump bragged that August day.

Mr. Trump was right. Mr. Mitchko was among the defectors. A 53-year-old lifelong Democrat who used to work at the local compact-disc factory, which has since shuttered, and who had a lawn-care business until health troubles put him on disability, he voted twice for Barack Obama. For 2020, he registered as a Republican for the first time.

“I opened my eyes,” Mr. Mitchko explained.

With Mr. Trump trailing Joseph R. Biden Jr. in Pennsylvania in nearly every poll — a New York Times/Siena College survey last week showed Mr. Trump [*behind by seven percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/09/podcasts/the-daily/biden-trump-pennsylvania-swing-voters.html) — voter registration trends have stood out as a rare bright spot for Republicans in one of the nation’s most important battleground states. Since Election Day 2016, Republicans have shrunk the Democratic advantage in Pennsylvania by nearly 200,000 voters, from just over 916,000 to just over 717,000 — all in a state that Mr. Trump won in 2016 by [*fewer than 45,000 votes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/09/podcasts/the-daily/biden-trump-pennsylvania-swing-voters.html).

Many of those gains have been made in smaller, more rural and mostly white counties. The great unknown is how much of that movement consists of ancestral Democrats like Mr. Mitchko who voted for Mr. Trump in 2016, formalizing their departure from the party, and how much is fresh erosion.

Olyphant was once “solid blue,” Mr. Mitchko said. “But it’s definitely cracked now.” Across the street, his neighbor, who said he had recently switched to become a Republican, was packing his truck for a cornhole tournament and bringing along his four-by-eight-foot Trump sign.

As Mr. Trump’s disregard for science and health guidelines during the pandemic has increasingly repelled college-educated white voters, the president’s last refuge and perhaps best hope is to maximize the turnout of ***working-class*** white voters, including former Democrats like Mr. Mitchko, whose regular Facebook postings showcase his full embrace of the culture wars of the Trump era.

On the wall of the garage where he stores the Trump signs, Mr. Mitchko has affixed the hate mail he has received (“Dear American turncoat,” reads one piece). And on a recent Saturday, his newly purchased assault rifle was prominently displayed, too, along with the Glock pistol he said he carried with him for protection.

“I’m not worried about nobody. They better be worried,” Mr. Mitchko said. Who exactly are “they”? “From what they say on TV, the Black Lives Matter people, rioters, the looters.”

What makes Pennsylvania, and its trove of 20 Electoral College votes, particularly alluring to the Trump campaign is just how many eligible white voters there are who are not college educated and who did not cast ballots in 2016 but could do so this year.

That number is about 2.4 million, according to Dave Wasserman, an elections analyst at the nonpartisan Cook Political Report who studies demographic data. Comparatively, he estimated that only about 500,000 college-educated white people who were eligible to vote in Pennsylvania failed to cast ballots in 2016.

“The potential for Trump to crank up the intensity of turnout among non-college whites is quite high,” Mr. Wasserman said. According to his model, that demographic broke two to one for Mr. Trump in 2016: two million backed Mr. Trump and one million voted for Hillary Clinton.

Now, Mr. Wasserman said, “There is a level of cultural attachment to Trump in places that voted for him last time that exceeds 2016.”

Mr. Trump still faces significant headwinds in Pennsylvania. Recent polling shows Mr. Trump’s strength dipping among those voters compared with four years ago, despite the famous intensity of his supporters. In three Pennsylvania polls in the last week, Mr. Trump’s support among white voters without college degrees landed at 52 percent, 57 percent and 58 percent — all below the 64 percent he won in 2016, according to Pennsylvania exit polling. Then there is the fact that the overall share of the white population that doesn’t go to college is declining, as more people get college degrees and more diversity comes to the state’s cities.

“He’s going after a population that’s shrinking,” said William Frey, a demographer at the Brookings Institution, who has produced similar models. “He just has to eke out even more of them than he did last time.”

In 2004, when President George W. Bush ran for re-election, ***working-class*** whites voted at higher rates in Pennsylvania than they did in 2016, Mr. Frey noted. He estimated that if turnout increased to 2004 levels, that would add about 130,000 more such voters this year.

“It’s a small path,” Mr. Frey said of Mr. Trump’s chances. “But it’s possible.”

John Yudichak, a moderate state senator from northeastern Pennsylvania, is among those who have left the Democratic Party in the Trump era. He became an independent in late 2019 and now caucuses with the Republicans in the State Capitol, even as he supports Mr. Biden. But Mr. Yudichak warned of his former party’s drift from its ***working-class*** roots to become “a party of the elite.”

“Politics is math,” Mr. Yudichak said. “If the Democratic Party is only going to be of the college-educated elite,” he said, noting that nearly 90 percent of those in his district have attained only a high school education, “the math doesn’t work. You’re going to lose a lot of elections.”

Luzerne County, at the center of Mr. Yudichak’s district, is one of three Pennsylvania counties that Mr. Trump flipped in a dramatic fashion in 2016, carrying it by 19 percentage points — only four years after Mr. Obama had carried it by almost five points.

“Trump — I don’t know how he did it,” Mr. Yudichak said. “He was able to connect and sincerely make people believe here in Luzerne County that he valued them.”

In small county after small county, Mr. Trump won in 2016 by staggeringly large margins. In neighboring Schuylkill County, where Republicans had previously carried 56 percent of the vote, Mr. Trump won with 69.4 percent.

The Trump campaign keeps a close tally on these figures. A campaign presentation in September noted that Mr. Trump’s margin over Mrs. Clinton in Pennsylvania’s 45 smallest counties was 230,000 more votes than the G.O.P. advantage in 2012.

“He can take a red county and make it even more intensely red — it’s remarkable,” said Senator Bob Casey, Democrat of Pennsylvania, who vividly recalled watching the early 2016 returns and wrongly believing that the Democratic margins in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh would be enough to carry the state.

Mr. Casey has since memorized the exact number of votes that Mrs. Clinton lost by: [*44,292*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/09/podcasts/the-daily/biden-trump-pennsylvania-swing-voters.html). “I wanted that number to haunt me,” he said.

The flip side of Mr. Trump’s strength in more rural areas, Mr. Casey said, is that Democrats are winning the suburbs, particularly those outside Philadelphia, by bigger margins than ever. Mr. Casey said he had won those suburbs in his 2018 re-election by more than double Mr. Obama’s margin in 2012. “Not because I’m the greatest candidate God ever created,” he said. “It’s because people were damn angry.”

How much of Mr. Trump’s strength among white ***working-class*** voters was simply a rejection of Mrs. Clinton rather than an embrace of Mr. Trump is one of the questions that 2020 will help answer. But there are many signs that deep animosity toward Mrs. Clinton played a critical role.

Mr. Yudichak said one run-in at the State Capitol with a Trump supporter was seared in his memory:

“He said, ‘Look, Hillary Clinton and the Democratic Party make me feel bad about myself. Donald Trump makes me feel good about who I am. I only have a high school education, but I got a good union job. I go to work every day. Why am I a bad guy? Hillary’s calling me deplorable.’”

In Mr. Biden, the Democrats have nominated a candidate whom David Axelrod, the former chief strategist for Mr. Obama, likes to call “culturally inconvenient” for Mr. Trump: a Scranton-born politician who has long emphasized his blue-collar roots, no matter that it has been nearly a half-century since his election to the Senate.

Of late, Mr. Biden has geographically located his pitch in northeastern Pennsylvania, framing the 2020 election as a choice between “Scranton and Park Avenue.” He first unfurled the line at a televised town hall not far from his hometown last month, and it quickly became a favorite.

“I will win Scranton,” Mr. Biden told reporters on the tarmac that night. “This is home. I know these people.”

In nearby Olyphant, Lauren Telep, 64, a rare lifelong Republican in these parts, stopped by Mr. Mitchko’s house for a refill on signs and marveled at her hometown’s transformation. Not so long ago, the politics here had been so blue that she said, “God, the Almighty, if he ran on the Republican ticket in this town — at one point was probably like 90 percent Catholic — he would still lose.”

Political strategists of both parties say it is less about winning particular cities and instead about limiting the losses in hostile territory and running up the margins in favored strongholds.

Mr. Casey, who lives in Scranton, said he was confident that Mr. Biden’s local roots would help him “shave two points here, three points there” from Mr. Trump’s margins. But he also said that the Democratic Party faced a backlash in his home region for its necessary and worthwhile devotion to diversity — its messaging this year on racial justice and policing as Mr. Trump has executed a campaign of white grievance.

“One consequence of being a party that wants to embrace diversity is you’re going to lose — you’re going to lose white voters,” Mr. Casey said. “I think that’s just a reality.”

Andy Mills and Alix Spiegal contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Dave Mitchko, who used to work at a compact-disc factory, at home in Olyphant, Pa. He voted twice for Barack Obama before supporting President Trump in 2016. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HANNAH YOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A13)

**Load-Date:** November 3, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Why Cancel Student Debt Now? Things Really Are Tougher.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:668R-XCC1-JBG3-645M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 31, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 15

**Length:** 1831 words

**Byline:** By David Leonhardt

**Body**

Americans under 40 have had to cope with a worse economy than earlier generations. How should it affect the debate over Biden's debt-relief plan?

If you wanted to find a signature example of somebody who did not need to have his student loans forgiven, you might want to consider me.

I graduated from college in 1994 with about $26,000 of debt (in the equivalent of today's dollars). I hated repaying it. It was a meaningful amount of money for a young journalist, and writing the checks was a monthly reminder of the frustrations that my parents and I felt over dealing with the Kafkaesque bureaucracy of the financial aid system.

If President Biden's debt-relief plan had been enacted in the 1990s, I would have qualified, and I would have eagerly signed up. In hindsight, however, it would have been pretty hard to justify forgiving any of my debt. I eventually paid it off, without altering any big life plans. Over time, my income rose, as is the norm for college graduates.

Critics of Biden's plan have made similar arguments since he announced it last week. Why, they ask, is the federal government giving a bailout to white-collar professionals, especially in today's highly unequal economy? And how is it fair to people who have already paid off their loans?

These are complex questions, and thoughtful people will disagree about them, as the economist Arindrajit Dube pointed out last week. (My colleague Jim Tankersley writes about the passionate debate among economists here.) But for skeptics of loan forgiveness, I do think it's worth grappling with the ways that the U.S. economy has changed over the past few decades -- since members of Generation X, like me, and baby boomers were in their 20s and 30s.

Not your parents' economy

For one thing, college debt has increased in recent decades. The average borrower who graduated from a four-year public college emerged with $26,700 in debt in 2020, according to the College Board. That was up 18 percent from the average level in 2000 (again, adjusted for inflation).

But the bigger change is not in these loan amounts. It's in the broader economic conditions facing young workers. Over the past two decades, the U.S. economy has become much harsher for adults under 40.

This chart shows how incomes have changed for different age groups since the late 1980s. As you can see, a typical 40-year-old today earns only slightly more than a typical 40-year-old three decades ago, while typical seniors have much higher incomes than their parents' generation did at the same age:

The changes in wealth are even starker. Americans in their 20s, 30s and even 40s are poorer today than younger adults were three decades ago:

A study by William Gale of the Brookings Institution and three other researchers concluded, ''As for the millennial generation, their median wealth in 2016 was lower than the wealth of any similarly aged cohort between 1989 and 2007.''

That's a remarkable -- and grim -- development, given how much G.D.P., stock prices and home values have grown over the same period. How could this be? One factor is that stocks and homes have risen so much since the 1980s that younger adults can't buy into those markets as easily as their parents and grandparents could.

Many millennials also had the bad fortune of graduating into an economy weakened by the financial crisis of 2007-9 and the Great Recession that followed. Many companies have not expanded or raised wages much, creating fewer opportunities early in people's careers.

Gale and his co-authors -- Hilary Gelfond, Jason Fichtner and Benjamin Harris -- note that millennials are also more racially diverse than earlier generations. People of color, especially Black Americans, have historically accumulated wealth less rapidly than white Americans for a complex mix of reasons. Among those reasons is intentional discrimination from the government during past decades that kept Black families from receiving subsidized mortgages, owning homes and passing down wealth to later generations, which could then build on itself.

Susan Dynarski, a Harvard economist who specializes in education issues and who grew up in a ***working-class*** family, was long skeptical about proposals to forgive college debt. She thought that people who had gone to college generally didn't need government help, given the huge value of a college degree. But the emerging data has changed her mind, as she explains in a Times Opinion essay published this morning.

The people struggling to repay their loans tend to be those who attended a few semesters of classes at a public college or for-profit vocational programs and didn't graduate, she explains. Often, these borrowers suffered because of funding cuts at community colleges or because of the government's failure to regulate for-profit programs. And they suffered because of how weak the economy has been for most Americans over the past two decades.

Biden's debt-relief plan focuses its benefits on these middle-class and lower-income borrowers rather than on white-collar professionals who are doing just fine, as another recent article by Jim Tankersley explained.

The case against

These factors obviously don't end the debate over Biden's plan. There are still arguments against it.

The plan will benefit some young professionals who really don't need help but will gladly accept it, as I would have. The plan will also do nothing for the many Americans who never attended college (although Biden has signed or proposed several other big policies aimed at the ***working class***). There are also thorny questions about whether debt cancellation encourages colleges to keep raising their prices, under the assumption that more debt cancellation may follow in the future (as Megan McArdle of The Washington Post has argued).

Yet before anybody tells millennials to toughen up and follow the same path as previous generations, it's at least worth remembering that they have never really had that option. Their economic prospects have been worse than those of their parents and grandparents. Biden's plan won't erase that reality, but it will narrow the gap for millions of people.

Related: The Times wants to hear how Biden's plan will affect you.

THE LATEST NEWS

Politics

Donald Trump asked for an outside arbiter to find any documents among those seized by the F.B.I. potentially covered by executive privilege. But the request may be too late.

President Biden will travel to Pennsylvania this week to give a speech on the threat to American democracy.

Senator Lindsey Graham predicted that a prosecution of Trump would lead to ''riots in the streets.'' He later said he was ''not calling for violence.''

International

At least 24 people died in Baghdad amid a new round of chaos set off by months of attempts to form a government.

Ukrainian forces launched multiple ground assaults in the Kherson region of southern Ukraine.

Floods in Pakistan have killed more than 1,100 people and submerged much of the country's farmland.

Rome's trash problem got so bad this summer that dumpster fires darkened the skies.

Other Big Stories

NASA postponed the launch of a rocket bound for the moon because of a problem cooling one of its engines.

Elon Musk's lawyers subpoenaed a former Twitter security chief who accused the company of misleading the public about its security shortcomings.

To make it through the Navy SEALs' punishing selection course, many resort to illicit tactics.

''Salsa on Interstate 80'': A crash caused 150,000 tomatoes to scatter across a highway in California.

In the Amazon, Brazilian officials found a man lying dead in a hammock. He was the last member of an uncontacted Indigenous tribe.

Opinions

Music sounds the same. Novels fail to incite debate. The art world has gotten boring. Michelle Goldberg asks: Why has culture stagnated?

Paul Kram has prosopagnosia, or face blindness. This video shows you how he's adapted.

MORNING READS

Ask Nicole Kidman: What is the jellyfish haircut?

Pet me: Can artificial intelligence really decipher a cat's meows?

More time: People who quit their jobs explain how they reconnected with loved ones.

A Times classic: How ''Where the Crawdads Sing'' became a literary phenomenon.

Advice from Wirecutter: A Wi-Fi extender will bolster your internet.

Lives Lived: Carl Croneberg, a deaf Swedish immigrant, helped write the first comprehensive dictionary of American Sign Language and coined the term ''Deaf culture.'' He died at 92.

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

An icon rolls on: Serena Williams advanced to the second round of the 2022 U.S. Open, her final tournament, in front of an electric, star-studded crowd last night at Arthur Ashe Stadium.

A conscious uncoupling in the N.F.L.? The San Francisco 49ers and Jimmy Garoppolo agreed to a restructured contract that keeps him in town as young quarterback Trey Lance's backup, bringing months of hand-wringing to a close. The deal also gives the Niners flexibility to move the veteran to another team when the time is right.

An American soccer star stays put: Chelsea will not send out U.S. men's national team star Christian Pulisic on loan, after all. The news is a double-edged sword for U.S. fans, who want their captain to get more playing time ahead of the World Cup, but would probably prefer he be put in bubble wrap until then.

ARTS AND IDEAS

A coffee start-up

If you live in New York, you've probably noticed Blank Street, which opened its first coffee cart in 2020 and now has 40 shops. Its creators come from the world of venture capital, and their mission is to make coffee that's cheaper than Starbucks, tastier than Dunkin' and brewed by an automated system that requires fewer workers.

Skeptics have decried Blank Street's expansion, saying it pushes out local businesses. But if its strategy catches on, it may be a sign that coffee customers are now more interested in price and convenience than in atmosphere, Julia Moskin writes.

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

You can't go wrong with queso.

What to Read

In his memoir, the British Vogue editor Edward Enninful walks readers through his life, starting with his childhood in Ghana.

What to Watch

Stream these three great documentaries.

Now Time to Play

The pangrams from yesterday's Spelling Bee were turnaround and rotunda. Here is today's puzzle.

Here's today's Mini Crossword, and a clue: They top kings (four letters).

And here's today's Wordle. After, use our bot to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. -- David

P.S. NASA's third space shuttle -- Discovery -- launched 38 years ago today, after multiple delays.

Here's today's front page.

''The Daily'' is about the adolescent mental health crisis.

Matthew Cullen, Natasha Frost, Lauren Hard, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com)

Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox.

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A rally at the White House on Thursday after President Biden announced the U.S. would forgive up to $20,000 in student loans. Rising prices and stagnant salaries have challenged millennials. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SHAWN THEW/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

**Load-Date:** September 1, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Tracks of Killer Mike's Tears***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:688W-2S81-JBG3-6188-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 21, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 2071 words

**Byline:** By Joe Coscarelli

**Body**

More than 20 years into an idiosyncratic career, the musician and activist is finally opening up for real on ''Michael,'' his first solo album in more than a decade.

ATLANTA -- Don't let the villainous stage name, the big-man baritone or the rap bluster fool you: Killer Mike is a crier.

The man born Michael Render -- a trash-talking musician, activist, organizer, father of four and political punching bag who also hits back -- has a knack, in song and speech, for righteous fury. But these days, nearing 50 and closer than ever to self-actualization, it's when the tears start flowing that Killer Mike knows he is really gathering momentum, saying what needs to be said.

''You're a musician, you get rich and start doing all kinds of crazy stuff like drinking green juice in the morning,'' he explained last month, the day after his 48th birthday, during a particularly tearful conversation charting his recent path to more openness and acceptance. ''Then your wife convinces you to go see a therapist.''

Always a searcher with plenty of self-awareness, Mike had a read on many of his own issues already. Yet therapy sessions with a Black woman, in particular, taught him that ''there's nothing wrong with a lot of the inclinations you have because of how you were raised,'' Mike said. ''But you got to get to the bottom of who you are, to understand the whys.''

That was when he started looking in the mirror, a process of personal excavation and revelation documented across ''Michael,'' the first Killer Mike solo album in 11 years, out June 16. ''Face to face with fate had to face my fears,'' he raps on ''Shed Tears,'' one especially raw new song. ''It was me/I'm the reason that I failed/that was hell.''

''When you finally get that out,'' Mike said, ''that's one of the most burden-lifting moments.''

The fact that he had been holding anything back -- and especially out of his music, which has tended, over the last decade, toward the galvanizing war cries of his boisterous duo Run the Jewels -- might be tough to imagine for those who have followed Killer Mike's prolific, idiosyncratic career of more than 20 years. Yet even after hundreds of rap verses, his time as a television host, a Bernie Sanders surrogate and a go-to cultural ambassador for the city of Atlanta, there was plenty that he was still keeping to himself.

It wasn't until late in the process of recording ''Michael,'' for example, that he realized he had never spoken aloud -- let alone recorded -- some simple words that were so foundational to the man he had become: My mama dead. My grandmama dead.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

A complex portrait of Southern Black masculinity, the album details the life of a proud patriarch somewhere near peace through the stories and lessons of the women who shepherded him: his grandmother Bettie Clonts, who raised him and died in 2012, and his mother, Denise Clonts, or Niecy, who had him at 16 and died in 2017.

''I'm not absent men in my life, but there's something about that matriarchal love that my grandmother and my mother gave me that has allowed me to embrace my humanity more,'' Mike said. On the album's centerpiece ''Motherless,'' in which he confronts their influence and absence, he raps of all he has achieved, addressing them directly: ''A Black boy born to a teen momma, momma/gets regarded as a leader by his people, momma.''

''This album was about finally controlling my own narrative, not being an artist-in-proxy,'' Mike said, noting that he had always been attached to others -- a one-time protégé of Outkast; a sidekick to T.I.; a partner in crime to El-P in Run the Jewels. Because while being one of rap's top character actors had afforded him a steady flow of supporting roles, ''I needed to do my film before the curtains closed on me.''

A lifetime devotee of comic books, Mike likened ''Michael'' to a superhero's origin story -- the Logan to his usual Wolverine. Crucially, the setting for his ups and downs has always been Atlanta, a city ''where all the heroes and villains look like me,'' Mike said, counting civil rights icons and kingpins among his mentors.

''My neighborhood had everything from ***working-class*** Black people like my grandparents to the bootleggers, the numbers man, Morehouse coaches to the Herman Russell family,'' he explained. ''I'm a culmination of that whole Black experience. I guess for people who still don't have a proper understanding of Atlanta, I am Harlem as a ghetto and its renaissance in one human being.''

Denise embodied this dichotomy as well. ''She was an artist,'' Mike said -- a florist and music-lover who hosted bohemian hangouts. ''But she was also a drug trafficker.'' Two weeks before Mike turned 15, she was arrested, he said, along with a boyfriend, while transporting 10 kilos of cocaine from south of the city. (The man claimed responsibility and took the fall, Mike said.)

So it was Denise whom Mike visited a few years later when he was bristling at his Morehouse College work-study job and hoping to get into drug dealing instead. ''It's not what a son should ask a mother,'' he said, but she made the necessary introductions anyway. ''And I went to work.''

This wasn't the life that his grandmother -- the daughter of sharecroppers from Tuskegee, Ala., a member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a steely advocate for education and religion -- had wanted for him, especially after he dropped out of college.

''But my business bought me the music equipment that got me the demo made that got us the street tapes we sold during Freaknik that got Big Boi's attention that got me a record deal,'' Mike said, referring to his journey through the Atlanta party and nightlife circuit. And it was Big Boi, of Outkast, who eventually asked him outright: ''What you want to do, you want to be a dope dealer, or you want to be a rapper?''

Then and there, Mike picked his craft. ''I didn't want to be looking over my shoulder, I didn't want to be straddling the fence, working two worlds,'' he said.

Yet despite winning a Grammy for his first-ever appearance on a single, Killer Mike's career as a major-label leading man faltered as the music business started to crater in the mid-2000s. Too socially conscious for the mainstream and too gangster for the backpack crowd, Mike became a creature of the mixtape underground, piecing together projects to survive as an artist and a father.

It wasn't until his 2012 album, ''R.A.P. Music,'' which paired Mike with another independent journeyman, the producer and M.C. El-P, that a creative breakthrough became a critical, and then a commercial, one. The next year, the pair released ''Run the Jewels,'' announcing a duo that would make them industry anomalies: rappers who gained relevance and appetite with age.

''Run the Jewels reinvigorated my love and want for rap that was not out of necessity,'' Mike said. ''I'm supposed to have been decimated from a confidence standpoint. But something has always told me, don't give up.''

A fixture at music festivals and on soundtracks (''Booksmart,'' ''The Big Short,'' ''Black Panther'' ), Run the Jewels also made him rich, finally. ''I remember the first time I woke up a millionaire,'' Mike said, placing the moment somewhere after the release of the second Run the Jewels album in 2014. ''But it was right around tax season. And then I was a $600,000-aire.''

The success of the group allowed Mike and his wife, Shana Render, to diversify their wealth into small businesses and real estate, especially rental properties, a move he said he learned from Outkast. But the specific tenor of Run the Jewels' chest-puffing and moral certitude, plus Mike's civil-rights upbringing and natural loquaciousness, also turned him into an authoritative public brand of his own, a truth-telling talking head who came to represent an insular community on an international scale.

Such status afforded Killer Mike endless media appearances, a turn as a polarizing Bernie surrogate in 2016 and a Netflix documentary series called ''Trigger Warning.'' But the problem with becoming a spokesman against the system in a time of upheaval, especially as a proudly heterodox thinker, is that eventually, to some, you represent the system itself.

In recent years, Killer Mike has become a target for a certain type of leftist criticism, especially from Black activists and anticapitalists, who decried his emotional admonishment of protesters after the killing of George Floyd in 2020; his interview about the importance of Black gun ownership to NRATV in the wake of the Parkland school shooting; or his chumminess with Georgia's Republican governor, Brian Kemp.

''There are people who live to disagree and to catch a celebrity, especially, in the wrong,'' Mike said, defiant as ever. ''But I've been an activist way longer than I've been a successful rapper. You're having arguments and debates that I was having at 16 years old.''

''You're a child to me -- and I don't mean that in an insulting way. You're just so young,'' he continued, growing heated even as he gestured toward empathy. ''You don't understand the nuance of give and get. You don't understand the nuance of politics, of bartering. There is no winning team.''

''I don't have time to win debates,'' he added, echoing the purposeful lack of nuance of ''Talk'n That \_\_\_ ,'' one of the most confrontational tracks on ''Michael.''

Overall, however, the album, which was born of cathartic necessity during Covid, seeks understanding, not further division. Following a fierce bout with the virus early on, Mike realized, ''I have to present something in these times that's not weak and feeble or exploitive and aimless. I have to present something from Atlanta that shows the tradition of thought and lyricism and wit and soul and gospel -- what Dungeon Family brought to the game, what Curtis Mayfield gave them, and what Outkast and Goodie Mob ushered into the world.''

''And at the same time, acknowledge what's going on now,'' he added.

Cuz Lightyear, a longtime friend and collaborator, recalled realizing in the studio that it was the first time he had seen Killer Mike recording from a place of freedom and happiness. ''He never got to have that moment as a solo artist, where his back wasn't against the wall and he wasn't creating out of desperation,'' Lightyear said. ''For the first time, we were going to do it right. If it ain't for money, you can get on an album and tell the truth.''

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Mike's truth just happened to come with contradictions. In addition to guest appearances by Goodie Mob's Cee-Lo Green and the reclusive Andre 3000 of Outkast, ''Michael'' also features Young Thug and Mozzy, both of whom are currently incarcerated on weapons charges.

''It's a reflection of Black masculinity at this moment, of who we are and what we are,'' Mike said. ''I'm not different than Mozzy or Thug. I'm not above them. That's part of the misunderstanding or disconnect with me. People would like for me to pick the safety of backpack or being a conscious rapper. I've never not been honest with you, but I didn't understand how to give you a balanced representation of me. I let the market dictate which me you saw.''

Mike believes it is no coincidence that his clarity of vision and greatest blessings came only after his grandmother and mother left this earth. With his ancestors working on his behalf, he said, ''Everything has opened up and blossomed.''

Now, he thinks back to the late nights when he would pull up unannounced in Denise's driveway, and they would sit on his truck bed, stare into the sky and talk for hours.

''I remember her literally telling me, 'You think my mama's your mama. But that's my mama. And one day when I die, you're going to understand''' -- to comprehend what it took for a 16-year-old girl to step aside and let her mother raise her son. ''To be judged like that, to be villainized,'' he said. ''Goddamn, girl.''

He gets it now, looking at the family and career he has built on that intricate foundation. ''People always say to me, you've got so much going on, you're always running,'' Mike said. ''But I just feel like I've got something to do. I don't know where the journey's taking me, but I know God got me on a journey. I've got a purpose, and I'd be a fool not to see it all the way through.''

Audio produced by Tally Abecassis.Audio produced by Tally Abecassis.

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Killer Mike wearing a necklace with a photo of his mother. His coming album, ''Michael,'' explores his life through women who guided him. Above, Mike performed in Atlanta this month. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARILYNE MOJA MWANGI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SCOTT LEGATO/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page AR14.

**Load-Date:** May 21, 2023

**End of Document**



[***In Fog of East Palestine’s Crisis, Politicians Write Their Own Stories; Political Memo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67MC-B801-JBG3-630D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 23, 2023 Thursday 12:50 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1527 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman

**Highlight:** The train derailment in Eastern Ohio has spawned conspiracy theories and contradictory narratives, with politicians from both parties parading through town to further their agendas.

**Body**

The train derailment in Eastern Ohio has spawned conspiracy theories and contradictory narratives, with politicians from both parties parading through town to further their agendas.

To Democrats, the train derailment and chemical leak in the hamlet of East Palestine, Ohio, is a story of logic, action and consequences: Rail safety regulations put in place by the Obama administration were intended to prevent just such accidents. The Trump administration gutted them.

To Republicans, East Palestine is a symbol of something far larger and more emotional: a forgotten town in a conservative state, like so many others in Middle America, struggling for survival against an uncaring mega-corporation and an unseeing government whose concerns have never included the likes of a town of 4,718 souls.

Carrying those irreconcilable narratives, politicians have begun parading through East Palestine with their own agendas to pursue. On Wednesday, it was the former president and current presidential candidate, Donald J. Trump, [*handing out branded water and campaign hats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/22/us/politics/trump-east-palestine-ohio-visit.html), while assuring the supportive crowd, “You are not forgotten.”

On Thursday, three weeks after 38 Norfolk Southern rail cars carrying toxic chemicals skipped the tracks in East Palestine and, days later, a plume of vinyl chloride was intentionally released over the town, Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg arrived, having spent days jousting with Republicans over safety regulations.

“What I’m really proud of is the community that I saw here,” [*he told a retinue of right-wing reporters shouting questions at him*](https://twitter.com/sav_says_/status/1628797549451661312). “You’ve got federal agencies, you’ve got local first responders, you’ve got states, but most of all you’ve got a community that’s been through a lot, that I think is pretty frustrated with people trying to take political advantage of this situation.”

In some sense, both sides are right, both sides are wrong and, in the bifurcated politics of this American moment, none of the arguments much matter.

In 2015, after the deadly [*derailment of an Amtrak train*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/live/amtrak-train-derails-in-philadelphia/) traveling too fast outside Philadelphia, President Barack Obama moved to mandate the installation of lifesaving automatic braking technology by 2023 over the protests of the largest rail companies. In 2018, as part of [*a broad regulatory rollback*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/climate/trump-environment-rollbacks-list.html), Mr. Trump repealed the rule.

But, [*according to the website PolitiFact*](https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2023/feb/17/occupy-democrats/obama-era-safety-rule-high-hazard-trains-was-repea/), the rule would have had no impact on the East Palestine derailment. The Norfolk Southern train would not have been covered because it would not have been categorized as a high-hazard cargo train. Besides, the National Transportation Safety Board [*initially pointed to the failure of a wheel bearing*](https://www.ntsb.gov/news/press-releases/Pages/NR20230214.aspx), not the train’s speed, as the cause of the derailment.

Such details did not stop the White House from issuing a formal statement on Wednesday with the headline, “Republicans, stop dismantling rail safety and selling out communities like East Palestine to the rail lobby.” Nor did it dissuade the anti-Trump Lincoln Project from [*releasing a video on Wednesday*](https://lincolnproject.us/responsible/) squarely blaming the former president.

Union officials blamed years of cost-cutting and staff reductions for a spate of derailments, a message whose utility to President Biden was undercut by [*his intervention last year in a rail labor dispute*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/02/us/politics/rail-strike-biden.html) that averted a strike but undermined union efforts to improve work conditions.

Still, the chairwoman of the National Transportation Safety Board, Jennifer Homendy, called the accident “100 percent preventable” at a news conference on Thursday in Washington.

“I don’t understand why this has gotten so political — this is a community that is suffering,” she added.

Republicans have simply ignored that debate, instead pressing the seemingly contradictory cases that the Biden administration cares more about Ukraine than East Palestine and that the White House concocted [*the downing of three unidentified flying objects*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/ufo-spy-balloons-china.html) to distract attention from the derailment — which would imply that, in fact, officials care a lot.

The derailment’s aftermath coincided with [*Mr. Biden’s surprise visit to Ukraine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/20/us/politics/biden-kyiv-ukraine.html) — by rail — and his speech in Poland, in which he pledged billions of dollars more in military support for Ukraine. That fed the Republican narrative that, for all his talk of caring for blue-collar workers, the president would rather deal with geopolitics than a domestic problem.

Neglect and the late arrival of assistance became the dominant talking points about Eastern Ohio on Fox News and in an array of other conservative news outlets, even as the Biden administration said repeatedly that federal officials had arrived on the scene of the accident within hours.

And in Columbiana County, where East Palestine sits, Republicans have been playing on their home field. Mr. Trump [*won the county with 72 percent*](https://www.columbiana.boe.ohio.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Columbianas-Official-Canvass.htm) of the vote in 2020, against Mr. Biden’s 27 percent.

“On Presidents’ Day in our country, he is over in Ukraine,” Mayor Trent Conaway of East Palestine fumed this week. “That tells you what kind of guy he is.”

Conspiracy theories have only deepened the trauma, bouncing around far-right podcasts and conservative celebrities’ social media accounts before reaching Congress via [*Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, the once-fringe Republican from Georgia*](https://twitter.com/RepMTG/status/1624910190847094784) whose alliance with Speaker Kevin McCarthy has brought her to the center of congressional power.

“East Palestine, Ohio, is undergoing an ecological disaster because authorities blew up the train derailment cars carrying hazardous chemicals and press are being arrested for trying to tell the story,” [*she wrote on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/RepMTG/status/1624910190847094784) over dramatic footage of the fiery plume and its aftermath. “Oh but UFO’s!”

The Trump campaign on Thursday abetted the narrative with a day-by-day timeline of “Neglect and Betrayal,” including “Feb 5: Shoots the spy balloon down” and “Feb 13: Dodges questions about unidentified objects downed on Sunday,” followed by, “Feb 16: Delivered a response to unidentified objects in the sky and screened the movie ‘Till.’”

Batting down another conspiratorial rumor, the East Palestine [*fire chief, Keith Drabick, had to spend time this week*](https://www.wdtn.com/news/ohio/east-palestine-first-responders-address-conspiracy-theories-around-medical-bracelets/) assuring people that medical identification bracelets being passed out to residents in case they showed signs of debilitation were not tracking devices for the government.

The fever pitch of distrust was understandable for a community that saw what appeared to be an apocalyptic plume of chemicals rise from the wreckage on the rail line, then filmed dead fish and frogs in East Palestine’s streams and complained of headaches, sore throats, coughing and skin rashes — all as government officials assured them the air and water were safe.

But if East Palestine felt ignored in the immediate aftermath of the derailment, its travails are now playing out on a vast national tableau of partisan politics.

The environmental activist Erin Brockovich is planning a [*town hall event*](https://twitter.com/ErinBrockovich/status/1628829608119336967) on Friday at the [*town high school*](https://www.wfmj.com/story/48407488/erin-brockovich-moves-east-palestine-town-hall-visit-to-friday). Tulsi Gabbard, the former Democratic congresswoman-turned-conservative-gadfly, took a spin through the town earlier in the week, [*then rushed to the television cameras to describe it*](https://twitter.com/tulsigabbard/status/1628714491629428736).

The Fox News anchor [*Bret Baier did concede*](https://twitter.com/AccountableGOP/status/1628788025697218563) that visits to train derailments by transportation secretaries, including Mr. Trump’s, Elaine Chao, were rare, especially when the accidents did not cause fatalities.

But more broadly, the derailment has been a chance for Republicans and their supporters in the conservative news media to showcase the white, ***working-class*** voters who flocked to Mr. Trump, and whom Mr. Biden has struggled to win back — and the power that Mr. Trump and other celebrities who remain in his orbit still hold in places like East Palestine.

After Mr. Trump on Wednesday praised John Rourke, the owner of the Florida-based company Blue Line Moving, for his relief efforts in Ohio, Tucker Carlson invited Mr. Rourke onto his top-rated cable news show to let him rip into the current president.

“The fact that President Biden has refused to come to this small town when he’s supposed to be Scranton Joe, a small-town hero of the working man, and he can’t even show his face in a town of American citizens that need his leadership, that need the government’s help terribly, he proved what everybody, I think, already knew in this country, is that he’s not the leader for this country,” Mr. Rourke said Wednesday night. “Donald J. Trump is the leader that we all know he is, and he is the leader of this country.”

On Thursday, Mr. Buttigieg showed up after weeks of Republican taunts demanding to know why he had not bothered. But it was Rudolph W. Giuliani, the former New York mayor and Trump confidant, who garnered much of the attention from residents and local politicians as he toured the accident site and signed memorabilia.

“Politicians come in and they make a big show and then they don’t come back,” he said, promising, “This is a come-back situation.”

Mark Walker and Aishvarya Kavi contributed reporting.

Mark Walker and Aishvarya Kavi contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg visiting East Palestine, Ohio, on Thursday, three weeks after the derailment. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

**Load-Date:** February 24, 2023

**End of Document**



[***What Makes Trump Different From DeSantis and Other Republicans; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66XF-YRG1-JBG3-6520-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 22, 2022 Tuesday 20:05 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1022 words

**Byline:** Rachel Bovard

**Highlight:** To his supporters, he will still be the only outsider candidate capable of taking on a corrupt system.

**Body**

Despite near-unison attempts from conservative media to declare his moment in the Republican sun over, Donald Trump refuses to go away. He is officially back on the hunt for the Republican nomination, and this resistance from many parts of the Republican universe obscures the fact that he may very well still win the nomination — if not in spite of the elite power brokers of the political right trying to stop him, then perhaps because of them.

In his announcement last week, Mr. Trump said, “Together we will be taking on the most corrupt forces and entrenched interests imaginable.” He pointed out that “this is not a task for a politician or a conventional candidate.” The task falls to an outsider — and Mr. Trump remains, to his supporters, an outsider. They see him as the only candidate truly capable of taking on the system.

Mr. Trump’s appeal has been difficult for many mainstream G.O.P. politicians and pundits to stomach. They’re embarrassed — about Mr. Trump and, in the case of elected officials, about representing people who would vote for him. But the characteristics that Washington Republicans hate — the bombast, the outrageousness — are what makes his base trust him. They love that Mr. Trump points at the system and calls it what it is: corrupt.

The comedian Dave Chappelle recently homed in on this point while [*hosting “Saturday Night Live*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_m-gO0HSCYk&amp;t=7s).” “I live in Ohio amongst the poor whites,” he said, and went on: “A lot of you don’t understand why Trump was so popular.” People in Ohio “have never seen somebody like him” — an “honest liar,” he said. Mr. Chappelle pointed to Mr. Trump’s comment in a 2016 debate with Hillary Clinton: “He said, ‘I know the system is rigged because I use it.’”

That exchange reflects the essence of the relationship Mr. Trump has with his base. It was striking for someone at the top to say out loud what everyone at the bottom already knew: that the system works for the country’s elite, because that’s what it is designed to do. And that most of American politics since 2016 is about preserving that status quo.

He returned to this theme in his announcement speech: “Anyone who truly seeks to take on this rigged and corrupt system will be faced with a storm of fire that only a few could understand,” he [*said*](https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/former-president-trump-announces-2024-presidential-bid-transcript).

Mr. Trump was a beneficiary of that system, which gave him tremendous credibility in calling it out. He is one of the few politicians who many voters — which in 2016 included a [*majority of independents*](https://ropercenter.cornell.edu/how-groups-voted-2016) — feel has been honest with them.

The professional class sees Washington fixtures like Mitch McConnell as unexciting but necessary institutionalists — people who know how to work the system to get things done.

But that’s not how many voters and anti-establishment conservatives see the self-appointed Republican wise men. What did Bob Dole, John Boehner, Mr. McConnell, the Bushes or the Cheneys ever do to stop illegal immigration? Or to protect vulnerable families and communities from globalization? Or to solve the opioid crisis, check corporate consolidation over information and speech, stem the tide of left-wing cultural aggression or stand up for the rights of parents not to have their children indoctrinated in schools?

An entire generation of Republican leaders has blithely ignored and betrayed the core concerns of many Republican voters while too many of their jobs were shipped to China, their sons were sent off to unwinnable wars and their communities were poisoned by drugs.

Compare this thinly veiled contempt with the way Mr. Trump embraced ***working-class*** voters. He was one of the few Republicans since Ronald Reagan who seemed to genuinely like everyday Americans. The irony of it taking a real estate mogul and reality television star to be the politician most able to connect with grass-roots voters cannot be overstated. As president, Mr. Trump helped deliver rising wages, peace and economic growth and the Supreme Court justices who overturned Roe v. Wade.

To political insiders, Mr. Trump’s imperviousness to criticism from the likes of National Review or even Tea Party-era conservative standard-bearers seemed like a kind of superpower. To his supporters, though, all those attacks revealed the elitist contempt for conservative voters that those voters had suspected was there all along.

This presents a tricky problem for Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida or any other potential Republican presidential candidate who seeks to be Trumpy without being Mr. Trump. Mr. DeSantis has vaulted to well-deserved stardom for his aggressive stance against corporate cultural meddling, his fearless defense of parents and his levelheaded foresight in handling the pandemic.

But the defining dynamic of the G.O.P. that enabled Mr. Trump to win in 2016 — primary voters’ deep and justified distrust of the Washington elites to handle the issues they care about the most — adheres in 2022. The conservative intelligentsia and establishment Republicans embracing Mr. DeSantis should understand that their public affection for him may ultimately end up harming a candidate they seek to help.

Mr. Trump still wants to upend the system that Republican voters distrust. Since 2016, the establishment has lit more of its credibility on fire. You don’t have to think Mr. Trump should be canonized as a saint to believe the system is still rigged, as corrupt and hostile to nonelite Americans as ever.

If Mr. Trump once again runs against that system and the people who run that system haughtily, censoriously align with other candidates, who do you think Republican voters will support?

Rachel Bovard is the policy director at the Conservative Partnership Institute and a tech columnist at The Federalist.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; photographs by Scott McIntyre for The New York Times and Andrew Harnik, via Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Poorer Generation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:668J-D901-DXY4-X1TB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 30, 2022 Tuesday 22:35 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1847 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt

**Highlight:** Americans under 40 have had to cope with a worse economy than earlier generations. How should it affect the debate over Biden’s debt-relief plan?

**Body**

Americans under 40 have had to cope with a worse economy than earlier generations. How should it affect the debate over Biden’s debt-relief plan?

If you wanted to find a signature example of somebody who did not need to have his student loans forgiven, you might want to consider me.

I graduated from college in 1994 with about $26,000 of debt (in the equivalent of today’s dollars). I hated repaying it. It was a meaningful amount of money for a young journalist, and writing the checks was a monthly reminder of the frustrations that my parents and I felt over dealing with the Kafkaesque bureaucracy of the financial aid system.

If President Biden’s debt-relief plan had been enacted in the 1990s, I would have qualified, and I would have eagerly signed up. In hindsight, however, it would have been pretty hard to justify forgiving any of my debt. I eventually paid it off, without altering any big life plans. Over time, my income rose, as is the norm for college graduates.

Critics of Biden’s plan have made similar arguments since he announced it last week. Why, they ask, is the federal government giving a bailout to white-collar professionals, especially in today’s highly unequal economy? And how is it fair to people who have already paid off their loans?

These are complex questions, and thoughtful people will disagree about them, as the economist Arindrajit Dube pointed out last week. (My colleague Jim Tankersley writes about the passionate debate among economists [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/30/business/economy/biden-student-loans-economists.html).) But for skeptics of loan forgiveness, I do think it’s worth grappling with the ways that the U.S. economy has changed over the past few decades — since members of Generation X, like me, and baby boomers were in their 20s and 30s.

Not your parents’ economy

For one thing, college debt has increased in recent decades. The average borrower who graduated from a four-year public college emerged with $26,700 in debt in 2020, according to the College Board. That was [*up 18 percent*](https://research.collegeboard.org/media/pdf/trends-college-pricing-student-aid-2021.pdf) from the average level in 2000 (again, adjusted for inflation).

But the bigger change is not in these loan amounts. It’s in the broader economic conditions facing young workers. Over the past two decades, the U.S. economy has become much harsher for adults under 40.

This chart shows how incomes have changed for different age groups since the late 1980s. As you can see, a typical 40-year-old today earns only slightly more than a typical 40-year-old three decades ago, while typical seniors have much higher incomes than their parents’ generation did at the same age:

The changes in wealth are even starker. Americans in their 20s, 30s and even 40s are poorer today than younger adults were three decades ago:

A study by William Gale of the Brookings Institution and three other researchers [*concluded*](https://www.nber.org/papers/w27123), “As for the millennial generation, their median wealth in 2016 was lower than the wealth of any similarly aged cohort between 1989 and 2007.”

That’s a remarkable — and grim — development, given how much G.D.P., stock prices and home values have grown over the same period. How could this be? One factor is that stocks and homes have risen so much since the 1980s that younger adults can’t buy into those markets as easily as their parents and grandparents could.

Many millennials also had the bad fortune of graduating into an economy weakened by the financial crisis of 2007-9 and the Great Recession that followed. Many companies have not expanded or raised wages much, creating fewer opportunities early in people’s careers.

Gale and his co-authors — Hilary Gelfond, Jason Fichtner and Benjamin Harris — note that millennials are also more racially diverse than earlier generations. People of color, especially Black Americans, have historically accumulated wealth less rapidly than white Americans for a complex mix of reasons. Among those reasons is intentional [*discrimination from the government*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/20/books/review/richard-rothstein-color-of-law-forgotten-history.html) during past decades that kept Black families from receiving subsidized mortgages, owning homes and passing down wealth to later generations, which could then build on itself.

Susan Dynarski, a Harvard economist who specializes in education issues and who grew up in a ***working-class*** family, was long skeptical about proposals to forgive college debt. She thought that people who had gone to college generally didn’t need government help, given the huge value of a college degree. But the emerging data has changed her mind, as she explains [*in a Times Opinion essay*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/30/opinion/student-loan-debt-relief-biden.html) published this morning.

The people struggling to repay their loans tend to be those who attended a few semesters of classes at a public college or for-profit vocational programs and didn’t graduate, she explains. Often, these borrowers suffered because of funding cuts at community colleges or because of the government’s failure to regulate for-profit programs. And they suffered because of how weak the economy has been for most Americans over the past two decades.

Biden’s debt-relief plan focuses its benefits on these middle-class and lower-income borrowers rather than on white-collar professionals who are doing just fine, [*as another recent article by Jim Tankersley explained*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/25/us/politics/biden-student-loans-middle-class.html).

The case against

These factors obviously don’t end the debate over Biden’s plan. There are still arguments against it.

The plan will benefit some young professionals who really don’t need help but will gladly accept it, as I would have. The plan will also do nothing for the many Americans who never attended college (although Biden has [*signed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/09/briefing/health-care-provisions-senate-climate-bill.html) or [*proposed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/17/opinion/biden-child-tax-credit.html) several other big policies aimed at the ***working class***). There are also thorny questions about whether debt cancellation encourages colleges to keep raising their prices, under the assumption that more debt cancellation may follow in the future ([*as Megan McArdle of The Washington Post has argued*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2022/08/24/biden-student-loan-forgiveness-plan-worsen-college-costs/)).

Yet before anybody tells millennials to toughen up and follow the same path as previous generations, it’s at least worth remembering that they have never really had that option. Their economic prospects have been worse than those of their parents and grandparents. Biden’s plan won’t erase that reality, but it will narrow the gap for millions of people.

Related: The Times wants to hear how Biden’s plan [*will affect you*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/26/business/student-debt-reader-response.html).

THE LATEST NEWS

Politics

* Donald Trump asked for an outside arbiter to find any documents among those seized by the F.B.I. potentially covered by executive privilege. But the request [*may be too late*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/us/politics/trump-documents-doj.html).

1. President Biden will travel to Pennsylvania this week to [*give a speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/us/politics/biden-speech-democracy.html) on the threat to American democracy.
2. Senator Lindsey Graham predicted that a prosecution of Trump [*would lead to “riots in the streets.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/us/politics/lindsey-graham-trump-riots.html) He later said he was “not calling for violence.”

International

* At least [*24 people died in Baghdad*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/30/world/middleeast/iraq-baghdad-clashes.html) amid a new round of chaos set off by months of attempts to form a government.

1. Ukrainian forces [*launched multiple ground assaults*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/world/europe/ukraine-russia-counteroffensive.html) in the Kherson region of southern Ukraine.
2. Floods in Pakistan have killed more than 1,100 people and submerged [*much of the country’s farmland*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/climate/pakistan-floods-monsoon.html).
3. Rome’s trash problem got so bad this summer that [*dumpster fires*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/world/europe/rome-garbage-fires.html) darkened the skies.

Other Big Stories

* NASA [*postponed the launch*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/science/nasa-moon-launch-delay.html) of a rocket bound for the moon because of a problem cooling one of its engines.

1. Elon Musk’s lawyers [*subpoenaed a former Twitter security chief*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/business/elon-musk-twitter-whistle-blower.html?smid=url-share) who accused the company of misleading the public about its security shortcomings.
2. To make it through the Navy SEALs’ punishing selection course, many [*resort to illicit tactics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/30/us/navy-seal-training-death.html).
3. “Salsa on Interstate 80”: A crash caused [*150,000 tomatoes to scatter across a highway*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/us/tomato-truck-crash-california.html) in California.
4. In the Amazon, Brazilian officials found a man lying dead in a hammock. He was the [*last member*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/world/americas/man-of-the-hole-death-brazil.html) of an uncontacted Indigenous tribe.

Opinions

Music sounds the same. Novels fail to incite debate. The art world has gotten boring. Michelle Goldberg asks: [*Why has culture stagnated?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/opinion/status-culture-book.html)

Paul Kram has prosopagnosia, or face blindness. This video shows you [*how he’s adapted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/30/opinion/face-blindness-prosopagnosia.html).

MORNING READS

Ask Nicole Kidman: What is [*the jellyfish haircut*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/style/jellyfish-haircut-nicole-kidman.html)

Pet me: Can artificial intelligence really [*decipher a cat’s meows?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/science/cats-pets-ommunication-artificial-intelligence.html)

More time: People who quit their jobs explain how they [*reconnected with loved ones*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/special-series/great-resignation-quitting-relationships.html).

A Times classic: How “Where the Crawdads Sing” [*became a literary phenomenon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/21/books/where-the-crawdads-sing-delia-owens.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: A Wi-Fi extender will [*bolster your internet*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/reviews/best-wi-fi-extender/).

Lives Lived: Carl Croneberg, a deaf Swedish immigrant, helped write the first comprehensive dictionary of American Sign Language and coined the term “Deaf culture.” He [*died at 92*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/obituaries/carl-croneberg-dead.html).

SPORTS NEWS FROM THE ATHLETIC

An icon rolls on: Serena Williams [*advanced*](https://theathletic.com/3547743/2022/08/29/serena-williams-us-open-first-round/) to the second round of the 2022 U.S. Open, her final tournament, in front of an electric, star-studded crowd last night at Arthur Ashe Stadium.

A conscious uncoupling in the N.F.L.? The San Francisco 49ers and Jimmy Garoppolo [*agreed to*](https://theathletic.com/3547547/2022/08/29/49ers-jimmy-garoppolo-restructured-contract/) a restructured contract that keeps him in town as young quarterback Trey Lance’s backup, bringing months of hand-wringing to a close. The deal also gives the Niners flexibility to move the veteran to another team when the time is right.

An American soccer star stays put: Chelsea [*will not send out*](https://theathletic.com/3546754/2022/08/29/christian-pulisic-chelsea-transfer-usmnt/) U.S. men’s national team star Christian Pulisic on loan, after all. The news is a double-edged sword for U.S. fans, who want their captain to get more playing time ahead of the World Cup, but would probably prefer he be put in bubble wrap until then.

ARTS AND IDEAS

A coffee start-up

If you live in New York, you’ve probably noticed Blank Street, which opened its first coffee cart in 2020 and now has 40 shops. Its creators come from the world of venture capital, and their mission is to make coffee that’s cheaper than Starbucks, tastier than Dunkin’ and brewed by an automated system that requires fewer workers.

Skeptics have decried Blank Street’s expansion, saying it pushes out local businesses. But if its strategy catches on, it may be a sign that coffee customers are now more interested in price and convenience than in atmosphere, [*Julia Moskin writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/dining/blank-street-coffee.html).

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

You [*can’t go wrong with queso*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1020844-queso).

What to Read

In his memoir, the British Vogue editor Edward Enninful [*walks readers through his life*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/29/books/review/edward-enninful-a-visible-man.html), starting with his childhood in Ghana.

What to Watch

Stream these [*three great documentaries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/26/movies/documentaries-streaming.html).

Now Time to Play

The pangrams from yesterday’s Spelling Bee were turnaround and rotunda. Here is [*today’s puzzle*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: They top kings (four letters).

And here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). After, [*use our bot*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/upshot/wordle-bot.html) to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

P.S. NASA’s third space shuttle — Discovery — launched [*38 years ago today*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/national/science/083184sci-nasa-discovery.html), after multiple delays.

Here’s [*today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2022/08/30/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

“[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily)” is about the adolescent mental health crisis.

Matthew Cullen, Natasha Frost, Lauren Hard, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: A rally at the White House on Thursday after President Biden announced the U.S. would forgive up to $20,000 in student loans. Rising prices and stagnant salaries have challenged millennials. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SHAWN THEW/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

**Load-Date:** August 31, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Writer and Filmmaker Radha Blank***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6598-GSY1-JBG3-6489-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 24, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section M2; Column 0; TStyle; Pg. 80

**Length:** 524 words

**Byline:** By Sandra E. Garcia

**Body**

The writer and filmmaker has learned to create by closely observing the world around her.

I moved to Harlem from Brooklyn with my mother when I was about 15; since then, the neighborhood has influenced me as a New Yorker, a storyteller and an artist. There's living history here -- the immigrant communities, ethnic groups, ***working-class*** folks and struggling artists make the culture in New York, and Harlem's representative of that.

I know there're people who spend hours at a desk crafting a world. I can't do that without watching the people around me. I'm fascinated by how people from so-called different worlds can occupy, negotiate, interact, engage and disengage within the same block. I'm always hearing the cacophony of sounds, accents and energies that come from all the different kinds of people who live in a borough.

I used to be under the impression that writing was getting up at 4 in the morning before the sun comes up, but that's not my process. Instead, I write by observing and seeing stories unfold -- a method I developed over the past 10 years. When I'm sitting on a bench, I'm just absorbing. Then, when it's time to write, it just comes out.

So a lot of my writing involves walking through Harlem and Brooklyn and seeing what I call subway theater. There's always a couple. They might be on some stuff, you're not quite sure, but they're talking in a way where you know their entire conversation. You know that they took the train from the Bronx and it's going down to Midtown. There's a part of them that enjoys having an audience.

This kind of observation leads to compassion and empathy. While somebody might say, ''You're just being nosy,'' it's really about trying to understand human experience and human relationships. I'm not an outsider. I see myself as the people I'm writing about, but there're things that separate us. To understand those things, I have to be open. That's what distinguishes one artist from the next -- the level of honesty with the message that's being given to them.

Being an artist is also knowing that the art is bigger than you. It ain't really about you; it's about the person who experiences it. I'm always at odds with that because sometimes I feel selfish. When that happens, I get up; I take a walk; I listen to music. I honor the stuckness. It means that the work needs a breath, or it wants to pivot and I'm not allowing it to. I don't get mad or upset. After 30 years of writing, I've learned to accept it.

You're also nothing without the fellowship of other artists, especially as a Black artist, a Black woman, a Black queer artist. When everything about the business says, ''You're not qualified, you're not interesting, you're not smart enough,'' you need like-minded individuals who can get down and dirty with you. I'm obsessed with getting a house on Martha's Vineyard and, during the off-season, turning it into a place of respite for artists. You won't have to make anything while you're there. Everybody's always asking what you're working on. Maybe you're not working on anything. Maybe you're working on yourself.

This interview has been edited and condensed.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/21/t-magazine/radha-blank.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/21/t-magazine/radha-blank.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Blank, ''in my 40s,'' photographed at St. Nicholas Park in Harlem, Manhattan, on Oct. 20, 2021. Interviews have been edited and condensed (PHOTOGRAPH BY JASMINE CLARKE)

**Load-Date:** April 24, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Theme of Hope in Anacostia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6655-7FD1-DXY4-X51X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 14, 2022 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 2; TIMES INSIDER

**Length:** 767 words

**Byline:** By Andre D. Wagner

**Body**

In a predominantly Black neighborhood in Washington, D.C., Andre D. Wagner found himself shadowing the journey of the groundbreaking civil rights photographer.

Times Insider explains who we are and what we do and delivers behind-the-scenes insights into how our journalism comes together.

In Washington, D.C., the Anacostia River acts as both a physical and figurative divide. To the west of the river are the wealthy and predominantly white neighborhoods of Navy Yard and Capitol Hill; across the river sit the predominantly Black and low-income Ward 8 neighborhoods of Anacostia and Fairlawn. For over a decade planners have been developing an elevated park, called the 11th Street Bridge Park, to span the divide. Wary of gentrification, residents of Ward 8 have advocated that the bridge be used to bring equity and investment to the existing community instead of pricing it out. If successful, the project could serve as a blueprint for future responsibly developed civic spaces.

Andre D. Wagner, a Brooklyn-based photographer and a Gordon Parks Foundation fellow, traveled to Anacostia for a recent Times Headway project on the park. Below, he writes about his process, sharing the parallels he drew between his experience and that of Mr. Parks, a photographer known for his work documenting American life, race, civil rights and more.

Anacostia, a neighborhood synonymous with ***working-class*** families, is a place in which the pride of being a resident is evident. That was clear to me as soon as I entered Anacostia at one of its northern corners, where Martin Luther King Jr. Avenue and Good Hope Road meet.

Hope was a continuous theme during my visit to Anacostia. It was also a central idea in my conversations with local activists and longtime residents. Sabrina Walls, an Anacostia homeowner, wore a shirt that read ''Blessed'' when I photographed her and her family, a testament to the unwavering faith shared between the land and its people.

With the exception of reviewing what is to come from the new bridge park with my editor, Eve Lyons, I intentionally refrained from researching Anacostia before this assignment. I was more interested in discovering the place by being there. I wanted to be ready to receive the community without any preconceived ideas, to be completely open to whatever people were willing to share.

The neighborhood is walkable, and with my oversized Rolleiflex in hand it didn't take long to get noticed by people in Anacostia. Residents struck up conversations, often asking whether or not my camera was still operational. The openness of the neighborhood's residents allowed all of us to let our guards down and enjoy the Anacostia River Festival, an annual event held along the Anacostia Park grounds to celebrate the city's history and culture.

Residents were immediately willing to share their stories with me. Some even invited me into their homes for a look into their everyday lives. These residents seemed committed to lifting up the Black community. This was evident when I spoke with people like the activist Kymone Freeman, co-founder of We Act Radio, a station devoted to social justice.

It wasn't until after departing that I received a call from Eve, who shared that Gordon Parks, a photographer whom I'd studied religiously for the past decade, had photographed Anacostia in the 1940s. As a Gordon Parks fellow, to learn that I had been -- quite literally -- walking in the footsteps of Parks, and so organically, imbued in me a sense of alignment and purpose, a feeling that I had been exactly where I was supposed to be.

Anacostia, much like the rest of the country, is undergoing a transformation, the 11th Street Bridge Park a sure sign of change. When looking at Parks's work of the neighborhood in the 1940s, it is clear that the passing of time, as well as deindustrialization and modernization in its many facets, is what differentiates us. His photographs generally feel much slower and more precise; the compositions are tighter and much more methodical, whereas my approach is off-kilter, fluid, spur-of-the-moment.

Though our shooting styles are dissimilar -- he has a discerning eye, while I work best when responding to spontaneity -- we parallel in our ability to make people feel seen and welcomed and in our love for Black people and Black stories -- something we both illuminated in Anacostia, 80 years apart. The New York Times's Headway team is exploring change and development in Anacostia. The project kicks off in October. If you'd like to join us and share your thoughts, sign up here and we'll send you details.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/12/insider/unknowingly-walking-in-the-footsteps-of-gordon-parks.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/12/insider/unknowingly-walking-in-the-footsteps-of-gordon-parks.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Residents of Anacostia, a neighborhood in D.C. where a new bridge will connect communities. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDRE D. WAGNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Gordon Parks photographed residents in Anacostia in 1942. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GORDON PARKS, FSA VIA THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2022

**End of Document**



[***White Men Charged in Attack on Black Teenagers at Pool in South Africa***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6767-1Y01-JBG3-654F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 28, 2022 Wednesday 08:07 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; africa

**Length:** 1105 words

**Byline:** John Eligon

**Highlight:** Two youths who tried to use a pool at a resort on Christmas Day said they were told it was for “white people only.” The violent encounter led to a charge of attempted murder and a call by the president to battle racism.

**Body**

Two youths who tried to use a pool at a resort on Christmas Day said they were told it was for “white people only.” The violent encounter led to a charge of attempted murder and a call by the president to battle racism.

CAPE TOWN — A violent attack by a group of white men on two Black teenagers at a resort pool in South Africa on Christmas Day has sparked widespread outrage, reviving images from the ugly days of apartheid and serving as a stinging reminder of the country’s unresolved racial tensions.

Cellphone footage of the assault — which the teenagers said started when they were told the pool was for “white people only” — spread widely on social media. It showed scenes that could have been from decades ago, when apartheid-era laws restricted South Africa’s Black majority from using public facilities designated for white people.

A video clip shows one man delivering an open-hand slap to the face of one Black teenager, another graying white man casually holding a cigarette as he tugs the hair of the other Black youth, and one of the men wrapping the taller youth in a head lock and pulling him into the pool, seemingly trying to submerge the teenager’s head underwater.

Brian Nakedi, a former underground fighter against apartheid, said his 18-year-old son, Kgokong Nakedi, was one of the teenagers assaulted at the pool in Bloemfontein, a city about four hours south of Johannesburg. Both denied online claims that the youths had provoked the fight.

Mr. Nakedi, who witnessed the assault on his son, said: “I became incensed. We have to relive the pain through our kids.”

On Wednesday, the police announced they had arrested and charged three white men: Johan Nel, 33, and Jan Stephanus van der Westhuizen, 47, who appeared in court on assault charges; and a third suspect, 48, whose name was not released and who is scheduled to appear in court on Thursday on a charge of attempted murder. None of the suspects or their lawyers could immediately be reached for comment.

Since the fall of apartheid nearly 30 years ago, South Africans have proudly declared their country a “rainbow nation.” But the encounter, at Maselspoort Resort and Conference Center, adds to a litany of racist episodes that have induced soul searching and hand wringing among South Africans.

After a bouncer was accused of refusing entry to a Black patron without a white escort last month, protesters descended upon a bar in Cape Town. In May, the elite Stellenbosch University was the site of an uproar after video surfaced of a white student urinating on the belongings of his Black roommate.

Bloemfontein is the capital of Free State, a province that is a particularly hot kettle for racial violence. Once an independent Boer Republic for the white Afrikaans-speaking settlers who led South Africa’s apartheid regime, it remains a largely agrarian region. It also sits at the intersection of South Africa’s fiercely racialized debate over land.

***Working-class*** white farmers frequently raise concerns about being killed or driven off their land. Black laborers have lamented the strenuous working conditions and unrealized promises of land ownership that were supposed to materialize in a democratic South Africa.

After video of the violence at the pool surfaced, President Cyril Ramaphosa released a statement calling on Black and white South Africans to condemn racism.

“Under the rule of law, we must let investigations take their course,” he said, “but under the rule of law, we can and must also declare that racism has no place in our society and racists have no place to hide.”

Mr. Nakedi, 58, said family members had booked a house for three nights at the resort for their first reunion since the coronavirus pandemic began. The venue is divided into two parts, he said — homes and chalets on one side, where his family was staying, and a wooded campground on the other side that is usually occupied mostly by white visitors.

The resort’s management did not respond to a phone message seeking comment.

Kgokong Nakedi said that in the early afternoon on Christmas Day, he and his cousin, Sipho Khumalo, 13, had set out to swim at the pool on the campground side. Almost as soon as they arrived, he said, white guests began asking them what they were doing there and saying that they were not allowed. Kgokong said he got into the pool anyway, but as tensions increased, he and his cousin left to tell his father.

Mr. Nakedi said he went to confront the men who had stopped his son and nephew. It appeared, he said, that they thought the teenagers were not guests at the resort and, therefore, not allowed to use the pool. Mr. Nakedi said he explained that they were, indeed, guests, and the situation appeared to clear up. Mr. Nakedi said he explained to the youths that everything was OK and they could return to the pool.

But when they went back, Kgokong said, one of the men closed the gate and stopped them from entering. An argument ensued, with Kgokong and the man jabbing their fingers at each other, according to security footage from the pool provided by the Nakedi family, who said the resort’s management had turned it over.

Kgokong and Sipho hopped over the fence. When Kgokong jumped in the pool, almost all of the white occupants of the pool, a dozen or so adults and children, got out, [*video footage showed.*](https://twitter.com/jeligon/status/1608330182619979777) Two white children remained in the water.

Then, security footage showed, some of the white visitors and Kgokong began yelling at each other. Kgokong swam to the edge of the pool. A white man leaned over and slapped him — and chaos ensued, with the teenagers fighting back.

Kgokong later said that the man who was trying to hold him underwater kept saying, “You’re fighting for the water; now you’ll die.”

Kgokong, who was born after 1994, when apartheid in South Africa ended, said that members of his generation, known as the born-frees, were “not tolerant at all to such racist acts.” Still, he said, his parents had raised him to be cautious, knowing that as members of a rising middle-class Black family, they would be venturing into spaces that were once the preserve of white South Africans who would not necessarily welcome them with open arms.

“He made sure that I know myself and I love myself,” Kgokong said of his father.

He said the pool episode had not destroyed his faith in South Africa’s nonracial democratic experiment. “There are a lot of flaws,” he said. “We are a young nation, but great things take time. We are working toward something great.”

PHOTO: Two South African youths said they had been told that a pool was for “white people only.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY NAKEDI FAMILY) This article appeared in print on page A8.

**Load-Date:** December 30, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Role Taken In Desperation Is His Big Break***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67M2-X5J1-JBG3-61N3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 22, 2023 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1267 words

**Byline:** By Kalia Richardson

**Body**

The actor plays John B. in the hit Netflix drama, which returns for its third season on Thursday.

Before Chase Stokes started playing John B., the teenage treasure hunter at the center of ''Outer Banks,'' on Netflix, he played a fictional Hollywood manager, mass emailing talent agencies to tout an up-and-coming young actor named Chase Stokes.

He also worked as a bartender and a food photographer to make ends meet, and he spent months couch-surfing and occasionally sleeping in his 2009 BMW in the parking lot of the Ovation Hollywood (formerly Hollywood and Highland) mall as he took acting classes.

Despite his circumstances, Stokes said he initially turned down offers to audition for ''Outer Banks'' -- it felt like a ''Goonies'' remake, and he didn't want to besmirch a classic, he said. But eventually an apartment eviction notice and his car's overheating engine and expired tags convinced him to give it a shot. He considers himself lucky that he did.

''But I think luck is when consistency and determination and hard work meet,'' Stokes said.

''Outer Banks'' is a teen drama about a group of attractive young adventurers (known as ''pogues'') battling their island community's rich kids (''kooks'') and chasing treasure linked to the disappearance of John B.'s father. It debuted in 2020 but broke out when its second season premiered in July 2021, becoming Netflix's most watched English-language series globally for four weeks. A fan event to promote the third season drew more than 4,000 attendees to Huntington Beach, Calif., on Saturday, to watch performances by acts like Khalid and Lil Baby. The cast also took the stage to announce that the show had already been renewed for a fourth season.

Season 3 of ''Outer Banks'' begins on Thursday, following John B. and the other pogues as they take on new territory in another quest for gold after the first two seasons saw them successfully scavenge and subsequently lose treasures in the Outer Banks of North Carolina. The crew was last seen on a deserted island they had named Poguelandia, and the unexpected discovery of John B.'s presumed-dead father, Big John (played by Charles Halford), sparks a new itch to uncover yet another bounty.

In a video call from a West Hollywood hotel, Stokes talked about how he initially declined the role that has made him famous and what ''Outer Banks'' says about friendship and the class divide. These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

You initially turned down the ''Outer Banks'' audition. What convinced you to reconsider?

I really wasn't making money as an actor up until the job that I did right before ''Outer Banks,'' which was a show on Amazon called ''Tell Me Your Secrets.'' But the money had kind of run dry from that show -- I had an eviction notice on my door, the registration on my car had expired, my engine was steaming everywhere I went. I'm not a mechanic, so I didn't know how to fix it, nor did I have the money to do so.

After declining the ''Outer Banks'' audition a couple of times I got a call from Lisa Fincannon, a wonderful casting director, and she said, ''You need to read for this.'' That was a Wednesday. Sunday came around, and I get a call and [my agent] said: ''You're getting on a plane tonight. Here's 14 pages of dialogue. Here's the first four episodes. You're going to be on the very last row of a plane in the middle seat on a red eye, and you're going to land in Charleston. The audition is right when you get off the plane.'' And I did it, and the rest is history.

How would you describe ''Outer Banks'' to someone who hasn't seen it?

If ''Raiders of the Lost Ark'' and ''Scooby-Doo'' had a baby, and that baby became best friends with ''The Goonies.''

Was there anything about John B. that you particularly related to?

I feel like on the exterior, there are a lot of similarities. I grew up on the water; I grew up in Florida, about 30 minutes away from Cocoa Beach, so [I was familiar with] the surfing elements. I got my boater's license before I got my driver's license. I think one thing John B. goes through, especially in the third season, that I really related to was the anxiety of the world around him and the fear of failure. That's something that I've kind of always felt, so we definitely share that.

When did you know the show was a hit?

I think it was six months after the show came out when they finally told us we were going back for the second season. During Covid, seeing hundreds and hundreds of people show up to watch us film -- that was when I think we started to put two and two together.

They would follow our base camp. All of our trailers would set up in different areas of Charleston, and it would be like an alarm or a mass text would be sent out: You'd see people start to trickle in, and sometimes it'd be 20 people, sometimes it would be 2,000.

What have been some of your more interesting fan interactions?

I've had people who've fainted in front of me, and we've had people who have cried. I've had people telling me that I saved their lives, which is always interesting, to know the show has helped people through a troubling time in human history. So the range of emotions is super vast, but all equally heartwarming.

And now it's really cool because the whole Charleston community has really accepted us, and you walk down the street or you go to a restaurant and people kind of give you a wink or a thumbs up.

Are you going to the Poguelandia event?

Of course.

Where did the concert concept come from?

We haven't had a premiere; the show never had a red carpet. We've worked incredibly hard to create something the world has consumed at a really crazy rate, and obviously the platform sees it, and they wanted to congratulate us. I think it's an ode to the show: The show is kind of a party; it's kind of a riot. So why not throw a music festival?

''Outer Banks'' revolves largely around the class divide between the ***working-class*** pogues and the wealthy kooks. Is there a message in there about class discrimination?

I think it's a testament to how there has consistently been a class divide not just in this country, but in the world. And the lower class is going to fight tooth and nail to find a way to make an extra buck, and the upper class is going to find a way to save an extra couple thousand bucks. There's a frustration that's inevitably going to be there, and I think that's the driving factor for the pogues. They're right there, you know? They can see it. It's so close to them, but they just can't comprehend how to get there.

What does the show say about friendship?

It's every kid's dream to have a group of friends who are going to ride or die and just go the distance with you, and these kids have grown up in an environment where they don't have a lot. So they learn to do a lot with a little, and it's a beautiful thing to see. I'm very proud and thankful to be part of a project that gives a true interpretation of friendship -- not just the highs of it but also the lows and showing just as much love as when the wins come around.

Has this friendship onscreen translated into one among the actors when the cameras are off?

All of us came into the show with slim-pickings resumes. So to get into this and to feel like we need to create this truth and transparency through these characters, you sort of fall in love with one another and build this crazy camaraderie and chemistry.

Do you think this friendship will carry beyond the show itself? How long do you think it will last?

I hope forever. It's been almost four years now, and I hope we do another 40.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/21/arts/television/chase-stokes-outer-banks-netflix.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/21/arts/television/chase-stokes-outer-banks-netflix.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Chase Stokes, right and below left, stars as part of a crew of young treasure hunters in the Netflix series ''Outer Banks,'' along with Madelyn Cline, below center, and Carlacia Grant. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ARIEL FISHER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JACKSON LEE DAVIS/NETFLIX) This article appeared in print on page C6.

**Load-Date:** February 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Americans Are Losing Faith in the Value of College. Whose Fault Is That?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:693N-DVD1-JBG3-63MF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 5, 2023 Tuesday 18:54 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 4167 words

**Byline:** Paul Tough

**Highlight:** For most people, the new economics of higher ed make going to college a risky bet.

**Body**

A decade or so ago, Americans were feeling pretty positive about higher education. Public-opinion polls in the early 2010s all told the same story. In one survey, 86 percent of college graduates said that [*college had been a good investment*](https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2011/05/15/chapter-3-public-views-and-experiences/); in another, 74 percent of young adults said a [*college education was “very important”*](https://www.gallup.com/education/272228/half-consider-college-education-important.aspx); in a third, 60 percent of Americans said that [*colleges and universities were having a positive impact on the country.*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2012/03/01/colleges-viewed-positively-but-conservatives-express-doubts/) Ninety-six percent of parents who identified as Democrats said they expected their kids to attend college — only to be outdone by Republican parents, 99 percent of whom said they expected their kids to go to college.

In the fall of 2009, 70 percent of that year’s crop of high school graduates did in fact go straight to college. That was the highest percentage ever, and the collegegoing rate stayed near that elevated level for the next few years. The motivation of these students was largely financial. The 2008 recession devastated many of the industries that for decades provided good jobs for less-educated workers, and a college degree had become a particularly valuable commodity in the American labor market. The typical American with a bachelor’s degree (and no further credential) was [*earning about two-thirds more than the typical high school grad,*](https://www.clevelandfed.org/en/publications/economic-commentary/2012/ec-201210-the-college-wage-premium) a financial advantage about twice as large as the one a college degree produced a generation earlier. College seemed like a reliable runway to a life of comfort and affluence.

A decade later, Americans’ feelings about higher education have turned sharply negative. The percentage of young adults who said that a college degree is very important fell to 41 percent from 74 percent. Only about a third of Americans now say they have a lot of [*confidence in higher education.*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/508352/americans-confidence-higher-education-down-sharply.aspx) Among young Americans in Generation Z, 45 percent say that a [*high school diploma is all you need*](https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/varying-degrees-2023/explore-the-data/) today to “ensure financial security.” And in contrast to the college-focused parents of a decade ago, now almost half of [*American parents say they’d prefer that their children*](https://hechingerreport.org/poll-nearly-half-of-parents-dont-want-their-kids-to-go-to-a-four-year-college/) [*not*](https://hechingerreport.org/poll-nearly-half-of-parents-dont-want-their-kids-to-go-to-a-four-year-college/) [*enroll*](https://hechingerreport.org/poll-nearly-half-of-parents-dont-want-their-kids-to-go-to-a-four-year-college/) in a four-year college.

The numbers on campus have shifted as well. In the fall of 2010, there were more than 18 million undergraduates enrolled in colleges and universities across the United States. That figure has been falling ever since, dipping below 15.5 million undergrads in 2021. As recently as 2016, 70 percent of high school graduates were still going straight to college; now the figure is 62 percent.

Outside the United States, meanwhile, higher education is more popular than ever. Our global allies and competitors have spent the last couple of decades racing to raise their national levels of educational attainment. In Britain, the number of current undergraduates has risen since 2016 by 12 percent. (Over the same period, the American figure fell by 8 percent.) In Canada, 67 percent of adults between 25 and 34 are graduates of a two- or four-year college, about 15 percentage points higher than the current American attainment rate.

Britain and Canada are not the outliers on this point; we are. On average, countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development have increased their college-degree attainment rate among young adults by more than 20 percentage points since 2000, and 11 of those countries now have better-educated labor forces than we do, including not only economic powerhouses like Japan and South Korea and Britain but also smaller competitors like the Netherlands, Ireland and Switzerland. Americans have turned away from college at the same time that students in the rest of the world have been flocking to campus. Why? What changed in the last decade to make a college education — and higher education as an institution — so unappealing to so many Americans?

When it comes to higher education worldwide, the United States is an outlier in more ways than one. In Canada and Japan, public-university tuition is now about $5,000 a year. In Italy, Spain and Israel, it’s about $2,000. In France, Denmark and Germany, it’s essentially zero. A few decades ago, the same thing was true in the United States; government funding covered much of the cost of public college. Now students and their families bear much of the burden, and that fact has changed what used to be a pretty straightforward calculation about the economic value of college into a complex math problem.

Economists have a term for the gap that exists between the incomes of college graduates and high school graduates: the college wage premium. It reflects the relative demand in the labor market for college-educated workers. When employers want more college graduates, the premium goes up; when there is a surplus of college grads, the premium goes down. After World War II, the G.I. Bill flooded the American labor market with college diplomas, and for a few decades, the gap between the median income of high school graduates and that of college graduates remained pretty narrow; having a college degree produced an income boost of 30 percent or so. But in the early 1980s, the college wage premium began to rise steadily. In the early 2000s, it surpassed 60 percent, and ever since, it has hovered around 65 percent.

In theory, today’s sky-high college wage premium should mean a surge of young people onto college campuses, not the opposite. But as a measure of the true value of higher education, the college wage premium has one important limitation. It can tell you how much college graduates earn, but it doesn’t take into account how much they owe — or how much they spent on college in the first place.

For a long time, there were no good alternative measures to the college wage premium. But a few years ago, a group of economic researchers in St. Louis introduced a new one: [*the college*](https://files.stlouisfed.org/files/htdocs/publications/review/2019/10/15/is-college-still-worth-it-the-new-calculus-of-falling-returns.pdf) [*wealth*](https://files.stlouisfed.org/files/htdocs/publications/review/2019/10/15/is-college-still-worth-it-the-new-calculus-of-falling-returns.pdf) [*premium.*](https://files.stlouisfed.org/files/htdocs/publications/review/2019/10/15/is-college-still-worth-it-the-new-calculus-of-falling-returns.pdf) Unlike the college wage premium, the college wealth premium looks at all your assets and all your debts: what you’ve got in the bank, whether you own a house, your student-loan balance. It addresses a simple but important question: How much net wealth does a typical college graduate accumulate over their life span, compared with that of a typical high school graduate?

These three researchers at the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis — Lowell Ricketts, William Emmons and Ana Hernández Kent — used the Fed’s survey of thousands of American households to consider the financial advantage that college graduates receive. When they analyzed the data through the lens of wealth, as opposed to income, the benefits to a college degree began to evaporate.

They split Americans into age cohorts based on the decade of their birth and categorized them by race and ethnicity. Then they used statistical regressions to predict the average wealth that families in each cohort would accumulate over a lifetime. When they looked at the college wage premium for each cohort — the standard measure — they found that it mostly held up across those divisions. In every racial group and generation, the college graduates were earning more money.

Then the researchers looked at the wealth premium, and a different picture emerged. Older white college graduates, those born before 1980, were, as you might expect, a lot wealthier than their white peers who had only a high school degree. On average, they had accumulated two or three times as much wealth as high school grads of the same race and generation. But younger white college graduates — those born in the 1980s — had only a bit more wealth than white high school graduates born in the same decade, and that small advantage was projected to remain small throughout their lives.

The data for Black families showed the same pattern, but with an even more pronounced downturn. As with the white graduates, older Black college grads were enjoying sizable wealth advantages over their less-educated peers, with generally two or three times the assets of comparable Black high school grads. But Black college graduates born after 1980 were experiencing almost no wealth premium at all. In fact, the researchers found that the wealth premium for Black grads disappeared even earlier than it did for the white graduates. Black college graduates born in the 1970s weren’t receiving any substantial wealth benefit, either, only those born in the 1960s and earlier. Latino families followed a similar pattern. If they were headed by someone born after 1980, they had accumulated no significant additional resources beyond those of a comparable family headed by a high school graduate.

When the researchers looked at young Americans who had gone on to get a postgraduate degree, the situation was even more dire. “Among families whose head is of any race or ethnicity born in the 1980s and holding a postgraduate degree, the wealth premium is ... indistinguishable from zero,” the authors concluded. “Our results suggest that college and postgraduate education may be failing some recent graduates as a financial investment.”

These are startling data, and they present a kind of paradox. Millennials with college degrees are earning a good bit more than those without, but they aren’t accumulating any more wealth. How can that be?

Lowell Ricketts told me he had a pretty good idea of the cause, even though the group’s data couldn’t be conclusive on this point. The likely culprit, he said, was cost: the rising expense of college and the student debt that often goes along with it. Carrying debt obviously diminishes your net worth through simple subtraction, but it can also prevent you from taking important wealth-generating steps as a young adult, like buying a house or starting a small business. And even if you (or your parents) were able to pay your tuition without loans, the savings you used are gone when you graduate, and thus are no longer available to serve as a down payment on a starter home or the beginning of a nest egg for retirement.

A few decades ago, tuition costs were manageable for many Americans. But since 1992, the sticker [*price has almost doubled for four-year private colleges*](https://research.collegeboard.org/media/pdf/trends-in-college-pricing-student-aid-2022.pdf) and more than doubled for four-year public colleges, even after adjusting for inflation. Today the average total cost of attending a private college, including living expenses, is about $58,000 a year. After financial aid, the average net price for private-college students is about $33,000 a year; at public institutions, it is about $19,000. Those averages conceal a great deal of variation, however; at the University of Michigan (a public university), tuition, fees and expenses for out-of-state juniors and seniors [*total more than $80,000 a year.*](https://finaid.umich.edu/getting-started/estimating-costs)

Over the last decade and a half, more and more young Americans have turned to loans to cover those rising costs. In 2007, total student debt stood at $500 billion. Today it is $1.6 trillion, and for many borrowers, their debt is becoming a serious burden. Among student borrowers who opened their loans between 2010 and 2019, [*more than half now owe more than what they originally borrowed.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/07/13/opinion/politics/student-loan-payments-resume.html)

When you do take cost and debt into account, the financial benefits of college begin to look quite different. Douglas Webber, who was a professor at Temple University until he joined the Federal Reserve Board last year as a senior economist, has spent the last decade looking for new ways to calculate the value of a college degree. For Americans in the aggregate, he has found, the college wage premium remains robust. On average, more education still means more income. What has changed, he has written, is that the premium now varies much more than it used to among individuals and groups: The “downside risk” to enrolling in college, he argues, has become “nontrivial.” When you look at Webber’s data, higher education no longer resembles a safe, reliable blue-chip investment, like buying a Treasury bill. It’s now more like going to a casino. It’s a gamble that can still sometimes produce a big windfall, but it can also bring financial disaster.

A few years ago, Webber set out to try to make sense of that variability. For [*whom does college pay off, and for whom does it not?*](https://thirdway.imgix.net/pdfs/override/IsCollegeWorthIt-FINAL.pdf) He analyzed the data by college major, by academic ability and by tuition costs, and was able to show in more detail exactly who was winning at the higher education casino and who was losing.

Start here: If your tuition is free and you can be absolutely certain that you’re going to graduate within six years, then you enter college with a 96 percent chance that your gamble is going to pay off, meaning that your lifetime earnings will be greater than those of a typical high school graduate.

The problem, though, is that many students who start college don’t graduate — about 40 percent of them, by one estimate. When Webber factors in that risk, your chances of coming out ahead of the typical high school grad start to shrink. If tuition is still free, you now have about a 3 in 4 chance of winning the bet.

The second problem is that going to college isn’t free. If you’re paying $25,000 a year in tuition and expenses, Webber calculated, your chance of coming out ahead drops to about 2 in 3. At $50,000 a year in college costs, your odds are no better than a coin flip: Maybe you’ll wind up with more than the typical high school grad, but you’re just as likely to wind up with less.

Webber next considered the impact of a student’s major. If you choose a business or STEM degree, your chance of winning the college bet goes back up to 3 in 4, even if you’re paying $50,000 a year in tuition and expenses while you’re in college. But if you’re majoring in anything else — arts, humanities or social sciences — your odds turn negative at that price; worse than a coin flip. In fact, if your degree is in the arts or humanities, you’re likely to lose the bet even if your annual college expenses are just $25,000.

Last month, Webber and a colleague published some new research that identified the people who are making out the worst at the casino: [*students who borrow money to attend college but don’t graduate.*](https://www.federalreserve.gov/econres/notes/feds-notes/non-completion-student-debt-and-financial-well-being-20230821.html) In Federal Reserve surveys, half the borrowers who didn’t finish their degrees said they were “just getting by” or “finding it difficult to get by.” Two-thirds said they would have a hard time coming up with $400 to cover an unexpected expense. Financially, they were not only doing much worse than college graduates; they were doing worse than adults who had never gone to college at all. For these former students, the college wage premium had turned upside down.

When you look at the polling trends on higher education over the past few decades, you notice one other striking development. A decade ago, there was not much difference between members of the two political parties when it came to their opinions about higher education. Then around 2015, that consensus shattered, and Republican sentiments suddenly nose-dived. In an ongoing Pew survey, the portion of Republicans (and those who lean Republican) saying colleges and universities had a negative effect on the country rose to 58 percent from 37 percent in just two years, between 2015 and 2017, while the responses of Democrats (and those who lean Democrat) held steady. The Republican decline persisted: In a 2023 Gallup poll, only 19 percent of Republicans said they had a lot of [*confidence in higher education,*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/508352/americans-confidence-higher-education-down-sharply.aspx) down from 56 percent in 2015.

When pollsters ask Republicans to expand on why they’ve turned against college, the answer generally has to do with ideology. In a Pew survey published in 2019, 79 percent of Republicans said a major problem in higher education was professors’ bringing their political and social views into the classroom. Only 17 percent of Democrats agreed. In a 2017 Gallup poll, the No. 1 reason Republicans gave for their declining faith in higher ed was that colleges had become “too liberal/political.”

The question of how liberal is too liberal is obviously a subjective one, but there is some objective data to substantiate the leftward lean of American college campuses. The Higher Education Research Institute at U.C.L.A., which regularly surveys students, found last year that three times as many American college freshmen identified as liberal or far left as said they were conservative or far right. Among college faculty, the ratio is even more pronounced, and it has been growing more unbalanced over time, shifting from a 2-to-1 left-right ratio in the mid-1990s to a roughly 5-to-1 ratio in the early 2010s. Then there are the administrators. A separate poll from 2018 found that among student-facing university administrators, 12 times as many [*defined themselves as liberal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/16/opinion/liberal-college-administrators.html) as defined themselves as conservative.

This leftward shift on American campuses corresponded with a realignment in the American electorate. In 2012, a majority of voters with a bachelor’s degree (and no further credential) chose Mitt Romney for president over Barack Obama; in fact, B.A. holders were the only educational cohort Romney won. Obama made up for his losses among college grads by winning a majority of voters with only a high school diploma. Four years later, the education skew flipped: Donald Trump beat Hillary Clinton among noncollege graduates, but he won only 36 percent of voters with college or graduate degrees.

Frederick Hess, an education-policy analyst at the conservative American Enterprise Institute, says that this political realignment has contributed to the growing public-opinion divide on higher ed. As the Democrats have become the party of the college-educated, and as higher education has become dominated by left-leaning staff and students, Hess says, Republicans have grown more skeptical that colleges are environments where either their ideas or their children are welcome.

Hess’s more pointed critique, though, is a populist one, and it reflects sentiments that can be found these days on the left as well as the right. Economists have shown that higher education as a whole has become more stratified by income and class over the last 20 years. After the Great Recession, state governments cut their funding for public colleges, and the colleges responded by raising tuition and cutting spending on instruction and student services. Many private colleges, meanwhile, competed to attract more affluent students, which often meant becoming more selective in admissions, spending more on facilities and amenities and raising tuition in order to pay for it all.

Hess says many conservatives have grown skeptical that students are learning much at these selective institutions. Instead, he says, college has become simply a place for students to collect a gold-plated credential.

“It’s a racketeering situation,” Hess said when we spoke last month. “In many elite occupations, the price of admission is now an elite degree. That’s true whether it’s a posh D.C. think tank or a big consulting firm or a fancy journalistic outlet.” For many students, Hess said, the point of an expensive college education is not to gain practical job skills. “It’s just a really expensive toll that lets you jump the queue and get the good jobs.”

In July, the economists Raj Chetty, John Friedman and David Deming helped illuminate exactly how that system works when they published the most recent in their series of research papers analyzing the [*intersections of social class and higher education.*](https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w31492/w31492.pdf) They examined admissions practices among what they call Ivy-Plus colleges (the Ivy League plus a few comparably selective institutions) and found a pervasive pattern of affirmative action for the very wealthy. According to their data, the children of the richest American families are twice as likely to be admitted to an Ivy-Plus college as middle-class students with the same standardized test scores.

Chetty and Friedman and Deming showed that these institutions employ a variety of admissions practices that put a thumb on the scale for the rich and powerful: They soften admission standards for the children of alumni, and especially the children of wealthy alumni; they put extra weight on the extracurricular accomplishments and recommendation letters that students collect at exclusive private schools; and they recruit athletes from wealthy families. (It’s no accident that Ivy-Plus colleges field teams in sailing, squash, fencing and horseback riding.)

The “racket,” as Hess puts it, continues after college, when graduates of these institutions are three times as likely as similar non-Ivy-Plus students to be hired by a prestigious firm and 60 percent more likely to earn a salary high enough to land them in the top 1 percent of earners. Chetty and Friedman and Deming — all of whom work at Ivy League universities — put it starkly: “We conclude that highly selective private colleges currently amplify the persistence of privilege across generations.”

The college casino, in other words, is not entirely a game of chance. Your odds of coming out ahead depend largely on who your parents are. If you possess the social and financial advantages necessary to gain admission to one of the nation’s most selective colleges, you’ll probably make out fine, even if the table stakes do seem awfully high. Most American college students, however, don’t have access to the benefits that those selective colleges produce. Only about 10 percent of students today are enrolled at a college that admits fewer than half its applicants. The rest of the American collegegoing population attend mostly less selective public institutions, local community colleges or for-profit schools. Students at those institutions are more likely to be rural, Black or Latino, ***working class*** or low income or all of the above. They are less likely to graduate and more likely to incur debt they can’t pay back. For them — a large majority of American college students — the risks they face when they walk into the casino are considerably higher.

With those odds, it is not a surprise that young Americans, especially, are eager to believe that they will be able to thrive in the job market without having to worry about college. Remember that 45 percent of Generation Z respondents this year told pollsters that they believe that a high school diploma will be enough to ensure financial security.

The reality, though, is that in the decade ahead, opportunities for those without a postsecondary credential are projected to shrink even further. It is true that there are still some well-paying jobs that don’t require a degree — plumbers make a median of almost $60,000 a year, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics — but the B.L.S. predicts that fewer than [*10,000 new plumbing jobs*](https://www.bls.gov/ooh/construction-and-extraction/plumbers-pipefitters-and-steamfitters.htm) will be created in the United States between now and 2031. The fastest-growing jobs available to those with only a high school diploma, meanwhile, are mostly low-wage service jobs: home health aides (924,000 new jobs by 2031), food-service workers and waiters (570,000 new jobs), restaurant cooks (419,000 new jobs) and warehouse workers (358,000 new jobs). None of these jobs have a median salary above $31,000 a year.

At the same time, economists expect demand for American college graduates to keep rising faster than colleges can keep up, which means the college wage premium is likely to increase as well. A 2018 report by the consulting firm Korn Ferry projected that by 2030, the American labor market would face a significant [*shortage of workers with associate and bachelor’s degrees*](https://www.kornferry.com/content/dam/kornferry/docs/article-migration/FOWTalentCrunchFinal_Spring2018.pdf) — a shortage of 6.5 million college grads, to be precise. More recently, Douglas Holtz-Eakin, who served as the chief economist of President George W. Bush’s Council of Economic Advisers, wrote, with Tom Lee, a series of papers predicting an even greater shortage: 8.5 [*million missing American B.A. holders*](https://www.americanactionforum.org/series/worker-training-and-the-future-of-the-labor-force/) by the end of the decade.

For the nation’s more affluent families (and their children), the rules of the higher education game are clear, and the benefits are almost always worth the cost. For everyone else, the rules seem increasingly opaque, the benefits are increasingly uncertain and the thought of just giving up without playing seems more appealing all the time.

But just as individual students pay a cost in lost wages when they opt out (or drop out) of college, there is a larger cost when millions of students do so — especially as other nations keep charging ahead. Holtz-Eakin and Lee calculated the price to the American economy of the millions of missing college grads they are projecting: $1.2 trillion in lost economic output by the end of the decade. That is one cost we are likely to bear together, winners and losers alike.

Paul Tough is a contributing writer for the magazine and the author, most recently, of the book “The Inequality Machine: How College Divides Us.” He first wrote about higher education for the magazine almost a decade ago, and his article in this issue investigates how the national mood about college has evolved over time. Sean Dong is a motion and 3-D designer in Baltimore. His work often condenses stories of intricate subjects into brief looping animations.

This article appeared in print on page MM30, MM31, MM32, MM33, MM34, MM35.

**Load-Date:** September 6, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Garbage Mounts in Odorous Last Stand Against France’s Pension Change***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67SJ-4FV1-JBG3-62JX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 15, 2023 Wednesday 10:05 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1510 words

**Byline:** Catherine Porter

**Highlight:** A bill raising the retirement age for most workers by two years, to 64, could become law this week despite widespread protests, including a strike by garbage workers in Paris and elsewhere.

**Body**

A bill raising the retirement age for most workers by two years, to 64, could become law this week despite widespread protests, including a strike by garbage workers in Paris and elsewhere.

Mounds of food waste piled in view of the Eiffel Tower. Small cobblestone streets lined with overflowing garbage bins. The bank of the Seine skirted by heaps of trash.

For more than a week now, garbage workers in parts of Paris and other cities across France have been on strike, protesting President [*Emmanuel Macron’s plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/france-pension-strikes-macron-explainer.html) to raise the age when most workers begin collecting a government pension to 64, from 62.

The refuse rising in insalubrious piles, some taller than the pedestrians trying to avoid them, is a smelly, visceral symbol of popular outrage at the government’s plan. It also serves as a physical reminder of the hardship of professions not suited for old age, garbage workers say.

“You can see our work all over Paris,” said Alain Auvinet, 55, picketing at the garbage incinerator on the city’s western edge where he has worked for 35 years. “We held huge protests. The government didn’t listen. Instead, it gave us the finger. This is our last way of pushing back.”

After two months of political debates, [*large protests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/07/world/europe/macron-france-retirement-protests.html) in towns and cities across the country and scattered strikes, the final decision on France’s pension system is likely to be made this week. On Wednesday, amid more boisterous protests across the country, a joint committee of lawmakers from both parliamentary houses hammered out a common version of the proposed law, which will be presented to the Senate and National Assembly for final approval on Thursday.

The looming question is whether Mr. Macron has assembled enough support from outside his hodgepodge centrist political party to secure the vote in the National Assembly, where it no longer holds a strong majority. If not, the next question is whether Prime Minister Élisabeth Borne would instead use her constitutional power to force the bill into law without a vote, exposing the government to a no-confidence motion.

Members of the government believed the “conditions were met” for a majority to approve the bill, its spokesman, Olivier Véran, said on Wednesday. The government was not contemplating using the alternative constitutional force, he said, “but neither are we contemplating abandoning our pension reform plans.”

Either way, few expect to see the week’s end with France retaining a retirement age of 62.

“I support the strikers,” said Dawoud Guenfoud, looking out at a slalom course of overflowing garbage bins lining the sidewalk outside the decorations and gift store he manages near Place de la Madeleine. “But, I think the reform is going to pass.”

The French enjoy one of the most generous retirement systems in Europe. Built after World War II as part of the country’s lauded social protection system, the complex pension program offers what many consider a golden — and lengthy — third stage of life, to explore passions, enjoy grandchildren and volunteer while enjoying a standard of living on par with or better than the general population. As many workers like garbage collectors argue, it is also seen as a time to recuperate from a lifetime of arduous labor.

Mr. Macron’s government argues the retirement age must be pushed up to keep the system solvent. Current workers and their employers pay for the pensions of retirees, but with people living longer and the number of pensioners growing, the system faces long-term deficits.

But even the [*official body tasked with monitoring France’s pension system*](https://www.vie-publique.fr/en-bref/286299-retraites-le-cor-prevoit-des-deficits-apres-les-excedents-2021-2022) has acknowledged that there is no immediate threat of bankruptcy, and unions and left-wing opponents have accused Mr. Macron of ignoring other ways of increasing funding, including taxes on the wealthy.

From the beginning, [*opinion*](https://www.rtl.fr/actu/debats-societe/greve-du-7-mars-63-des-francais-trouvent-que-mettre-la-france-a-l-arret-est-une-bonne-chose-7900241868) [*polls*](https://www.bfmtv.com/economie/economie-social/social/reforme-des-retraites-56-des-francais-soutiennent-la-mise-en-place-d-une-greve-reconductible-a-partir-du-7-mars_AN-202303050351.html) have shown that a large and relatively unwavering majority of French people oppose the change. Millions have poured into the street for eight [*national protest marches*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/19/world/europe/france-strikes-macron-retirement-age.html).

While the country’s eight leading unions have joined together in a relatively rare show of unity to oppose the change, so far they have little to show for their actions. Mr. Macron declined to meet with them last week, arguing that he did not want to circumvent the parliamentary debates.

On Wednesday, marchers gathered in towns and cities across France to express their final opposition to the bill.

“This is not what I expected Paris to look like,” said Martina Stengina, 18, a German university student, stepping out of a taxi and maneuvering her bright red suitcase around a sprawling jumble of garbage in the middle of the street in the city’s eastern end, where she had rented an apartment. “I just hope this doesn’t bring rats into our place,” she said, as one of her friends posed for a selfie in front of the trash.

Georgina Pillement, 32, surveyed the piles of garbage outside her office building near Place Vendôme during a smoke break.

“France is supposed to be a leader in ecology,” said Ms. Pillement, who works at a green investment firm. “The Olympic Games are just a year away. This makes me a bit worried.”

The workers went on strike more than a week ago in cities across the country, including Le Havre, Nantes, Antibes and Rennes. In Paris, about half of the city has been affected, from the swanky 16th arrondissement, to the city’s historic intellectual heart in the Latin Quarter and ***working-class*** residential areas in the east.

On Wednesday, some 7,600 metric tons of garbage remained uncollected on the street, according to Paris city hall. Workers at all three incinerators that burn the city’s garbage are also striking.

Relishing the chance to redirect the anger, some national government ministers [*attacked the Socialist mayor, Anne Hidalgo, and the Paris city administration*](https://twitter.com/CBeaune/status/1634942870825340932), which [*hung two banners*](https://www.bfmtv.com/paris/une-banderole-illegale-l-opposition-critique-le-soutien-au-mouvement-social-de-plusieurs-mairies-parisiennes_AN-202301310554.html) is support of the protest movement outside its ornate city hall, for not picking up the garbage.

Deputy Mayor Emmanuel Grégoire responded by saying that Mr. Macron’s government was responsible. He expressed sympathy for garbage workers who have lower life expectancy than business executives, saying two more years of work “counts a lot.”

“The best way to get them back to work is to withdraw the retirement reform bill,” he said.

Few people think that will happen. The government is expected to force its plan through, no matter how unpopular.

“You no longer lead; you no longer seek to obtain the consent of the people,” declared François Ruffin, a far-left lawmaker with the France Unbowed party, during a question period in the National Assembly on Tuesday. “You are crushing a democracy that you should heal; you are damaging a country that needs to be repaired.”

Ms. Borne, the prime minister, responded that her government had already consulted widely, and expected the support of a majority that “believes in the pension system” and “wants to guarantee that youth will benefit from it.”

If the bill becomes law, it is unclear whether huge protests would continue and what [*long-term ramifications*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/14/world/europe/macron-france-retirement-age.html) that would have, if any, for Mr. Macron and his government.

Some political analysts predict that the protests will dissipate, but that a bitterness will drive voters to punish Mr. Macron’s party, first in next year’s European Parliament elections.

“People won’t mobilize for a law that’s already been voted on by the Parliament because French workers recognize the legitimacy of Parliament that results from universal suffrage,” said Guy Groux, a sociologist at Sciences Po. “The most likely outcome is that unions will say, ‘If the law is passed, there will be political repercussions at the ballot box.’”

But the specter of pushing the bill through without a vote — though constitutional — strikes many as undemocratic. “The least we can say is that it will be seriously disrespectful of what is happening in the streets and of what public opinion thinks,” said Philippe Martinez, the head of the far-left CGT union on Wednesday. His workers intended to continue the combat, he said.

Many see the planned change as a [*threat to their way of life*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/07/world/europe/france-retirement-macron.html) and values.

“France is a country of solidarity. We are losing that, bit by bit,” said Mr. Auvinet, the picketing worker, who hopes to still retire early at 57, like most garbage workers under the current system in France. Under the government’s plan, that age would be pushed gradually to 59.

Standing beside him before a fire set in a metal container outside the dormant incinerator in Issy-les-Moulineaux, his colleague Vincent Pommier, 27, agreed: “We believe in living, not surviving. We aren’t numbers. We aren’t beasts.”

Tom Nouvian and Aurelien Breeden contributed reporting.

Tom Nouvian and Aurelien Breeden contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Garbage has piled up on the streets of Paris, above and near left, during a garbage workers’ strike. In Lyon, an officer was hit with a trash bin as demonstrators and the police clashed. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ZAKARIA ABDELKAFI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES; ALAIN JOCARD/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES; JEFF PACHOUD/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A8.

**Load-Date:** March 16, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Chase Stokes Turned Down ‘Outer Banks.’ He’s Glad He Reconsidered.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67KX-FK71-DXY4-X459-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 21, 2023 Tuesday 10:26 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1301 words

**Byline:** Kalia Richardson

**Highlight:** The actor plays John B. in the hit Netflix drama, which returns for its third season on Thursday.

**Body**

The actor plays John B. in the hit Netflix drama, which returns for its third season on Thursday.

Before Chase Stokes started playing John B., the teenage treasure hunter at the center of “Outer Banks,” on Netflix, he played a fictional Hollywood manager, mass emailing talent agencies to tout an up-and-coming young actor named Chase Stokes.

He also worked as a bartender and a food photographer to make ends meet, and he spent months couch-surfing and occasionally sleeping in his 2009 BMW in the parking lot of the Ovation Hollywood (formerly Hollywood and Highland) mall as he took acting classes.

Despite his circumstances, Stokes said he initially turned down offers to audition for “Outer Banks” — it felt like a “Goonies” remake, and he didn’t want to besmirch a classic, he said. But eventually an apartment eviction notice and his car’s overheating engine and expired tags convinced him to give it a shot. He considers himself lucky that he did.

“But I think luck is when consistency and determination and hard work meet,” Stokes said.

“Outer Banks” is a teen drama about a group of attractive young adventurers (known as “pogues”) battling their island community’s rich kids (“kooks”) and chasing treasure linked to the disappearance of John B.’s father. It debuted in 2020 but broke out when its second season premiered in July 2021, becoming Netflix’s most watched English-language series globally for four weeks. A fan event to promote the third season drew more than 4,000 attendees to Huntington Beach, Calif., on Saturday, to watch performances by acts like Khalid and Lil Baby. The cast also took the stage to announce that the show had already been renewed for a fourth season.

Season 3 of “Outer Banks” begins on Thursday, following John B. and the other pogues as they take on new territory in another quest for gold after the first two seasons saw them successfully scavenge and subsequently lose treasures in the Outer Banks of North Carolina. The crew was last seen on a deserted island they had named Poguelandia, and the unexpected discovery of John B.’s presumed-dead father, Big John (played by Charles Halford), sparks a new itch to uncover yet another bounty.

In a video call from a West Hollywood hotel, Stokes talked about how he initially declined the role that has made him famous and what “Outer Banks” says about friendship and the class divide. These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

You initially turned down the “Outer Banks” audition. What convinced you to reconsider?

I really wasn’t making money as an actor up until the job that I did right before “Outer Banks,” which was a show on Amazon called “Tell Me Your Secrets.” But the money had kind of run dry from that show — I had an eviction notice on my door, the registration on my car had expired, my engine was steaming everywhere I went. I’m not a mechanic, so I didn’t know how to fix it, nor did I have the money to do so.

After declining the “Outer Banks” audition a couple of times I got a call from Lisa Fincannon, a wonderful casting director, and she said, “You need to read for this.” That was a Wednesday. Sunday came around, and I get a call and [my agent] said: “You’re getting on a plane tonight. Here’s 14 pages of dialogue. Here’s the first four episodes. You’re going to be on the very last row of a plane in the middle seat on a red eye, and you’re going to land in Charleston. The audition is right when you get off the plane.” And I did it, and the rest is history.

How would you describe “Outer Banks” to someone who hasn’t seen it?

If “Raiders of the Lost Ark” and “Scooby-Doo” had a baby, and that baby became best friends with “The Goonies.”

Was there anything about John B. that you particularly related to?

I feel like on the exterior, there are a lot of similarities. I grew up on the water; I grew up in Florida, about 30 minutes away from Cocoa Beach, so [I was familiar with] the surfing elements. I got my boater’s license before I got my driver’s license. I think one thing John B. goes through, especially in the third season, that I really related to was the anxiety of the world around him and the fear of failure. That’s something that I’ve kind of always felt, so we definitely share that.

When did you know the show was a hit?

I think it was six months after the show came out when they finally told us we were going back for the second season. During Covid, seeing hundreds and hundreds of people show up to watch us film — that was when I think we started to put two and two together.

They would follow our base camp. All of our trailers would set up in different areas of Charleston, and it would be like an alarm or a mass text would be sent out: You’d see people start to trickle in, and sometimes it’d be 20 people, sometimes it would be 2,000.

What have been some of your more interesting fan interactions?

I’ve had people who’ve fainted in front of me, and we’ve had people who have cried. I’ve had people telling me that I saved their lives, which is always interesting, to know the show has helped people through a troubling time in human history. So the range of emotions is super vast, but all equally heartwarming.

And now it’s really cool because the whole Charleston community has really accepted us, and you walk down the street or you go to a restaurant and people kind of give you a wink or a thumbs up.

Are you going to the Poguelandia event?

[*Of course.*](https://www.instagram.com/p/Co02_-Uplty/)

Where did the concert concept come from?

We haven’t had a premiere; the show never had a red carpet. We’ve worked incredibly hard to create something the world has consumed at a really crazy rate, and obviously the platform sees it, and they wanted to congratulate us. I think it’s an ode to the show: The show is kind of a party; it’s kind of a riot. So why not throw a music festival?

“Outer Banks” revolves largely around the class divide between the ***working-class*** pogues and the wealthy kooks. Is there a message in there about class discrimination?

I think it’s a testament to how there has consistently been a class divide not just in this country, but in the world. And the lower class is going to fight tooth and nail to find a way to make an extra buck, and the upper class is going to find a way to save an extra couple thousand bucks. There’s a frustration that’s inevitably going to be there, and I think that’s the driving factor for the pogues. They’re right there, you know? They can see it. It’s so close to them, but they just can’t comprehend how to get there.

What does the show say about friendship?

It’s every kid’s dream to have a group of friends who are going to ride or die and just go the distance with you, and these kids have grown up in an environment where they don’t have a lot. So they learn to do a lot with a little, and it’s a beautiful thing to see. I’m very proud and thankful to be part of a project that gives a true interpretation of friendship — not just the highs of it but also the lows and showing just as much love as when the wins come around.

Has this friendship onscreen translated into one among the actors when the cameras are off?

All of us came into the show with slim-pickings resumes. So to get into this and to feel like we need to create this truth and transparency through these characters, you sort of fall in love with one another and build this crazy camaraderie and chemistry.

Do you think this friendship will carry beyond the show itself? How long do you think it will last?

I hope forever. It’s been almost four years now, and I hope we do another 40.

PHOTOS: Chase Stokes, right and below left, stars as part of a crew of young treasure hunters in the Netflix series “Outer Banks,” along with Madelyn Cline, below center, and Carlacia Grant. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ARIEL FISHER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JACKSON LEE DAVIS/NETFLIX) This article appeared in print on page C6.

**Load-Date:** February 22, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘Scheme Birds’ Review: Soft Gaze for a Hard Life***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6084-J421-DXY4-X38S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 3, 2020 Friday 01:25 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 429 words

**Byline:** Teo Bugbee

**Highlight:** This documentary turns a tender eye toward a bright teenager who hopes to never leave her decaying Scottish hometown.

**Body**

This documentary turns a tender eye toward a bright teenager who hopes to never leave her decaying Scottish hometown.

Gemma is a bright-eyed teenager from Motherwell, Scotland, a former steel town in desperate decay, where violence is so frequent, kids are able to identify murders by the number of emergency vehicles that arrive. At the start of the documentary “Scheme Birds,” Gemma professes that she never wants to leave.

The movie follows her through three critical years of her life, which she narrates in her own energetic and unaffected words. If Gemma is as tough as the town that raised her, the film around her is calm, presenting a measured portrait of a ***working class*** coming-of-age.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/zMyUXhOFhSs)]

At the start, she lives with her grandfather, Joseph, who tends to pigeons and teaches her how to box. With worry in his eyes, he warns her about keeping company with kids who fight and do drugs. But Gemma is young, and love comes soon enough.

She falls for Pat, a troubled teenager who has been in and out of jail, and they have a baby. Now Gemma, still a child herself, has to consider the path that her new family will forge in a town where the possibilities in life seem limited.

The directors Ellen Fiske and Ellinor Hallin don’t shy away from the fact that Gemma’s life is full of hardship. She and her friends describe beatings and crimes, but whatever trials they face, the camera is gentle and steady, providing the nurturing gaze they lack. Here, there are no raised voices, no bursts of violence.

“Scheme Birds” employs a vérité approach, observing as life passes by, and the directors favor visual stillness over the shakier kineticism of hand-held camerawork. Rather than dragging down the energy, this tranquillity instead draws attention to the jitters and jumps of these young people who are in the process of choosing what their adulthood will look like.

The visual style is unusual for a documentary. The film gets impossibly close to its subjects, joining Gemma and Pat on cramped dates in a Ferris wheel box and lingering close enough while they sleep to catch the sound of their breathing. Each shot seems deeply considered, as if it had been storyboarded and blocked before the call to action. For all the impetuousness of its subjects, this is a film of remarkable respect and restraint — a documentary that carves shape into a messy reality.

Scheme Birds

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes. Rent or buy on Amazon, [*iTunes*](http://youtube.com/embed/zMyUXhOFhSs), [*Google Play*](http://youtube.com/embed/zMyUXhOFhSs) or Vimeo.

PHOTO: Gemma, the ***working-class*** subject of “Scheme Birds.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY SYSIFOS FILM AB)

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Seeing a Tough Life Through a Soft Gaze***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:608H-CK51-JBG3-6212-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 3, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 418 words

**Byline:** By Teo Bugbee

**Body**

This documentary turns a tender eye toward a bright teenager who hopes to never leave her decaying Scottish hometown.

Gemma is a bright-eyed teenager from Motherwell, Scotland, a former steel town in desperate decay, where violence is so frequent, kids are able to identify murders by the number of emergency vehicles that arrive. At the start of the documentary ''Scheme Birds,'' Gemma professes that she never wants to leave.

The movie follows her through three critical years of her life, which she narrates in her own energetic and unaffected words. If Gemma is as tough as the town that raised her, the film around her is calm, presenting a measured portrait of a ***working class*** coming-of-age.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

At the start, she lives with her grandfather, Joseph, who tends to pigeons and teaches her how to box. With worry in his eyes, he warns her about keeping company with kids who fight and do drugs. But Gemma is young, and love comes soon enough.

She falls for Pat, a troubled teenager who has been in and out of jail, and they have a baby. Now Gemma, still a child herself, has to consider the path that her new family will forge in a town where the possibilities in life seem limited.

The directors Ellen Fiske and Ellinor Hallin don't shy away from the fact that Gemma's life is full of hardship. She and her friends describe beatings and crimes, but whatever trials they face, the camera is gentle and steady, providing the nurturing gaze they lack. Here, there are no raised voices, no bursts of violence.

''Scheme Birds'' employs a vérité approach, observing as life passes by, and the directors favor visual stillness over the shakier kineticism of hand-held camerawork. Rather than dragging down the energy, this tranquillity instead draws attention to the jitters and jumps of these young people who are in the process of choosing what their adulthood will look like.

The visual style is unusual for a documentary. The film gets impossibly close to its subjects, joining Gemma and Pat on cramped dates in a Ferris wheel box and lingering close enough while they sleep to catch the sound of their breathing. Each shot seems deeply considered, as if it had been storyboarded and blocked before the call to action. For all the impetuousness of its subjects, this is a film of remarkable respect and restraint -- a documentary that carves shape into a messy reality.

Scheme Birds

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes. Rent or buy on Amazon, iTunes, Google Play or Vimeo.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/01/movies/scheme-birds-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/01/movies/scheme-birds-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gemma, the ***working-class*** subject of ''Scheme Birds.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY SYSIFOS FILM AB)

**Load-Date:** July 3, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Killer Mike, Atlanta’s Rap Journeyman, Is at the Peak of His Powers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6886-MJN1-JBG3-63BN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 18, 2023 Thursday 12:33 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 2091 words

**Byline:** Joe Coscarelli

**Highlight:** More than 20 years into an idiosyncratic career, the musician and activist is finally opening up for real on “Michael,” his first solo album in more than a decade.

**Body**

More than 20 years into an idiosyncratic career, the musician and activist is finally opening up for real on “Michael,” his first solo album in more than a decade.

ATLANTA — Don’t let the villainous stage name, the big-man baritone or the rap bluster fool you: Killer Mike is a crier.

The man born Michael Render — a trash-talking musician, activist, organizer, father of four and political punching bag who also hits back — has a knack, in song and speech, for righteous fury. But these days, nearing 50 and closer than ever to self-actualization, it’s when the tears start flowing that Killer Mike knows he is really gathering momentum, saying what needs to be said.

“You’re a musician, you get rich and start doing all kinds of crazy stuff like drinking green juice in the morning,” he explained last month, the day after his 48th birthday, during a particularly tearful conversation charting his recent path to more openness and acceptance. “Then your wife convinces you to go see a therapist.”

Always a searcher with plenty of self-awareness, Mike had a read on many of his own issues already. Yet therapy sessions with a Black woman, in particular, taught him that “there’s nothing wrong with a lot of the inclinations you have because of how you were raised,” Mike said. “But you got to get to the bottom of who you are, to understand the whys.”

That was when he started looking in the mirror, a process of personal excavation and revelation documented across “Michael,” the first Killer Mike solo album in 11 years, out June 16. “Face to face with fate had to face my fears,” he raps on “Shed Tears,” one especially raw new song. “It was me/I’m the reason that I failed/that was hell.”

“When you finally get that out,” Mike said, “that’s one of the most burden-lifting moments.”

The fact that he had been holding anything back — and especially out of his music, which has tended, over the last decade, toward the galvanizing war cries of [*his boisterous duo Run the Jewels*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/26/arts/music/run-the-jewels.html) — might be tough to imagine for those who have followed Killer Mike’s prolific, idiosyncratic career of more than 20 years. Yet even after hundreds of rap verses, his time as a television host, a Bernie Sanders surrogate and a go-to cultural ambassador for the city of Atlanta, there was plenty that he was still keeping to himself.

It wasn’t until late in the process of recording “Michael,” for example, that he realized he had never spoken aloud — let alone recorded — some simple words that were so foundational to the man he had become: My mama dead. My grandmama dead.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/Uvo7FPO7DeE)]

A complex portrait of Southern Black masculinity, the album details the life of a proud patriarch somewhere near peace through the stories and lessons of the women who shepherded him: his grandmother Bettie Clonts, who raised him and died in 2012, and his mother, Denise Clonts, or Niecy, who had him at 16 and died in 2017.

“I’m not absent men in my life, but there’s something about that matriarchal love that my grandmother and my mother gave me that has allowed me to embrace my humanity more,” Mike said. On the album’s centerpiece “Motherless,” in which he confronts their influence and absence, he raps of all he has achieved, addressing them directly: “A Black boy born to a teen momma, momma/gets regarded as a leader by his people, momma.”

“This album was about finally controlling my own narrative, not being an artist-in-proxy,” Mike said, noting that he had always been attached to others — a one-time protégé of Outkast; a sidekick to T.I.; a partner in crime to El-P in Run the Jewels. Because while being one of rap’s top character actors had afforded him a steady flow of supporting roles, “I needed to do my film before the curtains closed on me.”

A lifetime devotee of comic books, Mike likened “Michael” to a superhero’s origin story — the Logan to his usual Wolverine. Crucially, the setting for his ups and downs has always been Atlanta, a city “where all the heroes and villains look like me,” Mike said, counting civil rights icons and kingpins among his mentors.

“My neighborhood had everything from ***working-class*** Black people like my grandparents to the bootleggers, the numbers man, Morehouse coaches to the [*Herman Russell family*](https://www.hjrussell.com/history/),” he explained. “I’m a culmination of that whole Black experience. I guess for people who still don’t have a proper understanding of Atlanta, I am Harlem as a ghetto and its renaissance in one human being.”

Denise embodied this dichotomy as well. “She was an artist,” Mike said — a florist and music-lover who hosted bohemian hangouts. “But she was also a drug trafficker.” Two weeks before Mike turned 15, she was arrested, he said, along with a boyfriend, while transporting 10 kilos of cocaine from south of the city. (The man claimed responsibility and took the fall, Mike said.)

So it was Denise whom Mike visited a few years later when he was bristling at his Morehouse College work-study job and hoping to get into drug dealing instead. “It’s not what a son should ask a mother,” he said, but she made the necessary introductions anyway. “And I went to work.”

This wasn’t the life that his grandmother — the daughter of sharecroppers from Tuskegee, Ala., a member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a steely advocate for education and religion — had wanted for him, especially after he dropped out of college.

“But my business bought me the music equipment that got me the demo made that got us the street tapes we sold during [*Freaknik*](https://www.atlantamagazine.com/90s/freaknik-the-rise-and-fall-of-atlantas-most-infamous-street-party/) that got Big Boi’s attention that got me a record deal,” Mike said, referring to his journey through the Atlanta party and nightlife circuit. And it was Big Boi, of Outkast, who eventually asked him outright: “What you want to do, you want to be a dope dealer, or you want to be a rapper?”

Then and there, Mike picked his craft. “I didn’t want to be looking over my shoulder, I didn’t want to be straddling the fence, working two worlds,” he said.

Yet despite winning a Grammy for [*his first-ever appearance on a single*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=udmTfK6_aM8&amp;ab_channel=OutkastVEVO), Killer Mike’s career as a major-label leading man faltered as the music business started to crater in the mid-2000s. Too socially conscious for the mainstream and too gangster for the backpack crowd, Mike became a creature of the mixtape underground, piecing together projects to survive as an artist and a father.

It wasn’t until his 2012 album, “R.A.P. Music,” which paired Mike with another independent journeyman, the producer and M.C. El-P, that a creative breakthrough became a critical, and then a commercial, one. The next year, the pair released “Run the Jewels,” announcing a duo that would make them industry anomalies: rappers who gained relevance and appetite with age.

“Run the Jewels reinvigorated my love and want for rap that was not out of necessity,” Mike said. “I’m supposed to have been decimated from a confidence standpoint. But something has always told me, don’t give up.”

A fixture at music festivals and on soundtracks (“Booksmart,” “The Big Short,” “Black Panther” ), Run the Jewels also made him rich, finally. “I remember the first time I woke up a millionaire,” Mike said, placing the moment somewhere after the release of the second Run the Jewels album in 2014. “But it was right around tax season. And then I was a $600,000-aire.”

The success of the group allowed Mike and his wife, Shana Render, to diversify their wealth into small businesses and real estate, especially rental properties, a move he said he learned from Outkast. But the specific tenor of Run the Jewels’ [*chest-puffing and moral certitude*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/04/arts/music/run-the-jewels-rtj3-review.html), plus Mike’s civil-rights upbringing and natural loquaciousness, also turned him into an authoritative public brand of his own, a truth-telling talking head who came to represent an insular community on an international scale.

Such status afforded Killer Mike endless [*media appearances*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/08/opinion/sway-kara-swisher-killer-mike.html), a turn as a [*polarizing Bernie surrogate*](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/politics/first-draft/2016/02/17/killer-mike-defends-himself-after-uterus-comment-at-bernie-sanders-rally/) in 2016 and a Netflix documentary series called [*“Trigger Warning.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/23/arts/television/whats-on-tv-wednesday-the-magicians-and-trigger-warning-with-killer-mike.html) But the problem with becoming a spokesman against the system in a time of upheaval, especially as a proudly heterodox thinker, is that eventually, to some, you represent the system itself.

In recent years, Killer Mike has become [*a target for a certain type of leftist*](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/this-rapper-is-more-politically-dangerous-than-kanye-west_n_63504746e4b04cf8f37f4d1a) criticism, especially from Black activists and anticapitalists, who decried his [*emotional admonishment of protesters*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vOvB29-1FK4&amp;ab_channel=11Alive) after the killing of George Floyd in 2020; his interview about the [*importance of Black gun ownership*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/3/27/17165446/rapper-nra-killer-mike-explained) to NRATV in the wake of the Parkland school shooting; or his [*chumminess with Georgia’s Republican governor, Brian Kemp*](https://www.ajc.com/politics/politics-blog/kemp-and-killer-mike-try-to-clear-the-air-after-their-sitdown-sparked-uproar/CJRIH7ISBZEPDGEYKGRPOCTWNQ/).

“There are people who live to disagree and to catch a celebrity, especially, in the wrong,” Mike said, defiant as ever. “But I’ve been an activist way longer than I’ve been a successful rapper. You’re having arguments and debates that I was having at 16 years old.”

“You’re a child to me — and I don’t mean that in an insulting way. You’re just so young,” he continued, growing heated even as he gestured toward empathy. “You don’t understand the nuance of give and get. You don’t understand the nuance of politics, of bartering. There is no winning team.”

“I don’t have time to win debates,” he added, echoing the purposeful lack of nuance of “Talk’n That \_\_\_ ,” one of the most confrontational tracks on “Michael.”

Overall, however, the album, which was born of cathartic necessity during Covid, seeks understanding, not further division. Following a fierce bout with the virus early on, Mike realized, “I have to present something in these times that’s not weak and feeble or exploitive and aimless. I have to present something from Atlanta that shows the tradition of thought and lyricism and wit and soul and gospel — what Dungeon Family brought to the game, what Curtis Mayfield gave them, and what Outkast and Goodie Mob ushered into the world.”

“And at the same time, acknowledge what’s going on now,” he added.

Cuz Lightyear, a longtime friend and collaborator, recalled realizing in the studio that it was the first time he had seen Killer Mike recording from a place of freedom and happiness. “He never got to have that moment as a solo artist, where his back wasn’t against the wall and he wasn’t creating out of desperation,” Lightyear said. “For the first time, we were going to do it right. If it ain’t for money, you can get on an album and tell the truth.”

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/agbDwqcWn2w)]

Mike’s truth just happened to come with contradictions. In addition to guest appearances by Goodie Mob’s Cee-Lo Green and the reclusive Andre 3000 of Outkast, “Michael” also features [*Young Thug*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/13/arts/music/young-thug-ysl-trial.html) and [*Mozzy*](https://www.xxlmag.com/mozzy-prison-sentence-gun-charge/), both of whom are currently incarcerated on weapons charges.

“It’s a reflection of Black masculinity at this moment, of who we are and what we are,” Mike said. “I’m not different than Mozzy or Thug. I’m not above them. That’s part of the misunderstanding or disconnect with me. People would like for me to pick the safety of backpack or being a conscious rapper. I’ve never not been honest with you, but I didn’t understand how to give you a balanced representation of me. I let the market dictate which me you saw.”

Mike believes it is no coincidence that his clarity of vision and greatest blessings came only after his grandmother and mother left this earth. With his ancestors working on his behalf, he said, “Everything has opened up and blossomed.”

Now, he thinks back to the late nights when he would pull up unannounced in Denise’s driveway, and they would sit on his truck bed, stare into the sky and talk for hours.

“I remember her literally telling me, ‘You think my mama’s your mama. But that’s my mama. And one day when I die, you’re going to understand’” — to comprehend what it took for a 16-year-old girl to step aside and let her mother raise her son. “To be judged like that, to be villainized,” he said. “Goddamn, girl.”

He gets it now, looking at the family and career he has built on that intricate foundation. “People always say to me, you’ve got so much going on, you’re always running,” Mike said. “But I just feel like I’ve got something to do. I don’t know where the journey’s taking me, but I know God got me on a journey. I’ve got a purpose, and I’d be a fool not to see it all the way through.”

Audio produced by Tally Abecassis.

Audio produced by Tally Abecassis.

PHOTOS: Top, Killer Mike wearing a necklace with a photo of his mother. His coming album, “Michael,” explores his life through women who guided him. Above, Mike performed in Atlanta this month. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARILYNE MOJA MWANGI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; SCOTT LEGATO/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page AR14.

**Load-Date:** May 19, 2023

**End of Document**



[***For Radha Blank, a Park Bench Can Be the Best Seat in the House***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:658M-1CT1-JBG3-6136-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 21, 2022 Thursday 05:00 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 549 words

**Byline:** Sandra E. Garcia

**Highlight:** The writer and filmmaker has learned to create by closely observing the world around her.

**Body**

The writer and filmmaker has learned to create by closely observing the world around her.

I moved to Harlem from Brooklyn with my mother when I was about 15; since then, the neighborhood has influenced me as a New Yorker, a storyteller and an artist. There’s living history here — the immigrant communities, ethnic groups, ***working-class*** folks and struggling artists make the culture in New York, and Harlem’s representative of that.

I know there’re people who spend hours at a desk crafting a world. I can’t do that without watching the people around me. I’m fascinated by how people from so-called different worlds can occupy, negotiate, interact, engage and disengage within the same block. I’m always hearing the cacophony of sounds, accents and energies that come from all the different kinds of people who live in a borough.

I used to be under the impression that writing was getting up at 4 in the morning before the sun comes up, but that’s not my process. Instead, I write by observing and seeing stories unfold — a method I developed over the past 10 years. When I’m sitting on a bench, I’m just absorbing. Then, when it’s time to write, it just comes out.

So a lot of my writing involves walking through Harlem and Brooklyn and seeing what I call subway theater. There’s always a couple. They might be on some stuff, you’re not quite sure, but they’re talking in a way where you know their entire conversation. You know that they took the train from the Bronx and it’s going down to Midtown. There’s a part of them that enjoys having an audience.

This kind of observation leads to compassion and empathy. While somebody might say, “You’re just being nosy,” it’s really about trying to understand human experience and human relationships. I’m not an outsider. I see myself as the people I’m writing about, but there’re things that separate us. To understand those things, I have to be open. That’s what distinguishes one artist from the next — the level of honesty with the message that’s being given to them.

Being an artist is also knowing that the art is bigger than you. It ain’t really about you; it’s about the person who experiences it. I’m always at odds with that because sometimes I feel selfish. When that happens, I get up; I take a walk; I listen to music. I honor the stuckness. It means that the work needs a breath, or it wants to pivot and I’m not allowing it to. I don’t get mad or upset. After 30 years of writing, I’ve learned to accept it.

You’re also nothing without the fellowship of other artists, especially as a Black artist, a Black woman, a Black queer artist. When everything about the business says, “You’re not qualified, you’re not interesting, you’re not smart enough,” you need like-minded individuals who can get down and dirty with you. I’m obsessed with getting a house on Martha’s Vineyard and, during the off-season, turning it into a place of respite for artists. You won’t have to make anything while you’re there. Everybody’s always asking what you’re working on. Maybe you’re not working on anything. Maybe you’re working on yourself.

This interview has been edited and condensed.

PHOTO: Blank, “in my 40s,” photographed at St. Nicholas Park in Harlem, Manhattan, on Oct. 20, 2021. Interviews have been edited and condensed (PHOTOGRAPH BY JASMINE CLARKE)

**Load-Date:** April 21, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Film Listings***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6967-KJD1-DXY4-X05R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 17, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 51; FALL PREVIEW

**Length:** 4558 words

**Byline:** By Ben Kenigsberg

**Body**

New films by Martin Scorsese, Sofia Coppola, David Fincher and Bradley Cooper lead a select list of the season's highlights.

What's the anatomy of a fall movie season? Although the writers' and actors' strikes have kept Hollywood in suspense, the calendar is, for now, still filled with exciting titles, including work from established masters (Martin Scorsese, Sofia Coppola, David Fincher) and relative breakouts like Justine Triet, the director of, well, ''Anatomy of a Fall,'' which won the top prize at the Cannes Film Festival in May. Here is a select list of features coming to theaters and streaming services beginning later this month. (Pedro Almodóvar and Wes Anderson, among other directors, are releasing shorts but those are not included.) Release dates and platforms are subject to change.

September

THE SAINT OF SECOND CHANCES Morgan Neville (''Won't You Be My Neighbor?'') and Jeff Malmberg (''Marwencol'') directed this documentary on Mike Veeck, son of the Chicago White Sox owner Bill Veeck, and his efforts to make amends after enabling Disco Demolition Night, the disastrous 1979 promotion at Comiskey Park. (Sept. 19 on Netflix)

EXPEND4BLES Sylvester Stallone, Jason Statham and Dolph Lundgren enjoy a fourth hurr4h as mercenaries. Megan Fox, Tony Jaa and the rapper 50 Cent are among the franchise's latest recruits. (Sept. 22 in theaters)

FLORA AND SON An acoustic guitar helps bridge the gap between a mother (Eve Hewson) and her son (Orén Kinlan). Joseph Gordon-Levitt also stars. John Carney (''Once'') wrote and directed. (Sept. 22 in theaters, Sept. 29 on Apple TV+)

IT LIVES INSIDE A demonic entity makes it even harder for a schoolgirl (Megan Suri) to adjust to her surroundings. Bishal Dutta wrote and directed. (Sept. 22 in theaters)

THE ORIGIN OF EVIL After claiming to be the daughter of an affluent man, a woman (Laure Calamy) meets his family. (Sept. 22 in theaters and on demand)

SPY KIDS: ARMAGEDDON The original Spy Kids are surely Spy Adults by now, but Gina Rodriguez and Zachary Levi play the parents in this latest installment of the franchise. Robert Rodriguez (no relation to the actress) directed, writing the screenplay with Racer Max, his son. (Sept. 22 on Netflix)

THE TRIAL (EL JUICIO) Promising ample courtroom footage, this documentary recalls the 1985 trial of members of the junta that ruled Argentina from 1976 to 1983. The case was dramatized in last year's ''Argentina, 1985.'' (Sept. 22 in theaters)

26.2 TO LIFE Prisoners in San Quentin train to run a marathon within its walls in this documentary. (Sept. 22 in theaters)

THE CREATOR Set against the backdrop of war with sentient artificial intelligence, this is sort of an adult-child buddy movie, except the adult is a psychologically scarred operative (John David Washington) and the child is the lethal A.I. entity (Madeleine Yuna Voyles) he is supposed to destroy. Gareth Edwards directed. (Sept. 29 in theaters)

DICKS: THE MUSICAL Reunited brothers set a raunchy, tuneful version of ''The Parent Trap'' for Nathan Lane and Megan Mullally. Aaron Jackson and Josh Sharp star as the siblings and also wrote the screenplay and lyrics. Larry Charles (''Borat'') directed. (Sept. 29 in theaters)

FAIR PLAY A promotion poisons the dynamic between a couple (Phoebe Dynevor and Alden Ehrenreich) who work at the same hedge fund but have kept their relationship secret. Chloe Domont wrote and directed this Sundance crackler, which also stars Eddie Marsan. (Sept. 29 in theaters, Oct. 13 on Netflix)

PAW PATROL: THE MIGHTY MOVIE If you thought the pups were high-tech before, this time they get superpowers, courtesy of a meteor. The movie also has quite the voice cast, including Taraji P. Henson, Chris Rock, Serena Williams and a returning Kim Kardashian. (Sept. 29 in theaters)

SAW X Fraudsters trick a cancer patient into getting a sham operation. Unfortunately for them, the patient is Jigsaw (Tobin Bell), master of elaborate games of torture and revenge. (Sept. 29 in theaters)

October

SHADOWS IN THE CITY The Museum of Modern Art calls this film, originally shown in 1991, the last major work of the No Wave cinema scene. It's a horror riff that the artist Ari Roussimoff shot in New York throughout the 1980s, featuring mainstays of experimental film like Taylor Mead and the ''Flaming Creatures'' director Jack Smith. (Oct. 5 in theaters)

THE BURIAL Jamie Foxx plays a lawyer who helps the owner of a funeral home (Tommy Lee Jones) hang on to his business. Maggie Betts directed. (Oct. 6 in theaters, Oct. 13 on Amazon Prime Video)

CAT PERSON Kristen Roupenian's short story, a widely read conversation piece when it appeared in The New Yorker, gets expanded into a feature. Emilia Jones (''CODA'') is the college student and movie theater employee who embarks on an awkward, texting-based flirtation with a somewhat older man (Nicholas Braun, of ''Succession''). Susanna Fogel directed. (Oct. 6 in theaters)

THE EXORCIST: BELIEVER Although she didn't appear in the two sequels or either prequel, Chris MacNeil (Ellen Burstyn) is certainly someone who knows how to go about getting an exorcism. Leslie Odom Jr. plays a father who needs her help in the director David Gordon Green's reboot of the franchise. (Oct. 6 in theaters)

FOE In an adaptation of Iain Reid's 2018 novel, Saoirse Ronan and Paul Mescal play a couple several decades from now confronted by a stranger (Aaron Pierre) at their farm. Garth Davis directed. (Oct. 6 in theaters)

JOAN BAEZ I AM A NOISE This documentary follows the folk singer on her farewell tour and also delves into archival material. (Oct. 6 in theaters)

MIRANDA'S VICTIM Ernesto Miranda was initially convicted of kidnapping and rape, but the Supreme Court ruled in 1966 that the police had violated his constitutional rights in obtaining a confession in the case that brought about the Miranda warnings. In this dramatization, Abigail Breslin plays the victim and Sebastian Quinn is Miranda. (Oct. 6 in theaters and on demand)

MY LOVE AFFAIR WITH MARRIAGE In an animated feature about a woman searching for love over decades in Eastern Europe, the director Signe Baumane ''builds an impressionistic world of line-drawn characters who skip across diorama backdrops,'' the critic Natalia Winkelman wrote when it played at the Tribeca Festival in 2022. (Oct. 6 in theaters)

PET SEMATARY: BLOODLINES Will that dapper cat be back? (Oct. 6 on Paramount+)

REPTILE Benicio Del Toro plays a detective investigating the murder of a real estate agent. Justin Timberlake and Alicia Silverstone also star. Grant Singer directed. (Oct. 6 on Netflix)

SHE CAME TO ME Peter Dinklage is a composer who poaches elements from the life of a tugboat captain (Marisa Tomei) for his latest opera. Anne Hathaway plays his therapist wife. Rebecca Miller wrote and directed. (Oct. 6 in theaters)

STORY AVE Asante Blackk stars as a teenager in the Bronx who tries to rob a subway conductor (Luis Guzmán). But he and the conductor become friends, and the teen begins to tap unrealized artistic potential. Aristotle Torres directed. (Oct. 6 in theaters)

VICTIMS OF SIN This 1951 feature from Emilio Fernández, one of the most highly regarded directors in the history of Mexican cinema, gets a long overdue New York release. Ninón Sevilla stars as a cabaret performer who becomes a mother to an abandoned boy. (Oct. 6 in theaters)

IN MY MOTHER'S SKIN This fairy tale of sorts is set in the Japanese-occupied Philippines of World War II, when a girl encounters a mystical flesh-eating figure whom she believes can save her mother from death. Kenneth Dagatan wrote and directed. (Oct. 12 on Amazon Prime Video)

ANATOMY OF A FALL The French director Justine Triet (''Sibyl'') won this year's Palme d'Or for her take on the courtroom-thriller genre. (The title alludes to Otto Preminger's ''Anatomy of a Murder.'') Sandra Hüller stars as an author in a strained marriage whose husband dies in a fall. Was it a mishap, a suicide or a killing? (Oct. 13 in theaters)

DEAR DAVID A Twitter thread by a Buzzfeed staffer convinced he was being haunted is now a horror film about a Buzzfeed staffer subject to such a haunting. (Oct. 13 in theaters and on demand)

THE PERSIAN VERSION The writer-director Maryam Keshavarz won the screenwriting prize at Sundance for this semi-musical about an Iranian-American woman, her many siblings, an unexpected pregnancy and a heart transplant, among other complications. Layla Mohammadi and Niousha Noor star. (Oct. 13 in theaters)

TAYLOR SWIFT: THE ERAS TOUR Couldn't get tickets? A concert film version of the singer's smash international tour is hitting movie screens, creating such potentially fierce competition at the box office that ''The Exorcist: Believer'' skittered away from a Friday the 13th opening. There is also now the possibility of making a memorable double bill with the Martin Scorsese feature debuting the following week. (Oct. 13 in theaters)

SILVER DOLLAR ROAD Working from a 2019 ProPublica article, the director Raoul Peck (''I Am Not Your Negro'') tells the story of why the brothers Melvin Davis and Licurtis Reels spent eight years in jail for not leaving the land they grew up on. He also focuses on the rest of the family, including Mamie Reels Ellison, their sister, and Kim Renee Duhon, their niece. (Oct. 13 in theaters, Oct. 21 on Amazon Prime Video)

THE DELINQUENTS A bank clerk (Daniel Elías) comes up with a peculiar scheme for a robbery: He will steal from his employer with the full knowledge that he'll be caught and serve time -- but not enough time that the heist won't make economic sense. In the interim, he will leave the loot with a caretaker (Esteban Bigliardi). Rodrigo Moreno directed this three-hour Argentine drama, a Cannes favorite, on how all that plays out. (Oct. 18 in theaters)

ANOTHER BODY This documentary looks at what happened to a college student who was depicted in pornographic deepfakes online. (Oct. 20 in theaters and on demand)

KILLERS OF THE FLOWER MOON Martin Scorsese directed this sweeping adaptation of David Grann's nonfiction book about the 1920s murders of members of the Osage Nation -- rich with oil money and therefore targets. The longtime Scorsese leads Leonardo DiCaprio and Robert De Niro appear together in one of the filmmaker's features for the first time, but Lily Gladstone is the movie's soul. (Oct. 20 in theaters)

NYAD In 2013, Diana Nyad made headlines for swimming from Cuba to Florida at age 64, a feat that is not universally recognized. Annette Bening plays her in the first dramatized feature from Elizabeth Chai Vasarhelyi and Jimmy Chin (''Free Solo''). Jodie Foster also stars. (Oct. 20 in theaters, Nov. 3 on Netflix)

PAIN HUSTLERS ''The Hard Sell,'' a nonfiction book by Evan Hughes partly based on an article he wrote for The New York Times Magazine, told the story of a pharmaceutical company that tried to market a fentanyl-based spray. Emily Blunt and Chris Evans star in the movie version, directed by David Yates. (Oct. 20 in theaters, Oct. 27 on Netflix)

THE PIGEON TUNNEL Errol Morris is no stranger to intrigue or paranoia, and in his latest documentary, he interrogates the author -- and erstwhile British agent -- John le Carré, in what is billed as le Carré's final interview. (He died in 2020.) (Oct. 20 in theaters and on Apple TV+)

RADICAL Eugenio Derbez (''CODA'') plays a teacher who tries to inspire students in a Mexican border town. (Oct. 20 in theaters)

TO KILL A TIGER Nisha Pahuja directed this documentary about a father seeking justice after his daughter is the target of a gang rape in India. (Oct. 20 in theaters)

BOUDICA: QUEEN OF WAR Sword-and-sandal epics have arguably neglected the period when the Roman empire controlled what is now England. Olga Kurylenko now rectifies this omission as a vengeful, anti-Roman Celtic warrior. (Oct. 27 in theaters and on demand)

FINGERNAILS Meeting a new person at a ''love testing institute'' challenges one woman's machine-verified diagnosis that she had found true love. Love-testing institutes tend to complicate things in that way. Jessie Buckley, Riz Ahmed and -- from ''The Bear'' -- Jeremy Allen White star. Christos Nikou directed. (Oct. 27 in theaters, Nov. 3 on Apple TV+)

FIVE NIGHTS AT FREDDY'S Josh Hutcherson plays a new security guard at a shuttered, Chuck E. Cheese-like entertainment complex from the 1980s where the animatronic figures are possessed by the ghosts of children who went missing there. It's based on the series of video games. Emma Tammi directed. (Oct. 27 in theaters)

FOUR DAUGHTERS Extremists radicalized two of Olfa Hamrouni's four daughters; the pair ran away and joined the Islamic State in Libya. Using a mix of straight documentary and re-enactments, the director Kaouther Ben Hania tells this Tunisian family's story. (Oct. 27 in theaters)

THE HOLDOVERS Alexander Payne reunites with his ''Sideways'' star Paul Giamatti in the story of a prep schoolteacher who stays behind over the holidays to supervise the pupils stuck there. Dominic Sessa and Da'Vine Joy Randolph also star. The trailer gives a Roman-numeral copyright date of 1971, a nod to when the movie is set. (Oct. 27 in theaters)

THE KILLER The last time David Fincher worked with the screenwriter Andrew Kevin Walker, the result was one of the bleakest films in Hollywood history: ''Seven'' (1995). This time Walker is adapting the graphic-novel series by Matz and Luc Jacamon. Michael Fassbender plays an assassin, and Tilda Swinton is in it, too. (Oct. 27 in theaters, Nov. 10 on Netflix)

PRISCILLA Mention Elvis, and there's no need to specify a last name. Sofia Coppola, no stranger to chronicling the isolating effects of fame, elevates Mrs. Presley to a similarly iconic stature in this look at one of the most watched marriages in rock 'n' roll. Cailee Spaeny plays Priscilla; Jacob Elordi is the King. (Oct. 27 in theaters)

November

AMERICAN FICTION Adapting a 2001 satirical novel by Percival Everett, the TV writer and former Gawker editor Cord Jefferson directed Jeffrey Wright as a Black author who, in frustration and jest, writes a book that plays into stereotypes -- and suddenly finds the success that has eluded him. Tracee Ellis Ross and Sterling K. Brown also star. (Nov. 3 in theaters)

EVER DEADLY Tanya Tagaq, the acclaimed Inuk throat singer, is the subject of this documentary profile. (Nov. 3 in theaters)

GOING TO MARS: THE NIKKI GIOVANNI PROJECT This profile of Giovanni, the poet, mixes readings, biography and reflections, including thoughts on her longtime interest in outer space. Joe Brewster and Michèle Stephenson directed. (Nov. 3 in theaters)

QUIZ LADY Her mother has gambling debts. Her dog has been kidnapped. And to fix things, the woman played by Awkwafina, together with Sandra Oh as her sister, strives to win big on a game show. Jessica Yu directed. (Nov. 3 on Hulu)

RUSTIN Colman Domingo plays the civil rights activist Bayard Rustin, who was a principal organizer of the 1963 March on Washington and whose legacy has received renewed attention. (In 2020, Gov. Gavin Newsom of California granted him a posthumous pardon for a 1953 conviction on a charge that had been used to criminalize homosexual activity.) George C. Wolfe directed. Chris Rock, Glynn Turman and Audra McDonald co-star. (Nov. 3 in theaters, Nov. 17 on Netflix)

SLY Sylvester Stallone shares how his life and career have constituted their own ''Rocky''-esque, unlikely success story. Thom Zimny directed this profile. (Nov. 3 on Netflix)

WHAT HAPPENS LATER Meg Ryan directed herself and David Duchovny as former flames who get stuck at an airport and are compelled to sort things out. The movie is based on a play, ''Shooting Star,'' by Steven Dietz. (Nov. 3 in theaters)

DREAM SCENARIO For reasons unclear, a man named Paul starts making guest appearances in random people's dreams. Given that Paul is played by Nicolas Cage, those dreams are probably pretty out-there. Julianne Nicholson, Michael Cera and Tim Meadows also star. Kristoffer Borgli wrote and directed. (Nov. 10 in theaters)

THE MARVELS Captain Marvel (Brie Larson), Ms. Marvel (Iman Vellani) and Captain Monica Rambeau (Teyonah Parris) join forces to take down whoever is threatening the Marvel Cinematic Universe these days. Nia DaCosta (the 2021 ''Candyman'' remake) directed. (Nov. 10 in theaters)

ORLANDO, MY POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY Directing his first feature, a documentary, the philosopher Paul B. Preciado uses Virginia Woolf's ''Orlando'' as a lens for exploring issues of gender identity, enlisting transgender and nonbinary people to play the character. (Nov. 10 in theaters)

THE LADY BIRD DIARIES The latest nonfiction feature from Dawn Porter (''John Lewis: Good Trouble'') draws on archival audio of the first lady Lady Bird Johnson and assesses the part she played in President Lyndon B. Johnson's administration. (Nov. 13 on Hulu)

STAMPED FROM THE BEGINNING The academic and activist Ibram X. Kendi's 2016 book, ''Stamped From the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America,'' becomes a documentary film with commentary from Kendi and others, including Angela Davis and the poet Honorée Fanonne Jeffers. Roger Ross Williams directed. (Nov. 15 on Netflix)

DASHING THROUGH THE SNOW Magic helps restore the Yuletide spirit for a social worker (Chris Bridges, a.k.a. Ludacris) and his 9-year-old (Madison Skye). Lil Rel Howery and Teyonah Parris also star; Tim Story directed. (Nov. 17 on Disney+)

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SHERE HITE Nicole Newnham (a director of ''Crip Camp'') made this documentary on the work of Shere Hite, who in 1976 published ''The Hite Report: A Nationwide Study of Female Sexuality,'' which advanced the then-radical notion that women could achieve sexual satisfaction without intercourse. (Nov. 17 in theaters)

FALLEN LEAVES The latest from the Finnish treasure Aki Kaurismaki won the jury prize at the Cannes Film Festival; the award scanned as an affectionate third place. It's a love story -- in an unusually bittersweet and low-key register -- between lonesome members of the ***working class*** (Alma Poysti and Jussi Vatanen), and between Kaurismaki and cinema. (Nov. 17 in theaters)

THE HUNGER GAMES: THE BALLAD OF SONGBIRDS & SNAKES Set before the events of the Jennifer Lawrence films, this screen installment from Suzanne Collins's books casts Tom Blyth as a teenage tyrant in the making and Rachel Zegler as the tribute he tries to prepare for the deadly games. Francis Lawrence returns to direct. (Nov. 17 in theaters)

MAY DECEMBER Todd Haynes investigates what constitutes realistic acting -- and what attracts viewers to tabloid sensationalism -- in this drama, which casts Natalie Portman as a TV star shadowing her latest role's infamous real-life inspiration (Julianne Moore), a woman whose past is not dissimilar from Mary Kay Letourneau's. With Charles Melton. (Nov. 17 in theaters, Dec. 1 on Netflix)

NEXT GOAL WINS Smarting from a record-breaking loss, American Samoa's soccer team braces for another try at the World Cup qualifying matches, this time with a new, curmudgeonly coach (Michael Fassbender). Taika Waititi directed. The team's story was also told in a documentary with the same title. (Nov. 17 in theaters)

THANKSGIVING Sixteen years is a long time from trailer to release. But the tongue-in-cheek coming attraction that Eli Roth made for the midpoint of ''Grindhouse'' (2007) is now a feature film in its own right. Patrick Dempsey stars. (Nov. 17 in theaters)

TROLLS BAND TOGETHER The Troll universe expands again as Poppy (voiced by Anna Kendrick) and Branch (Justin Timberlake) seek out Branch's brothers, with whom he previously formed a boy band. That the siblings are not voiced by Timberlake's former 'N Sync mates seems like a missed opportunity. (Nov. 17 in theaters)

THE BOY AND THE HERON Ten years after ''The Wind Rises,'' which had been billed as a final feature, the master animator Hayao Miyazaki gives us this story of a boy who moves from Tokyo after his mother's death during World War II. An enigmatic tower that stands near his new home becomes a gateway to a parallel world -- a quintessentially Miyazakian realm. (Nov. 22 in theaters)

MAESTRO In the director's chair again after ''A Star Is Born'' (2018), Bradley Cooper also stars as the legendary conductor and composer Leonard Bernstein. Carey Mulligan plays the actress Felicia Montealegre Bernstein, his wife for nearly three decades until her death. (Nov. 22 in theaters, Dec. 20 on Netflix)

MENUS-PLAISIRS -- LES TROISGROS After more than 40 features, the 93-year-old Frederick Wiseman is still going strong. You could probably bake a pretty good cassoulet in the four hours it takes to watch his latest documentary, which observes the workings of a three-Michelin-star restaurant in Roanne, France, from farm to table and beyond. (Nov. 22 in theaters)

NAPOLEON Stanley Kubrick's Bonaparte biography will, alas, always be one of cinema's great what-ifs. But we are getting Ridley Scott's version of the life of the French military leader, with Joaquin Phoenix donning the bicorn. Vanessa Kirby also stars. (Nov. 22 in theaters)

WISH Will Ariana DeBose belt out a hit as big as ''Let It Go''? Disney's latest animated offering, advertising its affinities with ''Frozen,'' among other movies, casts the ''West Side Story'' Oscar winner as a heroine who takes on a king with the help of a cosmic force and a goat. Alan Tudyk and Chris Pine lend their voices as well. (Nov. 22 in theaters)

SALTBURN The writer-director Emerald Fennell's first feature behind the camera since ''Promising Young Woman'' is set at Oxford, where a student played by Barry Keoghan becomes taken with the lifestyle of a classmate (Jacob Elordi). (Nov. 24 in theaters)

December

THE BIKERIDERS A married couple (Jodie Comer and Austin Butler) are part of a motorcycle gang; Tom Hardy plays their leader. The movie, directed by Jeff Nichols (''Loving''), is inspired by a 1968 book by the photographer Danny Lyon. (Dec. 1 in theaters)

CANDY CANE LANE A spell cast by an elf (Jillian Bell) causes Christmastime trouble for a man (Eddie Murphy) and his family. With Tracee Ellis Ross. Reginald Hudlin directed. (Dec. 1 on Amazon Prime)

SHAYDA Zar Amir Ebrahimi plays a woman from Iran residing in a shelter in Australia who is desperate to prevent her estranged husband from taking their child back with him. Noora Niasari wrote and directed. (Dec. 1 in theaters)

LEAVE THE WORLD BEHIND Sam Esmail (''Mr. Robot'') wrote and directed this adaptation of Rumaan Alam's 2020 novel. Julia Roberts, Mahershala Ali and Ethan Hawke play characters on Long Island facing the prospect of a cyberattack-spurred apocalypse. Barack and Michelle Obama's Higher Ground Productions is attached. (Dec. 8 on Netflix)

POOR THINGS Alasdair Gray's 1992 novel riffed on the concept of the Frankenstein monster. In this version, directed by Yorgos Lanthimos (''The Favourite''), who usually works from his own absurdist material, Emma Stone plays the revivified creature, and Willem Dafoe her scientist creator. Mark Ruffalo and Ramy Youssef co-star. (Dec. 8 in theaters)

THE ZONE OF INTEREST Loosely based on Martin Amis's 2014 Holocaust novel, the director Jonathan Glazer's first feature since ''Under the Skin'' a decade ago is an intensely formal exercise that tries to immerse viewers in the perspective of Rudolf Höss (Christian Friedel), the commandant of Auschwitz, as he carried on with his life next to the camp. With Sandra Hüller as Höss's wife. (Dec. 8 in theaters)

ANYONE BUT YOU Advance word suggests that this film, starring Sydney Sweeney and Glen Powell, is unusually racy by the standards of comedies faintly inspired by ''Much Ado About Nothing.'' Will Gluck directed. (Dec. 15 in theaters)

CHICKEN RUN: DAWN OF THE NUGGET A teaser trailer suggests that the ''nugget'' in question is a newborn chick -- although the title could also refer to the invention of chicken nuggets, which would make this sequel to ''Chicken Run'' (2000) more of a horror film than a family feature. Thandiwe Newton, Zachary Levi and Bella Ramsey provide some of the voices. (Dec. 15 on Netflix)

WONKA While ''Willy Wonka & the Chocolate Factory'' and Roald Dahl's book left many questions, how Wonka defeated a chocolate cartel to found his factory was not exactly foremost among them. Will the movie at least explain how Timothée Chalamet, who plays Wonka in this prequel, could grow into Gene Wilder? (Dec. 15 in theaters)

AQUAMAN AND THE LOST KINGDOM Jason Momoa has to form an alliance to save Atlantis. As long as there aren't flesh-eating bacteria in the water, how bad could it be? Amber Heard and Nicole Kidman return. James Wan directed. (Dec. 20 in theaters)

ALL OF US STRANGERS A run-in with a neighbor (Paul Mescal) somehow causes a rupture in the life of a screenwriter (Andrew Scott), who encounters the home where he grew up. Claire Foy and Jamie Bell also star in the latest film from the ''45 Years'' director Andrew Haigh. (Dec. 22 in theaters)

THE IRON CLAW Sean Durkin (''The Nest'') directed this dramatization of the real-life Von Erich brothers, who beginning in the 1970s made a name for themselves wrestling and who almost all died young. Zac Efron and Jeremy Allen White star. (Dec. 22 in theaters)

MIGRATION A family of ducks -- the Mallards -- do what a lot of American families do: fly south for a winter getaway. Not surprisingly, travel proves to be a hassle. Mike White, a long way from ''The White Lotus,'' wrote the screenplay for this animated feature, which has the voices of Kumail Nanjiani, Elizabeth Banks, Awkwafina and Keegan-Michael Key, among others. (Dec. 22 in theaters)

REBEL MOON -- PART ONE: A CHILD OF FIRE Sofia Boutella bands together misfit warriors to save the galaxy. Untethered from DC Comics characters and the zombies of his ''Dawn of the Dead'' and ''Army of the Dead,'' this could be the most unfiltered dose of Zack Snyder since ''Sucker Punch'' (2011). This is the first of two installments, with the next one due in April. (Dec. 22 on Netflix)

THE COLOR PURPLE The Broadway musical version of Alice Walker's novel, which itself was already adapted into a movie by Steven Spielberg in 1985, hits the big screen. The singer Fantasia, a.k.a. Fantasia Barrino, plays Celie, the role Whoopi Goldberg embodied in the original film. With Taraji P. Henson, Danielle Brooks, Colman Domingo and Halle Bailey. Blitz Bazawule directed. (Dec. 25 in theaters)

FERRARI Michael Mann and the sleek Italian auto brand go way back. (See also ''Miami Vice'' in its TV and movie versions.) Adam Driver plays the sports car maker Enzo Ferrari in 1957, at a time of personal turmoil, when he bets big on the Mille Miglia race across Italy. Penélope Cruz and Shailene Woodley also star. (Dec. 25 in theaters)

OCCUPIED CITY Working from a book by his wife, the Dutch filmmaker Bianca Stigter, the director Steve McQueen combines documentary footage from present-day Amsterdam with narration that recounts events in the city throughout World War II. ''With formal rigor and adamant focus, it maps -- street by street, address by address -- the catastrophe that befell Amsterdam's Jewish population,'' Manohla Dargis wrote when the film played at Cannes. (Dec. 25 in theaters)

Compiled with the assistance of Gabe Cohn.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/08/movies/new-movies-fall.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/08/movies/new-movies-fall.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Carey Mulligan and Bradley Cooper portray Felicia and Leonard Bernstein in the drama ''Maestro,'' which Cooper also directed. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JASON McDONALD/NETFLIX)

Layla Mohammadi, left, and Niousha Noor in ''The Persian Version,'' an Iranian American family musical that won the screenwriting prize at Sundance. (PHOTOGRAPH BY YIGET EKEN/SONY PICTURES CLASSICS)

Phoebe Dynevor and Alden Ehrenreich illustrate the perils of office romance in the psychological thriller ''Fair Play.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY SERGEJ RADOVIC/NETFLIX)

Tommy Lee Jones plays the owner of a funeral home and Jamie Foxx is a lawyer in ''The Burial.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY SKIP BOLEN/PRIME VIDEO) (AR51)

Jacob Elordi as Elvis Presley and Cailee Spaeny as Priscilla Beaulieu in ''Priscilla,'' directed by Sofia Coppola. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIPPE LE SOURD/A24) (AR52)

Tom Blyth and Rachel Zegler fill in the back story in the franchise prequel ''The Hunger Games: The Ballad of Songbirds & Snakes.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY MURRAY CLOSE/LIONSGATE)

''The Boy and the Heron'' features a gateway to a parallel world. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GKIDS)

Vanessa Kirby and Joaquin Phoenix play Josephine and the title character in ''Napoleon.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY AIDAN MONAGHAN/SONY PICTURES AND APPLE ORIGINAL FILMS)

Phylicia Pearl Mpasi, left, and Halle Bailey as young Celie and Nettie in a new musical version of ''The Color Purple.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY WARNER BROS. PICTURES) (AR53) This article appeared in print on page AR51, AR52, AR53.

**Load-Date:** September 17, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Tim Ryan, a Top Democrat in Ohio, Is Said to Be Planning a Senate Bid***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61X5-2DJ1-JBG3-61PP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 2, 2021 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 19

**Length:** 1075 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Martin

**Body**

Mr. Ryan, who mounted a long-shot campaign for president in 2019, plans to compete for the state's open Senate seat. His campaign will test Democrats' strength in a state tilting to the right.

Representative Tim Ryan of Ohio plans to run for his state's open Senate seat, Democrats who have spoken with him said, a bid that would test whether even a Democrat with roots in the blue-collar Youngstown region and close ties to organized labor can win in the increasingly Republican state.

Mr. Ryan, an 18-year House veteran, has reached out to a host of Ohio and national Democrats in recent days about the seat now held by Senator Rob Portman, a Republican who stunned officials in both parties by announcing last week that he would retire.

Former Gov. Ted Strickland of Ohio, a Democrat who has been encouraging Mr. Ryan to run, said of the congressman, ''I think he is the person with the best chance, given this political climate we're in and given the way Ohio has been performing.''

''He has the ability to appeal to a lot of independents, and Democrats will be very excited about this candidacy,'' Mr. Strickland said.

Mr. Ryan has also discussed his candidacy with Representative Marcy Kaptur, the longest-serving member in Ohio's congressional delegation, and national labor leaders, including Lee Saunders of Afscme, while also receiving a nudge from Hillary Clinton.

Asked about these conversations, Mr. Ryan said on Monday that he was ''encouraged by their support, enthusiasm and commitment,'' adding, ''The U.S. Senate needs another ***working-class*** voice, and I'm very serious about the opportunity to continue representing the people of Ohio.''

He is expected to declare his candidacy by the beginning of March, according to Democrats briefed on his planning.

Long one of the country's quintessential political battlegrounds, Ohio has turned sharply right since former President Donald J. Trump's ascent. Mr. Trump carried the state by eight percentage points in 2016 and won it again by the same margin last year, even as Joseph R. Biden Jr. emphasized his ***working-class*** appeal and made a late push in the state.

Senator Sherrod Brown is the only Democrat remaining in statewide office in Ohio. And even with his fiercely populist approach, Mr. Brown has lost ground among once-reliable Democrats in eastern Ohio, including those in the industrial area south of Lake Erie and in the more rural enclaves that trace the Ohio River.

Mr. Ryan hails from Niles, Ohio, just north of Youngstown, a region filled with voters who are effectively Trump Democrats, many of them union members or retirees. He outperformed Mr. Biden in his district, but Democrats there suffered a series of losses in other down-ballot races.

The question, should Mr. Ryan become his party's nominee, is if he can win back these mostly white voters.

Mr. Ryan has long considered running statewide, but in the past decided on seeking re-election to the House seat he first won in 2002, when he succeeded the famously fiery, and corrupt, James Traficant.

Mr. Ryan mounted a long-shot bid for the presidency in 2019 with the same message he's expected to carry into the Senate contest -- that Democrats will build enduring majorities only if they reclaim support from a multiracial, ***working-class*** coalition of voters.

Beyond elevating that argument, Mr. Ryan, 47, has another compelling reason to run for the Senate: As Republicans grow stronger in eastern Ohio, his district has become increasingly competitive, and the Republican Party could redraw the state's districts to make it even more forbidding for him in 2022.

While he has risen on the Appropriations Committee, Mr. Ryan has mostly given up on his hopes to join the House leadership, having been turned back in his 2016 challenge against Nancy Pelosi, then the minority leader.

In Congress, Mr. Ryan has been a close ally of unions and has generally toed the Democratic line, shifting toward a stance in support of abortion rights in recent years. Even before formally announcing his bid, Mr. Ryan drew support from the state chapter of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which on Monday released a letter endorsing his undeclared candidacy.

Mr. Ryan will enter the Senate race as an early front-runner. He is one of the few Democrats left in the state's congressional delegation, and represents a region of the state the party is desperate to reclaim. He also has deep relationships with national leaders.

On Saturday, Mrs. Clinton publicly encouraged Mr. Ryan to run for the Senate, repaying him for his support for her when she ran against Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential primary race.

''You're right, Kathy!'' Mrs. Clinton wrote on Twitter, promoting a message from a Democratic activist in Ohio, Kathy DiCristofaro, who wrote that ''Ohio needs leaders like @timryan to fight for working people.''

Mr. Ryan also has an ally in the White House, having endorsed Mr. Biden in November 2019, a low ebb in the race for the candidate.

It's unlikely, though, that the congressman will run unopposed for the Senate nomination. One Democrat whose name has been floated for the seat, Mayor Nan Whaley of Dayton, said she was ''thinking about it'' when asked on the day Mr. Portman announced his retirement. Ms. Whaley is also considering a run for governor, though, and many Ohio Democrats believe she and Mr. Ryan would try to avoid clashing in a primary.

Equally intriguing to some Democrats in the state is Dr. Amy Acton, who as the former director of Ohio's Department of Health ran the coronavirus response effort last year for Gov. Mike DeWine, a Republican. She is considering joining the race, The Plain Dealer of Cleveland reported last week, and received her own online boost when Connie Schultz, a longtime Ohio columnist and the wife of Mr. Brown, wrote on Twitter: ''Imagine Dr. Amy Acton as Ohio's next U.S. senator. I sure can.''

The Republicans are likely to have an even more crowded primary field. The race appears to be wide open after the announcement last week by Representative Jim Jordan, the far-right Trump ally whom the former president awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, that he would remain in the House.

A number of other House members may run, including Representative Steve Stivers, a Columbus-area lawmaker. A host of would-be self-funders are also eyeing the seat, including Jane Timken, the chair of the Ohio Republican Party.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/01/us/politics/tim-ryan-ohio-senate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/01/us/politics/tim-ryan-ohio-senate.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Tim Ryan

**Load-Date:** February 2, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Transcript: Ezra Klein Interviews Michael Podhorzer; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69MS-SSS1-DXY4-X2TG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 15, 2023 Wednesday 00:32 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** PODCASTS

**Length:** 10067 words

**Highlight:** The Nov. 14, 2023, episode of “The Ezra Klein Show.”

**Body**

Every Tuesday and Friday, Ezra Klein invites you into a conversation about something that matters, like today’s episode with Michael Podhorzer. Listen [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html).

Transcripts of our episodes are made available as soon as possible. They are not fully edited for grammar or spelling.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: From New York Times Opinion, this is “The Ezra Klein Show.”

On Nov. 5, The New York Times and Siena College released this poll that freaked the Democrats out like nothing I’ve seen this cycle. The poll showed Trump up in five of the six key battleground states, showed him benefiting from a huge shift in nonwhite and young voters in his favor. And it set off a complete round of Democratic panic. Biden, it seemed, was just uniquely weak.

Then, on Nov. 7, we had this big bunch of elections. And Democrats did really well. In Kentucky, Democrat Andy Beshear held the governor’s mansion. In Virginia, Democrats took back the House of Delegates. In Ohio, they got a constitutional amendment protecting abortion. It felt a lot like 2022, when Biden was polling poorly and everybody predicted a Democratic wipeout, but Democrats did far better in the midterms than anybody expected.

Well, they did better, I guess I should say, than almost anybody expected. But Michael Podhorzer, he did expect it. Podhorzer was a longtime political director of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. He’s kind of a legend in Democratic campaign circles. He founded this thing called the Analyst Institute, which was the nerve center of the data-driven empirical turn in Democratic campaign strategies.

Now he writes a Substack on these topics called Weekend Reading, which is a descendant of an influential email he used to send out to top campaign strategists. And he never thought 2022 was going to be a wipeout for Democrats. He doesn’t think Biden’s bad polls are revealing much right now. He thinks the whole way the media thinks about polling is wrong. He calls it “mad poll disease,” and it drives him a little nuts.

He often vents that frustration to me. I’m a nearby member of the media to him. So I invited him on the show to get his take on how Biden looks going into 2024, whether Democrats are making a huge mistake by sidestepping a primary, and what it will take to reconstitute the anti-MAGA coalition we saw in 2020 and 2022. As always, my email, [*ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com*](mailto:ezrakleinshow@nytimes.com)

[MUSIC PLAYING]

Michael Podhorzer, welcome to the show.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Hi, Ezra. Glad to be here.

EZRA KLEIN: So I want to begin chronologically. I asked you to come on the show after this big New York Times / Siena poll, showing Trump beating Biden in five to six key swing states. That poll set off a huge panic among Democrats. You think or thought, I think it is fair to say, that panic was stupid. Why?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: For several reasons. The most important one is that a poll taken today, especially in 2023, really doesn’t tell us anything about November 2024 that we don’t already know. The national election is going to be really close. No poll even on the day of the election after millions of people have voted gets that right reliably.

Over and over again, whether it’s the midterms or some of the elections that just happened, the media looking at the poll doesn’t understand what Americans do, that it’s different when they cast a ballot than when they answer a survey. That when they answer a survey, it’s an opportunity to express their frustration, their disappointment, which is obviously the case about how people feel about this administration. And it comes out in lots of other polls.

But then when they actually have to go and vote and actually look at the choice, it doesn’t match. But that isn’t really how it gets interpreted and written up.

EZRA KLEIN: Let me try to defend poll panic here for a minute. Not my natural position, but I want to give it voice.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Sure.

EZRA KLEIN: So the thing people say is, look, fair enough. The polls isn’t predictive. We actually know that polls a year out from an election are not predictive. They have no better than a monkey throwing a dart accuracy. But it is a snapshot, and it’s telling us things that need to be taken seriously. And the thing specifically that it’s telling us is Joe Biden is a uniquely weak candidate.

According to the FiveThirtyEight polling average, his favorability rating is 38.5. It’s not great. If you look at the New York Times / Siena poll, he’s seeing — and I think this is both the most striking and, to me, the most questionable aspect of the poll — double digit erosion among young voters and among Black voters. I mean, if that happens, he is toast. And so there are some unique Joe Biden problem. The poll is a snapshot, but the snapshot should make Democrats panic and dump Joe Biden. That would be my case for polling panic.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Yeah. Well, there’s nothing in the New York Times survey that people who can do anything about whether Joe Biden is on the ticket don’t already know. There’s a massive amount of polling always going on in the Democratic Party, in the Republican Party, in the groups that work with them. There’s no news in that survey that is a surprise to people who are doing this professionally. This is known.

EZRA KLEIN: But I think the concern people have, the concern I hear from Democrats, and including from some elite Democrats, is that the Democratic Party is whistling past the graveyard. You believe, and we’re going to talk about this at some length, that Donald Trump poses a unique threat to American democracy, that Donald Trump getting re-elected in 2024 is a cataclysm of genuinely historic dimensions. And if that’s true, if you believe that’s true, then you really want to go into 2024 with your strongest candidate.

And if elite Democrats, informed Democrats, if people with the power to make decisions in this space, people who you’ve been in these circles forever, if they’re refusing to admit what is right in front of their face because maybe it’s bad for their career, maybe it’s socially awkward, maybe they don’t want to be the first one to stick their head up, although some have — I mean, David Axelrod, who was Obama’s chief strategist, has kind of said pretty clearly he thinks Biden should step down and not run again. Not step down from the presidency, but from the campaign. Are those Democratic elites you’re talking about making a terrible mistake right now that is being revealed in this and other polls?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: I think that this is the kind of original sin mistake, which happened after Sanders won the Nevada caucus. And suddenly, Biden wins everywhere. He’s the nominee, even though about 10 minutes before, he looked really weak. And the things that made him look weak in early 2020, to a certain extent, haven’t gone.

But once you’ve been president for three years and there’s a whole infrastructure around you, and there really isn’t time — and here’s where I think it’s really unrealistic — to figure out who the next one is. And so while I wish we weren’t in a position where we are right now, I think that it’s the least bad place.

EZRA KLEIN: So something you suggest there is that Democratic elites just don’t really have time or didn’t have time to do something else here. And that doesn’t feel really true. I mean, it’s still possible for your Gavin Newsoms of the world to go onto the ballot. It does seem, and I mean, people in the party have said this, that there has been a push to close ranks behind Joe Biden.

And I guess the question I have for you is, has that been the right strategy? There was a lot of time. This was not — nobody lost time on the watch. They made a choice. And people are scared they made the wrong choice. Do you think they made the wrong choice?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: I feel like that’s something no one could really have an idea on. I don’t offer that kind of advice. I think it’s a gamble. And without knowing what the odds on the gamble were, how do you sort of answer that question?

EZRA KLEIN: I do think that is a little bit underplayed in this, sometimes, that going with Biden is dangerous. I mean, going with an 80-year-old candidate has risks — who’s not very popular. And starting up a primary either against the incumbent president or having him step down when his vice president is not that politically strong also could fracture the party.

And so I also don’t — I’ve felt that other people seem more certain on what Democrats should have done here than I am, but I could see it going wrong both ways. But the fact that it goes wrong one way doesn’t mean it also wouldn’t have gone wrong in the other.

Now let me flip the role I’m taking in this, because I’ve looked at polling at about this state in the race, about the state in the presidency for Trump, for Obama, for Clinton, for George W. Bush. And the thing that strikes me about it is that if all I knew were the polls, nothing I’m seeing with Joe Biden looks that weird. I made a mistake. I didn’t bring these numbers in with me.

But Mitt Romney was leading Barack Obama in polling in 2011. Hillary Clinton was dominating, absolutely stomping Donald Trump and Jeb Bush in polling. You can go back to Reagan’s first term. You can go back to Obama’s first term. You look at their approval ratings in the third year. They’re not great. Depending on when you’re looking, they’re a little bit higher. You can argue Biden is underperforming them by a point or two. But they now look like incredibly successful politicians.

But in year three, they didn’t seem that way. In fact, Barack Obama, in year three, so didn’t seem that way, that his campaign polled taking Joe Biden off of the ticket and replacing him with the electoral juggernaut of Hillary Clinton.

And so I think the thing here that is sometimes hard for me to tell is whether incumbents in their third year just kind of look a little rough before the whole artillery of the campaign comes into play, or there’s something distinctive about Joe Biden maybe related to his age and doubts voters have about that or something else about him that puts him in a weaker position, such that the rebound we have seen with other presidents is not as likely for him.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Yeah, I’m glad you brought that in because that sounds a little bit self-serving coming from me, but it’s true. Right now, a lot of people taking those surveys are expressing their disappointment with the way the world is, not thinking about what the world might look like in 2025. And that was true in all of the third years you’re talking about. It’s in the D.N.A. to have higher expectations for the person you’re going to elect then gets met. And so I think there was a lot of unrealistic expectations generated.

EZRA KLEIN: But why are people so disappointed right now? I mean, Biden’s bad polling, his sort of drop to the low 40s, high 30s, it predates both Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and very much predates the Hamas’s attacks and the war in Gaza. And if you look around, for a while, the explanation was inflation. But inflation has been coming down. The labor market is actually pretty damn strong and has been that way for a while. Wages are pretty good. You wouldn’t think people would be so pissed at the system. I mean, Covid has calmed. Compared to where we were just a couple of years ago, this feels like recovery. This feels like — I don’t want to say feels like, because clearly, it doesn’t feel like. But if you looked at the numbers, you could really make a case for morning in America. So why are people so pissed?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Because they’re not the right numbers to be looking at. There’s just the collapse in confidence in American institutions generally. And that has been happening for the last 20 years, at least. Whoever is president is actually the head of one of those institutions that people have lost faith in, which is why for three quarters of the time for Bush, Obama, Trump, and, Biden their approval ratings have been underwater, except during the 9/11 bump and in the first couple of months after they get elected. That is just the permanent state of presidential approval in the 21st century. And so we’re not seeing a different thing, really.

On the numbers. I think that this is one of those situations where there’s sort of zombie heuristics, things like G.D.P. growth. That used to be a really good number because prosperity was shared. So if G.D.P. was going up, then you could be reasonably sure most people were feeling it. But the less that that prosperity is shared, the less good indicator it is.

Also, in this period, the kinds of things that really matter to working people have gotten a lot worse in terms of how much more precarious their employment is. So if you make, say, 10 percent or 15 percent more, but you don’t know what your hours are going to be next week, you don’t know whether you’ll have a job in seven months, you don’t feel like someone telling you you’ve just got a 15 percent raise is the whole story. And similarly, if you have a family, if you don’t feel like you’re going to be able to help your kids get a better life, that’s just not going to be overcome by this month’s unemployment numbers.

And I think inflation is another area where there’s this kind of data mismatch. Inflation coming down is still rising prices. And if you’re in the bottom three quarters, that’s an immense burden.

That’s, I think, hard for people in this bubble to really appreciate, that unlike a lot of other problems, inflation is one that is in your head all the time, because you don’t know whether you’re going to have enough money for the prices that are going to be next month. And so you just spend all this time and mental overhead that’s unlike a more abstract problem.

EZRA KLEIN: I want to spend another moment on the Democratic weakness and Biden’s weakness among young voters and voters of color. The swing in the Times / Siena poll is huge. And so I get the point that it seems unlikely that would persist through an election. But we’ve been seeing rising Republican support among nonwhite voters for a bit. Biden’s polling troubles among young voters have also been persistent.

Something real is happening here among two of the constituencies Democrats think of as most reliable for them. And it’s consistent across enough polls that I think it should be taken seriously. So what do you make of it?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: I think that it is less about Trump becoming more popular and about the lack of enthusiasm and disappointment that especially young voters feel for Biden. One thing that I think most people probably can relate to is that often, if you age into the electorate at a time that John Kennedy becomes president or that Ronald Reagan becomes president or that Barack Obama became president, that age cohort becomes very much attached to that political party.

We’re in this unusual place where the people coming of age are negatively seeing that. They are coming of age in a way that they are turned off by Trump, but not turned on by Biden or other Democrats.

EZRA KLEIN: How about the nonwhite vote?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: I think that there’s a sort of academic or political observer expectation that whether people will vote for Democrats or Republicans is determined by someone’s race. And I think it’s much more the case that it’s determined by whether the campaign is making salient issues that threaten that group identity.

And one of the most misunderstood things about the Latino vote between 2016 and 2020, where there was this enormous drop for support between Hillary Clinton and for Joe Biden, is that there wasn’t much change in the support for Joe Biden from House Democrats in 2016. But if you remember, in 2016, going after Trump’s hostility to Mexican immigrants was something she talked about a lot. It was something that she did advertising on that other Democrats weren’t, and that among Latino voters immigration was one of the top issues in multiple polls. It was in the air. And that activated a Latino identity.

Joe Biden had a different strategy, which was to try not to go near that. But there are trade-offs, right? There’s a way in which people who comment on politics don’t realize almost everything has a trade-off. The trade-off of being quiet about activating group identities is that people in that group start to vote for different reasons.

There’s a great book called “Steadfast Democrats” that talks about how the Black vote is always so high because that’s the only socially acceptable vote in that community because you always are Black in America.

But I think Latinos are more like every immigrant group before it. And if you don’t feel threatened, then if you are conservative, the reasons you voted for the House Republican in 2016, but voted for Clinton, that’s a lot of what’s going on.

EZRA KLEIN: And so in this theory, there would actually be a connection between why Joe Biden did better among white voters in 2020, which was a very important margin in him winning and why he’s doing and did somewhat worse among nonwhite voters. The media focused on what he lost, but you’re actually saying they made a trade.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Absolutely. If you look at Obama ’12, Clinton ’16, and Biden, they all ran about two points ahead of House Democrats. But Obama and Clinton did it by doing much better than House Democrats with Latinos and Blacks and worse with whites. And Biden, it was sort of two points, whichever group you were in. And that may have been part of the success, but it’s a problem that the stories are only that there are losses. There are trade-offs here.

EZRA KLEIN: So something that you said now a few times, the numbers we’re seeing here are not that unusual. People are just mad. Presidents are typically now underwater, have been for some time. It’s been noted by political scientists that performance of the economy is decoupling from presidential approval. That was true for a bit now, too, and that maybe Biden’s age, which I think most of us take as a real potential weakness for him.

But I wonder sometimes if it doesn’t almost act as cover to make a normal situation look abnormal. Because Biden’s age is actually somewhat abnormal for a president, that creates a kind of “maybe this time is different.” Maybe what we’re seeing is more serious. But if you weren’t looking at it that way, maybe it all looks normal. And something else that I think possibly adds into that sense is that if you look internationally, the leaders of peer countries are very unpopular.

So my colleague, David Brooks, had a column, where he says, Biden’s 40 percent approval rating may look bad, but in Canada, Justin Trudeau’s approval rating is 36 percent. In Germany, Olaf Scholz is at 29. In Britain, Rishi Sunak is at 28. In France, Emmanuel Macron is at 23. And in Japan, Fumio Kishida is also at 23. Now these other leaders are not 80. So something is happening that leaders who are in the center left and center right across a pretty wide array of countries are not popular. In fact, Joe Biden is the cleanest shirt in a dirty laundry there.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: That’s absolutely right. And I think that matches what I was trying to express, is that there is a sort of baseline dissatisfaction with the way the world’s going and all of these places. And polling makes it easy to attach that disaffection to a particular person you ask about and ignore that it’s really about everything, and that you couldn’t put someone else in and have people suddenly forget all the things that are making them grumpy about the world today.

But the act of making it seem like if this could all change if we just had a different person at the top of this is fantasy. It’s just fantasy. And that’s part of why I think it’s a real problem that important media institutions support the idea that our problems are as superficial as who we put on the ballot as different human beings, when we need to solve the underlying institutional problems.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: We’ve been talking about the polling, and this was what was on my mind when I sent the invitation to you. Then there was an election night last Tuesday, and Democrats did pretty damn well, just as they did pretty damn well in 2022, in a way that maybe, if you had been looking at least broad national polling, how people feel about Joe Biden, how they feel about the country, you wouldn’t think the incumbent party, politically, at least the broadly incumbent party politically, would be surviving that. So what did you make of the 2023 specials we just saw?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Pretty much the same as you did, that people understand, can distinguish what’s at stake when they actually are deciding who they want than when they’re answering surveys. And there’s no real stakes. But when the media takes those answers as a profound truth, it misses what’s — there’s just evidence piling up over and over and over again, right? It’s like the two plus two keeps equaling four, but they keep hoping it’s going to equal three.

And the problem is that this should be telling us they’re not really mathematicians, right? Because it’s like every time you roll out a new number, numbers just do something to people, right? If someone just got up and said, I think Biden won’t do well, it has a different effect than when someone says, I think he’s going to lose by four points or something or 4.5 That’s, I think —

EZRA KLEIN: Well, I think versus I have a representative national sample or a sample I have turned representative through methodical demographic weighting are, to be fair, different ideas.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: I don’t think so. The —

EZRA KLEIN: Make this argument because you’ve made this argument, and there’s some truth to it, I think, that polling is a kind of punditry. Why do you say that?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Right, it’s a different kind of opinion journalism now. There was a time before phone response rates went so down that there was some scientific basis to it. It was just basically probability theory. But now, there’s no such thing as an actual random sample anymore.

EZRA KLEIN: And just to draw this out, the thing happening here at the end of the game in polling is that the pollsters are making a prediction about who will come out to vote. And so they’re taking their interviews and then trying to make the demographics of their interviews. If you think you have half as many Hispanics in your sample as you believe will be in the electorate, then you have to upweight the Hispanics in your sample. But so every pollster is making maybe an informed guess, but a guess about who will show up at the polls in the next election. And without making that guess, those polls don’t mean anything.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Correct. So to me, one of the best pieces of data journalism ever was in The New York Times.

EZRA KLEIN: It’s a great paper.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: It is — sometimes. In September 2016, when there was another time survey of Clinton versus Trump in Florida, and really genius, the 850 or so interviews were given blind to really respected pollsters, pollsters who don’t do spin, people who are serious, in the middle, some on the left and the right. And the estimates, I think, were Clinton plus four, Clinton plus three, two plus ones, and Trump plus one, right? These are literally the same 850 interviews. And it’s in that arithmetic that everyone should see that yeah, they’re all making a good faith effort to tell you what those 850 interviews mean, but they’re not science anymore.

EZRA KLEIN: There is a real and I think reasonable given what we traditionally think about as a relationship between midterm performance and the president’s approval rating belief that you would have a just gigantic red wave in 2022, that it would be a historic wipeout for Democrats. Inflation was terrible in 2022. I mean, it was really bad, and people blamed Joe Biden for it. And then he just didn’t. Democrats did well in the Senate and kept it against many people’s expectations. They held losses down quite a bit in the House. They didn’t do that badly across governorships. Why?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: MAGA. Because the way politics works in this country now has changed radically since Trump was elected. And coverage is pretty much what you just described, where you just expect that red wave because it’s always been that way, right? And so when you do polling, whatever you’re doing, you just are subject to a lot of confirmation bias until it’s disabused at the polls, right? Voters have been making the choice of MAGA, no MAGA, for several cycles now. They know what’s at stake.

EZRA KLEIN: So when you say MAGA, you mean Trumpist candidates, the kinds of candidates who buy into his lies about 2020, or prior to 2020, the kinds of candidates who align themselves with, say, the Trump faction of the party or his presidency over what you might think of as traditional Republican candidates.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Correct. 20 years ago, if Herschel Walker had been on the ballot, he would have been wiped out, right? He had just so many negatives, so many things that people probably wouldn’t ever countenance in that state. And yet he almost won.

And even though I think John Fetterman is great, right, and an important senator now, imagine 20 years ago, a candidate having a stroke win as comfortably as he did, because people understood that it wasn’t just about who Pennsylvania’s junior senator was going to be. They know this is closer to a parliamentary decision than it is weigh the two candidates. Because Trump won and because of Dobbs, voters now understand that there’s more to the difference than rhetoric.

EZRA KLEIN: So people hate it when I say this. They hate it. But I’m a party polarization guy, and I believe it. In most elections that are national, right, how Senate, to some degree, presidency, though not only, voters would, in general, have more information if you took the candidates’ names off the ballot because in many ways, the candidates’ efforts using consultants and polling and ads and whatever to create idiosyncratic personal profiles built on their biography, built on which kind of dog they have at home, their family’s story, et cetera, actually distracts from the fact that the most important vote they cast, specifically House and Senate, is for the leaders of the chamber. And I used to say that 10 years ago, and people just loathed it. But what you’re saying is that voters increasingly act that way anyway.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Absolutely. Yeah, don’t count me as a hater here. I mean, I wish that was the case. If that was the case, we would not have had a Republican majority in the House because if you think about the way in which every Senate race was covered as, will Democrats or Republicans control the Senate, then you think about how the House races were covered, where that never came in.

EZRA KLEIN: So the states that understood themselves as in a national election, right, understood themselves as doing something that would really matter for control, treated it that way, and Democrats held on, and the states that didn’t — I mean, California, the narrative in California was, eh, it’s California, right?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Right.

EZRA KLEIN: Like, who cares? Democrats win in California. People didn’t really seem very to feel very empowered there and also weren’t treated that way in campaign spending.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Right. I think, but again —

EZRA KLEIN: Pennsylvania got blanketed.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Yeah, it’s that, but it’s also that the media, essentially, is one of your haters because they really want to preserve this Democratic folk myth that we should be looking at the two individual candidates and watch how they debate and do all of those kinds of things, rather than contextualizing those House races as leading to Kevin McCarthy and then Mike Johnson. That was in nobody’s narrative ahead of the election.

EZRA KLEIN: Well, I think that’s a little too far. I think the idea that these House races would affect control of the House was not actually a secret the media kept, but I do take your point. People all over the country knew all about John Fetterman and Dr. Oz. And that doesn’t really happen in House races, which I think has a real effect. I do think the deterioration of local media and the nationalization of the media lowers the bandwidth for people to kind of see the stakes and the intensity and what matters in their local elections, in a way that’s a genuine problem.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: So 100 percent that that is true, and that is a very, very big problem. And where it becomes more consequential is in a more subtle way, which is sort of dictating coverage, what’s important to cover. So in a lot of the stories about the elections in New York, in October of ’22, they were about crime and about inflation.

But when especially big institutions like The New York Times say, well, this poll says voters are not caring as much about abortion and about inflation as they were because this one poll told us that, you know that has an effect on every assignment desk in the mainstream media. Oh, we’re not going to do another story about election deniers. We’re going to do the next one about people at grocery stores or whatever. And it has a ripple effect.

EZRA KLEIN: Let’s talk about abortion for a second because I think one way of explaining a fair amount of Democratic performance since 2020, explaining what happened in 2022, explaining, to some degree, what happened in 2023 on Tuesday, is simply to say Dobbs, and that Dobbs took the salience of abortion and the stakes of what it means for Republicans to be in charge and turned, at least on that issue, which is a very important issue for people, turned that from an abstraction to a tangible, real, lived experience.

I mean, people are now living — and I think this is often underplayed. Like, people are living in the post-Dobbs world. I mean, women in red states are living in states where abortion is criminalized, and that fundamentally, it’s like not all this anti-MAGA stuff necessarily. It’s Dobbs, and really, the key thing the Democrats are doing is running on abortion.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: So this is a both/and for me. I think that it is about the immediate effects on people’s lives because of Roe being reversed, but more broadly than that, it’s a kind of shock to the system that all the things that Republicans had been talking about wanting to do wasn’t just rhetoric, that given the chance, they would do it. So your issue doesn’t have to be abortion to be affected by Dobbs. You’re going to hear what a Republican politician says now differently than before Dobbs because now you can’t discount it as just appealing to their base. They’re going to do it.

EZRA KLEIN: So I want to now open up into the broad Michael Podhorzer view of the world in elections and what Democrats should do. And there is a school of thought. Sometimes it gets called popularism, has different names, but it’s a long running school of thought among Democrats that the problem with Democrats is that they are a bit too liberal and specifically don’t talk enough about the things that they do that people like, which are usually their more moderate accomplishments and not only.

Your view has been that that’s missing the point, and that there is this anti-MAGA majority out there, and that strategy should flow from the question of how you activate that majority, which we know exists because we saw it show up in 2020, saw at least parts of it show up in 2022 unexpectedly.

So let me start with this question. Just demographically, what is the anti-MAGA majority? How is it different than just Democratic voters?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Right, I don’t think it has a demographic basis. And I really think thinking about the electorate in demographic terms is one of the biggest liabilities of the current conversation because right now, for the most part, when we look at how demographic X is voting, it’s a reflection of how many people who don’t like MAGA or love MAGA fall into that demographic. If I say white non-college voter, probably everybody listening to this thinks of like a burly guy, Bob, in a Wisconsin diner who gets interviewed over and over again and seems pretty Trumpy. Bob is the guy that the populists want to win over.

But if you pull the camera back from that interview, first, you see Charlene, who’s reaching over the counter and pouring his coffee. And Charlene is really upset about Dobbs. She’d been an infrequent voter, but now she’s going to be out again. And then you pull the camera back further, and you see three 20-somethings sitting in a booth who don’t trust anything any politician ever tells them. They haven’t had a regular job yet. There’s an ambient anxiety about all the things that could go wrong.

And now one or two of them, because their friends says so, decides to vote. That’s the anti-MAGA majority. It’s not particularly demographic. They were all white non-college voters. But they have a different place in the world, and they have a different perspective. And other than Bob’s, they feel threatened by Trump and by what his allies want to do.

EZRA KLEIN: If Donald Trump is truly so unappealing to people — and he is a very known quantity, right? He is not the unknown governor of Missouri who’s got a fast rise in the Republican Party right now. People really do know he’s under a bazillion indictments. People really do know that there was this thing that happened on Jan. 6, where he and others tried to execute a coup of the government.

And Trump’s staying power, the fact that he’s risen up in, let’s call it snapshot polling, right, polling of just how people are answering today, yeah, maybe they’d make a different decision if they were really in the ballot booth, but I think a lot of people hope to see Trump polling at 34 percent now, right, after the last couple of years.

And instead, he’s polling ahead of Joe Biden, and that is making them wonder, maybe that anti-MAGA majority isn’t there anymore. Maybe some things about Trump have faded into a kind of nostalgia. People like the economy better. They don’t really like Joe Biden. And as such, if that was there, then he wouldn’t be polling so high. And the fact that he’s polling so high means that is no longer there. How do you think about that?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: So one of the things that most accurately predicted Trump’s disapproval numbers going down when he was president is if, for some reason, he was out of the news.

EZRA KLEIN: Yes.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: And right now, he is actually relatively out of the news. The thing that people can’t completely accomplish is think about how they will be thinking about this after four trials, after a possible conviction, after an October where he’s just on the front of everything all the time.

EZRA KLEIN: I would frame that a little bit differently. I think the one thing Donald Trump is not is out of the news. I mean, if you go to The New York Times on any day lately, it’s a toss-up on whether or not Donald Trump trials or the war in Gaza is leading the page.

What I do think is that people are not hearing from him directly anymore that much. In a weird way, one of the best things to happen to Trump was getting banned from every major social media service and then him deciding to stick to Truth Social, rather than go back to X now that he is unbanned because I do think when Donald Trump is talking directly to people, that is very exciting for his people, but for a lot of other people, it’s very, very, very upsetting and creates a very powerful backlash effect.

And at the same time, to just basically reiterate the question or poke at you a little bit more on it, it implies people are very short memoried, to say that after the intensity of the experience that the Donald Trump presidency was and how known a quantity he is, that all of these people who have suddenly started saying, yeah, I would vote for that guy again, or I would vote for that guy at all, have just forgotten the vibes that Donald Trump creates in them when he actually has access to his phone and a full suite of apps.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: So I think a really good poke because I think it helps bring another aspect of this out that we were talking about before, about this being bigger than individual candidates, right? That there are really, especially over the last dozen years since the 2010 election, half of the country has been going in the opposite direction from the other half of the country in big ways, whether it’s, you get a higher minimum wage, you don’t. You can have abortion, you can’t. Up and down the line, state legislates that they’ve become different worlds to live in.

And that’s the baseline for it being so close, is now it’s not just, do I think we should go this direction or that direction? It’s, do I want to keep what I have or lose it because the other party now is in charge nationally? And that’s what gets him from 34 to 42 or 43 or whatever it is.

EZRA KLEIN: Let me give you my personal explanation for some of this. You do a lot of media criticism on your Substack in your conversations with me. You’re not always a fan of our reporting. But one of my views is that the single biggest divide in media and politics is not left, right. It’s interested, uninterested. And that the people who are not that interested in politics have actually become functionally unimaginable to the people who are.

Like, how much you can really not know about politics, not care, how distant it can really be from your life, if you never read the news, which is true for a whole lot of people, even a whole lot of people who vote really, really rarely come into contact, much less choose to come into contact with political news. I think a lot of when I read you, a lot of things come down to the media should cover this thing differently.

But the experience of being in the media is that for a lot of the people who you might care if they read that we were covering a thing differently, like they are persuadable, they are soft in their views, we’re not reaching them. They’re not coming to the home page. They’re not looking for editorials to see what we think about things and what the level of stridency is.

And that the big, unsolved question actually for everybody, whether you’re a popularist, whether you’re an anti-MAGA, how do you reach people you’re not reaching? Like, how does a message get to somebody who hates politics and hates the news and doesn’t care what any of us are saying, and weirdly, doesn’t even listen to this podcast?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: It’s unimaginable.

EZRA KLEIN: As hard as it is to believe.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Yeah, I think that is a really, really important question. And I agree that most people really would rather not hear the news at all and do not go searching it out. And this is also, just to sweep it back in, part of what was my critique of popularism, is it depends on the belief that if a politician says something, someone will hear it and believe it. And that just is not the world we live in.

But what does happen is that the media, especially an institution as big as The New York Times, has a ripple effect. You’re not reaching that person that is not paying attention to you directly, but you’re creating the information reality environment that maybe one or two steps removed, the people they trust about what’s going on in the world, that’s how they organize their thinking.

And part of the reason that even right as Dobbs was about to be overturned, polling wasn’t showing people were going to care about it anywhere near as much as they ended up caring about it, is that when you take a survey, and they say, well, if it’s overturned, what will you do, they can’t factor in, what will I do when my two best friends go crazy over it and are telling me all the time we’ve got to go to this rally, or that candidate is going to mean this.

It’s not a direct pipeline from The New York Times to that person in the diner, but there will be someone in those people’s lives who’s influenced. And that’s the same thing for Fox. Not that many people actually watch the literal Fox, but that reality bubble goes through all the different social networks and creates a reality.

EZRA KLEIN: I do think this is a pretty important point. I’ve been thinking a lot about this with world events over the past year and a half, two years. For a while, it was very plausible and began to seem clearer and clearer that Russia was going to invade Ukraine. And one of the things that I observed in that, as somebody who was part of the world who had begun to realize this was going to happen, was even knowing that and following the news on it closely, I had trouble projecting myself correctly forward into the structure of emotion, the structure of feeling that would follow that event.

I knew it would be a big deal. I knew we would have to cover it. But when it happened, it was so seismic and the experience people had watching it on social media was so intense, that just knowing that Russia was going to invade Ukraine and we were not going to it did not describe the reality that was going to happen at all. I think that if you describe to people that there would be a huge Hamas terrorist attack on Israel and then a huge Israeli air bombing and siege and then invasion of Gaza, that people would correctly have told you, I would be very upset about that. That would make me — I would not like that world event to happen. And it would have been much better if it had not happened.

But the level of intense feeling for a lot of people after they see their friends weeping and Instagram stories and their Jewish friends posting about anti-Semitism, that it was not really — people are not capable of throwing themselves forward into different emotional realities that they inhabit. It’s actually something I’ve learned about programming the show. Sometimes you just have to let the emotional hit happen.

And that this is just something we don’t know how to work with, and it’s a reason that I don’t buy the argument exactly that because the polls were right about the 2023 elections, that they’re also right about Biden because campaigns create a different emotional reality for people. They’re so overwhelmed with anger and emotion and intensity and outrage and coverage for a year that by the end of that, they feel differently, and feeling matters in politics.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Yes, that’s what I’m trying to say is that why —

EZRA KLEIN: I’m just agreeing with you.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: OK. No, that’s why you haven’t heard me really ever criticize a particular poll, right? Because my point is that the things they say they’re trying to tell us can’t be told by it. It’s a methodological limitation, right? Just like you just described, you cannot expect human beings to understand and project forward what they’re going to think when something happens.

EZRA KLEIN: I’d ask you about another piece of this, which is I think that we are still a little bit trapped in an older version of politics, which is defined by who we like, when modern politics is defined by who we hate and who we fear. And the political science term for this is positive polarization versus negative polarization, right? Do I like Joe Biden? That’s one reason to vote for Joe Biden. Do I hate Donald Trump? That’s a reason to vote for Joe Biden, too.

And I often think of Joe Biden and the Democrats in this era as working with negative polarization very effectively and positive polarization very ineffectively. Like, they’re not very good at getting people to them, but they’re good at channeling the fear and anger people have at the Republican Party. And it very much strikes me that your kind of anti-MAGA theory is basically negative polarization as a full-on campaign theory.

Just take seriously that the strongest motivator for anti-Trump voters is negative. They don’t have to like Joe Biden. They have to fear Donald Trump. And that might be a much more achievable goal for not just Democrats to achieve, but Donald Trump himself to achieve because nobody’s better at making people fear Donald Trump than Donald Trump.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Absolutely, I think that’s exactly right. I think that the perspective I bring to this is not as a party partisan. It’s about preserving what will be taken away if they win. And so I see this as sort of separate from traditional electoral politics. It’s about civil society wherever you are on an ideological spectrum. So I’m not really offering advice to the Democratic Party. I’m offering advice to people who want a democratic, small D, future, that we shouldn’t have to rely on a political party to defeat this kind of movement. It’s up to us ourselves to go out and defeat it.

EZRA KLEIN: Let me ask you about another narrative you’ve been, I think it is fair to say, cranky and annoyed by, which is there’s been a move to say in recent years the dominant and rising form of polarization is educational polarization. The Democratic Party has begun doing much better among college educated voters than it used to, Republican Party much worse. Republicans are doing much better among ***working class*** voters than they used to, Democratic Party quite a bit worse.

This has also led in the telling of some to a shifting dynamics around racial voting. Republicans have been doing better with Hispanic and Black voters, even in the Trump era, than people expected. Democrats have been making gains among white voters. Like that’s a big violation of the narratives, I think, as they were cohering in 2016. And you can correct me if I’m wrong, but my understanding is you believe this is actually misguided, and the thing to focus on is religious polarization. So tell me why.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: The conversation we’ve had so far describes the actual dominant polarization in this country, which is between a kind of MAGA future and not that future. That is actually what’s polarizing us. And 50 years ago, you would not be talking about education polarization. You would just be talking about the actual divide happening in the world, which is really clear to see. And I do think that in a lot of ways, whether or not you have a degree in this country is devastating in terms of your economic prospects and many other things. It’s really important, but it’s not what’s making this big rip.

And the reason I think you raised the religious is that within — let’s just stick with white voters for a minute. Within white voters, do you call someone who is a political evangelical a non-college voter or a religious evangelical when you’re trying to explain their voting behavior? I think, obviously, as a religious evangelical, they’re part of an actual movement. They go to church every week. They listen to Christian broadcasting. There’s no non-college broadcasting network.

And if you pull that out, if you divide white voters, which I don’t think is the best way to do it, but you get a way better result than education, if you divide it into those who, on a survey, say, they’re Christian and those who don’t, the partisan voting gap is much bigger. Right? That’s what’s much more clarifying. And a white non-college voter in a blue state actually supported Biden at a higher level than a white college voter in a red state.

EZRA KLEIN: I want you to go a bit deeper on this, though, because I think you’re underselling how strident the charts I am receiving from you on this topic have been. One of the cases you’ve been making — I think this is a reasonable description — is that Trumpism is fundamentally at this point powered by religious evangelical voters, and not just Trumpism, but Mike Johnson becoming Speaker, that one way to describe what’s happening is MAGA, but when you ask how is MAGA happening, the answer is that it has developed an extraordinarily potent base among one of the few truly organized voter groups in America, which is religious evangelicals. So make that case to me that something distinctive is happening there, that you cannot understand American politics without understanding.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: The case I’m trying to make is that the backlash against Obama, what got reported as the Tea Party, was anti-Republicans who were willing to accept the legitimacy of Obama as president. When McCain, like every other losing president before him and did a gracious speech immediately after, and even noted what a step forward it was that Obama was, it was kind of a breaking point within the Republican coalition, where the sort of business interests had been in the driver’s seat, the religious interests had been going along and delivering their votes for them, just flipped.

They’re clustered in congressional districts. It only took about 55,000 votes to defeat rhino incumbents in those districts, so that now about three-fourths of the caucus, Republican caucus, is from the most evangelical districts in the country. That political potential was activated.

EZRA KLEIN: And so one thing you’re arguing here is that there has been an important base inside the Republican Party, right? Evangelicals have been important there for a long time. But they stopped going along, and instead, began to use their concentration in certain areas to functionally take over the party.

I mean, your argument, again, particularly around Mike Johnson, is that he represents the successful takeover of this party, not because most Republican voters are from this faction, but because it actually didn’t need that many Republican House members, for instance, who just would refuse to go along with anybody who wasn’t of their faction, in order to bring the entire House to a halt in order to destroy Speaker McCarthy. So give me a bit more on that. How was this group behind McCarthy’s downfall and Johnson’s rise?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: So what happens is that partly a result of geographic sorting, partly a result of gerrymandering, right? Out of the 435 districts, 390 of them are just safe, OK? And so the only competition happens in primaries, which are very low turnout and never covered by the national media. This has all been happening in plain sight. No one has paid attention to it.

But what it means is that if, say, a third or 40 percent, even that little, in a congressional district are evangelical voters, and the turnout in primaries is very low, they’re almost certain to be a majority of the people voting. And if they are going even 80/20 for your primary challenger to the incumbent, that’s pretty unstoppable, right? Such a sort of hackable part of our election system if you have clustered, concentrated strength in safe districts.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: So now I want to ask you about another faction that has been traditionally very important in politics now, the Democratic side, which you have very specific experience with, which is labor. So you were the longtime political director, as we’ve mentioned, of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. You retired from that fairly recently. I’d say around the same time, labor has gone through a huge resurgence in a lot of the country. I’m not saying those two events are related. [LAUGHS]

MICHAEL PODHORZER: [LAUGHS] I would have left earlier.

EZRA KLEIN: Sure, but there is something happening. There is very big strikes being threatened, and one, Joe Biden is a very pro-labor president. What do you understand to be happening?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: For quite a while, there was a feeling of fairly helplessness that working people felt. And part of it was the result of either the outright hostility of Republican administrations or the consequences of the kind of lukewarm support and often bigger policy problems of Democratic administrations. And the combination of Covid and the disruptions and Biden being more clearly and assertively on the side of working people, those are all pieces of a realization that maybe there’s a lot of latent power in working people that no one had been exercising.

And one of the things about a resurgence is that they’re almost always historically contagious. I’m sure people have seen how 70 percent of people now support unions in this country. And 10 percent are in them. It’s not because they don’t like unions. It’s because of all the things that have been done to keep people from being in unions. And those are very real things. You’re afraid of losing your job. You’re afraid of retaliation. You’re afraid of all of these things. And so there are upsurges in union success when working people see other working people succeed.

EZRA KLEIN: So that implies you’re actually giving Biden quite a bit of credit here, that in being as pro-union as he is, you’re saying that in addition to, I think, sort of other factors, like a tight employment market and so on, that that really has been emboldening, even without Democrats passing major union law reform.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Yeah, without getting too much in the weeds, the standard operating procedure for a corporation when confronted with a potential strike had been to basically just drag their feet to count on public attention going away quickly, to count on the regulators giving them delays on unfair labor practices and things like that. And by simply agreeing to enforce the law the way it was written is a big pushback right now. It’s not enough to undo all the reasons certain sectors of the economy can’t be organized and a lot of other important things, but this really may be the first time since the ’60s that the playing field is as level.

EZRA KLEIN: Yeah, I was going to ask this. Is it sufficient for an actual resurgence? Because on the one hand, there are very high profile fights being won, but they’re primarily being won by already unionized workforces. I mean, when you look at the U.A.W. strike, I mean, that is an existing union. When you look at what was happening with UPS, with the screenwriters or the actors, those are existing unions.

So we haven’t seen anything like the unionization of the Las Vegas hotel workers under unite here, right? There hasn’t been a big new industry, a big, new corporate chain unionized, to my knowledge. So is that kind of new unionization surge, right, something that would actually change in a positive way the percentage of Americans who belong to a union? Is that possible under the current legal regime, even with a friendly Democratic president?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: I think the most straightforward answer is to return to the kind of union density that existed in the 1930s and ’40s and ’50s and ’60s. The rules have to be as good. I think one of the most thrown off phrases whenever this topic comes up is the decline of the union movement or declining union membership, which is really a misdirection because, really, from the mid ’40s right after the war, there’s been a relentless campaign by business to make sure that there aren’t more union members, and it keeps succeeding.

I think there’s a way in which people say, boy, when are we going to get those good manufacturing jobs back? In the 1930s, they were as bad as the service sector jobs. What made them in our memory good was that union representation got what was needed. And so then you get to gig workers. And this is where the Democratic Party has been complicit in passing things that prevent them from organizing because they’re, quote, “independent contractors.”

So but if you think about the Writers Guild strike, there’s a group of people who you would really think would see themselves as independent contractors. The idea that people who are Uber drivers want to be individuals and the writers of hit TV series don’t is nuts. But it can’t happen because we now have rules and laws that prevent them from organizing.

EZRA KLEIN: So what are the electoral effects of this rising, at least in public opinion and political salience labor movement? Does this actually affect the election, or is this a sort of separate thing happening in American life?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: I think that it will definitely have an effect. People have commented on Trump doing better in 2016 with union members than Obama had. Part of it was because of union members feeling like they just hadn’t gotten enough. I mean, this is something I was actually very in the middle of. And for many of those conservative unions where that was always a risk, business has been great in the construction trades.

And having been to local meetings and others, it’s a completely different dynamic in the room, right? It used to be if someone wanted to talk politics, a guy with a MAGA hat would get up and be belligerent. Much harder for that person to do that right now because work is great. So I think that’s one possible impact.

EZRA KLEIN: If you’re going to get any labor law reform, you’re going to need Joe Biden or some other Democrat re-elected or elected in 2024. I think Donald Trump is not going to do it. Joe Biden and his campaign, the Democrats have a certain amount of running room. They have strategic decisions to make.

You are a relentless and pissed off critic of a lot of the people who have ideas there. You don’t like the idea that Democrats should moderate. You don’t like the idea that the thing they should do is try to poll what their most popular ideas are and just talk about that. So give me your positive perspective. You’re chief strategist on these campaigns. What are you telling Democrats to do?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: One of the most important things that Democrats can do, which they did do in 2022, is do what they were elected to do, that the fact that the House Democrats were able to pull together and do such important Jan. 6 hearings, it’s both giving people the information they need, and it’s showing that they’re actually responsible and doing their job. Right now, we see a similar kind of thing happening with the corruption stuff at the Supreme Court.

It may not seem like it’s exactly what you’re asking, but it really is, because it really is the job of the Senate Democrats to make sure that voters understand what’s going on properly. And then they’ll be doing their job in a way that isn’t partisan political and absolutely necessary.

And I think beyond that, I think it’s just running as responsible public officials. Basically, make no unforced errors.

EZRA KLEIN: I think that’s a good place to end. Always our final question — what are three books you would recommend to the audience?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: My first recommendation is an essay that you can get online. It’s by George Orwell, and it’s called “Politics and the English Language.” I think that the way we talk about all these things makes us less able to solve all problems. And we’d just be better to have honest conversation.

Second one would be kind of maybe unusual. There’s a new book called “Tyranny, Inc,” by someone who endorsed Trump before, but actually looked at the modern American labor situation and sees clearly what someone in the labor movement or someone who’s actually paying attention to what work life is like, how it’s basically a dictatorship. You have no rights. It’s just really surprising.

EZRA KLEIN: This is Sohrab Amari’s book?

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Yeah.

EZRA KLEIN: Michael Podhorzer political director of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., recommending a Sohrab Amari book. I’d never have expected it.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: That’s exactly what I did, but because it’s built on some work by an academic, Elizabeth Anderson, who really brought attention to how we have a First Amendment in the public square and no right whatsoever in the work, all of those things, I think it’s really surprising and important that it’s coming not from someone — the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

And the third is one actually that you brought to my attention, which is the book, “Crashed” by Adam Tooze, which I think should open the aperture for people about how our economy, all of these decisions are connected to the world in a way that makes everything make a lot more sense.

[MUSIC PLAYING]

EZRA KLEIN: Michael Podhorzer, thank you very much.

MICHAEL PODHORZER: Thank you.

EZRA KLEIN: This episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” was produced by Rollin Hu. Fact-checking by Michelle Harris and Kate Sinclair. Mixing by Jeff Geld and Efim Shapiro. Our senior editor is Claire Gordon. The show’s production team also includes Emefa Agawu and Kristin Lin. We have original music by Isaac Jones. We have audience strategy by Kristina Samulewski and Shannon Busta. The executive producer of New York Times Opinion Audio is Annie-Rose Strasser. And special thanks here to Sonia Herrero.

**Load-Date:** November 15, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Tim Ryan, a Top Democrat in Ohio, Is Said to Plan Senate Bid***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:61X1-7671-JBG3-61DH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 1, 2021 Monday 08:09 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1066 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Martin

**Highlight:** Mr. Ryan, who mounted a long-shot campaign for president in 2019, plans to compete for the state’s open Senate seat. His campaign will test Democrats’ strength in a state tilting to the right.

**Body**

Mr. Ryan, who mounted a long-shot campaign for president in 2019, plans to compete for the state’s open Senate seat. His campaign will test Democrats’ strength in a state tilting to the right.

Representative Tim Ryan of Ohio plans to run for his state’s open [*Senate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html) seat, Democrats who have spoken with him said, a bid that would test whether even a Democrat with roots in the blue-collar Youngstown region and close ties to organized labor can win in the increasingly Republican state.

Mr. Ryan, an 18-year House veteran, has reached out to a host of Ohio and national Democrats in recent days about the seat now held by Senator Rob Portman, a Republican who stunned officials in both parties by [*announcing last week that he would retire*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html).

Former Gov. Ted Strickland of Ohio, a Democrat who has been encouraging Mr. Ryan to run, said of the congressman, “I think he is the person with the best chance, given this political climate we’re in and given the way Ohio has been performing.”

“He has the ability to appeal to a lot of independents, and Democrats will be very excited about this candidacy,” Mr. Strickland said.

Mr. Ryan has also discussed his candidacy with Representative Marcy Kaptur, the longest-serving member in Ohio’s congressional delegation, and national labor leaders, including Lee Saunders of Afscme, while also receiving a nudge from Hillary Clinton.

Asked about these conversations, Mr. Ryan said on Monday that he was “encouraged by their support, enthusiasm and commitment,” adding, “The U.S. Senate needs another ***working-class*** voice, and I’m very serious about the opportunity to continue representing the people of Ohio.”

He is expected to declare his candidacy by the beginning of March, according to Democrats briefed on his planning.

Long one of the country’s quintessential political battlegrounds, Ohio has turned sharply right since former President Donald J. Trump’s ascent. Mr. Trump carried the state by [*eight percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html) in 2016 and won it again by [*the same margin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html) last year, even as Joseph R. Biden Jr. emphasized his ***working-class*** appeal and made a late push in the state.

Senator Sherrod Brown is the only Democrat remaining in statewide office in Ohio. And even with his fiercely populist approach, Mr. Brown has lost ground among once-reliable Democrats in eastern Ohio, including those in the industrial area south of Lake Erie and in the more rural enclaves that trace the Ohio River.

Mr. Ryan hails from Niles, Ohio, just north of Youngstown, a region filled with voters who are effectively Trump Democrats, many of them union members or retirees. He outperformed Mr. Biden in his district, but Democrats there suffered a series of losses in other down-ballot races.

The question, should Mr. Ryan become his party’s nominee, is if he can win back these mostly white voters.

Mr. Ryan has long considered running statewide, but in the past decided on seeking re-election to the House seat he first won in 2002, when he succeeded the famously fiery, and corrupt, [*James Traficant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html).

Mr. Ryan mounted [*a long-shot bid for the presidency*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html) in 2019 with the same message he’s expected to carry into the Senate contest — that Democrats will build enduring majorities only if they reclaim support from a multiracial, ***working-class*** coalition of voters.

Beyond elevating that argument, Mr. Ryan, 47, has another compelling reason to run for the Senate: As Republicans grow stronger in eastern Ohio, his district has become increasingly competitive, and the Republican Party could redraw the state’s districts to make it even more forbidding for him in 2022.

While he has risen on the Appropriations Committee, Mr. Ryan has mostly given up on his hopes to join the House leadership, having been [*turned back in his 2016 challenge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html) against Nancy Pelosi, then the minority leader.

In Congress, Mr. Ryan has been a close ally of unions and has generally toed the Democratic line, [*shifting toward*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html) a stance in support of abortion rights in recent years. Even before formally announcing his bid, Mr. Ryan drew support from the state chapter of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which on Monday [*released a letter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html) endorsing his undeclared candidacy.

Mr. Ryan will enter the Senate race as an early front-runner. He is one of the few Democrats left in the state’s congressional delegation, and represents a region of the state the party is desperate to reclaim. He also has deep relationships with national leaders.

On Saturday, Mrs. Clinton publicly encouraged Mr. Ryan to run for the Senate, repaying him for his support for her when she ran against Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential primary race.

“You’re right, Kathy!” Mrs. Clinton [*wrote on Twitter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html), promoting a message from a Democratic activist in Ohio, Kathy DiCristofaro, who wrote that “Ohio needs leaders like @timryan to fight for working people.”

Mr. Ryan also has an ally in the White House, having endorsed Mr. Biden in November 2019, a low ebb in the race for the candidate.

It’s unlikely, though, that the congressman will run unopposed for the Senate nomination. One Democrat whose name has been floated for the seat, Mayor Nan Whaley of Dayton, [*said she was “thinking about it”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html) when asked on the day Mr. Portman announced his retirement. Ms. Whaley is also considering a run for governor, though, and many Ohio Democrats believe she and Mr. Ryan would try to avoid clashing in a primary.

Equally intriguing to some Democrats in the state is Dr. Amy Acton, who as the former director of Ohio’s Department of Health ran the coronavirus response effort last year for Gov. Mike DeWine, a Republican. She is considering joining the race, The Plain Dealer of Cleveland [*reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html) last week, and received her own online boost when Connie Schultz, a longtime Ohio columnist and the wife of Mr. Brown, [*wrote on Twitter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/06/us/politics/ohio-senate-race.html): “Imagine Dr. Amy Acton as Ohio’s next U.S. senator. I sure can.”

The Republicans are likely to have an even more crowded primary field. The race appears to be wide open after the announcement last week by Representative Jim Jordan, the far-right Trump ally whom the former president awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, that he would remain in the House.

A number of other House members may run, including Representative Steve Stivers, a Columbus-area lawmaker. A host of would-be self-funders are also eyeing the seat, including Jane Timken, the chair of the Ohio Republican Party.

PHOTO: Tim Ryan

**Load-Date:** March 6, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Turmoil Engulfs BBC After Soccer Icon Meets a Political Divide***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67S4-2KG1-JBG3-609F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 13, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1545 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler

**Body**

The British public broadcaster's suspension of one of its highest-profile sports anchors has grown into a wider controversy that poses risks to its reputation for neutrality and independence.

As an English soccer star, Gary Lineker was renowned for never having been penalized with a yellow or red card in his 16-year career. As a politically opinionated sports broadcaster for the BBC, Mr. Lineker has tangled regularly with the officials, and his suspension over a Twitter post on immigration this week escalated into a crisis that now engulfs the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Mr. Lineker's standoff with the BBC has set off a noisy national debate over free expression, government influence and the role of a revered, if beleaguered, public broadcaster in an era of polarized politics and freewheeling social media. It came after a walkout by Mr. Lineker's soccer colleagues forced the BBC to radically curtail its coverage of a national obsession, reducing the chatty flagship show he usually anchors, ''Match of the Day,'' to 20 commentary-free minutes.

On Sunday, the BBC was struggling to work out a compromise with Mr. Lineker that would put him back on the air, after days of controversy over his criticism of a government plan to crack down on asylum seekers. But the fallout from the dispute is likely to be wide and long-lasting, casting doubt over the corporation's management, which has made political impartiality a priority but has faced persistent questions about its own close ties to Britain's Conservative government.

''All this has put the BBC's independence at risk, and its reputation at risk,'' said Claire Enders, a London-based media researcher and the founder of Enders Analysis. ''That's unfortunate because this is, at heart, a dispute over whether the BBC can impose its social media guidelines on a contractor.''

Mr. Lineker, 62, is no ordinary contractor, of course. He is perhaps the BBC's biggest name, a beloved sports figure who made a smooth transition from the playing field to the broadcasting booth, where he has been a weekly fixture since 1999, analyzing games and shooting the breeze with other retired sports stars. He is the BBC's highest-paid on-air personality, earning 1.35 million pounds ($1.6 million) in 2022.

But Mr. Lineker, who grew up in a ***working-class*** family in Leicester, has never kept his views on social issues a secret. When the government announced strict new immigration plans, he posted on Twitter, ''This is just an immeasurably cruel policy directed at the most vulnerable people in language that is not dissimilar to that used by Germany in the 30s, and I'm out of order?''

Britain's Home secretary, Suella Braverman, who is spearheading the policy to stop migrants from crossing the English Channel in small boats, said Mr. Lineker's comments diminished the atrocities of the Holocaust. Other Conservative lawmakers said he had misused his BBC platform -- not for the first time -- to voice a political opinion.

''We need to make sure we maintain that trust in the independence and impartiality of the BBC,'' the chancellor of the Exchequer, Jeremy Hunt, said on Sunday to a BBC journalist, Laura Kuenssberg.

The BBC is not the only media organization to hit turbulence over questions about political expression and social media. Tensions have flared at British newspapers, as well as at The Washington Post and The New York Times, over the Twitter posts of journalists, sometimes critical of their own employers.

''This is a period of social change, where public attitudes toward the media and social media are rapidly evolving,'' said Mark Thompson, a former director general of the BBC who was later the chief executive of The New York Times Company. ''Editorial teams around the world are racing to catch up.''

What makes Mr. Lineker's case especially complicated is both his job status -- he is a contractor, not a full-time employee, who works for BBC Sports as opposed to BBC News -- and the broadcaster's enforcement of its social media guidelines, which critics say is haphazard at best and hypocritical at worst.

Alan Sugar, a British businessman who hosts the BBC's version of the American reality TV show ''The Apprentice,'' has tweeted vociferously against a union leader who has pursued a confrontation with the government, as well as against a former leader of the Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn, whom Mr. Lineker also criticized.

Mr. Lineker got into no apparent trouble with his bosses about that, or for speaking out on the air about human rights abuses in Qatar during his coverage of the World Cup soccer tournament there last year.

Critics say the double standard extends to programming, citing the fact that the BBC will not air a nature documentary inspired by ''Wild Isles,'' a new series narrated by the revered nature broadcaster, David Attenborough. Ms. Enders suggested that the BBC might be worried that the film, which deals with threats to Britain's environment and explores the concept of re-wilding, would draw fire from the political right.

The BBC denied that, saying that the documentary had been commissioned separately from ''Wild Isles'' and was never been destined for television. It said it would be available on its iPlayer streaming service.

The broadcaster is compromised in other ways, according to critics. The chairman of the BBC's board, Richard Sharp, a former Goldman Sachs investment banker, is a donor to the Conservative Party who is being investigated for his role in the arrangement of a loan of £800,000 for Boris Johnson, the prime minister at the time Mr. Sharp was appointed.

Mr. Sharp has resisted calls to step down, but the questions about his ties to Mr. Johnson have made it hard for him to play the normal role of a chairman in a crisis, which would be to handle the government and opposition leaders, allowing the director general of the BBC, Tim Davie, to focus on the internal problems.

Mr. Davie, a former marketing executive who also had links to the Conservative Party, has come under fire for his handling of the dispute with Mr. Lineker. In an interview with the BBC, he apologized for the spiraling crisis, which forced the broadcaster to all but scrap two days of sports programming.

''This has been a tough time for the BBC,'' Mr. Davie said. ''Success for me is getting Gary back on air and together we are giving to the audiences that world-class sports coverage which, as I say, I'm sorry we haven't been able to deliver today.''

Mr. Davie, who was appointed during the Johnson government, has made upholding the BBC's political impartiality one of his major goals as director general. But he denied that the broadcaster was bowing to pressure from the government or Conservative politicians, and said he had no plans to resign.

Political rows between the government and the BBC date back almost to the broadcaster's founding. It is not even the first time that the BBC, under Mr. Davie, has been accused of bending to pressure, though not always in the same direction.

In 2020, it was criticized by Mr. Johnson and other Tories for announcing it would strip lyrics from two well-known patriotic songs during an annual televised concert. The lyrics, some said, evoked a British colonial past and were at odds with the Black Lives Matter movement then sweeping the West. The BBC later reversed the decision.

Mr. Johnson never hesitated to put the BBC in the cross hairs. In 2021, his government leaped on the broadcaster after one of its hosts gently mocked a cabinet minister for appearing in an interview with a large Union Jack behind him. A few days later, the government decreed that the flag should fly on all government buildings every day of the year, rather than simply on designated days.

Rishi Sunak, the current prime minister, has shown less of an appetite for these battles. On Saturday, he said that ''Gary Lineker was a great footballer and is a talented presenter,'' and that he hoped the standoff could be settled. ''It is rightly a matter for them, not the government,'' he said of the BBC in a statement.

For Mr. Sunak, the furor may have had an unintended dividend -- deflecting scrutiny of a policy that, while popular with his Conservative base, contains provisions that are likely to draw criticism on human rights grounds.

Howard Stringer, a friend of Mr. Davie's and a former president of CBS who has also served on the BBC's board, said he was cautiously optimistic that the broadcaster and its star commentator would come to terms. But he said the dispute showed that the BBC needed to learn how to deal with stars, likening it to the dust-ups he once had with Dan Rather, the outspoken former anchor of the CBS Evening News.

''That's the thing about big talent,'' Mr. Stringer said. ''You have to know them and what they're thinking, and you have to be able to talk them down.''

The bigger threat to the BBC, he said, would be if politicians or other critics seized on the dispute to reopen a debate over its taxpayer-funded business model and its role as a central, nonpartisan, presence in British public life.

''What the BBC has, sort of like the monarchy, is something the rest of the world rather admires,'' Mr. Stringer said. ''You toy with that at your peril.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/12/world/europe/gary-lineker-bbc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/12/world/europe/gary-lineker-bbc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Instead of hosting ''Match of the Day,'' Gary Lineker was at a Leicester game on Saturday. Some colleagues walked out in support. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUI VIEIRA/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A7) This article appeared in print on page A1, A7.

**Load-Date:** March 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Israeli Top Minister Fired After Court Ruling***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67CN-SMH1-DXY4-X1YN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 23, 2023 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 7

**Length:** 1307 words

**Byline:** By Isabel Kershner

**Body**

Aryeh Deri, who has a conviction for tax fraud, was deemed unfit to serve in the government, leaving Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in a legal and political predicament.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel on Sunday dismissed a senior minister recently convicted of tax fraud to comply with a Supreme Court ruling that disqualified the minister from serving, shaking the right-wing government just weeks after it came to power.

By complying with the court's ruling to remove the minister, Aryeh Deri, Mr. Netanyahu avoided an instant, head-on clash with the judiciary at a time when the country is already locked in a fierce debate over government plans for a judicial overhaul. Tens of thousands of Israelis have taken to the streets in recent weeks to protest the plans to limit the judiciary's powers, seen by many as a challenge to Israel's democratic system. About 130,000 protesters came out on Saturday night in Tel Aviv and other cities, according to the Israeli news media.

''I am forced, with a heavy heart, great sorrow and a very difficult feeling, to remove you from your position as a minister in the government,'' Mr. Netanyahu wrote in a letter to Mr. Deri that the prime minister read out in his weekly cabinet meeting, with Mr. Deri in attendance.

''I intend to seek any legal way for you to be able to continue to contribute to the state of Israel with your great experience and skills, in accordance with the will of the people,'' Mr. Netanyahu added.

Mr. Netanyahu denounced the Supreme Court order as ''a regrettable decision that ignores the will of the people.'' Mr. Deri's dismissal will take effect in the next 48 hours.

But Mr. Netanyahu, himself on trial for corruption, faces the predicament of how to compensate Mr. Deri, the leader of Shas, an ultra-Orthodox Sephardic party, and a close political ally whose support is key to the stability and survival of the coalition government.

Addressing the cabinet after the letter was read out, Mr. Deri said, ''I have an iron commitment to the 400,000 people who voted for me and Shas,'' according to Kan, Israel's public broadcaster. ''No judicial decision will prevent me from serving them and representing them,'' he said, adding, ''I intend to continue to contribute with all my might to the public and the coalition.''

A veteran politician, Mr. Deri was one of the most experienced and politically moderate ministers in what has shaped up to be the most far-right and religiously conservative coalition in Israel's history. The 11 seats that Shas won in the November elections are crucial to the government's majority in the 120-member Parliament; the coalition parties together control 64 seats.

In another sign of the troubles already facing Mr. Netanyahu's young government, a far-right party, Religious Zionism, boycotted Sunday's cabinet meeting in protest against a decision on Friday by the defense minister to demolish a wildcat outpost that settlers had erected in the occupied West Bank. The leader of Religious Zionism, Bezalel Smotrich, demanded authority over such actions as part of his coalition agreement with Mr. Netanyahu, but the transfer of such authority from the defense minister and the military would require legislation and is not yet in effect.

Mr. Deri had been serving as interior minister and health minister despite his conviction last year and a suspended prison sentence imposed under a plea agreement. Ten of the 11 judges on Israel's highest court ruled against Mr. Deri's appointment on grounds of what judges called ''extreme unreasonability,'' primarily because of his recent case.

The panel also took into account a past conviction, in 1999, when Mr. Deri was found guilty of charges of accepting bribes, fraud and breach of trust while he was serving as a lawmaker and cabinet minister. For that, he served two years of a three-year prison term and, after his release, was barred from public and political life for several years.

The judges also noted that as part of his plea agreement last year, Mr. Deri, then an opposition lawmaker, had told the court that he would quit political life and had resigned from the Parliament. Then Mr. Deri ran again in the November elections.

The judges argued that Mr. Deri's lawyers had tried to mislead the Supreme Court regarding the terms of the plea agreement by stating that there had been a misunderstanding and that he had not meant to quit for good.

Mr. Deri, 63, was born in Morocco and emigrated to Israel as a child with his family. He was one of the founders of Shas in the 1980s, and after running in the 1988 elections, he became the interior minister in Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's government.

At 29, Mr. Deri was the youngest minister in Israel's history. In 1993, after he was charged with accepting bribes, the Supreme Court first ruled that a politician under indictment could not serve as a minister. He was forced to take a nearly decade-long timeout after his release from prison in 2002, and he returned to the political stage in 2011.

There was no immediate indication that this latest termination of Mr. Deri's term as a minister would bring down the government, despite earlier threats from other Shas politicians.

Mr. Deri is allowed to remain a lawmaker and continues to lead his party. Other Shas politicians with a similar outlook are likely to fill the ministerial posts he vacated, but analysts said that Mr. Deri would continue to call the shots in government matters involving the party's other ministers and lawmakers.

To accommodate Mr. Deri, some analysts have suggested that Mr. Netanyahu could keep him in the cabinet as an observer or that the government's lawmakers could vote for its own dissolution, and then immediately form a new administration in which Mr. Deri would be made an ''alternate'' prime minister -- an appointment that experts say would be harder for judges to block.

Shas draws much of its support from ***working-class***, traditional and Orthodox Jews of Middle Eastern and North African origin, promising to empower them. Soon after the Supreme Court ruling on Wednesday, Mr. Deri said that he was ''committed to continuing the revolution'' with more force than ever.

''They close the door on us, so we will enter through the window. They close the window on us, so we will break in through the ceiling,'' he said, in an apparent reference to the judiciary.

The new government wants to make a number of changes that would weaken the power of the judiciary.

The proposals include one that would give the government the upper hand in the selection of judges, and another that reduces the Supreme Court's ability to revoke laws passed in the Parliament.

That measure would allow the Parliament to override such court decisions with the narrowest majority of 61 out of 120 members. The government also wants to remove the Supreme Court judges' ability to use the vaguely defined ethical standard of ''unreasonability'' to strike down legislation, government decisions or appointments.

The court ruling disqualifying Mr. Deri has only deepened the division in Israel over the proposed judicial changes, strengthening the resolve of supporters of the changes who say that they are necessary to correct an imbalance of power between the Supreme Court and the politicians by reducing the influence of unelected judges in favor of the elected government.

Critics say that the proposed changes would weaken the independence of the top court, severely reduce judicial oversight and remove the protections it provides for minorities, turning Israel into a democracy in name only, where the majority rules unhindered.

''Now is the dark hour. Now is the moment to stand up and cry out,'' David Grossman, a leading Israeli author and liberal voice, told the crowd at the protest in Tel Aviv on Saturday night.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/22/world/middleeast/israel-netanyahu-minister.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/22/world/middleeast/israel-netanyahu-minister.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Aryeh Deri, right, Israel's interior and health minister and the leader of the ultra-Orthodox Shas Party. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu wrote that it was with ''a heavy heart'' he removed him. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RONEN ZVULUN/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A7.

**Load-Date:** January 23, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Spiraling Dispute With Star Host Puts BBC’s Reputation on the Line***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67RY-VVG1-JBG3-64KF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 12, 2023 Sunday 12:49 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1572 words

**Byline:** Mark Landler

**Highlight:** The British public broadcaster’s suspension of one of its highest-profile sports anchors has grown into a wider controversy that poses risks to its reputation for neutrality and independence.

**Body**

The British public broadcaster’s suspension of one of its highest-profile sports anchors has grown into a wider controversy that poses risks to its reputation for neutrality and independence.

As an English soccer star, Gary Lineker was renowned for never having been penalized with a yellow or red card in his 16-year career. As a politically opinionated sports broadcaster for the BBC, Mr. Lineker has tangled regularly with the officials, and his suspension over a Twitter post on immigration this week escalated into a crisis that now engulfs the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Mr. Lineker’s standoff with the BBC has set off a noisy national debate over free expression, government influence and the role of a revered, if beleaguered, public broadcaster in an era of polarized politics and freewheeling social media. It came after [*a walkout by Mr. Lineker’s soccer colleagues*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/10/world/europe/gary-lineker-tweet-match-of-the-day.html) forced the BBC to radically curtail its coverage of a national obsession, reducing the chatty flagship show he usually anchors, “Match of the Day,” to 20 commentary-free minutes.

On Sunday, the BBC was struggling to work out a compromise with Mr. Lineker that would put him back on the air, after days of controversy over his criticism of a government plan to crack down on asylum seekers. But the fallout from the dispute is likely to be wide and long-lasting, casting doubt over the corporation’s management, which has made political impartiality a priority but has faced persistent questions about its own close ties to Britain’s Conservative government.

“All this has put the BBC’s independence at risk, and its reputation at risk,” said Claire Enders, a London-based media researcher and the founder of Enders Analysis. “That’s unfortunate because this is, at heart, a dispute over whether the BBC can impose its social media guidelines on a contractor.”

Mr. Lineker, 62, is no ordinary contractor, of course. He is perhaps the BBC’s biggest name, a beloved sports figure who made a smooth transition from the playing field to the broadcasting booth, where he has been a weekly fixture since 1999, analyzing games and shooting the breeze with other retired sports stars. He is the BBC’s highest-paid on-air personality, earning 1.35 million pounds ($1.6 million) in 2022.

But Mr. Lineker, who grew up in a ***working-class*** family in Leicester, has never kept his views on social issues a secret. When the government announced strict new immigration plans, [*he posted on Twitter*](https://twitter.com/GaryLineker/status/1633111662352891908?s=20), “This is just an immeasurably cruel policy directed at the most vulnerable people in language that is not dissimilar to that used by Germany in the 30s, and I’m out of order?”

Britain’s Home secretary, Suella Braverman, who is spearheading the policy to stop migrants from crossing the English Channel in small boats, said Mr. Lineker’s comments diminished the atrocities of the Holocaust. Other Conservative lawmakers said he had misused his BBC platform — not for the first time — to voice a political opinion.

“We need to make sure we maintain that trust in the independence and impartiality of the BBC,” the chancellor of the Exchequer, Jeremy Hunt, said on Sunday to a BBC journalist, Laura Kuenssberg.

The BBC is not the only media organization to hit turbulence over questions about political expression and social media. Tensions have flared at British newspapers, as well as at The Washington Post and The New York Times, over the Twitter posts of journalists, sometimes critical of their own employers.

“This is a period of social change, where public attitudes toward the media and social media are rapidly evolving,” said Mark Thompson, a former director general of the BBC who was later the chief executive of The New York Times Company. “Editorial teams around the world are racing to catch up.”

What makes Mr. Lineker’s case especially complicated is both his job status — he is a contractor, not a full-time employee, who works for BBC Sports as opposed to BBC News — and the broadcaster’s enforcement of its social media guidelines, which critics say is haphazard at best and hypocritical at worst.

Alan Sugar, a British businessman who hosts the BBC’s version of the American reality TV show “The Apprentice,” has tweeted vociferously against a union leader who has pursued a confrontation with the government, as well as against a former leader of the Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn, whom Mr. Lineker also criticized.

Mr. Lineker got into no apparent trouble with his bosses about that, or for speaking out on the air about human rights abuses in Qatar during his coverage of the World Cup soccer tournament there last year.

Critics say the double standard extends to programming, citing the fact that the BBC will not air a nature documentary inspired by “Wild Isles,” a new series narrated by the revered nature broadcaster, David Attenborough. Ms. Enders suggested that the BBC might be worried that the film, which deals with threats to Britain’s environment and explores the concept of re-wilding, would draw fire from the political right.

The BBC denied that, saying that the documentary had been commissioned separately from “Wild Isles” and was never been destined for television. It said it would be available on its iPlayer streaming service.

The broadcaster is compromised in other ways, according to critics. The chairman of the BBC’s board, [*Richard Sharp*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/06/business/media/richard-sharp-bbc-chairman.html), a former Goldman Sachs investment banker, is a donor to the Conservative Party who is being investigated for his role in the arrangement of a loan of £800,000 for Boris Johnson, the prime minister at the time Mr. Sharp was appointed.

Mr. Sharp has resisted calls to step down, but the questions about his ties to Mr. Johnson have made it hard for him to play the normal role of a chairman in a crisis, which would be to handle the government and opposition leaders, allowing the director general of the BBC, Tim Davie, to focus on the internal problems.

Tim Davie, the BBC’s director general and a former marketing executive who also had links to the Conservative Party, has come under fire for his handling of the dispute with Mr. Lineker. In an interview with the BBC, he apologized for the spiraling crisis, which forced the broadcaster to all but scrap two days of sports programming.

“This has been a tough time for the BBC,” Mr. Davie said. “Success for me is getting Gary back on air and together we are giving to the audiences that world-class sports coverage which, as I say, I’m sorry we haven’t been able to deliver today.”

Mr. Davie, who was appointed during the Johnson government, has made upholding the BBC’s political impartiality one of his major goals as director general. But he denied that the broadcaster was bowing to pressure from the government or Conservative politicians, and said he had no plans to resign.

[*Political rows*](https://www.nytimes.com/1987/01/30/arts/head-of-bbc-quits-ending-stormy-tenure.html) between [*the government and the BBC*](https://www.nytimes.com/2004/01/30/world/bbc-director-resigns-as-fallout-over-iraq-report-builds.html) date back [*almost to the broadcaster’s founding*](https://www.bbc.co.uk/historyofthebbc/research/editorial-independence/general-strike). It is not even the first time that the BBC, under Mr. Davie, has been accused of bending to pressure, though not always in the same direction.

In 2020, it was criticized by Mr. Johnson and other Tories for announcing it would [*strip lyrics from two well-known patriotic songs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/02/world/europe/bbc-proms-johnson.html) during an annual televised concert. The lyrics, some said, evoked a British colonial past and were at odds with the Black Lives Matter movement then sweeping the West. The BBC later reversed the decision.

Mr. Johnson never hesitated to put the BBC in the cross hairs. In 2021, his government leaped on the broadcaster after one of its hosts gently mocked a cabinet minister for appearing in an interview with a large Union Jack behind him. A few days later, the government decreed that the flag should fly on all government buildings every day of the year, rather than simply on designated days.

Rishi Sunak, the current prime minister, has shown less of an appetite for these battles. On Saturday, he said that “Gary Lineker was a great footballer and is a talented presenter,” and that he hoped the standoff could be settled. “It is rightly a matter for them, not the government,” he said of the BBC in a statement.

For Mr. Sunak, the furor may have had an unintended dividend — deflecting scrutiny of a policy that, while popular with his Conservative base, contains provisions that are likely to draw criticism on human rights grounds.

Howard Stringer, a friend of Mr. Davie’s and a former president of CBS who has also served on the BBC’s board, said he was cautiously optimistic that the broadcaster and its star commentator would come to terms. But he said the dispute showed that the BBC needed to learn how to deal with stars, likening it to the dust-ups he once had with Dan Rather, the outspoken former anchor of the CBS Evening News.

“That’s the thing about big talent,” Mr. Stringer said. “You have to know them and what they’re thinking, and you have to be able to talk them down.”

The bigger threat to the BBC, he said, would be if politicians or other critics seized on the dispute to reopen a debate over its taxpayer-funded business model and its role as a central, nonpartisan, presence in British public life.

“What the BBC has, sort of like the monarchy, is something the rest of the world rather admires,” Mr. Stringer said. “You toy with that at your peril.”

PHOTO: Instead of hosting “Match of the Day,” Gary Lineker was at a Leicester game on Saturday. Some colleagues walked out in support. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUI VIEIRA/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A7) This article appeared in print on page A1, A7.

**Load-Date:** March 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘Cost of Living’ Review: Worth Its Weight in Gold; Critic’s Pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66HY-X9C1-JBG3-618J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 3, 2022 Monday 10:04 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** THEATER

**Length:** 916 words

**Byline:** Maya Phillips

**Highlight:** Subtle connections bridge the worlds of two caregivers in Martyna Majok’s 2018 Pulitzer Prize-winning play, making its Broadway debut.

**Body**

Subtle connections bridge the worlds of two caregivers in Martyna Majok’s 2018 Pulitzer Prize-winning play, making its Broadway debut.

How do we connect with people? How do we care for them? And what does it all cost, both fiscally and emotionally? These are just a few of the questions Martyna Majok poses in her wrenching 2018 Pulitzer Prize-winning play, “Cost of Living,” which opened on Monday night at the Samuel J. Friedman Theater in Manhattan.

After debuting at the Williamstown Theater Festival in 2016, “Cost of Living” ran Off Broadway in [*2017 in a Manhattan Theater Club production*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/07/theater/cost-of-living-review.html) at New York City Center. Now Majok is making her Broadway debut, arriving with an impressive inventory of awards and praise for her poignant, socially conscious work, which includes [*“Sanctuary City”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/21/theater/sanctuary-city-review.html) (2021) and [*“Ironbound”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/17/theater/review-ironbound-stars-marin-ireland-as-a-struggling-immigrant.html) (2016).

In her Pulitzer Award citation, the committee wrote that Majok “invites audiences to examine diverse perceptions of privilege and human connection.” She does this whether exploring the worlds of undocumented immigrants or ***working-class*** New Jerseyans holding on by a thread.

As “Cost of Living” begins, Eddie is certainly looking for connection — and redemption, and a way out from under the specter of loneliness since his wife’s death. On this particular night, he says, he’s been stood up for a date with his dead wife, Ani. He sits on a stool center stage at a bar, a shelf of bottles adorned with multicolored string lights floating behind him.

What Eddie (an affable David Zayas), a 40-something unemployed truck driver from Bayonne, N.J., leaves out in this impromptu bar eulogy to his wife are the tough times: his years of alcoholism and then a separation.

From here the play, tenderly directed by Jo Bonney, jumps back in time, when Eddie and Ani are separated. It’s a few months after a devastating accident left Ani (Katy Sullivan) a quadriplegic and double amputee. Eddie wants to help with her home care; Ani, resentful and depressed, wants to be left alone.

Not too far south of Bayonne, in Princeton, Jess ([*Kara Young*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/27/theater/tony-nominees-luncheon-kara-young.html)) is struggling to stay above the poverty line. A recent alum of the Ivy League school, she’s nevertheless interviewing for a job as an aide to John ([*Gregg Mozgala*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/08/theater/gregg-mozgala-cost-of-living-broadway.html)), a grad student with cerebral palsy. Jess is direct but guarded when it comes to her life, and John is pretentious and calculating, though he gets Jess to open up with his knavish charm.

The play’s scenes alternate between the two stories of these caregivers, with a turntable set that rotates from Ani’s criminally beige living room and bathroom to John’s upscale, modern apartment with towering windows and a gray-tiled, sit-in shower stall. (The polished scenic design is by Wilson Chin.) Bonney’s deft negotiation of these separate settings and stories is just one of the ways “Cost of Living” impressively teeters between two main axes — the body, and the economy of its care — without toppling over.

There’s a satisfying parallelism to the dynamics between the two pairs — the chemistry, the witty repartee, the heartbreak one character offers, intentionally or unintentionally, to another. Each twosome exists in their separate bubbles of Jersey life until they finally intersect. And yet Majok’s sharp writing is never predictable; even when she seems to be leading us down the path to a conventional love story, she pivots and offers an unexpected development — like a wife who sends texts from beyond the grave or a romantic invitation that turns out to be a slick power play.

Bonney’s direction adds an extra layer of cohesion to the story: subtle connections that bridge the worlds, like Eddie and Jess each walking separately to the same gentle patter of rainfall on a stormy day (sound design by Rob Kaplowitz).

Each of the four cast members performs with a three-dimensional pop of life. Eddie’s insistent affection and optimism is comically at odds with Ani’s dry deadpan. Sullivan’s fiery Ani speaks in a kind of poetry of insults and expletives. Young’s Jess is bright, brusque and uncompromising, even when her life is going sideways. And Mozgala portrays John as someone who is slippery, coy and clever, with a shadiness beneath.

Majok’s script insists on the casting of diverse and disabled actors, helping to deepen an affecting work that readily breaks your heart, drags you through hurt and then kisses you on the forehead, sending you off with a laugh.

This play left me breathless, and I’m not just using a manner of speech. As I made my way through the crowd of people exiting the theater, I took hard, shallow breaths, knowing that one deep inhale could set off a downpour of tears. This production either broke or mended something in me; I felt — brilliantly, painfully, cathartically — near the point of physical exhaustion.

It seems as if the tears, the chuckles, the full body ache of feeling is the currency of an outstanding work of art. We give nearly two hours of attention, and great theater offers us empathy and humanity in return: riches of which even the world’s wealthiest can only dream.

Cost of Living

Through Oct. 30 at the Samuel J. Friedman Theater, Manhattan; [*manhattantheatreclub.com*](https://www.manhattantheatreclub.com/shows/2022-23-season/cost-of-living/?utm_source=google&amp;utm_medium=cpc&amp;utm_campaign=paid&amp;gclid=CjwKCAjwhNWZBhB_EiwAPzlhNtAJX3LM2bGqCiY077L31I-OZtO5lC7XEWWcSrql2mukVRxtL17o3RoCR3cQAvD_BwE). Running time: 1 hour 40 minutes.

Cost of Living Through Oct. 30 at the Samuel J. Friedman Theater, Manhattan; manhattantheatreclub.com. Running time: 1 hour 40 minutes.

PHOTOS: Katy Sullivan and David Zayas, above, and Kara Young and Gregg Mozgala, left, in “Cost of Living” at the Samuel J. Friedman Theater. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 4, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Fathers Gained Family Time in the Pandemic. Many Don’t Want to Give It Back.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67RY-3691-JBG3-64HD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 12, 2023 Sunday 13:24 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1445 words

**Byline:** Claire Cain Miller

**Highlight:** A substantial share of fathers who took on more domestic work during lockdowns have kept it up, new data shows, and rearranged their work lives to do so.

**Body**

A substantial share of fathers who took on more domestic work during lockdowns have kept it up, new data shows, and rearranged their work lives to do so.

When the pandemic hit, Steve Gaffney was laid off from his longtime job at a company that provided lighting for events. Three weeks later, his daughter Morgan was born.

At 42, he became a stay-at-home father. It made sense for their family: His partner, who unlike him has a college degree, earned more, and as a facilities manager she was always on call. As a result, he has experienced Morgan’s childhood in a far different way than he did raising his three older children with his former wife.

He’s making sure she hears him speak as many words as possible each day. He’s noticed how much less frustrated he is with dinner and bedtime than he was after a long day at work. He and Morgan have developed their rhythm — laundry and housecleaning during nap time, and walks on the trails near their home in Pembroke, Mass. “It’s just me and the stay-at-home moms down at the pond,” he said.

During the lockdowns of spring 2020, men took on [*much more of the work*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/06/upshot/pandemic-chores-homeschooling-gender.html) of raising children and running households [*than they had before*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/07/27/business/economy/covid-parenting-work-time.html). Most fathers, particularly when schools reopened, [*largely reverted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/04/upshot/mothers-jobs-pandemic.html) to their old division of labor, [*according to an analysis*](https://www.richardpetts.com/uploads/1/2/2/4/122481918/symposium_exec_summary_final.pdf) released last week. It is based on a continuing survey since April 2020 of 4,550 parents living with opposite-sex partners (roughly 500 have participated in all the surveys).

But a sizable share, one fifth, has continued to do more child care than before, and one quarter has continued to do more household work, the survey found. It asked respondents if they were spending more, less or the same amount of time on various domestic tasks compared with prepandemic days and compared with their partners.

For these fathers, the pandemic offered a chance to reorganize their lives to be more involved in family life — and now, they don’t want to give it up.

“It’s helped make the pandemic a little bit easier for me,” Mr. Gaffney said. “It’s a change no matter what for all of us, but I was put in another role that gave me a direction for the change.”

Even before the pandemic, the generation of fathers currently raising children [*wanted to be more involved*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/31/upshot/millennial-men-find-work-and-family-hard-to-balance.html) than their fathers had been, research has shown. But they hit obstacles, like [*societal expectations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/upshot/gender-roles-housework.html) for traditional gender roles and workplaces that [*penalized men*](https://spssi.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/josi.12015) who prioritized family and [*rewarded those*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/26/upshot/women-long-hours-greedy-professions.html) who were always available. The shared crisis of the pandemic seems to have offered some fathers a path around those obstacles.

“What the pandemic did was force everyone to do it, so no one was vulnerable to being punished for this,” said Daniel L. Carlson, a sociologist at the University of Utah and an author, with Richard Petts of Ball State University, of the new analysis.

They found that lower-earning fathers who could work remotely (in jobs like customer service or tech support, for example) were most likely to have kept up the nontraditional division of family labor.

“The expectations of father involvement have increased in the last generation, across all social classes but especially for those most marginalized,” said Timothy Black, an author of “[*It’s a Setup*](https://global.oup.com/academic/product/its-a-setup-9780190062224?cc=us&amp;lang=en&amp;): Fathering From the Social and Economic Margins” and a professor of sociology at Case Western Reserve. “Many of these fathers have embraced these messages.”

Other data similarly shows that for fathers, the additional time they had with their children was a silver lining of pandemic lockdowns, and that some men are adjusting their work lives to maintain it.

Pew Research Center asked fathers in 2017 and again in the fall of 2020 if they felt they were spending enough time with their children. [*The share who said*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/01/25/for-american-couples-gender-gaps-in-sharing-household-responsibilities-persist-amid-pandemic/) they spent too little decreased to 48 percent from 63 percent. A survey by Harvard’s Making Caring Common project in June 2020 [*found that*](https://mcc.gse.harvard.edu/reports/how-the-pandemic-is-strengthening-fathers-relationships-with-their-children) more than two-thirds of fathers said they felt closer to their children since the pandemic started.

In April 2022, 47 percent of employed fathers said flexibility and control over their hours was a top priority, 10 percentage points more than those who said they felt that way before the pandemic, found a Morning Consult survey for The New York Times. And [*a survey*](https://www.hamiltonproject.org/assets/files/COVID_Recovery_Stevenson_v5.pdf) by Betsey Stevenson, an economist at the University of Michigan, found that nearly half of working fathers said they planned to work less or pursue a less demanding job in the future — more than the share of mothers who said so.

“For a lot of dads, this was a profound experience,” said Richard Weissbourd, director of the Harvard project. “It was really getting what a wonderful relationship with your kids could be like, and it was gratifying.”

Ryan McCarty, the Cincinnati branch director for the employment agency Robert Half, was away from home for 13 hours a day before the pandemic, including evening events and his 45-minute commute. Now he works from home, which he said has enabled him to be there for his two toddlers for meals, doctor visits and milestones. One took his first steps in the middle of a weekday morning. Mr. McCarty is there in a video of it, in a button-down shirt and sweatpants, having run out from his home office to witness it.

“For the longest time, it was: The male is the provider,” he said. “I was that guy. But now I’m not ashamed to say this is who I am in my life. That’s what Covid did. We had a lot of downtime to reflect and think about what’s important.”

As a recruiter, he has noticed that men now regularly ask about flexibility. A recent client told him that his priority was meeting his child at the bus at 3:30 p.m., and that he’d give up pay to do that.

“You would never have heard that out of anybody’s mouth,” he said. “Never. And now it’s commonplace. It’s not a sign of weakness anymore.”

Ben Campbell, the father of two daughters under 5 in Smithville, Texas, got used to spending time with his children during the day when his sales job went remote at the start of the pandemic. So in a later job, when a boss commented on how often he had parenting obligations, he responded, “Yeah, and that’s not going to change.”

He said it makes a big difference that his current employer, AffiniPay, is led by a mother who talks to staff about juggling work and family. He now works from home four days a week, and his wife is also remote. On breaks, they run child-related errands, or their children show them the artwork they made with their nanny. They couldn’t imagine giving that up if they worked in offices full-time.

“I take pride that we have a partnership in how we raise our kids,” he said. “There’s not one part of it that’s more hers or mine.”

These arrangements are still [*a rarity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/01/business/return-to-office-battles.html) in the American workplace. Many fathers, even if they want to spend more time with their families, cannot. Just [*one in five*](https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2022/people-working-from-home.html) workers primarily works from home. Many employers still require long, inflexible hours and penalize workers for prioritizing family life.

The new analysis found that the fathers who have continued to do more domestic work, in addition to being more likely to be lower earners who could work remotely, often had partners who could not work from home and who earned about the same as they did.

These findings align with a variety of past research. [*Studies have shown*](https://sociology.sas.upenn.edu/sites/default/files/work%20and%20american%20families%20jacobs%20and%20gerson%20in%20coontz%20reader_0.pdf) that while highly educated couples express more egalitarian ideas about gender, they are less equal in their daily lives, while ***working-class*** parents are more likely to share the load. High-earning jobs typically demand very long hours, this research has found, making it [*hard for both parents*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/26/upshot/women-long-hours-greedy-professions.html) to work in commensurate jobs. Low-earning jobs are often [*inflexible in their hours*](https://equitablegrowth.org/working-papers/schedule-instability-and-unpredictability/), requiring parents to tag-team work and parenting.

When fathers are forced to handle parenting on their own, such as when a mother is hospitalized after childbirth complications, they end up feeling much more capable and fulfilled as fathers, [*found*](https://www.fatimasuarez.net/new-page-1) Fatima Suarez, a sociologist at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. And especially for unemployed or low-income men, hands-on parenting can be a way to demonstrate their value.

Mr. Gaffney is working on potty-training Morgan and applying to preschools. His family needs a second income, so when she starts school, he’ll look for a job. But he worries about the gap on his résumé, and frets that any job he finds would pay less than child care costs.

They are concerns that would sound familiar to a generation of mothers.

PHOTO: Steve Gaffney, 45, became a stay-at-home father early in the pandemic, when he lost his job as a dispatcher and driver for a lighting company weeks before Morgan, now 2, was born. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Simon Simard for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 13, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Imani Perry Wins National Book Award for ‘South to America’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66WC-47G1-DXY4-X1B6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 16, 2022 Wednesday 12:01 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1023 words

**Byline:** Elizabeth A. Harris

**Highlight:** Tess Gunty received the fiction prize for her debut, “The Rabbit Hutch.” Art Spiegelman, the author of “Maus,” received a lifetime achievement award.

**Body**

Tess Gunty received the fiction prize for her debut, “The Rabbit Hutch.” Art Spiegelman, the author of “Maus,” received a lifetime achievement award.

Imani Perry won the National Book Award for nonfiction on Wednesday for “[*South to America: A Journey Below the Mason-Dixon to Understand the Soul of a Nation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/25/books/review/south-to-america-imani-perry.html),” in which Perry, a professor of African American studies at Princeton, travels to the American South, where she is from, to examine race, culture, politics and identity.

The book “straddles genre, kicks down the fourth wall, dances with poetry, engages with literary criticism and flits from journalism to memoir to academic writing,” Tayari Jones wrote in The New York Times Book Review. Any attempt to classify it “only undermines this insightful, ambitious and moving project.”

In her acceptance speech, Perry said: “I write for my people. I write because we children of the lash-scarred, rope-choked, bullet-ridden, desecrated are still here, standing.”

She added: “I write for the sinned-against and the sanctified. I write for the ones who clean the toilets and till the soil and walk the picket lines. For the hungry, the caged, the disregarded, the holding on — I write for you. I write because I love sentences, and I love freedom more.”

Tess Gunty won the fiction prize for her debut novel, “[*The Rabbit Hutch*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/02/books/review/tess-gunty-rabbit-hutch.html),” which takes place over the course of a summer week in an affordable housing complex in a fictional Indiana city.

Gunty said she was so convinced she wouldn’t win that she did not prepare a speech, but she did read her fellow finalists.

“They attended to those who are structurally neglected, and they humanized experiences that are not visible normally,” Gunty said. “So I want to thank them for putting their books into the world, and everyone who helped them do that.”

The National Book Award, established in 1950, is among the most prestigious literary awards in the world, a prize that can change the trajectory of an author’s career. After two years of ceremonies held remotely, this year’s took place in person at Cipriani Wall Street, a restaurant in New York.

It was a night of celebration, but concerns about a wave of book challenges and bans across the country hung over the festivities. The American Library Association found that there had been more book challenges last year than at any time since the organization began tracking book banning more than 20 years ago. [*This year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/books/book-bans.html), the rate of challenges has increased, the association said. The evening opened with remarks by Padma Lakshmi, the author and TV host, with a speech that focused on the rise of book banning.

The Literarian Award for Outstanding Contribution to the American Literary Community was awarded to Tracie D. Hall, the executive director of the American Library Association. The library association, a nonpartisan group that promotes libraries and library education, has become something of a political lightning rod in recent years, targeted by groups that have pushed to challenge books and change the way titles are acquired and managed.

“Please, please stand against this effort to limit access to reading,” Hall said. “Remember: Free people read freely.”

Hall’s award was presented by Ibram X. Kendi, the author of “How to Be an Antiracist” and a co-author of “Stamped: Racism, Antiracism, and You,” which has been among the [*most frequently banned books*](https://www.ala.org/advocacy/bbooks/frequentlychallengedbooks/top10) in the country, according to the American Library Association.

The Medal for Distinguished Contribution to American Letters, a lifetime achievement award that has previously been awarded to Toni Morrison, Don DeLillo and Ursula K. Le Guin, went to Art Spiegelman, the author of “[*Maus*](https://www.nytimes.com/1986/11/10/books/books-of-the-times-589186.html),” a Pulitzer Prize-winning graphic novel about the Holocaust. “Maus,” which depicts Jews as mice and Nazis as cats, has also been [*banned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/27/us/maus-banned-holocaust-tennessee.html) this year.

The finalists for the fiction prize included Gayl Jones’s novel “The Birdcatcher,” about an artist who tries repeatedly to kill her husband; Jamil Jan Kochai’s collection “[*The Haunting of Hajji Hotak and Other Stories*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/19/books/the-haunting-of-hajji-hotak-jamil-jan-kochai.html),” which examines the legacy of trauma and war among Afghans and the Afghan diaspora; Sarah Thankam Mathews’s novel “[*All This Could Be Different*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/29/books/review/all-this-could-be-different-sarah-thankam-mathews-the-means-amy-fusselman-identitti-mithu-sanyal.html),” about a young woman’s coming of age as she navigates family ties in India; and Alejandro Varela’s “[*The Town of Babylon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/16/books/review/new-this-week.html),” which follows a gay Latino professor who returns to his hometown and rediscovers his roots.

Finalists for the nonfiction prize included Meghan O’Rourke’s “[*The Invisible Kingdom: Reimagining Chronic Illness*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/01/books/review/invisible-kingdom-chronic-illness-meghan-orourke.html),” about the author’s yearslong battle with mysterious, and misdiagnosed, medical conditions; David Quammen’s book “[*Breathless: The Scientific Race to Defeat a Deadly Virus*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/01/books/review/breathless-david-quammen.html),” which delves into the Covid-19 pandemic; Ingrid Rojas Contreras’s memoir, “[*The Man Who Could Move Clouds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/06/books/ingrid-rojas-contreras-the-man-who-could-move-clouds.html),” which centers on her late grandfather; and Robert Samuels and Toluse Olorunnipa’s “[*His Name Is George Floyd: One Man’s Life and the Struggle for Racial Justice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/17/books/review/his-name-is-george-floyd-robert-samuels-toluse-olorunnipa.html),” about the man who was killed in police custody in Minneapolis in 2020.

The award for poetry went to John Keene for “Punks: New and Selected Poems,” a collection divided into sections that covers decades of Keene’s career, including poems that examine love, Blackness, family and queer life.

Sabaa Tahir received the young people’s literature award for “[*All My Rage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/01/books/review/sabaa-tahir-all-my-rage.html),” which follows a ***working-class*** Pakistani American family from Lahore to Juniper, Calif., where they run a motel. In her acceptance speech, Tahir said she was the first Muslim and Pakistani American woman to win the award.

Samanta Schweblin won the award for translated literature for “[*Seven Empty Houses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/14/books/review/samanta-schweblin-seven-empty-houses.html),” which was translated by Megan McDowell. It is a dark collection of seven stories in which furniture, memories or people are missing.

As publishers, editors and authors made their way into Cipriani for the ceremony and a steak dinner, they were given fliers about [*an ongoing strike among unionized HarperCollins*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/books/harpercollins-strike.html) employees, who have been working without a contract since April.

PHOTO: Imani Perry’s book “South to America” won the National Book Award on Wednesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Left: Evan Agostini/Invision, via Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 17, 2022

**End of Document**



[***America Is Using Up Its Groundwater***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6931-53C1-DXY4-X0PY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 2, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 4533 words

**Byline:** By Mira Rojanasakul, Christopher Flavelle, Blacki Migliozzi and Eli Murray

**Body**

Unchecked overuse is draining and damaging aquifers nationwide, a New York Times investigation found, threatening millions of people and America's status as a food superpower.

A wealth of underground water helped create America, its vast cities and bountiful farmland. Now, Americans are squandering that inheritance.

The Times analyzed water levels reported at tens of thousands of sites, revealing a crisis that threatens American prosperity.

Nearly half the sites have declined significantly over the past 40 years as more water has been pumped out than nature can replenish.

In the past decade, four of every 10 sites hit all-time lows. And last year was the worst yet.

Global warming has focused concern on land and sky as soaring temperatures intensify hurricanes, droughts and wildfires. But another climate crisis is unfolding, underfoot and out of view.

Many of the aquifers that supply 90 percent of the nation's water systems, and which have transformed vast stretches of America into some of the world's most bountiful farmland, are being severely depleted. These declines are threatening irreversible harm to the American economy and society as a whole.

The New York Times conducted one of the most comprehensive examinations of groundwater depletion nationwide and found that America's life-giving resource is being exhausted in much of the country, and in many cases it won't come back. Huge industrial farms and sprawling cities are draining aquifers that could take centuries or millenniums to replenish themselves, if they recover at all.

States and communities are already paying the price.

Groundwater loss is hurting breadbasket states like Kansas, where the major aquifer beneath 2.6 million acres of land can no longer support industrial-scale agriculture. Corn yields have plummeted. If that decline were to spread, it could threaten America's status as a food superpower.

Fifteen hundred miles to the east, in New York State, overpumping is threatening drinking-water wells on Long Island, birthplace of the modern American suburb and home to ***working class*** towns as well as the Hamptons and their beachfront mansions.

Around Phoenix, one of America's fastest growing cities, the crisis is severe enough that the state has said there's not enough groundwater in parts of the county to build new houses that rely on aquifers.

In other areas, including parts of Utah, California and Texas, so much water is being pumped up that it is causing roads to buckle, foundations to crack and fissures to open in the earth. And around the country, rivers that relied on groundwater have become streams or trickles or memories.

''There is no way to get that back,'' Don Cline, the associate director for water resources at the United States Geological Survey, said of disappearing groundwater. ''There's almost no way to convey how important it is.''

But despite the importance, the view of the predicament has often been fragmented. Until now.

This analysis is based on tens of thousands of groundwater monitoring wells that dot the nation. The Times collected data for these wells, which are widely scattered and often poorly tracked, from dozens of federal, state and local jurisdictions.

That database reveals the scope of the crisis in many ways. Every year since 1940, for example, more wells have had falling water levels than rising levels.

One of the biggest obstacles is that the depletion of this unseen yet essential natural resource is barely regulated. The federal government plays almost no role, and individual states have implemented a dizzying array of often weak rules.

The problem is also relatively unexamined at the national scale. Hydrologists and other researchers typically focus on single aquifers or regional changes.

All of this helps enable and reinforce practices that have drained aquifers, such as growing water-intensive crops like alfalfa or cotton in dry areas and overreliance on groundwater in fast-growing urban areas.

Several states including Texas, Oklahoma and Colorado have rules that allow groundwater to be pumped from some regions until it's gone. Some areas have even set official timelines for how quickly they plan to use up groundwater over the next few decades.

Oklahoma is working to determine how much water remains in its aquifers, information that state lawmakers could use to set limits on pumping. But Christopher Neel, the head of water rights for the Oklahoma Water Resources Board, said people might not necessarily welcome the government telling them that their land is running out of groundwater.

''If we start showing that kind of data, that kind of goes into your property values,'' Mr. Neel said. ''If we show an area may be depleted in, let's say, two years, well, if someone tries to sell that property, they're not going to be able to.''

To get the clearest picture possible of the state of groundwater in the United States, The Times interviewed more than 100 scientists, policymakers and hydrological experts in addition to building its national database of millions of measurements from wells used to measure groundwater depth.

The analysis of that data, some of it collected from wells that have been tracked for a century, enabled The Times to cross-reference water levels over time with crop cover and population patterns. Results were also compared against readings from sophisticated satellites that can estimate groundwater changes from space by measuring subtle shifts in gravity.

Recent data from those satellites, which are operated by the Jet Propulsion Laboratory and funded by NASA, also show aquifers in decline.

Two major California and Arizona aquifers recently matched or exceeded their lowest levels since NASA began collecting data two decades ago, according to research by Bridget Scanlon and Ashraf Rateb at the University of Texas at Austin. And parts of the vast Ogallala Aquifer beneath Kansas, eastern Colorado and the Oklahoma and Texas panhandles, an aquifer that irrigates a huge share of the global food supply, last year reached their lowest levels since the start of NASA's program. The gravity-measuring satellites are part of NASA's mission to study the workings of the planet.

Climate change is amplifying the problem.

Global warming is shrinking the snowpack that feeds rivers, increasing the reliance on groundwater to sustain communities, lawns and crops, even as rising temperatures mean that plants need more water. A warmer world also causes more surface water to evaporate, leaving less to seep through the ground to replenish overstressed aquifers.

Even in places experiencing more violent rainstorms because of climate change, the heavier rainfall only helps so much. That's because much of the water from extreme downpours races away quickly to the ocean, before it can sit and soak into the aquifer below.

It adds up to what might be called a climate trap. As rising temperatures shrink rivers in much of the country, farmers and towns have an incentive to pump more groundwater to make up the difference.

Experts call that a self-defeating strategy. By draining aquifers that filled up over thousands or millions of years, regions risk losing access to that water in the future when they might need it even more, as climate change makes rainfall less predictable or droughts more severe.

''From an objective standpoint, this is a crisis,'' said Warigia Bowman, a law professor and water expert at the University of Tulsa. ''There will be parts of the U.S. that run out of drinking water.''

Everywhere, thirsty farms

The most visible symbol of America's agricultural bounty is the ''center pivot'' irrigation system, a metal contraption on wheels that is attached to a pump and revolves around a central point. A single arm, mounted with sprinklers, can be as long as half a mile, dispersing hundreds of gallons per minute from a well, 24 hours a day, for weeks or months on end.

Across much of the High Plains, the landscape is dominated by these pivots.

But a visitor to Wichita County, in Western Kansas, will see fewer of them. The reason: There's little water left to lay down. The wells have begun to go dry.

Irrigation can more than double the amount of corn grown per acre. As farms in the area use up the groundwater, corn yields have declined, erasing decades of gains.

The region offers a glimpse into the future of America's farming industry if groundwater keeps getting used up.

''We overpumped it,'' said Farrin Watt, who has been farming in Wichita County for 23 years. ''We didn't know it was going to run out.''

American agriculture didn't always rely on pulling huge volumes of water out of the ground. Until the middle of the last century, farmers were mostly limited to relying on rainfall or river water. Smaller wells were mainly just supplements.

But advances in pump technology after World War II created an American agricultural powerhouse, turning the west and the High Plains into a bounty of corn, alfalfa and other crops, delivering yields that surface water alone couldn't support.

Last year the United States produced 39 percent of global sorghum exports, 32 percent of soybean exports, and 23 percent of corn exports, federal data show. America also exported more cotton than any other country.

That success has relied on pumping up more water than nature could put back.

As recently as the late 1990s, Wichita County farmers produced 165 to 175 bushels of corn per acre, well above the national average. But it came at a cost, requiring farmers to drain the aquifer in order to irrigate their crops. The area gets less than 20 inches of rain a year, on average, about one-third less than the continental United States as a whole -- not nearly enough to replace the water being pumped from the ground.

As farmers ran out of water, they increasingly switched to what's called dryland farming, relying on rain alone.

That change is reflected in corn yields over time. Last year, corn growers nationwide produced an average of 173 bushels per acre. But for Wichita County, the yield was just 70.6 bushels, the lowest in more than six decades. The same is true for neighboring counties, whose yields have fallen to where they were in the 1960s.

Kansas has no mechanism in place to stop its groundwater decline.

The Kansas Geological Survey produces what it calls a lifetime map for the Ogallala Aquifer within state borders. It shows that large areas already lack enough water for commercial agricultural irrigation.

In the parts of Western Kansas where the usable portions of the Ogallala are located, more than one-quarter of the aquifer is at what the survey calls ''minimum threshold,'' according to Brownie Wilson, water data manager with the Kansas Geological Survey. That means it's not possible to extract 200 gallons per minute, a standard threshold for large-scale irrigation. Within 50 years, almost half of the aquifer in that area is expected to decline to minimum threshold.

Wichita County and neighboring counties have been one of the first areas in Kansas to get close to the bottom of the aquifer, Mr. Wilson said. But they won't be the last. ''Tomorrow is here today for them, in terms of reduced yields,'' he said.

Some farmers say they can adapt, including Mr. Watt, who cited advances in plant genetics and also more efficient irrigation and better land management. Experts say farmers nationwide should make similar changes to ensure remaining groundwater is used as carefully as possible.

But those types of innovations will only work for so long, said Bill Golden, a professor of agricultural economics at Kansas State University. ''The loss of water is going to outpace the gain of technology,'' he said. ''Eventually, we're going to lose.''

States open the taps

It's not just Kansas depleting its aquifers at a vicious clip. The same thing is playing out in areas around the country.

In Arkansas, one of the country's biggest users of groundwater, more than twice as much water is being pumped annually from the main agricultural aquifer as rainfall and other sources put back in, according to state data.

In some places, the aquifer has fallen to less than 10 percent of capacity, the Arkansas Department of State warned this year. Arkansas produces roughly half the nation's rice, a water-intensive crop.

Ayden Massey, a spokeswoman for the Arkansas Department of Agriculture, said the federal government was building projects to divert more surface water to areas with groundwater shortages and that the state was encouraging people to use water more efficiently. Arkansas residents who depend on water for their livelihood ''respect the need for water conservation the most,'' she said.

In California, an agricultural giant and, like Arkansas, a major groundwater user, the aquifers in at least 76 basins last year were being pumped out faster than they could be replenished by precipitation, a condition known as ''overdraft,'' according to state numbers.

Unfortunately this year's unusually wet winter in California, which led to widespread flooding, did only so much to refill those aquifers. That's because much of the torrent surged through rivers and into the ocean.

In Colorado, like other western states, farming, residential development and reduced precipitation have increasingly strained the state's groundwater. But Colorado has policies that allow its aquifers to run out.

Kevin Rein is the Colorado official in charge of allocating the state's groundwater. He said his office does not track how much water remains in Colorado's section of the Ogallala, or project how much time remains before that water is exhausted, because state lawmakers haven't given him that authority.

But even without that data, Mr. Rein said, farmers can already see their wells running low on water. ''They might say, 'Tell us something we don't know,''' he said.

In Maryland, almost three-quarters of monitoring wells have seen their water levels drop over the past 40 years, some by more than 100 feet. Charles County, which contains fast-growing suburbs of Washington, has used most of its groundwater for homes and agriculture. And it isn't coming back anytime soon.

''Most of the water we're pulling out of the ground is thousands of years old,'' said Jason Groth, the county's deputy director of planning and growth management. ''It's not like it rains on Monday, and by Saturday it's in the aquifer.''

Mr. Groth said the county, which gets the vast majority of its water from its own aquifers, will hit a point within a decade where it doesn't have enough water.

David Abrams, communications director for the Maryland Department of the Environment, said the state was improving its data collection and monitoring, and that its programs ''have a strong track record of success in protecting our groundwater resources.''

Charles County is looking at piping in water from elsewhere or building a treatment plant to remove salt from the Potomac River. But that would increase costs as much as tenfold.

Drinking water disappears

As in Maryland, depletion means many communities could simply run out of drinking water.

A little more than one-third of America's total volume of drinking water comes from groundwater, according to data from the U.S. Geological Survey. But small and rural communities are disproportionately dependent on wells, which typically cost less than treating and transporting water from rivers and lakes. Of the nation's 143,070 water systems, 128,362 rely primarily on groundwater, according to the Environmental Protection Agency.

In one particularly stark example, Arizona said in June that it would stop granting permission to build houses in the Phoenix area that rely on groundwater, because there wasn't enough water for the homes that had already been approved.

Arizona has seen an explosion of wells, and they've gotten much deeper. In effect, across much of the state, the wells are chasing rapidly falling water levels downward.

Many of the country's fast-growing communities are in places with limited rainfall, like Arizona, Texas, and Utah, and other areas across the southwest.

The National Association of Home Builders, asked about the wisdom of building houses where water is running out, said the industry was responding to the demands of homebuyers who want to live in those areas.

Susan Asmus, the association's senior vice president for regulatory affairs, said builders follow the rules that local officials establish. She said it was up to governments to determine where and how it's appropriate to build homes. The officials who approve those developments ''obviously think they can manage the challenges,'' Ms. Asmus said in a statement.

The federal government sets rules on groundwater, but not its overuse or depletion, although experts say Congress has the constitutional authority to do so. Overall, federal responsibility for water is scattered among a half-dozen different agencies.

America's approach to regulating water is ''a total mess,'' said Upmanu Lall, director of the Columbia Water Center at Columbia University.

In response to questions about groundwater extraction, the White House noted that the 2021 infrastructure law increased spending for water storage, recycling and desalination programs, which might reduce some groundwater demand. A White House spokesman, Angelo Fernández Hernández, wouldn't say what the Biden administration's position was on whether the federal government should regulate groundwater extraction.

Senator Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon, represents a state where groundwater depletion is particularly severe. Almost two-thirds of monitoring wells in Oregon show a statistically significant decline in water levels since 1980.

Mr. Wyden is also chairman of the Water and Power Subcommittee, which has jurisdiction over groundwater management. Presented with the Times's findings, he said the federal government needed to work with states to address what he called ''the groundwater crisis.''

Any effort to impose federal oversight would very likely face opposition from agricultural groups. The American Farm Bureau Federation, which represents farmers, said states were best suited to address groundwater problems. The federal government's role should be to spend money on infrastructure projects and help farmers pay for new technology, according to Courtney Briggs, the federation's senior director of government affairs.

Overpumping can have other risks beyond diminishing the supply of water. It can also contaminate aquifers in ways that make the remaining water unsafe or undrinkable.

For example, in coastal areas, overpumping can accelerate ''saltwater intrusion,'' the movement of ocean water into the freshwater aquifer, making it first unappetizing, then unhealthy.

Saltwater intrusion is happening in the Northeast, the mid-Atlantic states, Florida, the Gulf Coast and California. ''It's pretty widespread,'' said Dr. Cline of the U.S. Geological Survey.

Consider Long Island in New York. Saltwater is encroaching on parts of the aquifers that provide drinking water for the three million people who live east of Queens and Brooklyn. The Suffolk County Water Authority has had to limit pumping at about 60 of its wells, or 10 percent of the total, according to Dan Dubois, a spokesman.

It's a reminder that America has been slow to learn the lessons of overpumping. In the first half of the 20th century, wells in Brooklyn and Queens began to show signs of saltwater intrusion. By the middle of the century, some of those wells had to be shut down.

In Norfolk, Va., and other cities around the country, the groundwater is so dangerously depleted that officials are now, at great cost, pumping treated wastewater into the aquifer to try to stop the water levels from falling.

Then, there's arsenic.

A naturally occurring, cancer-causing heavy metal, arsenic is often trapped in clay, a common soil type. But it can be released into drinking water supplies when aquifers are overpumped, a phenomenon that scientists have documented in countries with less-developed water infrastructure, including Mexico and Vietnam.

Now, as America's aquifers are depleted, the problem is happening in the United States.

In 2018, Ryan Smith, then a doctoral candidate at Stanford, published a paper showing a link between groundwater depletion and arsenic contamination in the San Joaquin Valley in California. He is now examining similar changes in the San Luis Valley in Colorado.

In general, as people drill deeper wells, the likelihood of arsenic contamination increases, according to Dr. Smith, now a professor at Colorado State University. And as shallower groundwater supplies are depleted, he said, more people are drilling deeper wells.

The technology exists to filter out arsenic from drinking water, Dr. Smith said. But that imposes a cost on low-income families, he added. And it works only if people know their wells have become contaminated in the first place, which can be a particular problem for private well owners, who might not realize what has happened to their water.

The earth cracks

The effects of the nation's dwindling supplies of groundwater are visible in another way: The ground itself is breaking apart.

In southwest Utah, at the edge of an otherwise fast-growing city named Enoch, are the outlines of a neighborhood that appears to have vanished. Streets and sidewalks meander past lots that were once meant for houses but now have only bits of trash and waist-high weeds. The burned-out foundation of a never-completed house marks what might have been.

Arizona, to the south, has 169 miles of mapped earth fissures, according to the Arizona Geological Survey, an office at the University of Arizona. In 2007, a fissure killed a horse that fell into a crack and couldn't be freed.

In the Houston area, overpumping of groundwater, along with oil extraction, has caused some land to sink by more than 10 feet over the course of decades, according to local officials. In Florida, overpumping sometimes causes sinkholes.

But Enoch, population 8,000 or so, is a glaring example of subsidence.

A developer began laying out a subdivision during the housing boom of the mid-2000s, planning 800 homes. The project went bankrupt, a victim of the housing crash. Then, city workers noticed something that prevented other developers from trying again: an unusual crack in the road. The subdivision, it turned out, sat atop an earth fissure.

Pumping water can cause the earth above an aquifer to slump, collapsing the space left behind by the water that was removed. Once that space is lost, it can no longer hold water.

That process, called subsidence, is happening around the country, and more than 80 percent of it is the result of groundwater use, according to the U.S. Geological Survey. The agency says subsidence has affected more than 47,000 square miles of land and waterways across the United States.

As the land sinks, home foundations, sewer pipes and other structures are damaged. But among the most dramatic consequences of subsidence is a fissure. As softer ground slumps, sometimes an adjacent patch of ground stays put. The resulting movement shears the earth apart.

''We're sucking water out, and it's compressing the ground,'' said Rob Dotson, Enoch's city manager.

It's hard to predict fissures before they open. But once they happen, they can't easily be filled in or closed. Instead they tend to get both wider and longer.

Enoch's new neighborhood had to be abandoned. And the fissure has since been detected in another neighborhood nearby, where people already live.

Yet despite knowing the consequences, Enoch has been unable to stop extracting its groundwater, a decision to keep pumping that is being repeated nationwide in cities and on farmland. After all, there are crops to sustain and communities like Enoch that keep growing.

''People are coming and coming and coming,'' Mr. Dotson said. And those people need water.

Methodology

To report this story, The Times built a dataset of groundwater levels from the U.S. Geological Survey's National Water Information System, the U.S.G.S. National Groundwater Monitoring Network and 28 states and regional authorities: Arizona Department of Water Resources, California Department of Water Resources, Colorado Division of Water Resources, Delaware Geological Survey, Southwest Florida Water Management District, St. Johns River Water Management District, South Florida Water Management District, Suwannee River Water Management District, Hawaii Department of Land and Natural Resources, Iowa Geological Survey, Idaho Department of Water Resources, Illinois State Water Survey, Kansas Geological Survey, Kentucky Geological Survey, Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, Mississippi Department of Environmental Quality, Montana Bureau of Mines and Geology, North Dakota Department of Water Resources, University of Nebraska Conservation and Survey Division, New Mexico Bureau of Geology and Mineral Resources, Nevada Division of Water Resources, Oklahoma Water Resources Board, Oregon Water Resources Department, South Dakota Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Texas Water Development Board, Utah Geological Survey, Washington State Department of Ecology and Wyoming State Engineer's Office.

Data from each agency may include water level measurements made by staff members as well as additional data submitted by contributing agencies, researchers or private firms. State agencies say they perform quality checks, but those checks don't guarantee complete accuracy. Data were limited to reflect stable groundwater measurement conditions as closely as possible. Duplicate sites that appeared in the U.S.G.S. and regional data sets were removed based on matching site numbers where available, and by matching latitude, longitude and well-depth combinations.

Based on a survey of scientific papers and consultations with researchers, The Times used Theil-Sen median regressions and the Mann-Kendall test for significant trends to estimate increasing and decreasing patterns at each site. The Mann-Kendall test can overestimate significance in cases with fewer observations, and underestimate in cases with more observations. Trend analysis used annually averaged data. Sites were limited to those with a minimum of 10 years of observations, and at least one observation within the first and last 5 years. Theil-sen trends represented in the animated map were calculated on 20-year ranges, every year, from the end years of 1940 to 2022. Each site had a minimum of 10 years with observations, and at least one observation within the first and last three years.

For the analysis of record lows, annual averages based on January-to-May measurements were used to calculate record highs and lows in order to mitigate the effects of large swings during pumping seasons. Only sites that had a minimum of five years with observations within the past decade, and 15 years with observations before the past decade, were included.

United States aquifer map data from GebreEgziabher, Jasechko and Perrone, Nature Communications (2022)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/01/climate/america-is-using-up-its-groundwater-like-theres-no-tomorrow.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/01/climate/america-is-using-up-its-groundwater-like-theres-no-tomorrow.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Left: Center-pivot irrigation near Garden City, Kan., which sits atop the severely depleted Ogallala Aquifer. Right: Near Phoenix, where some areas lack enough groundwater to supply new homes. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

REBECCA NOBLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A11)

Steven Kremeier planting sorghum at Circle C Farms near Scott City, Kan.

A ground fissure doomed a development in Enoch, Utah. ''We're sucking water out, and it's compressing the ground,'' Rob Dotson, the city manager, said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11, A12, A13, A14.

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2023

**End of Document**



[***How Doctors View Patients With Disabilities***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66W5-S3N1-DXY4-X4WF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 16, 2022 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23; LETTERS

**Length:** 1125 words

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re ''Doctors' Real Thoughts on Disabled Patients'' (Science Times, Oct. 25):

When envisioning barriers to health care, one does not think of the physicians as the barrier. I understand that physicians are tied to a system driven by time constraints and financial incentives, so it's not shocking that physicians discriminate against those with disabilities. This substantiates the need to re-examine health care reimbursement policies and practices.

Doctors have a legal responsibility to accommodate patients with disabilities and provide equitable care. Evading and denying care is a civil rights violation, a blatant disregard of the Hippocratic oath and a moral failure.

Lindsey AminaEwa Beach, HawaiiThe writer is the daughter of a disabled father.

To the Editor:

Let me tell you what my patients with disabilities have taught me over my 25 years of practice so far:

I have learned what a pleasure it is to hop on for a ride with a person who has a body that is one of a kind and is willing to tell you about it.

I have learned that it is downright awesome to watch a woman who has suffered a stroke recover, go to school in her electric wheelchair, get a degree and show us all what a strong, resilient and loving soul she has.

I have learned to be humbled by my many patients who have struggled with trauma, drug abuse and the stress of societal prejudice, and yet have learned to care for themselves and to live life fully, with soul and a sense of humor.

I hope all doctors will be as blessed as I have been to work with such superstars.

Susan FergusonOakland, Calif.The writer is a primary care doctor in inner-city Oakland.

To the Editor:

How can a doctor adequately treat any patients when, as one put it in your article, they are ''seeing patients at a 15-minute clip''?

Who decided that 15 minutes was the amount of time needed to see a patient? I'm betting that insurance companies and money had a lot to do with that decision.

Let's start there: Many patients, not only those who might be disabled, need more than 15 minutes with a doctor, especially those of us who are older.

What can be done about these arbitrary limits? Why can't doctors push back?

Connie KnappOssining, N.Y.

Kari Lake's Well-Deserved Defeat in Arizona

To the Editor:

Re ''Hobbs Defeats Trump's Choice to Run Arizona'' (front page, Nov. 15):

Kari Lake, like her backer, Donald Trump, has shown herself to be totally unfit to serve in any office of public trust.

As a candidate she did not worry about adhering to the truth. But if she had become governor of Arizona, any form of lying or deception would have been destructive and unacceptable to the state and to the country.

Her defeat was a vital step in the arduous task of keeping our democracy from being systematically poisoned by Mr. Trump and his cohort of election deniers.

Ezra CohenDeal, N.J.

Pence? No Thanks.

To the Editor:

''Pence Says 'Reckless' Tweet by Trump Endangered Him and His Family on Jan. 6'' (news article, Nov. 15) reports that former Vice President Mike Pence has now finally criticized Donald Trump for Jan. 6 in a more forceful and direct fashion than he ever has before.

Well, hello! Mr. Pence now has his book to sell, and it appears that he feels shielded by the rising tide of contempt now directed at Mr. Trump as a result of last week's elections -- further proof that Mr. Pence is a follower and certainly not a leader with a strong sense of self-worth.

What a spineless, oleaginous, obsequious sycophant he is, seemingly devoid of courage, perhaps thinking that he is protected by his pompous religious fervor.

A future president? No way.

C. Richard BrubakerNovelty, Ohio

Don't Undercut Ukraine

To the Editor:

Re ''U.S. Officials Split on Talks for War's End'' (front page, Nov. 11):

Various U.S. and Western officials are dropping not so subtle hints that Ukraine should start plans for negotiating with Russia. This risks undercutting Ukrainian morale and, more important, gives Vladimir Putin hope that the Western support of Ukraine is approaching its limits.

Instead, the West should tell Mr. Putin that if Russia does not immediately stop targeting Ukrainian civilians and basic infrastructure, the West may be unable to restrain Ukraine from attacking inside Russia's borders and new, stronger sanctions will be imposed. Mr. Putin should not receive any gains from his war of aggression against democracy.

In addition, Biden administration officials should be stopped from airing foreign policy discussions and disagreement in the media.

Ron KurtzAlpharetta, Ga.

South African Coal

To the Editor:

Re ''South Africa Faces an Uphill Battle to Transition From Coal'' (news article, Nov. 9):

It's disheartening that South Africa is focusing on coal as it builds its industrial base. Instead of relying on a dying and polluting industry, it could put its resources into becoming a world-class manufacturer (and user) of solar panels, wind turbines, and energy-efficient appliances and building materials, thereby helping its economy and the planet.

Winnie BoalCincinnati

A Betrayal by Apple

To the Editor:

Re ''China Turning Into a Liability for the iPhone'' (front page, Nov. 8):

***Working-class*** families have been betrayed by companies like Apple. The manufacturing base in the United States has been the foundation for companies to prosper and be in a position to create valuable new products. Yet Apple, like so many other Silicon Valley companies, undercut American workers by rushing to China and acquiring dirt-cheap labor.

Can American workers assemble iPhones? Can they manufacture computer chips? Of course they can. Shame on Apple and all the companies that see labor as something to subvert and exploit rather than a solid investment in our society and well-being.

We can only hope that next time the Apples of the world will build their empires with American labor.

Daniel DziedzicRochester Hills, Mich.

When to Brush Your Teeth

To the Editor:

Re ''Is It Better to Brush My Teeth Before or After Breakfast?'' (Ask Well, Nov. 8):

As a retired dentist who practiced for 48 years, I vote strongly in favor of brushing after breakfast. First of all, if you thoroughly clean your teeth after the last meal or snack of the day (meaning brushing and flossing), there will usually be no ''morning breath.''

''Morning breath'' is often the result of the bacteria on the teeth working on the food residue lingering on the teeth and excreting the waste products of that metabolism. I always counseled my patients to brush after breakfast to remove the overnight bacteria and remnants of breakfast -- especially because they would be unlikely to brush again until bedtime.

Michael MarcusSilver Spring, Md.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/15/opinion/letters/patients-doctors-disabilities.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/15/opinion/letters/patients-doctors-disabilities.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2022

**End of Document**



[***A Political Outsider Mastered the Inside Game***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:633D-67K1-DXY4-X24S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 8, 2021 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1797 words

**Byline:** By Katie Glueck, Dana Rubinstein and Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

Mr. Adams won the Democratic primary for mayor of New York City by portraying himself as a ***working-class*** politician who understood the concerns of average New Yorkers.

The morning after winning the Democratic nomination for mayor of New York City, Eric L. Adams on Wednesday asserted that he had won a mandate to address the urgent struggles of America's urban ***working class***.

As he appeared at a parade celebrating essential workers and toured morning television news shows, Mr. Adams, a former police captain who would be the city's second Black mayor, sought to cement his image as a man who understands what it is to fear both gun violence and police misconduct. It was one thing to theorize about solving problems of injustice and inequality, he suggested. It was another to experience them as a ***working-class*** person of color in New York.

''Finally one of your own is going to understand,'' Mr. Adams said to a throng of health care workers at a parade.

If Mr. Adams sounded, in that moment, like a political outsider, it is because for many years, he was more iconoclast than institutionalist.

Mr. Adams was the rebel police officer who agitated against police misconduct from within the force, eventually rising to captain. He was the borough president who attracted more attention for quirky stunts -- displaying drowned rats at a news conference to draw attention to a vermin problem, for instance -- than for his record on land use policy. And he was the Brooklyn mayoral candidate who lost out on first-place endorsements from prominent Brooklyn-area members of the New York congressional delegation.

But in other ways, Mr. Adams emerged in the mayoral contest as something of an establishment figure, earning the support of leading labor unions, locking down key party officials including two fellow borough presidents, and building an old-school Democratic coalition that attracted ***working-class*** Black, Latino and some moderate white voters.

He was among the most message-disciplined candidates in the race, repeatedly declaring that public safety was the ''prerequisite'' to prosperity, a pitch that became increasingly resonant amid a spike in violent crime. And he used his personal story of overcoming poverty and police violence to emerge as a credible messenger on urgent issues of safety, justice and inequality.

''We don't live in theory,'' said the Rev. Al Sharpton, a civil rights leader who has known Mr. Adams for decades, pointing to the rise in shootings in cities across the country. ''This is not an ivory tower exercise and that's what worked for Eric.''

Despite all of that institutional support and his ultimate victory, Mr. Adams defeated his nearest rival, Kathryn Garcia, by just one percentage point, according to the latest tally of ballots on Tuesday. Ms. Garcia conceded to Mr. Adams on Wednesday, as did the third-place finisher, Maya Wiley, the most left-leaning candidate in the field among the top tier of contenders.

He still faces a general election campaign against Curtis Sliwa, the Republican nominee, but is expected to win easily because of the city's overwhelming Democratic tilt -- allowing him to already talk of an early transition as he moves toward assembling a government, and to contemplate the significant policy and political challenges that await.

Mr. Adams's victory was, in some ways, a repudiation of the most left-wing forces in the city, even as deeply progressive candidates scored other victories elsewhere on the ballot.

A year after the rise of a powerful defund-the-police movement in New York, Mr. Adams won on a message that put public safety at the center of his platform, and he explicitly called for more police in certain scenarios: He supported adding more police to patrol the subways, for example, and backs reconstituting a reformed plainclothes anti-crime squad, even as he has been a vocal critic, for decades, of police abuse.

He ran as a business-friendly candidate who did not demonize real estate; on the contrary, Mr. Adams, who owns property himself, once declared, ''I am real estate.'' And he is supportive of charter schools in some circumstances.

But he is not especially ideological and on some social safety net issues, he has taken a much more liberal approach. For instance, he supports an ambitious expansion of the earned-income tax credit.

Mr. Adams faces skepticism from the left over his politics, but as he assumes the nomination, he also faces doubts from some Democrats across the ideological spectrum over questions of transparency and ethics.

In 2010, when he was a state senator and the chairman of the Senate Racing, Gaming and Wagering Committee, a state inspector general report suggested that Mr. Adams had given the ''appearance of impropriety'' by getting close to a group seeking a casino contract at Aqueduct Racetrack.

A review of his fund-raising practices by The New York Times earlier this year showed that he has pushed the boundaries of campaign-finance and ethics laws, though he has not been formally accused of wrongdoing. And the last month of the campaign saw controversies over transparency issues play out concerning his tax and real estate disclosures and even questions of residency, culminating in an extraordinary moment in which Mr. Adams offered journalists a tour of the apartment where he said he lived.

Mr. Adams's formative years in the public eye were spent in the Police Department, where he helped found an organization called 100 Blacks in Law Enforcement Who Care. His efforts inspired some and rankled other colleagues on the force who describe a career trajectory that was more complex than Mr. Adams sometimes suggests.

But to this day, some voters remember Mr. Adams from those efforts, which helped him dispatch arguments from opponents that he was overly inclined to embrace policing as an answer to the city's challenges.

''My admiration for him really started when he was a policeman talking about police brutality, and a captain talking about police officers not fulfilling their oath,'' said Charles B. Rangel, the former New York congressman, who endorsed Mr. Adams.

As an outspoken police officer, Mr. Adams had his share of controversies, too, aligning himself at various times with Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader who has repeatedly promoted anti-Semitism, and the ex-boxer Mike Tyson after his 1992 rape conviction. Mr. Adams lost a 1994 congressional run, and he was also a registered Republican for a period of time in the 1990s.

In 2006, he was elected to the State Senate as a Democrat, part of a wave of Central Brooklyn politicians who came up from outside the party, and in 2013, won an election to be Brooklyn borough president.

Mr. Adams, who became an evangelist for veganism after he says he reversed his diabetes by reforming his diet and exercise routines, became known for preparing vegan meals at Borough Hall, and he developed a reputation as a splashy New York character prone to making unexpected remarks and appearances. There was the gruesome rat-related news conference, for instance, or Mr. Adams's announcement that he, as a former law enforcement officer, would begin bringing a gun to houses of worship after a massacre in a Pittsburgh synagogue.

''In order to get a message across in New York City, first you have to get people's attention,'' said Evan Thies, an Adams spokesman. ''People might look at the spectacle of dead rats at a press conference and be turned off by that, but they're paying attention, and they're paying attention to a critical health issue to lower-income people. Why was it on the news? Because Eric forced people to look at something they didn't want to look at.''

There is no question that Mr. Adams has an idiosyncratic streak. But his decades in public life suggest that the likely next mayor of the nation's largest city also has shrewd instincts and an ability to navigate a politically eclectic set of relationships.

Mr. Sharpton noted that Mr. Adams was ''literally a founding member'' of the National Action Network, Mr. Sharpton's organization.

''At the same time, he was a policeman, able to be friendly with more conservative elements that were not supportive of me,'' Mr. Sharpton continued. ''He has a way of working with people who don't work with each other.''

In his current role, Mr. Adams has been an enthusiastic promoter of his borough, building deep relationships there with diverse constituencies including Black voters and Orthodox Jewish leaders.

But Representative Nydia Velázquez, who backed two of Mr. Adams's rivals under the city's ranked-choice voting system, noted that he was not the first choice of the members of Congress who represent much of Brooklyn (though Representative Hakeem Jeffries, the highest-ranking House member in the New York delegation, backed Mr. Adams as his second choice).

''He will have a honeymoon with voters, but then people want to know how his administration -- what does it mean for them, the ascension of Eric Adams to City Hall?'' said Ms. Velázquez, who said she hoped Mr. Adams could have a ''more productive'' relationship with the delegation moving forward. ''That will be measured by the agenda he will be able to tackle.''

Mr. Adams's team is especially focused on ways to use newly available state and federal resources to combat gun violence, and his campaign plans to offer more details on dealing with violence tied to handguns in coming weeks.

Mr. Adams said on ''Good Day New York'' that Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo made it easier to fight crime with his recent emergency declaration concerning gun violence.

''We have to look at the feeders of crime,'' he said. ''My team is going to sit down and look at the common denominators of those who are committing crimes. If you don't start targeting what's feeding crime then we are going to throw good money into a bad scenario.''

Mr. Adams said he would go after gang violence in the city, but that he also wants to help crisis management teams and youth organizations trying to prevent violence.

He is aware of the skepticism he faces from some on the left. Mr. Adams reached for conciliatory notes on Wednesday, urging New Yorkers to ''get over the philosophical differences we have.''

''Let's decide that we must live in a safe city where we educate our children and make sure everyone has an opportunity to prosper in this great city,'' he added.

Plus, he said, the ride could be fun.

''You all would be bored if those other candidates were mayor,'' he said. ''You guys are going to have so much fun over the next four years.''

Almost as to offer proof, Mr. Adams ended his day by fulfilling a rather unorthodox campaign promise he had made to a group of young New Yorkers: He had his left ear pierced.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/07/nyregion/eric-adams-mayor-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Eric L. Adams said at a parade for essential workers in Manhattan on Wednesday, ''Finally one of your own is going to understand.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABRIELA BHASKAR/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

Eric L. Adams, the Democratic nominee for mayor, during a parade in Manhattan on Wednesday to celebrate essential workers. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KARSTEN MORAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A12)

**Load-Date:** July 8, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Netanyahu Fires a Top Minister to Comply With a Supreme Court Ruling***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67CG-NNS1-JBG3-61CS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 22, 2023 Sunday 23:58 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; middleeast

**Length:** 1341 words

**Byline:** Isabel Kershner

**Highlight:** Aryeh Deri, who has a conviction for tax fraud, was deemed unfit to serve in the government, leaving Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in a legal and political predicament.

**Body**

Aryeh Deri, who has a conviction for tax fraud, was deemed unfit to serve in the government, leaving Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in a legal and political predicament.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel on Sunday dismissed a senior minister recently convicted of tax fraud to comply with [*a Supreme Court ruling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/18/world/middleeast/israel-aryeh-deri-netanyahu.html) that disqualified the minister from serving, shaking the right-wing government just weeks after it came to power.

By complying with the court’s ruling to remove the minister, Aryeh Deri, Mr. Netanyahu avoided an instant, head-on clash with the judiciary at a time when the country is already locked in a fierce debate over [*government plans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/12/world/middleeast/netanyahu-israel-judicial-reform.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article) for a judicial overhaul. Tens of thousands of Israelis have taken to the streets in recent weeks to protest the plans to limit the judiciary’s powers, seen by many as a challenge to Israel’s democratic system. About 130,000 protesters came out on Saturday night in Tel Aviv and other cities, according to the Israeli news media.

“I am forced, with a heavy heart, great sorrow and a very difficult feeling, to remove you from your position as a minister in the government,” Mr. Netanyahu wrote in a letter to Mr. Deri that the prime minister read out in his weekly cabinet meeting, with Mr. Deri in attendance.

“I intend to seek any legal way for you to be able to continue to contribute to the state of Israel with your great experience and skills, in accordance with the will of the people,” Mr. Netanyahu added.

Mr. Netanyahu denounced the Supreme Court order as “a regrettable decision that ignores the will of the people.” Mr. Deri’s dismissal will take effect in the next 48 hours.

But Mr. Netanyahu, himself [*on trial for corruption*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/03/world/middleeast/netanyahu-corruption-charges-israel.html), faces [*the predicament*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/19/world/middleeast/israel-netanyahu-minister-deri.html?searchResultPosition=1) of how to compensate Mr. Deri, the leader of Shas, an ultra-Orthodox Sephardic party, and a close political ally whose support is key to the stability and survival of the coalition government.

Addressing the cabinet after the letter was read out, Mr. Deri said, “I have an iron commitment to the 400,000 people who voted for me and Shas,” according to Kan, Israel’s public broadcaster. “No judicial decision will prevent me from serving them and representing them,” he said, adding, “I intend to continue to contribute with all my might to the public and the coalition.”

A veteran politician, Mr. Deri was one of the most experienced and politically moderate ministers in what has shaped up to be the most far-right and religiously conservative coalition in Israel’s history. The 11 seats that Shas won in the November elections are crucial to the government’s majority in the 120-member Parliament; the coalition parties together control 64 seats.

In another sign of the troubles already facing Mr. Netanyahu’s young government, a far-right party, Religious Zionism, boycotted Sunday’s cabinet meeting in protest against a decision on Friday by the defense minister to demolish a wildcat outpost that settlers had erected in the occupied West Bank. The leader of Religious Zionism, Bezalel Smotrich, demanded authority over such actions as part of his coalition agreement with Mr. Netanyahu, but the transfer of such authority from the defense minister and the military would require legislation and is not yet in effect.

Mr. Deri had been serving as interior minister and health minister despite his conviction last year and a suspended prison sentence imposed under a plea agreement. Ten of the 11 judges on Israel’s highest court ruled against Mr. Deri’s appointment on grounds of what judges called “extreme unreasonability,” primarily because of his recent case.

The panel also took into account a past conviction, in 1999, when Mr. Deri was found guilty of charges of accepting bribes, fraud and breach of trust while he was serving as a lawmaker and cabinet minister. For that, he served two years of a three-year prison term and, after his release, was barred from public and political life for several years.

The judges also noted that as part of his plea agreement last year, Mr. Deri, then an opposition lawmaker, had told the court that he would quit political life and had resigned from the Parliament. Then Mr. Deri ran again in the November elections.

The judges argued that Mr. Deri’s lawyers had tried to mislead the Supreme Court regarding the terms of the plea agreement by stating that there had been a misunderstanding and that he had not meant to quit for good.

Mr. Deri, 63, was born in Morocco and emigrated to Israel as a child with his family. He was one of the founders of Shas in the 1980s, and after running in the 1988 elections, he became the interior minister in Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir’s government.

At 29, Mr. Deri was the youngest minister in Israel’s history. In 1993, after he was charged with accepting bribes, the Supreme Court first ruled that a politician under indictment could not serve as a minister. He was forced to take a nearly decade-long timeout after his release from prison in 2002, and he returned to the political stage in 2011.

There was no immediate indication that this latest termination of Mr. Deri’s term as a minister would bring down the government, despite earlier threats from other Shas politicians.

Mr. Deri is allowed to remain a lawmaker and continues to lead his party. Other Shas politicians with a similar outlook are likely to fill the ministerial posts he vacated, but analysts said that Mr. Deri would continue to call the shots in government matters involving the party’s other ministers and lawmakers.

To accommodate Mr. Deri, some analysts have suggested that Mr. Netanyahu could keep him in the cabinet as an observer or that the government’s lawmakers could vote for its own dissolution, and then immediately form a new administration in which Mr. Deri would be made an “alternate” prime minister — an appointment that experts say would be harder for judges to block.

Shas draws much of its support from ***working-class***, traditional and Orthodox Jews of Middle Eastern and North African origin, promising to empower them. Soon after the Supreme Court ruling on Wednesday, Mr. Deri said that he was “committed to continuing the revolution” with more force than ever.

“They close the door on us, so we will enter through the window. They close the window on us, so we will break in through the ceiling,” he said, in an apparent reference to the judiciary.

The new government wants to make a number of changes that would weaken the power of the judiciary.

The proposals include one that would give the government the upper hand in the selection of judges, and another that reduces the Supreme Court’s ability to revoke laws passed in the Parliament.

That measure would allow the Parliament to override such court decisions with the narrowest majority of 61 out of 120 members. The government also wants to remove the Supreme Court judges’ ability to use the vaguely defined ethical standard of “unreasonability” to strike down legislation, government decisions or appointments.

The court ruling disqualifying Mr. Deri has only deepened the division in Israel over the proposed judicial changes, strengthening the resolve of supporters of the changes who say that they are necessary to correct an imbalance of power between the Supreme Court and the politicians by reducing the influence of unelected judges in favor of the elected government.

Critics say that the proposed changes would weaken the independence of the top court, severely reduce judicial oversight and remove the protections it provides for minorities, turning Israel into a democracy in name only, where the majority rules unhindered.

“Now is the dark hour. Now is the moment to stand up and cry out,” David Grossman, a leading Israeli author and liberal voice, told the crowd at the protest in Tel Aviv on Saturday night.

PHOTO: Aryeh Deri, right, Israel’s interior and health minister and the leader of the ultra-Orthodox Shas Party. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu wrote that it was with “a heavy heart” he removed him. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RONEN ZVULUN/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A7.

**Load-Date:** January 23, 2023

**End of Document**



[***The Biggest Battle in Ukraine***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67WS-9F61-JBG3-61HC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 30, 2023 Thursday 09:32 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1692 words

**Byline:** German Lopez

**Highlight:** Why Russia and Ukraine are fighting for a city with little strategic value.

**Body**

Why Russia and Ukraine are fighting for a city with little strategic value.

Early this month, the head of NATO warned that the fierce battle over the Ukrainian city of Bakhmut could end with a Russian victory within days. Three weeks later, his prediction has yet to come true. Ukraine and Russia are still fighting for control of the city.

The stalemate has come at great cost for both sides, particularly Russia. Ukrainian officials [*have estimated*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/ukraine-commits-more-resources-to-bakhmut-defense-as-russia-advances-bc52d87f) that for every one of their soldiers lost, Russia has lost seven. Russia tried to replenish its ranks by letting prisoners fight, but it has [*nearly exhausted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/07/world/europe/bakhmut-ukraine-russia-wagner.html) the supply of those recruits as well.

The battle has also taken a heavy toll on munitions, vehicles and other military equipment — and has also taken a lot of time. The first time this newsletter mentioned Bakhmut was in July, when Russia increased its attacks near the city.

Russia could still capture Bakhmut, and some analysts expect it to do so. But for now, the battle over the city has become yet another example of Ukraine defying the odds and of Russia performing worse than many experts expected. Today’s newsletter will explain why both sides have put so much into Bakhmut — and why it could have important consequences for the broader war.

Wanting a win

Bakhmut has little strategic value, U.S. officials say. The city is in eastern Ukraine, Russia’s primary target in the war, but there is nothing uniquely valuable about the city for the war effort.

So why has Russia thrown so much into taking it? Because Vladimir Putin, Russia’s president, is desperate for a win — any win. The war has not gone as well for Russia as most people expected. In the past several months, Russia has lost territory, pulling back in both the northeastern and southern fronts. The original goal — to take Kyiv and topple the Ukrainian government — now seems beyond reach.

If Russia can take Bakhmut now, Putin can argue to the Russian people, to his allies in China and Iran and to Western supporters of Ukraine that Russia is making gains and has momentum. A win could boost morale among Russian forces and hurt international support for Ukraine. With the spring expected to bring better weather for renewed offenses, that boost to Russia could help its military get back on track in the war.

Conversely, the perception that a victory in Bakhmut could raise Russian morale and sink Ukrainian hopes has also turned the city into a symbol for Ukraine. Its president, Volodymyr Zelensky, has said that a Russian seizure of Bakhmut would let Putin argue that he has the advantage. “If he will feel some blood — smell that we are weak — he will push, push, push,” Zelensky [*said this week*](https://apnews.com/article/ukraine-zelenskyy-russia-putin-bakhmut-2334ec3a5b74d3cc3c4e012db71920e5).

But even if Russia takes Bakhmut, the win might amount to little gain at great cost. Russia will have lost so many troops and so much equipment trying to take a city of scant strategic value that it may have been better off never mounting an offensive.

And a Russian failure to take Bakhmut altogether would be an astonishing defeat. After all, if Russia can’t capture the city even with the investment of so many resources, how can it expect to win the broader war?

“Bakhmut will always be a Pyrrhic victory for Russia. It gets them nothing,” said my colleague Michael Schwirtz, who has covered the war from Ukraine. “But if Ukraine manages to push them back, it will be a disaster.”

What comes next

The battle could also have negative consequences for Ukraine. Its military has put resources toward the fight there that could have gone elsewhere, particularly to an offensive this spring. Ukraine wants to not only retake lost land through a renewed offensive but also split Russian forces in the east from those in the south.

“If a Ukrainian offensive in the weeks ahead comes close but falls short, there will be recriminations about whether such an effort could have been more successful if resources had not been diverted to Bakhmut,” said my colleague Julian Barnes, who covers national security.

But it’s also possible that the battle for Bakhmut could help Ukraine’s next offensive, by having forced Russia to spend so many resources on the city. How the fighting in Bakhmut will be judged, then, depends on what happens next and how the consequences play out on the rest of the battlefield.

More on the war

* [*See how Ukraine became darker*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/30/world/europe/ukraine-satellite-darkness.html)over months of Russian attacks on its infrastructure.

1. Russia [*detained an American reporter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/30/world/europe/russia-wsj-reporter-detained-gershkovich.html) for The Wall Street Journal, accusing him of espionage.

THE LATEST NEWS

International

* Mexico is investigating the deaths of at least 39 people at a migrant detention center near the U.S. border [*as a homicide case*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/world/americas/fire-mexico-migrants.html).

1. Pope Francis, 86, is [*in the hospital in Rome*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/world/europe/pope-francis-hospital-tests.html), where he is being treated for a respiratory infection.
2. A [*fire on a passenger ferry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/world/asia/philippines-ferry-fire.html) in the Philippines killed at least 28 people.
3. China spent billions to become a major player in soccer, but the [*experiment was a flop*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/sports/soccer/china-soccer.html).
4. A Chinese billionaire used to have ties to the Chinese Communist Party and Donald Trump’s allies. Now, he’s [*accused of fraud*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/30/us/guo-wengui-china.html) on two continents.

Politics

* Kentucky’s Republican-dominated legislature voted to override the Democratic governor’s veto on a bill that would [*ban access to transition care for transgender youth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/us/kentucky-anti-transgender-bill.html).

1. After President Biden criticized Israel’s judicial overhaul plan, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said that foreign pressure [*would not influence his decisions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/us/politics/biden-netanyahu-confrontation.html).
2. Republican-led states have moved to [*expand access to guns*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/us/nashville-gun-laws.html) after mass shootings.
3. The Senate repealed decades-old authorizations [*for operations against Iraq*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/us/politics/congress-iraq-war-powers-authorization.html). The bill now goes to the House.
4. Senate Democrats grilled Howard Schultz, Starbucks’s former chief executive, about the [*company’s response to unionization*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/business/economy/howard-schultz-starbucks-union-senate.html).
5. Trump returned to Fox News this week, but received a [*chilly reception*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/business/media/trump-fox-desantis-hannity.html) from its hosts.

Other Big Stories

* The F.D.A. [*approved Narcan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/health/narcan-over-the-counter.html), a nasal spray that reverses opioid overdoses, for over-the-counter sales.

1. Tech leaders, including Elon Musk, called for a [*pause on the development of advanced A.I.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/technology/ai-artificial-intelligence-musk-risks.html) until there are stronger measures to protect society from its risks.
2. Several people are [*facing charges in the deaths of gay men*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/nyregion/indictments-nyc-gay-bars-homicide.html) who were drugged at Manhattan bars last spring.
3. Two U.S. Army [*helicopters collided over Kentucky*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/30/us/fort-campbell-helicopter-crash-kentucky.html), causing casualties.
4. To ease New York’s housing crisis, the governor is pushing suburban towns to build new homes. [*The suburbs are resisting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/nyregion/nyc-suburbs-homes-hochul.html).
5. A policy expert who has spent his career championing the ***working class*** is [*fighting race-based affirmative action*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/us/richard-kahlenberg-affirmative-action.html).

Opinions

By missing a chance to learn from their opponent, the Stanford students who heckled a conservative judge [*hurt themselves the most*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/30/opinion/campus-free-speech-duncan.html), Pamela Paul says.

Today’s anti-affirmative action lawsuits rest on a false premise: No one is [*entitled to get into an elite college*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/30/opinion/affirmative-action-model-minority-asian-americans.html), no matter their achievements, Serena Puang argues.

Too many prisoners emerge stigmatized and lacking basic skills. California’s rehabilitation experiment [*aims to change that*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/30/opinion/governor-newsom-new-plan-san-quentin-prison-rehabilitation.html), Bill Keller writes.

Next week’s Wisconsin Supreme Court election is [*the most important political contest of 2023*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/30/opinion/wisconsin-supreme-court-election.html), Michelle Goldberg writes.

MORNING READS

A new perspective: Famous landmarks, disposable cameras and a [*glimpse of the world through kids’ eyes*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/03/29/travel/family-vacation-travel-photos.html).

Up for auction: A [*2007 iPhone*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/style/iphone-2007-auction.html) can be yours — for at least $32,000.

Courtroom couture: Gwyneth Paltrow is dressing like a Park City local at her ski trial. [*It’s working, The Times’s fashion critic writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/style/gwyneth-paltrow-trial-outfits.html).

“Stay away”: An Amsterdam ad campaign tells young British men to [*pick a different vacation destination*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/world/europe/amsterdam-uk-tourists-stay-away.html).

Advice from Wirecutter: How to [*avoid bed bugs*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/blog/how-to-keep-bedbugs-from-coming-home-with-you/) when traveling.

Lives Lived: Julie Anne Peters published “Luna,” thought to be the first young-adult novel with a transgender character released by a mainstream publisher, in 2004. Peters [*died at 71*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/books/julie-anne-peters-dead.html).

SPORTS NEWS

Happy Opening Day! All 30 Major League Baseball teams will play today. Here are a few stories to get you ready:

* Baseball has new rules, most notably a timer between pitches. It will be a [*transformative season*](https://theathletic.com/4359478/2023/03/29/mlb-2023-season-rule-changes-numbers/) for the sport, The Athletic’s Jayson Stark writes.

1. The changes are meant to [*bring baseball back to its roots*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/27/sports/baseball/rob-manfred-mlb-new-rules.html), The Times’s Tyler Kepner writes.
2. Optimism abounds today, The Times’s Benjamin Hoffman writes. Just about every team [*believes that the playoffs are in its future*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/sports/baseball/opening-day-starters.html).

* On “[*The Daily*](https://www.nytimes.com/thedaily),” The Times’s Michael Schmidt explains the plan to save baseball from the tyranny of the home run.

To follow along all season, [*sign up for The Windup*](https://theathletic.com/newsletters/the-windup/), an Athletic newsletter from Levi Weaver, Ken Rosenthal and others.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Wrong on purpose

At a rehearsal for a new Broadway take on “Peter Pan,” an actor swung wildly around the stage, crashing into the set and screaming. All was going according to plan.

“Peter Pan Goes Wrong,” a slapstick comedy set to open next month, comes from Mischief, a company that specializes in deconstructing theater tropes with the timing of “The Three Stooges.” Mischief’s first show spoofed Agatha Christie.

“I’ve gained a bruise or two in rehearsal,” Greg Tannahill, who plays Pan, [*told The Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/theater/peter-pan-goes-wrong-broadway.html). “But you’ve got to break a few eggs to make a lovely omelet.”

PLAY, WATCH, EAT

What to Cook

These [*breakfast burritos*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1022540-breakfast-burritos) include soft scrambled eggs, refried beans and avocado.

Behind the Scenes

The making of a [*“John Wick: Chapter 4” action scene*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/29/movies/john-wick-4-action-scene.html). (Contains spoilers.)

Late Night

Jimmy Kimmel joked about waiting for [*Trump’s potential indictment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/30/arts/television/jimmy-kimmel-donald-trump.html).

Now Time to Play

The pangram from yesterday’s Spelling Bee was outfoxed. Here is [*today’s puzzle*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee).

Here’s [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/mini), and a clue: Best friend of Charlie Brown (five letters).

And here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow.

P.S. How do they play Wordle? The actor [*Danica McKellar*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/24/crosswords/wordle-review-answer-643.html), the novelists [*Taffy Brodesser-Akner*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/26/crosswords/wordle-review-answer-645.html) and [*Sabaa Tahir*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/23/crosswords/wordle-review-answer-642.html), as well as Times journalists, [*narrate their personal approaches*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/wordle-review).

Here’s [*today’s front page*](https://static01.nyt.com/images/2023/03/30/nytfrontpage/scan.pdf).

Kitty Bennett, Matthew Cullen, Lauren Hard, Lauren Jackson, Claire Moses, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Tom Wright-Piersanti and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: Ukrainian military on the street of Bakhmut in December 2022. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tyler Hicks/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 30, 2023

**End of Document**



[***In Her First Stage Role, Flying Solo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:681D-3C81-JBG3-642J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 16, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1724 words

**Byline:** By Alexis Soloski

**Body**

The one-woman show, coming to Broadway, is the ''Killing Eve'' star's first stage role. She dared herself to do it.

Until last year, the actress Jodie Comer had never performed onstage. Comer, 30, a native of Liverpool, England, who began her career as a teenager, hadn't gone to drama school. She hadn't studied voice or movement. Her comfort was in the close-up, the medium shot. She knew how to make her face still and her voice quiet, and to let the camera do the rest. The theater directors she auditioned for didn't trust that she could fill a stage.

''It kind of felt unattainable,'' she said.

But she is filling one now. On Broadway, at the John Golden Theater on West 45th Street, her face is emblazoned above the marquee, twice. The art for the Olivier Award-winning ''Prima Facie'' -- an intimate and harrowing monodrama about a woman contending with the fallout of a sexual assault -- shows Comer bathed in pink tones, serene, in a barrister's wig, her eyes closed; it also shows her washed in blue, screaming. Opening on April 23, the play, which Comer first performed in London last year, runs 100 minutes. She is alone onstage for all of them. It's the theatrical equivalent of being shoved down a mountain the first time you put on skis, or off a high dive before you have even learned to swim.

Comer put it a little differently. ''I pushed myself,'' she said.

This was on a Sunday morning in late March, at an out-of-the way table at a West Village cafe. Comer, buoyed by the London-to-New York time change, had arrived early, chipper and casual in jeans and a fisherman's sweater. (Casual, but not entirely anonymous: The reservation was in my name, yet a waiter had already brought a plate of complimentary pastries.) A plastic clip held her hair away from her face.

About that face: Comer has wide-set eyes, full lips and an impossible milk-and-roses complexion. She looks like a Botticelli goddess who has stepped out of the canvas and into some cute ankle boots. And yet, if you have seen her previous work -- the action comedy ''Free Guy,'' the action drama ''The Last Duel,'' the crusading BBC film ''Help'' and, most significantly, the queer assassin fever dream ''Killing Eve'' -- you will know that her beauty is usually the least interesting thing about her. That prettiness is a mask she can remove at will, exposing something weirder, spikier, wilder beneath.

''It's like Jodie didn't get the memo that she is staggeringly beautiful,'' Shawn Levy, who directed ''Free Guy,'' told me. ''Jodie is uninterested in relying on her physical appearance.''

Unlike many beautiful actresses, Comer has mostly avoided wife, girlfriend and love-interest parts -- and their inherent limitations. ''From early on, my characters were quite nuanced or multifaceted,'' she said. ''I was probably very lucky that that's where I started. Once people see you in that light, they latch on to that.''

At the cafe, the morning sun showed her as friendly, unassuming almost, until she began to speak about her work. Then, behind those wide eyes, something like lightning flashed.

''Jodie is extraordinarily powerful,'' Shannon Murphy, a director who worked closely with her on ''Killing Eve,'' told me. ''People aren't just going to cast her as the girl next door. Because it's a waste.''

And yet, the role that Comer plays in ''Prima Facie'' is very much a girl next door, which lends the show much of its heartbreak and force. Written by Suzie Miller, an Australian attorney turned playwright, and directed by Justin Martin (''The Jungle''), also Australian, ''Prima Facie'' centers on Tessa Ensler, a promising barrister who has transcended her ***working-class*** origins and accent. When she finds herself the victim of a sexual assault, a crime whose accused perpetrators she had often defended, Tessa's poise and selfhood collapse. In this play, the reality and violence of the assault is never in doubt. That it should happen to a woman like Comer's Tessa -- so pretty, so assertive, so canny -- means that it could happen to anyone.

''Prima Facie'' debuted in Sydney in 2019, starring the Australian actress Sheridan Harbridge. When Miller and Martin knew that they wanted to take it to London, they began throwing around the names of English actresses. Martin suggested Comer. Miller said no. She had seen Comer on ''Killing Eve,'' as the mercurial assassin Villanelle, who is Russian-born and Russian-accented. Comer's Emmy Award-winning command of the role was so absolute that Miller assumed that Comer was actually Russian. Once Martin gently corrected her, a script was sent.

It reached Comer early in Britain's lockdown, in Liverpool, where she was living with her parents. It spoke to her directly, and at volume. She had several friends who had undergone versions of Tessa's experience. And the professional challenge was as serious as it was undeniable.

''I was so fearful of it. I knew if I said no to it, it would be purely because of that,'' Comer said. ''But there was a part of myself deep down that believed I could do it, and I was interested in how I was going to get to that point.''

That fear powered her initial approach to the role. ''She gets scared,'' Martin said. ''But her way of dealing with it is to throw herself into it.''

Comer discovered theater in her teens. ''I got into it because I enjoyed it. It made me happy. I don't think that's ever changed,'' she said. A teacher put her forward for a radio drama, which led to an agent and to occasional television appearances. After graduation, she worked at a supermarket checkout and at a bar to make ends meet. Her idea of luxury was being able to make a living from acting only. Her first major break came seven years ago, when she was cast as the lead in ''Thirteen,'' a BBC drama about a woman who escapes from long captivity. Even then, Comer couldn't land a stage role.

But the recognition that ''Killing Eve'' brought changed all that. For Martin and for James Bierman, lead producer on ''Prima Facie,'' her lack of theater experience was never a problem. They offered her the resources -- voice lessons, movement sessions -- and the rehearsal time that she would need.

Comer has always been an intuitive actor. The challenge, she found, was to take that intuition and extend it outward so that it reached the last row of the balcony. ''Like, how do I emote from the top of my head to the tip of my toes?'' she said.

Rehearsals, which began early in 2022, were rigorous, as was Comer's research. She spoke to barristers, to police officers, to a high-court judge. She visited a police station and attended a hearing. She had herself fitted for a wig. What would a woman like Tessa wear, she wanted to know. What would she eat? How would she sit, stand and speak? In watching some of the women barristers at work, Comer felt an immediate connection.

''There were elements of it that felt like theater: the costumes, the cues, the rehearsal of the lines,'' she said.

Television and film sets provide elaborate, realistic environments. Especially if the projects are shot on location. Theater is a more symbolic space, a conjuration of lights and plywood, which offered Comer a kind of freedom. In that glow, she could experiment, she could play. ''What theater really sparked in me was that curiosity and sense of imagination,'' she said with all the eagerness of a recent convert. Onstage there was no armor, no safety, no ability to stop and take it again, particularly in the scene in which Comer, alone on the floor of the stage, depicts the assault.

Miller was convinced, even during rehearsals. ''She is magnificent onstage; she's a theater animal,'' she said of Comer on a recent video call. ''She's the character. She's there.''

But after years of performing on television and film, Comer hadn't known how a live audience would respond. Her anxiety remained up until the first curtain and perhaps even after. ''I was actually quite consumed by fear,'' she said. ''I didn't really come up for air.''

She recalled that, toward the end of the first preview in London, she heard a woman in the orchestra crying. ''It was the most guttural cry,'' Comer said. ''It spread around the theater. It was like the audience were giving each other this unspoken permission to feel whatever was coming up for them.''

Stephen Graham, an actor who worked with a teenage Comer on ''Good Cop'' and then again on ''Help,'' saw ''Prima Facie'' in London and wept through it, admiring ''the beauty and the subtlety and the nuance and the craftsmanship that went into that performance,'' he said.

I didn't see it in London, but I watched it a few weeks ago, on video, via a National Theater Live performance capture. Her craftsmanship was apparent from the first few minutes. Look at Comer in a robe, I thought to myself. Look how good she is. Then the character seemed to take her over. Absorbed in the story, I forgot about Comer, forgot about her beauty, and thought only of Tessa.

Miller had noticed this, too. ''You don't look at her and go, 'There's a beautiful woman crying.' You go, 'There's a devastated woman crying,''' she said.

Over breakfast, Comer had said that despite her leading lady facade, she understands herself as a character actress, someone who wants to disappear into a part, even though or especially because she can't even disappear into a Village cafe. ''I'd love to get to a point where I play a role where I don't recognize myself,'' she said.

''Prima Facie'' began as a personal challenge, a dare almost. Could she manage alone onstage for all that time? Could she pull off the scene changes and the radical shifts in emotion? But it has become about something more.

Women waited for her at the stage door every night in London, telling her that their experiences mirrored Tessa's or that they were considering careers in law to support women like her. By vanishing into Tessa, she has given these women a way to recognize themselves. That image near the marquee? It's her face, doubly exposed, but it's also a mosaic composed of photos of women who submitted their pictures and stories. That's what Comer wants: to feel part of something bigger than herself, to feel some greater purpose is working through her.

''It's those moments where you step out of your way when you feel the most fulfilled,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/theater/jodie-comer-prima-facie-killing-eve.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/12/theater/jodie-comer-prima-facie-killing-eve.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Jodie Comer, above, plays a barrister contending with the fallout of a sexual assault in ''Prima Facie,'' bottom. She first performed the role last year in London. In her breakthrough part in the TV series ''Killing Eve,'' below, Comer was a wily assassin pursued by an investigator played by Sandra Oh, right. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SABRINA SANTIAGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BBC AMERICA

HELEN MURRAY) This article appeared in print on page AR6.

**Load-Date:** April 16, 2023

**End of Document**



[***‘Women Is Losers’ Review: A Woman Beaten but Not Defeated***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63WD-M281-JBG3-6208-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 19, 2021 Tuesday 00:52 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 366 words

**Byline:** Concepción de León

**Highlight:** The film follows Celina, a young Latina woman navigating sexism and systemic oppression in the 1960s.

**Body**

The film follows Celina, a young Latina woman navigating sexism and systemic oppression in the 1960s.

Early on in “Women is Losers,” the main character, Celina Guerrera (Lorenza Izzo) — after her husband’s white lover tells her to “speak English” during a confrontation — breaks the fourth wall. She gives a brief history lesson, changes her wardrobe and, joined by the cast and crew, apologizes for the low budget production. If the viewer can look past this, Celina promises a story about “pulling yourself up by the bootstrap when all you have left is your skin.”

Directed by Lissette Feliciano, the movie, which gets its name from a Janis Joplin song, follows Celina from high school to adulthood, as she navigates an abusive household, an unplanned pregnancy and the challenges of being a working woman in the 1960s. Despite having no family support and a partner, Mateo (Bryan Craig), struggling with post-traumatic stress disorder after fighting in the Vietnam War, Celina faces each new obstacle with grit and aplomb, living up to her surname, Guerrera, which means warrior.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/hT-pyloBiE4)]

The breaking of the fourth wall is most effective when used to point out moments of subtle sexism, like when Celina’s manager, Gilbert (Simu Liu), calls her smart for saving instead of spending her money on “magazines and makeup” like other “girls.” Celina turns to the camera and says, “He’s being nice, so I’m going to give him a pass.” This scene reflects the regular psychological disruptions women experience.

But more often the direct addresses feel overly didactic, seeming to prioritize changing minds over telling a story. The film is strongest when it hones in on Celina’s loneliness and loss, and on her relationship with her best friend, Marty (Chrissie Fit). It’s arguable that Celina’s emotional distance is a true reflection of how ***working class*** women manage their feelings in order to cope. But it could be dissatisfying to a viewer craving to see women’s interior lives; their pain rather than their resilience.

Women Is Losers

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 24 minutes. [*Watch on HBO Max.*](https://play.hbomax.com/page/urn:hbo:page:GYTqlggMW81S6cAEAAACl:type:feature)

PHOTO: Lorenza Izzo in “Women Is Losers.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY HBO Max FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Mill Fire in Northern California Has Killed at Least Two People, Officials Say***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:669S-NP31-DXY4-X3BS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 4, 2022 Sunday 14:32 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 767 words

**Byline:** Holly Dillemuth and Shawn Hubler

**Highlight:** The fire, one of two whipping through the region, has destroyed at least 100 homes, according to the authorities.

**Body**

The fire, one of two whipping through the region, has destroyed at least 100 homes, according to the authorities.

YREKA, Calif. — Wind-whipped fires that have forced the evacuation of thousands in Northern California have killed at least two people, the authorities said Sunday.

The news of the deaths came as firefighters struggled for a third day to vanquish the flames. [*The Mill fire*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/us/fire-tracker-maps.html), which erupted on Friday near a defunct lumber mill in the town of Weed, Calif., has consumed more than 4,200 acres there and in nearby communities and destroyed at least 100 homes, local officials said, though they are still assessing the damage. Among the areas devastated was the Lincoln Heights area of Weed, a historically Black community that was founded by Black mill workers in the 1920s.

Witnesses said the fire, whipped by howling winds, exploded so suddenly that there was scarcely time to evacuate. By Sunday afternoon, it was 25 percent contained.

The two killed in [*the Mill fire*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/us/fire-tracker-maps.html) were women, ages 66 and 73, said Jeremiah LaRue, the Siskiyou County sheriff-coroner. They were not related, he said. “We have lost two people to this fire,” Sheriff LaRue told a community meeting in Montague, a town north of the fires. “There’s no easy way of putting that.”

The Mill fire was the first of two substantial blazes to ignite on Friday in Siskiyou County, near the Oregon border. As of Sunday afternoon, the larger Mountain fire had raced through more than 8,400 acres and was only about 10 percent contained. Overall, 4,300 firefighters from across California were working to contain those two fires, according to Cal Fire, the state’s fire protection agency.

On Sunday, residents of Weed and other communities including Lake Shastina were trying to process the destruction and scale of loss.

Stacey Green, a city councilor in Weed, home to about 2,900, has lived in the Lincoln Heights neighborhood for more than 50 years. The fire destroyed his home and took everything he had.

“My point of reference is just dirt. Black, gray dirt, and it’s leveled,” he said at a Red Cross evacuation center provided by the Karuk Tribe in Yreka, about 30 miles north of Weed.

Mr. Green was taking a nap on Friday when he heard knocking on his door. He woke up to see flames engulfing a tree in his front yard. He then saw that his backyard was on fire, too. Across from his home on Crestmore Avenue, houses were already in flames, he said. Unable to find his keys, wallet or shoes, he left with only his cellphone and the clothes on his back. Surrounded by smoke, he walked to a nearby highway in his socks.

On Monday, Mr. Green will spend his 59th birthday at the evacuation center, not the room he grew up in. His grand piano, which he learned to play by ear, will not be there. Neither will the photographs of his late parents.

“I feel like a piece of me is gone. That’s what made me, and that’s no longer there,” he said.

Eddie Russell, who lived in an apartment in Lincoln Heights, was another evacuee at the shelter. He said that he had just moved back to Weed in May from Georgia, where he had lived for two decades, after his mother had died. He felt like he was putting down roots in Lincoln Heights.

“That was my home, I was settling down,” Mr. Russell said.

He, too, lost everything in the fire, including a tablet with photographs of his mother.

“All I had was my backpack and the clothes on my back,” Mr. Russell said. He said he was upbeat but honest about his loss, and that it would not be the first time he needed to start over in life.

Many longtime residents of Siskiyou County are familiar with that predicament. But after the Boles fire in 2014 and the Lava fire in 2021, along with recent fires in Yreka, the continual evacuations have many in the region reeling.

Sheriff LaRue said that the fires have been “devastating” for the ***working-class*** small towns. He added that residents who live within fire zones can face “extraordinarily” high insurance rates, making it hard for people to afford premiums and adequate coverage.

The geography of Weed is a factor in its vulnerability to fire. The town was founded as a lumber town, and the mill was built there because the winds coming off Mt. Shasta dried the timber, Sheriff LaRue said.

But those same winds, along with drought and high temperatures, also serve as a propellant to any fires in the region.

“If you get a fire, it’s like a blowtorch,” he said.

Mandy Feder-Sawyer contributed reporting.

Mandy Feder-Sawyer contributed reporting.

PHOTO: A firefighter hosing down hot spots. Witnesses said there was barely time to evacuate. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FRED GREAVES/REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** October 7, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Our Town***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:697R-CXK1-DXY4-X0RH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 24, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section M2; Column 0; TStyle; Pg. 142

**Length:** 4898 words

**Byline:** By Ligaya Mishan and David Chow

**Body**

SOME NIGHTS, IN her bedroom in a former tenement in downtown Manhattan, the fashion designer Sandy Liang can hear the strains of ''Happy Birthday'' filtering up through the floorboards from Congee Village, the restaurant that her father opened in 1996, when she was 5. So many times she's listened to the waiters sing those bars, on her birthday and her brother's, year after year, every milestone celebrated in that fantastical dining room tricked out with fake trees. Back then, the address was just outside of Chinatown, which emerged in the 1870s within the predominantly Irish and later Italian Five Points slum, at the bracket of Bayard, Mott and Pell Streets. The New York Times first mentions the neighborhood by name in 1880, coolly noting that a few property owners in the area refused to take Chinese tenants, while others demanded rents ''considerably above those paid by Christians.'' These days, depending on whom you ask, the neighborhood sprawls from Delancey Street down to Chambers Street, west to Broadway and east as far as the river.

In Liang's childhood memory of the restaurant's early days on Allen Street just below Delancey, there weren't a lot of Chinese in that part of the Lower East Side yet. Her family lived in Bayside, Queens, but most weekends her mother trekked across the bridge into Chinatown for groceries, and Liang slept over at her grandparents' apartment on Rivington Street. Like many Chinese-born women who came to the United States after immigration reform in the 1960s, Liang's paw paw, or maternal grandmother, worked at one of the neighborhood's garment factories, which by the early '80s numbered around 500 and employed more than 20,000 women, some making only $9 or $10 a day despite the federally mandated minimum wage of $3.35 an hour. On June 24, 1982, nearly a decade before Liang was born, almost all of those women walked off the job and took to the streets, wearing paper caps signaling their allegiance to International Ladies' Garment Workers Union Local 23-25, to protest employers who were threatening to cut wages and pull benefits.

Now Liang, 32, is the one who makes clothes. In 2020, she opened a boutique a few blocks south of Congee Village. Nothing is crowded here, nothing loud. Winky separates -- a gingham top with dangling garters, a demi-bra in power-suit gray -- hang from a sinuous metal rack across from shelves of giant flower scrunchies edged in eyelet, and satin Mary Janes whose blunted toes evoke ballet shoes. The price tags wouldn't be out of place in SoHo or up on Madison Avenue. But there's a blithe mix-and-match sensibility to Liang's line that collapses the distance between It girl and Chinatown grandma -- sometimes literally: A shearling coat modeled by her paw paw in 2018 wound up a few years later on a magazine editor in the rebooted TV series ''Gossip Girl.'' For Liang, who once presented her designs at Congee Village amid plates of fried rice and chow fun, there is no contradiction. There is simply biography.

In some ways, this is the story of Manhattan's Chinatown, too: born in another era and yet urgently of this one, old and new at once, ever in flux and yet somehow timeless, if only in the mind. Where so much of New York has submitted to the demands of capital and so many blocks have been transformed into mere real estate, this pocket of prized downtown squeezed between SoHo and TriBeCa, two of the most expensive neighborhoods in the city, has to date mostly resisted wholesale demolition and development (owing in part to the concentration of property in the hands of civic associations formed to govern the neighborhood in the late 1800s and organized by family or village ties). It has even expanded into new territory, subsuming all but three blocks of Little Italy, as well as the historically Jewish section of the Lower East Side. (The original Chinatown, to the west, was settled by those with origins in Guangdong Province, who speak Cantonese; more recent immigrants, from Fujian Province and speaking Mandarin and Fujianese, have staked a claim to the east.) As other quarters in Manhattan have started to change in character (Washington Heights, whose Dominican population has declined; Harlem, no longer majority Black) -- with both the departure of the young people raised there and the arrival of outsiders in search of cheaper rents or the aura of cool that comes with living on an imagined fringe -- Chinatown has remained recognizably Chinatown.

But whose Chinatown? For tourists looking for an easily accessible exotic within an American city, there is the Chinatown of myth and surfaces, of paper lanterns and dragons, stone lions and ceramic lucky cats waving their paws, dumplings and noodles. That these items have genuine cultural value does not rescue them from the reductiveness of an outsider's gaze. Indeed, as long as there have been Chinatowns, enterprising vendors within these communities have consciously played to non-Chinese tastes, exaggerating and diluting cultural differences as needed, as with the tempering of dishes (and the creation of almost entirely new ones) for curious but still fairly timid Western palates. The result, paradoxically, is that tourists find in Chinatown not a new world, to be learned in its particulars, but a variation on a theme, in which one noodle shop stands in for all noodle shops and one Chinatown for all Chinatowns, across the country and the world.

Even for many American-born Chinese, who may honor Chinatown less as a specific address than as a testament to immigrant adaptability and resilience and a metaphorical marker of origins regardless of whether their ancestors passed through it, the neighborhood is essentially a place to visit -- to come for dim sum on weekends, like tourists. Today Manhattan's Chinatown has been surpassed in size by Chinatowns in Flushing, Queens, and Sunset Park, Brooklyn. A 2022 city report, drawing on census statistics for tracts that approximate the neighborhood's physical plant, puts the total population at 57,159, of which 34,295 (60 percent) are of Asian descent.

At the same time, a number of young Chinese Americans are choosing, like Liang, to anchor themselves in the neighborhood, a reversal of traditional patterns of assimilation, in which the children of immigrants tend to leave crowded urban ethnic enclaves for the expansiveness of suburbia. Some have family here: Vic Lee, 33, of the nonprofit organization Welcome to Chinatown, has a tattoo on her elbow of a rice bowl with the number 135, a homage to her grandmother's longtime address, 135 Eldridge Street. Others are newcomers, drawn perhaps out of a desire to reconnect with the culture of their forebears or wanting the comfort of the familiar -- the food they ate as children; the sound of the language their grandparents spoke; the greetings and mild scoldings from the elders they meet on the street, whom they call aunties and uncles -- or for a sense, however inchoate, of belonging. The filmmaker Connor Sen Warnick, 27, moved to Chinatown a year and a half ago, to a railroad apartment with the shower in the kitchen, because, he says, ''in other spaces, I was always reminded that I was Asian and overlooked or misunderstood.''

It is the simplest kind of freedom, to feel at one with your surroundings; to be able to melt into the crowd. The California-born architect Dong-Ping Wong, 43, of Food New York, opened an office in 2018 at the western end of East Broadway, a part of Chinatown where few tourists wander. ''Here I can not feel foreign,'' he says. ''I can disappear.''

UNDER THE QING dynasty (1644-1911), Chinese imperial subjects were discouraged or outright prohibited from going overseas. But the First Opium War, which ended in 1842 with the British forcing China into trade concessions, sapped the empire's power, and people in the southern coastal province of Guangdong -- home to the only port in China that was open to Westerners -- felt emboldened to seek opportunities in America. They were greeted as usurpers of jobs and, in the West, then still a lawless frontier, many were brutalized and massacred.

An ethnic enclave within a city was not so much a choice as a necessity, then, for protection, and because discrimination made it nearly impossible to rent and find work elsewhere. In the United States, immigrant neighborhoods have typically functioned as liminal spaces, way stations for nascent Americans en route to a less conspicuous life. But while Irish, German and, later, Southern and Eastern European immigrants were eventually folded into mainstream white America (the descendants of Western and Northern European colonialists), for the Chinese there was no path to assimilation; they were viewed as forever foreign, a notion that, as Wong points out, persists to this day.

In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, strictly limiting Chinese immigration for the next six decades. (It was not repealed until 1943, after China had become the United States' ally in World War II.) Manhattan's Chinatown grew nevertheless, albeit with a dramatically skewed gender ratio: Because the Page Act of 1875 had effectively banned Chinese women from entering the country (ostensibly to curtail human trafficking and prostitution, although likely an underlying motive was to prevent Chinese immigrants from having children on American soil), by 1900 Chinatown was home to 7,028 men but only 142 women -- a ratio of nearly 50 to 1, according to research by the Hong Kong-based historian Xinyang Wang. The neighborhood didn't approach gender parity until the 1970s, after national origin quotas for immigration were abolished.

For some, it can be difficult to distinguish Chinatown as a historic site from the living neighborhood of today. ''People think of Chinatown as this place they just go to or used to go to -- but people live here,'' Rochelle Kwan, 30, who collects oral histories for the nonprofit organization Think!Chinatown, says. ''I'm one of them.''

TO AN OUTSIDE observer, Chinatown is at once vivid and invisible. You walk the streets, past the park with Cantopop from tinny radios lilting over thunked basketballs, the twang of a qinqin (plucked lute) and the sly murmur of xiangqi (Chinese chess) masters and aunties playing cards; past cooks in peaked hats on smoke break and street vendors by the Manhattan Bridge ever proclaiming, waving at orange-clawed crabs nestled in baskets, boxes of Ritz crackers, green beans spilled on newspaper, hot pink dragon fruit and musky little globes of longan hiding sweet, translucent flesh; past funeral supply shops and ginseng specialists, racks of red roasted ducks with shatter-ready skin and glassy-eyed fish over ice, grinding vans and buses destined for Virginia Beach; past restaurants whose kitchens seethe with the constant crackling static of food dropped in hot oil and industrial woks that roar like airplanes gunning to take flight; past decaying tenements riddled with faulty wiring, so quick to start fires, and doors that lead to warrens of carved-up rooms, some of them homes shared for decades by multiple generations, some crammed with cots wall to wall, rented out in eight-hour shifts by new immigrants with nowhere else to rest; past other doors, unmarked, that might conceal makeshift mahjong parlors for illegal gambling and karaoke dens up murkily lit stairs where blonde brides-to-be belt out Journey's ''Don't Stop Believin''' while Chinatown uncles roll dice at the bar.

Even if you try to look closer, deeper, it is difficult not to fall into the trap of travelogue. And yet the energy of the streets is arguably a large part of what makes Chinatown Chinatown: a neighborhood that is as fully alive, as fully itself, in its public spaces as in its private ones. The population density alters the relationship of inside and outside. Kwan lives in a small apartment and thus spends much of her time outdoors, ''hanging out with the uncles, saying hi to the fruit vendors,'' she says. In an area where, for many, a commute to work or a foray for groceries might be a matter of a few blocks, the most prosaic of encounters, repeated day after day -- the hellos exchanged with someone you don't quite know, the consultations with shopkeepers on what's freshest that morning -- can offer a promise of connection. The band Chanpan (the 26-year-old twins Lance and Matthew Tran on guitar and drums, and the 24-year-old singer Grace Dumdaw) started out busking on Confucius Plaza and were then recruited to perform at the wedding of the publicist Gia Kuan, 36, whose office is on Hester Street.

The architect Dominic Leong, 45, wonders to what extent nostalgia for the neighborhood is often the projection of a romanticized Chineseness, as opposed to actual engagement with its residents. (He and his older brother, Chris, who are mixed-race Asian Americans of Chinese and Hawaiian descent, moved their firm, Leong Leong, to an office on the Bowery in 2010.) What is a neighborhood, after all, but the people who inhabit it? Leong notes that one of Chinatown's distinctive characteristics is the presence of the elderly and the insistence on family as an extended unit, with many lives -- and time periods lived through -- under one roof.

Filial piety, a Confucian virtue, is sometimes misunderstood as mere obedience and passive acceptance of the wisdom of one's ancestors, when in fact it can be the expression of a profound empathy, in which the self is not sublimated but enlarged. In 2016, Mei Lum, now 32, abandoned plans for graduate studies in international development in order to keep Wing on Wo, the shop her great-great-grandfather opened on Mott Street in 1890, from closing. (Once a general store, it now specializes in porcelain.) For her, the decision to stay rather than leave -- to choose the path her elders had taken as her own -- was a radical act, and a step toward better ''understanding my cultural identity and myself,'' she says. The same year, hoping to hark back to the store's early days as a community hub where residents could share news and pool resources, she launched the W.O.W. Project to encourage connections between youth and elders and support local artists. Now, amid the shop's array of porcelain, she stocks zines like Alien Sketchbook by Yao Xiao and Dear Allie by Anson Lin, whose third issue promises ''tasty pictures, bittersweet story.''

That sort of quiet renewal from within is happening throughout the neighborhood. Across from Wing on Wo, red stairs dip under the sidewalk to reveal the subterranean Wo Hop, in operation since 1938, a canteen for Chinese American standbys like egg foo yong and duck lo mein. (A slightly newer sister restaurant is upstairs; each setting has its partisans.) In 2020, two years after David Leung, 58, became the majority owner -- his father and grandfather had worked there for years -- his daughter, Chelsea, then 16, helped him give new life to the restaurant's Instagram account, highlighting its crimson barbecue ribs and limited-edition Lunar New Year T-shirts. Down on East Broadway, the former Cantonese opera star Winnie Mui, now 83, presides -- with the help of her son, Teddy, 44, and daughter, Jaime, 47 -- over a reincarnation of Winnie's, the belovedly anarchic karaoke bar she ran from 1987 to 2014 on Bayard Street.

There are mavericks, too. On an otherwise blank block of Division Street, Paul Eng, 56, a former guitarist in the '90s grunge band Piss Factory, has revived his family's tofu shop, Fong On, first opened on Mott in 1933, as a bright, streamlined storefront with swan-necked iron lamps and a bar of ready-to-go sweet-sour-chewy toppings like grass jelly and mung beans to gild tofu pudding, i.e., extra-soft tofu. Soft Swerve, down the street from Congee Village, whirls up cones of hojicha and black sesame ice cream; the owners, Jason Liu, 36, whose family ran a laundromat in the neighborhood for 20 years, and Michael Tsang, 35, met in middle school at the Manhattan Academy of Technology, then located at P.S. 2 on Henry Street. A few blocks over on Chrystie Street, Cantonese salt-and-pepper chicken with scallion-flecked Southern-style biscuits issues from the kitchen at Potluck Club, opened by friends, now all in their 30s, three of whom attended P.S. 124 Yung Wing (named after the first Chinese student to graduate from a North American university, in 1854).

Sometimes elders in the neighborhood look askance at these innovations. But ''we're not trying to rebrand Chinatown,'' Kimberly Ho, 38, a partner in Potluck Club and the granddaughter of the original owners of Great N.Y. Noodletown, is quick to say. ''We just want to create a true representation of us as American-born Chinese.''

AT THE ONSET of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, the streets of Chinatown went silent. Even before the city issued a shelter-in-place order, people from other parts of town, who account for nearly 80 percent of the patronage of Chinatown businesses, started shunning the area, falsely identifying the virus, which originated in China, with those of Chinese descent living and working in the neighborhood. According to an impact study overseen last year by Welcome to Chinatown, from 2019 to 2021, the neighborhood sustained a 57 percent drop in visits to stores and restaurants and a 26 percent loss in jobs (compared to 14 percent citywide). ''For the first time, I realized, 'I can't take what I grew up with for granted,''' Liang says.

Storefronts were sealed behind rolled-down metal shutters. Some never rolled back up. Or when they did, there were different, non-Asian owners, who sometimes kept the old signage, with Chinese characters, which had the uneasy effect of reducing to mere décor the lives unspooled there: the people who had struggled to keep that small business -- and, by proxy, the neighborhood -- alive.

With the pandemic came physical attacks on people of Asian descent. The New York Police Department documented 28 incidents in 2020 and another 129 through early December 2021, while nationally in the same time period 10,905 incidents were reported to the coalition Stop AAPI Hate. (A.A.P.I. stands for Asian American and Pacific Islander.) To hostile eyes, any Asian, whether Chinese or not, could be a target. In this moment of crisis, Manhattan's Chinatown, with its historic significance, became a point of solidarity for Asian Americans. Donations flooded in from across the country to organizations such as Welcome to Chinatown and Send Chinatown Love, both founded in March 2020. Their early efforts included supporting hard-hit local restaurants, many of which were cash only and had no internet presence, by purchasing meals that were then delivered to frontline workers and New Yorkers in need. (Welcome to Chinatown's founders, Vic Lee and Jennifer Tam, 34, picked up and delivered the food themselves, earning the trust of restaurant owners despite, Lee says, ''our very basic Cantonese.'')

Chinatown is still here. But the threats of erasure that preceded the pandemic have only intensified in its wake. Construction sites trumpet luxury condos in progress; the city is proceeding with plans to build what may be the world's tallest jail, despite fierce community pushback. Then there are more insidious encroachments: nouvelle coffee shops, stark white art galleries. ''They think they're bringing culture to the neighborhood,'' Lum says. ''They're not acknowledging the rich cultural fabric that was already here.'' In the past decade, a mostly non-Asian group of artists, models, skaters, podcasters and other downtown personalities has laid claim to the cluster of blocks near the intersection of Canal and Division Streets, which some call Dimes Square, after the organic-leaning cafe on one block that serves bergamot pancakes and seaweed burgers. Perhaps they've come to this ***working-class*** neighborhood hoping for some kind of authenticity, increasingly elusive in today's homogenized, corporate Manhattan. Whatever the motives, the result was that rents went up and a boutique hotel moved in. In today's New York, there is nothing so cool that it can't be mainstreamed and monetized. Inevitably the co-opters get co-opted.

But young Chinese Americans who are relatively new to the neighborhood must also reckon with the possibility that they, too, are contributing to the displacement of Chinatown residents; as Leong says, ''We're Chinese, but young professionals, paying more rent than previous inhabitants.'' On East Broadway under the Manhattan Bridge, the upper floor of an old indoor mall has in the past few years turned into a mini-SoHo of high-end furniture galleries and shops selling reproductions of '60s-era leather overcoats and ersatz Nike socks with the tag line ''Just, don't.'' Wong, who works down the street, feels conflicted about the transformation. ''I am that exact hipster market,'' he admits with a laugh. Even Lee, who spent every Sunday of her childhood here at her grandmother's apartment, says, ''My identity as a Chinese American does not change the fact that I am also a gentrifier.''

How to be in the neighborhood and not exploit it? Some have set themselves the task of truly knowing Chinatown, becoming scholars of its past. Warnick consulted local elders in making his forthcoming film, ''Characters Disappearing,'' whose protagonist is a leader of the 1970s radical group I Wor Kuen, kin to the Black Panthers and the Young Lords. This fall, Lulu Yao Gioiello, 30, whose annual Far-Near book series features work by writers from Asia and the diaspora as a corrective to media misrepresentation, is opening a community art space on Canal Street modeled in spirit after the 16-by-16-foot room under Elizabeth Street rented in 1970 by the artist-activist collective Basement Workshop, where they grappled with questions of Asian American identity while lobbying for better jobs, health care and resources for the neighborhood.

Implicit in this is a rebuke to a city that increasingly appears to exist only for the elite. Since 2015, Chinatown Art Brigade, founded by Betty Yu, 45, ManSee Kong, 42, and Tomie Arai, 74, has drawn attention to tenants' rights with large-scale nocturnal light projections of messages like ''Don't call Chinatown the 'last frontier''' and ''Who did you displace when you opened your gallery?'' An exhibition this past spring from the fictional Canal Street Research Association -- a project by the artists Ming Lin, who grew up on Walker Street, and Alex Tatarsky, both 34, collaborators under the name Shanzhai Lyric -- investigated a 2008 police raid on Chinatown vendors selling counterfeit luxury goods and how the city privileges corporate commerce over the kind of informal economies that help many of its inhabitants stay afloat.

Kwan has bypassed the regular economy altogether in amassing, through word of mouth, an enormous archive of vintage Chinese records, spanning 78s from the 1920s to Cantopop CDs from the early 2000s. When people give her records, they tell her stories -- about the soundtrack at their family's laundromat, the songs they taught themselves on the piano or the raucous karaoke parties in their parents' living rooms. These stories, like the oral histories she collects, shouldn't just be filed away, she argues: ''A lot of our work is trying to get out of that nostalgic museum mind-set.'' Instead, she brings the music back to the streets, D.J.ing at Think!Chinatown's summertime block parties at Mott and Mosco Streets and night markets on Forsyth Plaza, lighting up the Manhattan Bridge.

WHOSE CHINATOWN? WHOSE city? A neighborhood can be mobilized as a political force, as in 1975 when almost all of Chinatown's shops closed and thousands of residents marched on City Hall to protest police brutality, and with more recent actions decrying the new mega-jail. But to have political power requires a sense of solidarity, which in turn relies on the many small encounters and gestures that make up a district's daily life. To be in Chinatown -- whether as a descendant of multiple generations or as one in an influx of hundreds of newcomers each year, both immigrants and those born in the United States -- means being part of Chinatown, on the ground, committed to its continuing.

On one level, this may be as straightforward as supporting longstanding local businesses. During the pandemic, when indoor dining was banned, the Vietnamese American fashion stylist Beverly Nguyen, 33, started buying housewares from local restaurant-supply stores -- bamboo-handled spider ladles, steam baskets, woks -- to help them offload inventory, then reselling the goods in her pop-up shop, Beverly's (soon opening at a more permanent address on Orchard Street, across from Liang's boutique), arranging them alongside artisanal extra-virgin olive oil and handblown glasses and making customers from outside the neighborhood see what might appear as merely utilitarian objects in a new light.

The 37-year-old Korean American chef Sam Yoo, who cooked at Momofuku Ko (tasting menu: $280 per person), chose to open a more populist restaurant, Golden Diner, on Madison Street in 2019. ''It was very important for me to have true locals come in,'' he says. The ingredients reflect his attention to the neighborhood: Golden Diner's burger comes on a sesame scallion bun from Fay Da Bakery, a chain started on Centre Street in 1991 by Han Chou, now 65 and working alongside his son James, 33; and Yoo orders seafood from Aqua Best on Grand Street, whose owners, Steven and Freeman Wong, 44 and 47, took over a business first built up by their widowed single mother in the 1980s, and dishware from KK Discount on Mulberry Street, opened in 1990 and still run by Ken Li, 73, and his wife, Vicky.

Others are trying to find ways to go beyond commercial interactions. In 2018, the staff of Food New York ran a radio station for a month out of an empty East Broadway storefront, airing interviews with people in the arts. ''We wanted it to be heard by Chinatown kids: that you can make a living doing creative work,'' says Wong, the firm's founding director. The company has also hosted mahjong tournaments in its office and, last fall, in the shuttered 88 Palace dim sum parlor as a fund-raiser for Welcome to Chinatown. No previous knowledge of mahjong is required. The hope, he says, is to bring people to the neighborhood who might otherwise have ventured there only to eat, and to inspire greater engagement with Chinese culture.

There is fragility in some of these efforts. When Lucy Yu, 28, opened Yu and Me Books in 2021 in a former funeral-supply store on Mulberry Street, stocking books that showcase stories by immigrants and writers of color, she hoped that it would be a place where people could ''not just shop but sit, breathe, have conversations.'' Then, on the Fourth of July, a fire started in the apartment upstairs -- a hazard of the neighborhood, where a disturbing number of blazes in recent years have caused displacement, financial devastation and, in some cases, multiple deaths. Smoke engulfed the store. Firefighters had to break through the upstairs windows with axes, and water from the hoses seeped down, destroying the books. The ceiling collapsed. Yu was told that repairs would take at least a year, and no insurance money would come through for months.

The same day, Sandy Truong, 31, and Daniel Lam, 33, were awakened by a phone call. Someone had thrown a cinder block through the glass front door of their coffee shop on Henry Street, Dreamers, and snatched the cash register. They had met a few years before, working at a senior care center on Canal Street. When an organic cafe appeared on the corner, the seniors got nervous. '' 'It's not for us,' they said,'' Lam recalls. So the couple decided to open a more welcoming place. ''We try really hard not to be too cool,'' Lam says. ''Not transactional,'' Truong adds. They make sure there is always someone on duty who speaks Chinese and, alongside lattes, offer ling-mut, a tonic of lemon and honey found at Chinatown bakeries, here given fizz with a splash of sparkling water and chia seeds.

The fire at Yu and Me, the break-in at Dreamers: These are reminders that Chinatown is still vulnerable, still part of a larger, uneasy city with its own strains and complaints, its crumbling infrastructure and inadequate safety net. But it is nothing new to Chinatown to have to make do -- to look to one's own to survive. Two days after the fire, Yu set up a GoFundMe to cover staff wages, replace equipment and inventory and rent pop-up space while the store is being gut renovated. Within four hours, she'd received enough donations to hit her goal of $150,000; today her recovery fund stands at more than $360,000 and, earlier this month, she opened a temporary outlet at the Market Line on Delancey Street.

For Lam and Truong, the break-in was a setback, but not the end. They had planned to host a Fourth of July barbecue, that ultimate American tradition, on the sidewalk outside the coffee shop. Instead of calling it off, they invited half the neighborhood. ''We had to reclaim the day,'' Lam says. And while friends from down the block helped them sweep away the glass and board up the door, the grill popped and hissed, throwing sparks, like the fireworks spilling over the East River in shattered chandeliers.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/19/t-magazine/manhattan-chinatown-neighborhood.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/19/t-magazine/manhattan-chinatown-neighborhood.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Some of the young creative people revitalizing Manhattan's Chinatown, including, from left, the boutique owner Beverly Nguyen

the restaurateur and chef Sam Yoo

the ceramics seller Mei Lum

the filmmaker Connor Sen Warnick

the coffee- shop co-owner Daniel Lam

the fashion designer Sandy Liang

the ice cream maker Michael Tsang

Lam's business partner, Sandy Truong

and Tsang's business partner, Jason Liu. They were photographed at Golden Diner, Yoo's restaurant, on Aug. 6, 2023. Opposite: the corner of Doyers and Pell Streets in the middle of the neighborhood, which was established about 150 years ago.

Above: the railroad apartment that Warnick moved into last year and, opposite, the painted stairwell of his walk-up building.

The interior of Soft Swerve, an ice cream shop that sells Asian-influenced flavors like ube and strawberry lychee, which Liu and Tsang, childhood friends from the neighborhood, opened on Allen Street in 2016.

Shelves full of Chinese porcelain sold at Wing on Wo, a Mott Street boutique that Lum took over seven years ago -- her great-great- grandfather first opened it as a general store in 1890. Opposite: the view from Warnick's rooftop overlooking Canal and Mulberry Streets. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID CHOW) This article appeared in print on page M2142, M2143, M2144, M2145, M2146, M2147, M2148, M2149.

**Load-Date:** September 24, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Macron's Pension Plan Fuels Anger in Streets***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67C1-W4K1-DXY4-X3X4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 20, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 7

**Length:** 1329 words

**Byline:** By Roger Cohen and Aurelien Breeden

**Body**

Despite the wave of discontent, President Emmanuel Macron intends to push through plans to raise the retirement age to 64 from 62.

PARIS -- More than a million protesters, chanting slogans like ''retirement before arthritis,'' took to the streets throughout France to protest President Emmanuel Macron's plan to raise the legal age of retirement to 64 from 62.

Striking workers, from Calais in the north to Marseille in the south, closed schools, stopped many trains, disrupted the Paris Metro, lowered electricity output and curtailed flights, as France once again roused itself to resist tampering with its protective social model.

Mr. Macron, who is in the first year of his second and last term, wants to push through an overhaul of what he views as an untenable pension system. He sees this as a core part of his legacy. But in a country where work is viewed by many as a burden rather than an opportunity, and retirement as the panacea beyond it, his determination has ignited fierce resistance.

Labor unions, from the extreme left to the moderate center, united behind the protests, as did often splintered left-of-center political parties. Marine Le Pen, the leader of the extreme-right National Rally party that has attracted growing support among the ***working class***, also called for ''an unjust reform'' to be blocked.

In Paris, where the strikers' march stretched over two-and-a-half miles, Corinne Arramy, a hospital worker, wore a sticker saying ''We live longer and that's for the best, not a reason to die at work.'' Ms. Arramy, 56, said ''This is the start of something big,'' a fight to preserve a hard-earned right.

Teachers, railway workers and employees at public radio stations joined more than a million protesters at more than 200 demonstrations across the country, according to the Interior Ministry. The CGT labor union put the number at over two million. On Thursday evening, the labor unions welcomed the day's ''powerful mobilization'' and called for a new day of strikes and protests on Jan. 31.

Chants of ''Metro, Work, Tomb'' rose from the crowds in derisory dismissal of what is widely portrayed as a government attempt to squeeze the last of pleasure from life in a hypercompetitive world.

A long confrontation, involving further strikes, seems inevitable. For the French left, which has failed to reach even the runoff round of the last two presidential elections, defeating pension changes amounts to a critical test of its heft and ultimately of its eventual capacity to return to power.

For Mr. Macron, a centrist who tried and failed with a different pension overhaul in 2019 that also provoked massive protests, it is the crux of his attempt to give direction to a second term that has up to now seemed a time of drift. He has vowed, since his election campaign last year, to see the changes through.

The government believes the only way to balance the pension system is to make the French work longer. Workers and employers pay mandatory payroll taxes that are used to fund state pensions, but the ratio of workers to retirees has dropped sharply as life expectancy has increased. In 2000, there were 2.1 workers paying into the system for every one retiree, a number that fell to 1.7 in 2020.

''If you want the pact between generations to be just, this reform is essential, and so we will do it with respect, a spirit of dialogue, but also determination and responsibility,'' Mr. Macron said during a visit on Thursday to Barcelona.

However, the government's arithmetic is fiercely contested by labor leaders who argue that taxing the country's millionaires and their dividends would be a more effective way to fund the current pension system. ''Pensions are something sacred in France,'' said Matthieu Jilard, 26, a student who joined the Paris protest.

Rising inflation has contributed to a restive mood in France, but at a deeper level the overhaul attempt reveals ingrained attitudes toward work, equated with drudgery, and retirement, equated with the freedom at last to enjoy life.

A recent survey by the IFOP polling and marketing company found that only 24 percent of French people considered work ''very important,'' compared with 60 percent in 1990. The feeling of being unrecognized or taken for granted in the workplace appears widespread.

France is something of an outlier on pensions among European countries, many of which have already pushed back retirement for the very reasons Mr. Macron has outlined. In Germany, the legal age of retirement is 65 and is being gradually increased to 67. Spain is also working toward retirement at 67.

But some countries allow workers to retire before the legal age, provided they have paid into the system long enough. Italy, for instance, has also set 67 as the legal age of retirement, but many leave their jobs earlier.

Still, in France workers generally leave the labor market two to three years earlier than in other major European economies, according to an official advisory body called the Pensions Advisory Council.

The overhaul would raise the legal age of retirement in annual three-month increments, starting this fall, to reach 64 by 2030, three years after Mr. Macron, who is subject to term limits, leaves office. Parliament will begin discussing the bill next month, and Mr. Macron hopes it will become law by the summer.

That target, however, appears ambitious. ''If there is no positive response from the government, today is a first step, and there will be a second step,'' Philippe Martinez, the head of the CGT, told reporters before the march in Paris.

Police officers in riot gear deployed in large numbers, and many stores in Paris boarded up their windows. But violence appeared limited.

In Paris, near the Place de la Bastille, Thomas Ouvriard, 20, a political science university student, and Ignacio Franzone, 23, a worker at the French post office, hoisted a large poster of Mr. Macron dressed as King Louis XIV looking out with an unflinching stare. ''Macron the scornful,'' it said.

''Of course in France, we have cut off the heads of kings in our past history,'' Mr. Franzone said. ''We're not there yet with Macron, but we're here to win this fight.''

The perception of Mr. Macron as arrogant and remote, established during his first term, has proved hard to overcome. His zigzagging between right and left, while politically effective in the emasculation of the Socialist Party and the Republicans, long the two main political forces of postwar France, has also alienated some people.

France instituted a retirement age of 60 in 1981, only to retreat, and a 35-hour week in 1997. The degree of social protection is a source of great pride in a country long resistant to the more cutthroat capitalism of what it calls ''Anglo-Saxon'' economies. It is a measure of the distance between protesters and the government that some labor unions and Mr. Le Pen have called for bringing the retirement age forward to 60 from 62.

Alluding to the prime minister, Élisabeth Borne, the far-left leader Jean-Luc Mélenchon declared after she had presented the pension plan: ''With a stroke of the pen, Ms. Borne and Mr. Macron are repealing 40 to 50 years of social progress.''

Guy Groux, a labor specialist at Sciences Po's Centre for Political Research, said the protests on Thursday were a boost for unions, but he cautioned that it was still unclear how long they could keep up the pressure on Mr. Macron.

''The first success is that they are all united, which is rare in France,'' Mr. Groux said. ''What's at stake for the unions now is to make the movement last.''

Unions could continue disruptive transportation and fuel strikes, but it remains to be seen whom the French would ultimately blame, Mr. Groux added.

''Between the unions and Macron, the real referee will be public opinion,'' he said.

Constant Méheut, Liz Alderman and Tom Nouvian contributed reporting.Constant Méheut, Liz Alderman and Tom Nouvian contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/19/world/europe/france-strikes-macron-retirement-age.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/19/world/europe/france-strikes-macron-retirement-age.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A7.

**Load-Date:** January 20, 2023

**End of Document**



[***A New Voice for Winning Back Lost Democratic Voters; David Firestone***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67R8-VD21-JBG3-60TT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 9, 2023 Thursday 10:19 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1545 words

**Byline:** David Firestone

**Highlight:** Marie Gluesenkamp Perez has a few tips and proven experience on how to win over disaffected Trump voters and defeat MAGA Republicans.

**Body**

Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez chose her guest for last month’s State of the Union address in order to make one of her favorite points. She invited [*Cory Torppa*](https://gluesenkampperez.house.gov/posts/rep-gluesenkamp-perez-announces-cory-torppa-as-guest-at-state-of-the-union), who teaches construction and manufacturing at Kalama High School in her district in southwest Washington State, and also directs the school district’s career and technical education program. President Biden did briefly mention career training that night in his very long list of plans; still, Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez wasn’t thrilled with the speech.

“I went back and looked at the [*transcript*](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/02/07/remarks-by-president-biden-in-state-of-the-union-address-2/),” she said, “and he only said the word ‘rural’ once.”

It’s safe to say that Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez was one of very few Democrats in the room listening for that word, but then she didn’t win her nail-biter of a race in a conservative district with a typical Democratic appeal. To court rural and ***working-class*** voters who had supported a Republican in the district since 2011, she had to speak to them in a way that her party’s left wing usually does not — to acknowledge their economic fears, their sense of being left out of the political conversation, their disdain for ideological posturing from both sides of the spectrum.

She came to Congress in January with a set of priorities that reflected her winning message, and she is determined to stress those differences in a way that might help Democrats lure back some of the voters it has lost, even if it means getting a lot of puzzled looks and blank stares in the Capitol.

Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez was already an unexpected arrival to the House. No one predicted that she would win her district, and her victory (by [*less than one percentage point*](https://results.vote.wa.gov/results/20221108/congressional-district-3-us-representative.html)) was widely considered [*the biggest electoral upset*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/14/opinion/lessons-democratic-upset-washington-midterms.html) of 2022. The Third Congressional District is exactly the kind that Democrats have had trouble holding on to for the last 10 years: It’s [*78 percent white*](https://www.census.gov/mycd/application/?st=53&amp;cd=03), 73 percent without a bachelor’s degree or higher, and made up of [*a low-density mix*](https://assets.bwbx.io/images/users/iqjWHBFdfxIU/iQwmJB3tEyS0/v0/1400x-1.png) of rural and suburban areas. It voted for Barack Obama once, in 2008, and Donald Trump twice, and the national Democrats wrote it off, giving her almost no campaign assistance.

But as the 34-year-old mother of a toddler and the co-owner (with her husband) of an auto repair shop, she had an appealing personal story and worked hard to distinguish herself from the usual caricature of her party. She said she would [*not support Nancy Pelosi as speaker*](https://www.columbian.com/news/2022/oct/23/jayne-marie-perez-is-no-limousine-liberal/), criticized excessive regulation of business, and said there should be more people in Congress with [*grease under their fingernails*](https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/politics/how-did-marie-gluesenkamp-perez-pull-off-the-upset-of-the-year-in-southwest-wa/). But she also praised labor unions and talked about improving the legal immigration system, boosting domestic manufacturing, and the importance of reversing climate change. In the face of this pragmatic approach, her Republican opponent, Joe Kent, followed the Trump playbook and claimed [*the 2020 election had been stolen and called for the F.B.I. to be defunded.*](https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/politics/congressional-candidate-joe-kent-wants-to-rewrite-history-of-jan-6-attack/) She took a narrow path, but it worked, and you might think that Democratic leaders would be lined up outside her office to get tips on how to defeat MAGA Republicans and win over disaffected Trump voters.

But some Democrats are still a little uncomfortable around someone who supports both abortion rights and gun rights, who has a skeptical take on some environmental regulations, and who has made self-sufficiency a political issue.

“It’s a little bit of a hard message for them to hear, because part of the solution is having a Congress who looks more like America,” she said in an interview last week. “It can’t just be rich lawyers that get to run for Congress anymore.”

She said there is a kind of “groupthink” at high levels of the party, a tribalism that makes it hard for new or divergent ideas to take hold. But if Democrats don’t pay attention to newcomers like Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez, they risk writing off large sections of the country that might be open to alternatives to Trumpism.

“The national Democrats are just not ever going to be an alternative they vote for, no matter how much of a circus the far right becomes,” she said. “But I think there obviously can be competitive alternatives. There are different kinds of Democrats that can win, that avoid the tribalism.”

She mentioned Representatives Jared Golden of Maine and Mary Peltola of Alaska, and Senators Jon Tester of Montana and John Fetterman of Pennsylvania, as examples of elected officials with an unusually broad appeal because they understand the priorities of their districts or states.

In her case, those priorities center on relieving economic despair and providing a future for young people who have a hard time seeing one, particularly if they are not college-bound. Pacific County, on the western end of her district, had [*an 8.4 percent unemployment rate*](https://esd.wa.gov/labormarketinfo/monthly-employment-report) in January, compared to the 3.4 percent rate in tech-saturated King County, home of Seattle, just 150 miles to the northeast. Not everyone [*needs a four-year college degree*](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/08/opinion/sunday/who-says-math-has-to-be-boring.html), or is able to get one, but the economy isn’t providing enough opportunities for those who don’t take that path. Many high school students in her districts are never going to wind up in the chip factories that get so many headlines or in the software companies farther north, but without government support, they can’t even get a foothold in the construction trades.

She supports what has become known on Capitol Hill as “workforce Pell” — the expansion of Pell grants to short-term skills training and apprenticeship programs, many of which are taught in community colleges. The idea has won approval among both [*conservative Republicans*](https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2023/02/09/house-education-committee-hears-about-need-short-term-pell) and Democrats like [*Senator Tim Kaine of Virginia*](https://www.kaine.senate.gov/press-releases/kaine-and-braun-introduce-bipartisan-bill-to-help-more-americans-access-high-quality-job-training-get-good-paying-jobs). She said she could not hire older teenagers as apprentices in her auto repair shop because it would bump up her liability insurance. (A local nonprofit group has helped her shop and other businesses cover the extra cost, giving many students the opportunity for on-the-job training.)

“My generation was the one where they were cutting all the shop classes and turning them into computer programming classes,” Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez said. “It took 10 or 15 years for that to hit the market, but now, coupled with the retirement of a lot of skilled tradespeople, there’s a six-month wait for a plumber or a carpenter or an electrician. You’d better be married to one.”

She is also critical of putting certain environmental concerns ahead of human ones, a position sure to alienate some in her party.

“My mom grew up in Forks, Washington, which is sort of epicenter of the spotted owl, and that decimated jobs,” she said, referring to [*the federal decisions in the 1990s*](https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/spotted-owl-became-symbol-in-1990s-controversy/) to declare the northern spotted owl as endangered, closing off millions of acres of old-growth forest to logging. “People had trouble feeding their families. That indignity cast a really long shadow. People felt like they were being told they couldn’t work.”

The Trump administration opened up much of that habitat to logging in its final days, but that decision [*was later reversed by the Biden administration*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/climate-environment/2021/07/19/biden-northern-spotted-owl-trump/). (The congresswoman hasn’t weighed in on that reversal.)

Winning over lost voters can often mean just talking about the kinds of daily concerns they have, even if they are not monumental. That’s why Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez is an enthusiastic supporter of the [*right-to-repair movement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/23/climate/right-to-repair.html), which promotes federal and state laws to give consumers the knowledge and tools to fix their own products, whether smartphones, cars, or appliances. Many companies make it virtually impossible for most people to replace a phone battery or make an adjustment on their car.

“From where I live, it’s a three-hour round trip to go to the Apple Store,” she said. “Right to repair hits people on so many levels — their time, their money, their environment, their culture. It’s one of the unique things about American culture. We really believe in fixing our own stuff and self-reliance. D.I.Y. is in our DNA.”

She and Neal Dunn, a Republican congressman from Florida, [*introduced a bill last month*](https://dunn.house.gov/press-releases?id=433DA033-E6FE-4088-9A40-9F078A10717D) that would require automakers to release diagnostic and repair information about cars so that owners wouldn’t have to go to a dealership to get fixed up. That’s probably not a surprising interest for the owner of an independent repair shop, but it’s not something most Democrats spend a lot of time talking about.

It’s the kind of thing, however, that may spark the interest of swing voters tired of hearing Republican candidates talk about cultural issues that have no direct relevance to their lives.

“We have to stop talking about these issues of ‘oh, the creeping dangers of socialism,’ and start talking about getting shop class back in the high schools,” she said. “I don’t know anybody who stays up at night worrying about socialism. But they worry about a kid who doesn’t want to go to school anymore. Or, am I going to lose the house? Is there a school nurse? Those are the things that keep people up at night, and we have to find a way to make their lives better.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jared Soares for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Fault Lines***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YS1-R571-DXY4-X4MC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 26, 2020 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 15; NONFICTION

**Length:** 1090 words

**Byline:** By Michael Ignatieff

**Body**

AMERICAN POISONHow Racial Hostility Destroyed Our PromiseBy Eduardo Porter

A white liberal progressive -- as this reviewer would be labeled -- confronts the issue of race in America with beliefs that make it difficult to face a reality that their fellow citizens of black or Hispanic origin take for granted. Basic to the liberal creed, for example, is the idea, as Barack Obama liked to say, echoing Martin Luther King Jr., that the arc of history bends toward justice. For many Americans, the arc never bends in any direction, least of all toward justice. Likewise, liberals believe that we can ''empathize,'' truly understand the racial pain of Americans of color and the racial resentments of an abandoned white ***working class*** that thinks their salvation lies with Donald Trump. If any moral quality has been strained to the breaking point in the polarization of our era, it is empathy, ours included.

This liberal astigmatism -- our belief that history is a story of racial progress, and our faith in our own empathy -- makes Eduardo Porter's ''American Poison'' a tough read. It is a learned, well-written but relentless survey of social science studies on the racial polarization, animosity and social fragmentation of American life. A black or Hispanic American reader is likely to finish Porter's summary of the evidence and say, ''So what else is new?'' For a white liberal, the book leaves many an illusion in tatters.

One such illusion is that increasing racial proximity by integrating schools and housing is a good way to break down racial animosities and paranoias. Porter cites one study from Chicago that demonstrates the reverse. It was only when project housing for blacks was torn down that the attitudes of nearby whites toward blacks actually improved. Empathy seems to increase with social distance.

Empathy, Porter argues, has always waged an unequal struggle against the racial animus that courses through American history, poisoning both those who hate and those who are hated. Race has contaminated American solidarity, making it impossible for poor whites, threatened by job loss, globalization and the death of carbon-intensive industries, to make common cause with African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans and immigrants. He writes, ''Unwilling to share the bounty of state with people of other races and creeds, heritages and colors, real Americans -- the white ones -- have prevented the erection of a welfare state at all.''

The great achievement of American liberalism -- Franklin Roosevelt's social security state -- was passed, Porter argues (following lines of thought developed by the political scientist Ira Katznelson), only by a devil's bargain with Southern segregationist senators. Liberal social security systems perpetuated black exclusion until Lyndon Johnson's Great Society reforms of 1964. Johnson knew these reforms would cost him the South politically but, Porter says, no liberal anticipated the larger historical consequence: ''Johnson failed to grasp the scale at which inviting people of color into the network of rights and assurances created in the 1930s by F.D.R. to protect the well-being of white American workers would undermine support for the safety net altogether.''

Porter, who writes about economics for The New York Times, is at his strongest when he points out the tragic irony of a white ***working class***, decimated by deindustrialization and wasted by substance abuse, focusing their hatreds on minorities and turning against the very social programs -- Obamacare, for example -- that might actually help them: ''The America that built the most prosperous ***working class*** the world had ever seen collapsed into a heap of pathologies -- deaths of despair -- simply due to a lack of empathy. The greatest irony is that while the black and the brown suffered most intensely from the fallout, the collapse in social trust wiped away the American dream of ***working-class*** whites too.''

This is a powerful argument, but it has a couple of problems. The first is that it overestimates race and underestimates class and a free market political culture in explaining why America collects a far smaller percentage of national income in taxes compared with European countries that have more adequate public health, education and welfare services. The second problem is that Porter treats racial hatred as a fixed dose of poison coursing through the veins of the public and neglects politics, the systematic way in which Republican politicians from Richard Nixon onward fed the poison with envenoming rhetoric about ''welfare queens,'' ''dysfunctional black families'' and the shame of welfare dependency.

Yet here too it's not the case that race alone -- or even Republican populism -- drove the critique of welfare dependency in the 1970s and 1980s. Charter liberal grandees like Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who cannot be accused of racial animus toward blacks, worried that welfare was passing dependency from one generation to the next in some poor black families.

Porter's pessimism is a bracing wake-up call for liberal readers and may confirm the darkest fears of many a black and Hispanic reader. Yet it is not the first passionate polemic to damage its impact by overstating its case. Racial polarization, Porter claims, has led to the collapse not only of ''Americans' support for the safety net,'' but also of ''their general support of public goods and the entire apparatus of government.''

This book came out around the start of the pandemic emergency, and so it is unfair to criticize Porter for failing to anticipate the all but universal cry right now for an effective ''apparatus of government.'' Even so, Porter's jeremiad makes it impossible to understand the equally tenacious history of American progressive government: from Roosevelt himself, through Truman's integration of the United States military, the Supreme Court ban on racial covenants in housing in 1948, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the struggle to desegregate American schools and finally -- an achievement barely mentioned in Porter's story -- the passage of the Affordable Care Act. The point here is not to retreat into complacent liberal banalities, but to observe that a story of American race relations that makes no attempt to account for the unending battle to lift its hateful curse ends up being no kind of story at all.Michael Ignatieff is the president of Central European University.AMERICAN POISONHow Racial Hostility Destroyed Our PromiseBy Eduardo Porter272 pp. Alfred A. Knopf. $26.95.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/06/books/review/american-poison-racial-hostility-eduardo-porter.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/06/books/review/american-poison-racial-hostility-eduardo-porter.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Derek Brahney FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 26, 2020

**End of Document**



[***‘The Justins’ Follow a Legacy of Resistance in Tennessee***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:680Y-96Y1-DXY4-X3KP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 14, 2023 Friday 14:42 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** US

**Length:** 1872 words

**Byline:** Clyde McGrady, Emily Cochrane and Jon Cherry

**Highlight:** The young Black Democrats expelled from the legislature bring an activist approach, and model themselves after civil rights leaders of the past.

**Body**

Earlier this year, Justin Jones arrived at the State Capitol in Tennessee as a freshly elected lawmaker representing parts of Nashville. A 27-year-old Black Democrat, he belonged to a party vastly outnumbered by a largely white Republican majority. The advice was clear.

“Everyone kind of kept their head down and told us to do the same, you know, to assimilate, to conform,” he said.

Months later, Mr. Jones and another even newer colleague, Justin J. Pearson, are two of the most high-profile state representatives in the country, after the two young, Black Democrats were expelled and then reinstated to their seats in an extraordinary political drama that jolted Tennessee politics while intensifying a debate on race and representation.

Republicans in the Tennessee House of Representatives [*voted to expel the men*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/tennessee-house-democrats-expulsion-shooting-gun-control.html) for leading a gun control protest on the House floor after the slaughter of six people, including three 9-year-old children, in a Christian school in Nashville. Representative Gloria Johnson, a white lawmaker who joined the protest, narrowly survived her expulsion vote.

Since that moment one week ago, the careers of the men have fused to create “the Justins,” a phenomenon that has dominated the national stage, merging a sprawling conversation on gun violence, race and democracy into one potent political package.

As young insurgents of their party, they have brought intense focus to Tennessee politics. They have also brought an impatient, confrontational style of protest into their roles as lawmakers — a strategy that has shaken up the Republican-dominated body but also contradicted the more incremental approach favored by veteran politicians in their own party.

Some Tennessee political observers see their actions as a result of frustration with years of Republican antagonism toward African American colleagues, who have tried to operate within a system in which they are a minority within a minority

And several Democrats said that while they wouldn’t have deployed the same tactics as Mr. Jones and Mr. Pearson, they could sympathize with them.

“I’m not a storm-the-well type of guy,” said Representative Sam McKenzie, 57, chairman of the Tennessee Black Caucus of State Legislators, referring to the front of the legislative chamber where the trio of lawmakers gathered to protest. “That’s not my personality, but I fully understand their frustration.”

Mr. Pearson and Mr. Jones, whose districts include parts of Memphis and Nashville, are a generational break from the current political norm, and a throwback in many ways to the tactics and styles of civil rights leaders from the 1960s and ’70s. Their style is in communion with a tradition of African American activism in which civic and spiritual life intertwine, and political reprimand from the opposition is worn like a badge of honor.

Representative Andrew Farmer, a Republican who filed one of the expulsion resolutions, criticized Mr. Pearson for having a “temper tantrum” in the House and “yearning to have attention.”

“If you want to conduct business in the House, file a bill,” Mr. Farmer said.

Mr. Pearson and Mr. Jones emerged from an era of protests sparked by the murders of African American people, often at the hands of the police, and the Black Lives Matter approach of demands for dramatic change. Both tie their activism to their Christian faith: Mr. Jones is a divinity student at Vanderbilt University. Mr. Pearson is the son of a pastor.

Mr. Pearson, 28, evokes the image of a 1960s activist in both appearance and manner. His browline glasses recall Malcolm X, while his Afro and dashiki — which he wears to the Capitol at times — bring to mind a young Rev. Jesse L. Jackson.

Mr. Jones, the theology student, favors blazers and wears his hair pulled back into a small, neat pony tail. He recently seized the opportunity to sing “We Shall Overcome” with Joan Baez at the Newark airport.

Both are quick to acknowledge their civil rights-era forebears such as Diane Nash and John Lewis, who led sit-ins to desegregate Nashville businesses. Mr. Lewis, an ordained Baptist minister who popularized the phrase “good trouble,” served more than three decades in the U.S. House of Representatives. In 2016, he [*brought*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/24/us/politics/senate-gun-control.html) floor proceedings to a halt to demand a vote on gun control.

Mr. Jones said that before his expulsion, he reflected on the biblical story of the three Hebrew men who emerge unscathed after being thrown into a furnace for refusing to bow before the image of a king, and the letter that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. wrote from a Birmingham, Ala., jail.

After his expulsion, Mr. Pearson gave a sermon on resurrection and tied the political moment, which happened over Easter weekend, to themes of death and rebirth.

Though their paths have now merged, both started from different points of origin: Mr. Pearson grew up poor in Memphis and pursued a degree at a predominantly white liberal arts college in the Maine woods. Mr. Jones, the grandchild of Filipino immigrants and Black ***working-class*** Chicagoans, grew up in Oakland, Calif., and arrived in Nashville as a college student at an historically Black university.

Mr. Jones said it was the death of Trayvon Martin that first moved him to protest. His decision to attend Fisk University, the alma mater of prominent civil rights activists, brought him to Nashville, where he studied political science and became a community organizer championing voting rights.

During his student years and after, he protested at the Capitol for an array of issues, including the removal of the bust of a Confederate general from the state building.

He was repeatedly arrested and [*once temporarily banned*](https://www.tennessean.com/story/news/politics/2019/03/01/tennessee-nathan-bedford-forrest-bust-justin-jones-banned-capitol-after-casada-incident/3027058002/) from the Capitol for [*throwing a cup of liquid*](https://twitter.com/brotherjones_/status/1101291660867190785) at a Republican leader in 2019. The charges were later dropped. After the killing of George Floyd, Mr. Jones was a fixture at protests, camping outside the Capitol for more than 60 days.

“We were begging them to change policies, but what we really should do and could do was to change those in those seats,” he said.

In Memphis, Mr. Pearson grew up in a family that he described as “financially poor but spiritually rich,” watching his parents work to earn college degrees and raise their five sons. While his father, a preacher, attended Howard University, Mr. Pearson temporarily went to high school in Virginia. He said he was stunned by the lack of books and resources in his school in Memphis when the family returned.

“To go from a place that has so many resources to a place that has so few, it was really my first understanding about systemic injustice and inequality, but also about the power of our voices to help affect change,” Mr. Pearson recalled in an interview. He successfully lobbied the school board for more books.

At Bowdoin College in Maine, he served as class president, ate his first lobster and found a community within the nearby church.

Professor Chryl Laird first met Mr. Pearson in 2017 while he was a student at Bowdoin and recalled him as a polished, clean-shaven young man prone to wearing suits around campus. But she was struck by his passion, intellect and study of the social justice figures of the past.

Mr. Pearson wrestled, he said, with the stark socioeconomic differences between himself and his classmates with summer homes and boarding school education.

When Mr. Pearson returned to Memphis, he and his family successfully led protests against the construction of an oil pipeline, which would have cut through a predominately African American neighborhood.

He ran to fill the seat of Representative Barbara Cooper, a Democrat whose death led to a special election, pledging to push for a cleaner environment in his southwest Memphis district, and for police reform that would lower the rate of incarceration of African American men in the city.

Mr. Jones, whom Mr. Pearson had met at protests, was among those who encouraged him to run for the seat, he said.

Some see the two freshmen as part of a continuum of activism among African American legislators.

“There’s a tradition of resistance in Tennessee Black lawmakers,” said Sekou Franklin, a politics professor at Middle Tennessee State University. He cited legislators such as the former Representative Johnnie Turner, who supported the removal of Confederate statues from Memphis parks despite the ire it drew from colleagues. “What you saw there at the well is a different kind of resistance.”

“It’s waking a lot of people up to what’s going on in Tennessee,” Dr. Franklin said. “The downside is that it was a nonviolent action without any strategy. And so how do you counter the assault that Republicans are going to take?”

But it has also made some colleagues uncomfortable.

At one point after their protest, Mr. Jones, Mr. Pearson and Ms. Johnson were confronted by two senior Black Democrats — Representatives Joe Towns Jr. and Karen Camper, the House minority leader — warning them that the Republican majority was preparing an expulsion vote and trying to calm the situation.

The group appeared to have a tense exchange, according to a [*video*](https://twitter.com/TheTNHoller/status/1641533265319174159) posted on Twitter, in which Ms. Camper, 65, could be heard ordering the lawmakers off the floor. In an interview later, Ms. Camper said her intent was to protect them from expulsion, and she acknowledged the pair had provided a burst of energy to the Democrats.

“I did reflect on the ’60s,” she said.

Mr. Towns said it was a lawmaker’s duty to be effective and “bring things back” for the district. “There’s always a time to protest and there’s a certain way you can do it, but in any environment you go into, you must know the rules,” he said.

This week, Gov. Bill Lee, a Republican, whose wife lost a friend in the shooting, called for the legislature to take up a measure that would give courts the ability to restrict someone’s ability to access guns if the person is deemed dangerous, and signed an executive order intended to strengthen background checks. Republicans have not yet publicly rallied behind such a measure, and the legislative session will soon end.

Both Mr. Pearson and Mr. Jones say the movement is evidence that their strategy is working.

On Thursday morning, after Mr. Pearson was reinstated, the pair embraced in the chamber. Mr. Pearson held his fist up high after retaking his oath of office. Almost immediately, the two men plunged into a heated debate with Republicans over an education bill they warned would stifle efforts to teach about racism and sexism in the United States. Republicans abruptly cut off debate over the bill, over the objections of Democrats.

“They really tried to silence those two young men like they have the rest of us, but they have a different way,” Mr. McKenzie said. “It’s just a different generation. They have a different way of communication. They have a different tolerance level. They’re more immediate, ‘I want my say right now.’”

Eliza Fawcett contributed reporting.

Eliza Fawcett contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: State Representatives Justin Jones, left, and Justin J. Pearson at the Tennessee State Capitol. (A1); The expulsion and reinstatement of Justin J. Pearson, standing, and Justin Jones, far right, fueled a debate about race and democracy. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JON CHERRY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16) This article appeared in print on page A1, A16.

**Load-Date:** April 17, 2023

**End of Document**



[***How Racism Is Destroying America; nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5YKT-J311-DXY4-X2H0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 25, 2020 Saturday 23:21 EST

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1116 words

**Byline:** Michael Ignatieff

**Highlight:** Eduardo Porter’s “American Poison” details the long legacy of racism and inequality in the United States.

**Body**

AMERICAN POISON

How Racial Hostility Destroyed Our Promise

By Eduardo Porter

A white liberal progressive — as this reviewer would be labeled — confronts the issue of race in America with beliefs that make it difficult to face a reality that their fellow citizens of black or Hispanic origin take for granted. Basic to the liberal creed, for example, is the idea, as Barack Obama liked to say, echoing Martin Luther King Jr., that the arc of history bends toward justice. For many Americans, the arc never bends in any direction, least of all toward justice. Likewise, liberals believe that we can “empathize,” truly understand the racial pain of Americans of color and the racial resentments of an abandoned white ***working class*** that thinks their salvation lies with Donald Trump. If any moral quality has been strained to the breaking point in the polarization of our era, it is empathy, ours included.

This liberal astigmatism — our belief that history is a story of racial progress, and our faith in our own empathy — makes Eduardo Porter’s “American Poison” a tough read. It is a learned, well-written but relentless survey of social science studies on the racial polarization, animosity and social fragmentation of American life. A black or Hispanic American reader is likely to finish Porter’s summary of the evidence and say, “So what else is new?” For a white liberal, the book leaves many an illusion in tatters.

One such illusion is that increasing racial proximity by integrating schools and housing is a good way to break down racial animosities and paranoias. Porter cites one study from Chicago that demonstrates the reverse. It was only when project housing for blacks was torn down that the attitudes of nearby whites toward blacks actually improved. Empathy seems to increase with social distance.

Empathy, Porter argues, has always waged an unequal struggle against the racial animus that courses through American history, poisoning both those who hate and those who are hated. Race has contaminated American solidarity, making it impossible for poor whites, threatened by job loss, globalization and the death of carbon-intensive industries, to make common cause with African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans and immigrants. He writes, “Unwilling to share the bounty of state with people of other races and creeds, heritages and colors, real Americans — the white ones — have prevented the erection of a welfare state at all.”

The great achievement of American liberalism — Franklin Roosevelt’s social security state — was passed, Porter argues (following lines of thought developed by [*the political scientist Ira Katznelson*](https://polisci.columbia.edu/content/ira-katznelson)), only by a devil’s bargain with Southern segregationist senators. Liberal social security systems perpetuated black exclusion until Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society reforms of 1964. Johnson knew these reforms would cost him the South politically but, Porter says, no liberal anticipated the larger historical consequence: “Johnson failed to grasp the scale at which inviting people of color into the network of rights and assurances created in the 1930s by F.D.R. to protect the well-being of white American workers would undermine support for the safety net altogether.”

Porter, who writes about economics for The New York Times, is at his strongest when he points out the tragic irony of a white ***working class***, decimated by deindustrialization and wasted by substance abuse, focusing their hatreds on minorities and turning against the very social programs — Obamacare, for example — that might actually help them: “The America that built the most prosperous ***working class*** the world had ever seen collapsed into a heap of pathologies — deaths of despair — simply due to a lack of empathy. The greatest irony is that while the black and the brown suffered most intensely from the fallout, the collapse in social trust wiped away the American dream of ***working-class*** whites too.”

This is a powerful argument, but it has a couple of problems. The first is that it overestimates race and underestimates class and a free market political culture in explaining why America collects a far smaller percentage of national income in taxes compared with European countries that have more adequate public health, education and welfare services. The second problem is that Porter treats racial hatred as a fixed dose of poison coursing through the veins of the public and neglects politics, the systematic way in which Republican politicians from Richard Nixon onward fed the poison with envenoming rhetoric about “welfare queens,” “dysfunctional black families” and the shame of welfare dependency.

Yet here too it’s not the case that race alone — or even Republican populism — drove the critique of welfare dependency in the 1970s and 1980s. Charter liberal grandees like [*Daniel Patrick Moynihan*](https://polisci.columbia.edu/content/ira-katznelson), who cannot be accused of racial animus toward blacks, worried that welfare was passing dependency from one generation to the next in some poor black families.

Porter’s pessimism is a bracing wake-up call for liberal readers and may confirm the darkest fears of many a black and Hispanic reader. Yet it is not the first passionate polemic to damage its impact by overstating its case. Racial polarization, Porter claims, has led to the collapse not only of “Americans’ support for the safety net,” but also of “their general support of public goods and the entire apparatus of government.”

This book came out around the start of the pandemic emergency, and so it is unfair to criticize Porter for failing to anticipate the all but universal cry right now for an effective “apparatus of government.” Even so, Porter’s jeremiad makes it impossible to understand the equally tenacious history of American progressive government: from Roosevelt himself, through Truman’s integration of the United States military, the Supreme Court ban on racial covenants in housing in 1948, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the struggle to desegregate American schools and finally — an achievement barely mentioned in Porter’s story — the passage of the Affordable Care Act. The point here is not to retreat into complacent liberal banalities, but to observe that a story of American race relations that makes no attempt to account for the unending battle to lift its hateful curse ends up being no kind of story at all.

Michael Ignatieff is the president of Central European University. AMERICAN POISON How Racial Hostility Destroyed Our Promise By Eduardo Porter 272 pp. Alfred A. Knopf. $26.95.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Derek Brahney FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Related Articles**

* [*Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the Anti-Trump of American Politics*](https://polisci.columbia.edu/content/ira-katznelson)

1. [*The President Proposes . . .*](https://polisci.columbia.edu/content/ira-katznelson)
2. [*Why America Will Never Get Medicare for All*](https://polisci.columbia.edu/content/ira-katznelson)

**Load-Date:** July 13, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Why Union Drives Are Succeeding***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65YK-3J31-JBG3-600H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 19, 2022 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1688 words

**Byline:** By Ian Prasad Philbrick

**Body**

College-educated workers are driving a spike in union organizing.

After decades of declining union membership, organized labor may be on the verge of a resurgence in the U.S. Employees seeking better working conditions and higher pay have recently organized unions at Starbucks, Amazon, Apple and elsewhere. Applications for union elections this year are on pace to approach their highest level in a decade. I asked Noam Scheiber, who covers workers and labor issues for The Times, what's behind the latest flurry of union activity.

Ian: You recently profiled Jaz Brisack, a Rhodes scholar and barista who helped organize a union at a Starbucks in Buffalo that was the first at a company-owned store in decades. Why did she want to work there?

Noam: Jaz comes out of a tradition. We saw it during the Depression; people with radical politics taking jobs with the explicit intention of organizing workers. The term for this is ''salting,'' like the seasoning. The practice has had some limited success in recent decades, but we're seeing a broader revival of it, and Jaz is part of that. Several salts got jobs at Amazon and helped organize a facility on Staten Island. Academics like Barry Eidlin and Mie Inouye have written extensively about this.

Jaz is very public about her beliefs. She wore a Karl Marx sweatshirt at Oxford University and once pressed the University of Mississippi's chancellor -- during a reception in Jaz's honor -- to remove a Confederate monument from campus.

She's idealistic and ambitious, but being a social creature hasn't always come naturally to her. She told me that when she first got to college, she was ''incredibly socially awkward,'' partly because she'd been home-schooled. Yet she would kind of will herself to do things that required interacting with strangers in order to advance the cause, like passing out fliers to promote a union campaign at a nearby Nissan plant.

Employees at nearly 200 other Starbucks have organized since Jaz's store unionized in December. Did they follow her lead?

After their union won, Jaz and the other organizers got inquiries from Starbucks workers all over the country. They would go on Zoom calls and tell them how to get started. I was with the Buffalo organizers on the day the union won at a Starbucks in Mesa, Ariz., the first outside Buffalo during the campaign. One worker at Jaz's store, Michelle Eisen, had been in close contact with the Mesa workers. I went to dinner with her and some of the other Buffalo organizers that night, and they were giddy. They took pride in what they'd set in motion.

So these things catch on. Whenever I cover a union campaign these days, I ask, ''Have you been paying attention to what's going on at Starbucks? At Amazon?'' Invariably the answer is not just yes, but, ''We were inspired by it, we were motivated by it, it showed us it could be done.'' That was the case when I interviewed Trader Joe's and Apple workers. And, historically, unionization tends to happen in spurts.

College graduates seem to be driving this spurt.

A key part of the story is the radicalization of the college-educated worker. You had a grinding recovery from the Great Recession followed by the pandemic. Being college-educated doesn't necessarily mean being on board. But whether it's Starbucks, Amazon or REI, college-educated workers have been heavily involved.

As a group, college-educated Americans are becoming more liberal than ***working-class*** Americans. Has that been a barrier to organizing workers without degrees?

College-educated workers often get the ball rolling, but they're pretty skilled at bringing together a diverse group. I talked to Brima Sylla, a Liberian immigrant who helped organize his co-workers at the Staten Island Amazon facility. He's got a Ph.D. in public policy and speaks several languages. He helped sign up hundreds of people, a lot of them fellow African or Asian immigrants. Another organizer was Pasquale Cioffi. He's a former longshoreman and has a more traditional ***working-class*** background. He was good at talking to noncollege folks and Trump supporters. Having a coalition that put Brima and Pat together helped the union win.

You compared today's organizing to the 1930s. What parallels do you see?

The Great Depression was obviously a traumatic moment. The financial system was breaking down. The economy was collapsing. Unemployment was at 25 percent. But by 1936, things were substantially better, though still not great. That's been true during the pandemic, too. A lot of people lost their jobs in 2020, but by 2021, the labor market was tight, and workers felt empowered. That one-two punch -- a traumatic event, and then things improving -- is a recipe for successful organizing.

Your profile of Jaz reads differently from many Times stories. You talk about yourself -- like her, you were a Rhodes scholar and interviewed your former classmates, contrasting their business-friendly outlook of the late 1990s with her skepticism. Why did you write it that way?

Once I understood Jaz's background and role in the Starbucks campaign, my first thought was, ''Wow, this probably wouldn't have happened among my cohort of Rhodes scholars.'' My reflex was to compare it to my group and marvel at the differences. It seemed more honest, authentic and compelling to just own that.

More about Noam: He joined The Times in 2015 after almost 15 years at The New Republic and lives near Chicago. After a bad experience involving a late-night cup of coffee, his college humor magazine and an 8 a.m. math class, he avoids caffeine.

For more

How Amazon fought back after workers organized a Staten Island warehouse.

But a similar effort to unionize a nearby Amazon facility failed.

NEWS

International

President Biden is framing his meetings with Middle East autocrats as an effort to contain Russia and outmaneuver China.

Russia's defense minister ordered troops to step up attacks in Ukraine.

President Vladimir Putin is making sweeping changes to school curriculums to shape the views of young Russians.

Europe is at a fragile moment: It is confronting tests of its democracies, a plunging currency and the war in Ukraine.

Dozens of wildfires have swept across Europe, driven by a heat wave.

Other Big Stories

The pandemic is still a driving factor behind the world's economic woes.

A conservative lawyer pitched Donald Trump in late 2020 on a ''martial law'' plan to overturn his election loss.

Some residents of a North Dakota city were excited about a new mill and its promise of jobs, but its ties to China turned others against the project.

New state abortion bans will likely have an outsized impact on the youngest pregnant girls.

FROM OPINION

Ireland and the U.S. have traded places on abortion, Maureen Dowd argues.

Seeing America gives Ross Douthat hope for it.

One ruling best captures the Supreme Court majority's efforts to inflict its religious agenda on the country, Pamela Paul argues.

The Sunday question: Should Biden have met with Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman of Saudi Arabia?

Biden's meeting on Friday with Prince Mohammed after condemning him for a journalist's murder affirms the idea that the U.S. only selectively cares about human rights, Agnès Callamard argues in Foreign Affairs. Yasmine Farouk writes that while it may not have been Biden's main objective for resetting relations, the meeting was a chance to pressure Saudi Arabia on human rights.

MORNING READS

On the dance floor: A Middle Eastern party scene is thriving in Brooklyn.

Travel woes: It's getting harder to get a passport quickly.

Sunday routine: A cruise boat captain tries to steer crowds as close to the Statue of Liberty as possible.

Advice from Wirecutter: Moving your home office outside this summer? Bring a fan -- not just to keep you cool, but also to repel mosquitoes.

A Times classic: A timeless tomato tart.

BOOKS

Forget the beach reads: These historical novels are worth the weight.

By the Book: The last great book that Teddy Wayne read was Alison Espach's ''Notes on Your Sudden Disappearance.''

Our editors' picks: The journalist Katy Tur's memoir, ''Rough Draft,'' and nine other books.

Times best sellers: Henry Kissinger's ''Leadership,'' which profiles statecraft strategies, is a nonfiction best seller. See all our lists here.

The Book Review podcast: Our critics discuss ''Why We Did It,'' by Tim Miller.

THE SUNDAY TIMES MAGAZINE

On the cover: Can planting a trillion trees save the world?

Recommendation: Talk to yourself.

Tip: How to recover from being ghosted.

Diagnosis: A mysterious fall was the first sign that something was wrong.

Eat: The case for grilling cucumbers.

Read the full issue.

THE WEEK AHEAD

What to Watch For

Stephen Bannon, the former top adviser to Donald Trump, will go on trial tomorrow on a charge of contempt of Congress.

Maryland will hold its primaries on Tuesday.

Vladimir Putin will meet with the leaders of Iran and Turkey on Tuesday.

Italy's prime minister, Mario Draghi, is expected to address Parliament on Wednesday to clarify the country's political future.

The Jan. 6 committee will hold a hearing on Thursday to walk through a minute-by-minute accounting of Donald Trump's actions during the Capitol riot.

Major League Baseball's All-Star Game is on Tuesday. First up is its Home Run Derby tomorrow.

What to Cook This Week

Rethinking your grocery budget because of inflation? Emily Weinstein suggests moving away from meat and embracing beans and vegetables with these and other recipes: pasta with tuna, capers and scallions and vegan coconut-ginger black beans.

NOW TIME TO PLAY

Here's a clue from the Sunday crossword:

45 Down: Language in which ''khoobsurat'' means ''beautiful''

Take the news quiz to see how well you followed the week's headlines.

Here's today's Spelling Bee. Here's today's Wordle. After, use our bot to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your weekend with The Times.

Matthew Cullen, Claire Moses and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com)

Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/17/briefing/union-drives-college-graduates.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/17/briefing/union-drives-college-graduates.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Starbucks workers in Buffalo celebrated the outcome of the union vote on Dec. 9, 2021. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSHUA BESSEX/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** July 19, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Unlikely Favorite to Win Top Labour Post: A Knighted Oxford Alumnus***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5XWX-8NP1-DXY4-X11J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 3, 2020 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2020 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 844 words

**Byline:** By Mark Landler

**Body**

A party that lost many of its ***working-class*** voters in last month's election may turn, unexpectedly, to a London lawyer to be its next leader, an early poll shows.

LONDON -- After Britain's Labour Party suffered its worst defeat since 1935 in last month's election, a chorus of critics faulted the party for losing touch with its ***working-class*** roots in the industrial North and becoming too closely identified with the left-wing, London-centered politics of its leader, Jeremy Corbyn.

Yet as the race to succeed Mr. Corbyn begins, and Labour seeks a path out of the wilderness, the early betting is on another Londoner, Keir Starmer, who not only has a knighthood from Queen Elizabeth II for his ''services to law and criminal justice'' but also holds an advanced law degree from Oxford.

Mr. Starmer, who is expected to declare his candidacy in the coming weeks, is the clear favorite in a recent poll of party members conducted by the research group YouGov. He leads the field of declared and likely candidates among men and women, with voters of every age group and social class, and in all regions of the country, according to the survey of 1,059 members taken in late December.

Though it is early in the race -- Mr. Corbyn will stay on until March -- the findings cast doubt on the conventional wisdom that Labour's rank and file will turn to a leader from the Midlands or the North, where Prime Minister Boris Johnson's Conservative Party made such damaging inroads among once-loyal Labour voters.

Instead, in backing Mr. Starmer, 57, the party's members appear to be putting a premium on management experience and electability, after a landslide victory for Mr. Johnson that many blamed on Mr. Corbyn's unpopularity and perceived unfitness for office.

A human-rights lawyer who served as head of the Crown Prosecution Service, Mr. Starmer has been the shadow minister for Brexit under Mr. Corbyn. In that job, he challenged Mr. Johnson's threats to pursue a ''no-deal Brexit'' if Parliament did not approve his withdrawal agreement with the European Union.

But Mr. Starmer, who voted to remain in the European Union in 2016, also pushed his own party, which had been bitterly split over Brexit, to be open to a second referendum -- something he now acknowledges will never happen in the wake of Mr. Johnson's winning campaign to ''get Brexit done.''

The Labour Party kept Mr. Starmer under wraps during the campaign, in part because of his heavy identification with the Brexit debate, which the party's leaders did not want to highlight in the election.

In the poll, Mr. Starmer was favored by 36 percent of those who responded. The next most popular candidate, with 23 percent, was Rebecca Long-Bailey, a Manchester-born member of Parliament who is viewed as representing continuity with Mr. Corbyn's leftist leadership.

''There's been a lot of talk about Labour needing a leader from the North or a candidate who is identifiably ***working class***, but that doesn't seem to be the case,'' said Tim Bale, a professor of politics at Queen Mary University, who directed the poll for YouGov, along with the University of Sussex.

''All the things that might disadvantage a white, middle-class, middle-aged man from London don't seem to be hurting Keir Starmer,'' Mr. Bale added. ''He seems to be beating the Corbyn continuity candidate quite easily.''

While Mr. Starmer has a ''sir'' in his name and is a well-compensated lawyer who lives in North London, like Mr. Corbyn, his roots are ***working class***: He is the son of a toolmaker and a nurse. Mr. Starmer prefers not to use the honorific, and in a stroke of fortune for an aspiring leader, he was named after the first leader of the Labour Party, Keir Hardie.

Mr. Starmer has taken pains not to disavow Mr. Corbyn's left-wing agenda, which is still popular with the party's grass roots. ''It's important not to oversteer,'' he said in a post-mortem interview with The Guardian. ''The case for a bold and radical Labour government is as strong now as it was last Thursday.''

But Mr. Starmer criticized the party's failure to confront allegations of deep-rooted anti-Semitism in the party, which dogged Mr. Corbyn during the campaign, particularly when he declined to apologize for it.

Though tarnished by the defeat, Mr. Corbyn still commands a potent faction within the party; he could shape the outcome by endorsing a candidate. The party's selection process is also lengthy and byzantine, which could open the door to a lesser-known candidate. Most of the candidates are women, which could hurt Mr. Starmer if the race comes to be defined by whether Labour should have a female leader.

Still, political analysts say the poll's results align with their own private soundings of the party faithful.

''It would be highly surprising, given YouGov's record in predicting these contests, if their polls turn out to be off this time,'' wrote Stephen Bush, the political editor of the New Statesman, who is plugged into the Labour Party. Mr. Starmer's positioning, he said, ''was pretty much perfect.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/world/europe/britain-labour-leader.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/02/world/europe/britain-labour-leader.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Keir Starmer, a human-rights lawyer, is not disavowing Jeremy Corbyn's left-wing agenda. In a survey of Labour Party members, a plurality favored Mr. Starmer for election as party leader. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF OVERS/BBC, VIA REUTERS)

**Load-Date:** January 4, 2020

**End of Document**



[***Over a Million Protest Macron’s Pension Plan in the Streets of France***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67BV-S3P1-DXY4-X2VH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

January 19, 2023 Thursday 10:19 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1323 words

**Byline:** Roger Cohen and Aurelien Breeden

**Highlight:** Despite the wave of discontent, President Emmanuel Macron intends to push through plans to raise the retirement age to 64 from 62.

**Body**

Despite the wave of discontent, President Emmanuel Macron intends to push through plans to raise the retirement age to 64 from 62.

PARIS — More than a million protesters, chanting slogans like “retirement before arthritis,” took to the streets throughout France on Thursday to protest President Emmanuel Macron’s plan to raise the legal age of retirement to 64 from 62.

Striking workers, from Calais in the north to Marseille in the south, closed schools, stopped many trains, disrupted the Paris Metro, lowered electricity output and curtailed flights, as France once again roused itself to resist tampering with its protective social model.

Mr. Macron, who is in the first year of his second and last term, wants to push through an overhaul of what he views as an untenable pension system. He sees this as a core part of his legacy. But in a country where work is viewed by many as a burden rather than an opportunity, and retirement as the panacea beyond it, his determination has ignited fierce resistance.

Labor unions, from the extreme left to the moderate center, united behind the protests, as did often splintered left-of-center political parties. Marine Le Pen, the leader of the extreme-right National Rally party that has attracted growing support among the ***working class***, also called for “an unjust reform” to be blocked.

In Paris, where the strikers’ march stretched over two-and-a-half miles, Corinne Arramy, a hospital worker, wore a sticker saying “We live longer and that’s for the best, not a reason to die at work.” Ms. Arramy, 56, said “This is the start of something big,” a fight to preserve a hard-earned right.

Teachers, railway workers and employees at public radio stations joined more than a million protesters at more than 200 demonstrations across the country, according to the Interior Ministry. The CGT labor union put the number at over two million. On Thursday evening, the labor unions welcomed the day’s “powerful mobilization” and called for a new day of strikes and protests on Jan. 31.

Chants of “Metro, Work, Tomb” rose from the crowds in derisory dismissal of what is widely portrayed as a government attempt to squeeze the last of pleasure from life in a hypercompetitive world.

A long confrontation, involving further strikes, seems inevitable. For the French left, which has failed to reach even the runoff round of the last two presidential elections, defeating pension changes amounts to a critical test of its heft and ultimately of its eventual capacity to return to power.

For Mr. Macron, a centrist who tried and failed with a different pension overhaul in 2019 that also [*provoked massive protests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/17/world/europe/france-pension-protests.html), it is the crux of his attempt to give direction to a second term that has up to now seemed a time of drift. He has vowed, since [*his election campaign last year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/24/world/europe/french-election-results-macron-le-pen.html), to see the changes through.

The government believes the only way to balance the pension system is to make the French work longer. Workers and employers pay mandatory payroll taxes that are used to fund state pensions, but the ratio of workers to retirees has dropped sharply as life expectancy has increased. In 2000, there were 2.1 workers paying into the system for every one retiree, a number that fell to 1.7 in 2020.

“If you want the pact between generations to be just, this reform is essential, and so we will do it with respect, a spirit of dialogue, but also determination and responsibility,” Mr. Macron said during a visit on Thursday to Barcelona.

However, the government’s arithmetic is fiercely contested by labor leaders who argue that taxing the country’s millionaires and their dividends would be a more effective way to fund the current pension system. “Pensions are something sacred in France,” said Matthieu Jilard, 26, a student who joined the Paris protest.

Rising inflation has contributed to a restive mood in France, but at a deeper level the overhaul attempt reveals ingrained attitudes toward work, equated with drudgery, and retirement, equated with the freedom at last to enjoy life.

A recent [*survey*](https://www.jean-jaures.org/publication/grosse-fatigue-et-epidemie-de-flemme-quand-une-partie-des-francais-a-mis-les-pouces/#:~:text=mis%20les%20pouces-,Grosse%20fatigue%20et%20%C3%A9pid%C3%A9mie%20de%20flemme%20%3A%20quand%20une%20partie,Fran%C3%A7ais%20a%20mis%20les%20pouces&amp;text=La%20crise%20sanitaire%20a%20modifi%C3%A9,et%20de%20la%20sph%C3%A8re%20priv%C3%A9e.) by the IFOP polling and marketing company found that only 24 percent of French people considered work “very important,” compared with 60 percent in 1990. The feeling of being unrecognized or taken for granted in the workplace appears widespread.

France is something of an outlier on pensions among European countries, many of which have already pushed back retirement for the very reasons Mr. Macron has outlined. In Germany, the legal age of retirement is 65 and is being gradually increased to 67. Spain is also working toward retirement at 67.

But some countries allow workers to retire before the legal age, provided they have paid into the system long enough. Italy, for instance, has also set 67 as the legal age of retirement, but many leave their jobs earlier.

Still, in France workers generally leave the labor market two to three years earlier than in other major European economies, according to an official advisory body called the [*Pensions Advisory Council*](https://www.cor-retraites.fr/pensions-advisory-council).

The overhaul would raise the legal age of retirement in annual three-month increments, starting this fall, to reach 64 by 2030, three years after Mr. Macron, who is subject to term limits, leaves office. Parliament will begin discussing the bill next month, and Mr. Macron hopes it will become law by the summer.

That target, however, appears ambitious. “If there is no positive response from the government, today is a first step, and there will be a second step,” Philippe Martinez, the head of the CGT, told reporters before the march in Paris.

Police officers in riot gear deployed in large numbers, and many stores in Paris boarded up their windows. But violence appeared limited.

In Paris, near the Place de la Bastille, Thomas Ouvriard, 20, a political science university student, and Ignacio Franzone, 23, a worker at the French post office, hoisted a large poster of Mr. Macron dressed as King Louis XIV looking out with an unflinching stare. “Macron the scornful,” it said.

“Of course in France, we have cut off the heads of kings in our past history,” Mr. Franzone said. “We’re not there yet with Macron, but we’re here to win this fight.”

The [*perception of Mr. Macron as arrogant and remote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/22/world/europe/france-election-emmanuel-macron.html), established during his first term, has proved hard to overcome. His zigzagging between right and left, while politically effective in the emasculation of the Socialist Party and the Republicans, long the two main political forces of postwar France, has also alienated some people.

France instituted a retirement age of 60 in 1981, only to retreat, and a 35-hour week in 1997. The degree of social protection is a source of great pride in a country long resistant to the more cutthroat capitalism of what it calls “Anglo-Saxon” economies. It is a measure of the distance between protesters and the government that some labor unions and Mr. Le Pen have called for bringing the retirement age forward to 60 from 62.

Alluding to the prime minister, Élisabeth Borne, the far-left leader Jean-Luc Mélenchon declared after she had presented the pension plan: “With a stroke of the pen, Ms. Borne and Mr. Macron are repealing 40 to 50 years of social progress.”

Guy Groux, a labor specialist at Sciences Po’s Centre for Political Research, said the protests on Thursday were a boost for unions, but he cautioned that it was still unclear how long they could keep up the pressure on Mr. Macron.

“The first success is that they are all united, which is rare in France,” Mr. Groux said. “What’s at stake for the unions now is to make the movement last.”

Unions could continue disruptive transportation and fuel strikes, but it remains to be seen whom the French would ultimately blame, Mr. Groux added.

“Between the unions and Macron, the real referee will be public opinion,” he said.

Constant Méheut, Liz Alderman and Tom Nouvian contributed reporting.

Constant Méheut, Liz Alderman and Tom Nouvian contributed reporting.

This article appeared in print on page A7.

**Load-Date:** January 20, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Following a Legacy of Resistance in Tennessee***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:680Y-86C1-DXY4-X32M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 14, 2023 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1835 words

**Byline:** By Clyde McGrady, Emily Cochrane and Jon Cherry

**Body**

Earlier this year, Justin Jones arrived at the State Capitol in Tennessee as a freshly elected lawmaker representing parts of Nashville. A 27-year-old Black Democrat, he belonged to a party vastly outnumbered by a largely white Republican majority. The advice was clear.

''Everyone kind of kept their head down and told us to do the same, you know, to assimilate, to conform,'' he said.

Months later, Mr. Jones and another even newer colleague, Justin J. Pearson, are two of the most high-profile state representatives in the country, after the two young, Black Democrats were expelled and then reinstated to their seats in an extraordinary political drama that jolted Tennessee politics while intensifying a debate on race and representation.

Republicans in the Tennessee House of Representatives voted to expel the men for leading a gun control protest on the House floor after the slaughter of six people, including three 9-year-old children, in a Christian school in Nashville. Representative Gloria Johnson, a white lawmaker who joined the protest, narrowly survived her expulsion vote.

Since that moment one week ago, the careers of the men have fused to create ''the Justins,'' a phenomenon that has dominated the national stage, merging a sprawling conversation on gun violence, race and democracy into one potent political package.

As young insurgents of their party, they have brought intense focus to Tennessee politics. They have also brought an impatient, confrontational style of protest into their roles as lawmakers -- a strategy that has shaken up the Republican-dominated body but also contradicted the more incremental approach favored by veteran politicians in their own party.

Some Tennessee political observers see their actions as a result of frustration with years of Republican antagonism toward African American colleagues, who have tried to operate within a system in which they are a minority within a minority

And several Democrats said that while they wouldn't have deployed the same tactics as Mr. Jones and Mr. Pearson, they could sympathize with them.

''I'm not a storm-the-well type of guy,'' said Representative Sam McKenzie, 57, chairman of the Tennessee Black Caucus of State Legislators, referring to the front of the legislative chamber where the trio of lawmakers gathered to protest. ''That's not my personality, but I fully understand their frustration.''

Mr. Pearson and Mr. Jones, whose districts include parts of Memphis and Nashville, are a generational break from the current political norm, and a throwback in many ways to the tactics and styles of civil rights leaders from the 1960s and '70s. Their style is in communion with a tradition of African American activism in which civic and spiritual life intertwine, and political reprimand from the opposition is worn like a badge of honor.

Representative Andrew Farmer, a Republican who filed one of the expulsion resolutions, criticized Mr. Pearson for having a ''temper tantrum'' in the House and ''yearning to have attention.''

''If you want to conduct business in the House, file a bill,'' Mr. Farmer said.

Mr. Pearson and Mr. Jones emerged from an era of protests sparked by the murders of African American people, often at the hands of the police, and the Black Lives Matter approach of demands for dramatic change. Both tie their activism to their Christian faith: Mr. Jones is a divinity student at Vanderbilt University. Mr. Pearson is the son of a pastor.

Mr. Pearson, 28, evokes the image of a 1960s activist in both appearance and manner. His browline glasses recall Malcolm X, while his Afro and dashiki -- which he wears to the Capitol at times -- bring to mind a young Rev. Jesse L. Jackson.

Mr. Jones, the theology student, favors blazers and wears his hair pulled back into a small, neat pony tail. He recently seized the opportunity to sing ''We Shall Overcome'' with Joan Baez at the Newark airport.

Both are quick to acknowledge their civil rights-era forebears such as Diane Nash and John Lewis, who led sit-ins to desegregate Nashville businesses. Mr. Lewis, an ordained Baptist minister who popularized the phrase ''good trouble,'' served more than three decades in the U.S. House of Representatives. In 2016, he brought floor proceedings to a halt to demand a vote on gun control.

Mr. Jones said that before his expulsion, he reflected on the biblical story of the three Hebrew men who emerge unscathed after being thrown into a furnace for refusing to bow before the image of a king, and the letter that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. wrote from a Birmingham, Ala., jail.

After his expulsion, Mr. Pearson gave a sermon on resurrection and tied the political moment, which happened over Easter weekend, to themes of death and rebirth.

Though their paths have now merged, both started from different points of origin: Mr. Pearson grew up poor in Memphis and pursued a degree at a predominantly white liberal arts college in the Maine woods. Mr. Jones, the grandchild of Filipino immigrants and Black ***working-class*** Chicagoans, grew up in Oakland, Calif., and arrived in Nashville as a college student at an historically Black university.

Mr. Jones said it was the death of Trayvon Martin that first moved him to protest. His decision to attend Fisk University, the alma mater of prominent civil rights activists, brought him to Nashville, where he studied political science and became a community organizer championing voting rights.

During his student years and after, he protested at the Capitol for an array of issues, including the removal of the bust of a Confederate general from the state building.

He was repeatedly arrested and once temporarily banned from the Capitol for throwing a cup of liquid at a Republican leader in 2019. The charges were later dropped. After the killing of George Floyd, Mr. Jones was a fixture at protests, camping outside the Capitol for more than 60 days.

''We were begging them to change policies, but what we really should do and could do was to change those in those seats,'' he said.

In Memphis, Mr. Pearson grew up in a family that he described as ''financially poor but spiritually rich,'' watching his parents work to earn college degrees and raise their five sons. While his father, a preacher, attended Howard University, Mr. Pearson temporarily went to high school in Virginia. He said he was stunned by the lack of books and resources in his school in Memphis when the family returned.

''To go from a place that has so many resources to a place that has so few, it was really my first understanding about systemic injustice and inequality, but also about the power of our voices to help affect change,'' Mr. Pearson recalled in an interview. He successfully lobbied the school board for more books.

At Bowdoin College in Maine, he served as class president, ate his first lobster and found a community within the nearby church.

Professor Chryl Laird first met Mr. Pearson in 2017 while he was a student at Bowdoin and recalled him as a polished, clean-shaven young man prone to wearing suits around campus. But she was struck by his passion, intellect and study of the social justice figures of the past.

Mr. Pearson wrestled, he said, with the stark socioeconomic differences between himself and his classmates with summer homes and boarding school education.

When Mr. Pearson returned to Memphis, he and his family successfully led protests against the construction of an oil pipeline, which would have cut through a predominately African American neighborhood.

He ran to fill the seat of Representative Barbara Cooper, a Democrat whose death led to a special election, pledging to push for a cleaner environment in his southwest Memphis district, and for police reform that would lower the rate of incarceration of African American men in the city.

Mr. Jones, whom Mr. Pearson had met at protests, was among those who encouraged him to run for the seat, he said.

Some see the two freshmen as part of a continuum of activism among African American legislators.

''There's a tradition of resistance in Tennessee Black lawmakers,'' said Sekou Franklin, a politics professor at Middle Tennessee State University. He cited legislators such as the former Representative Johnnie Turner, who supported the removal of Confederate statues from Memphis parks despite the ire it drew from colleagues. ''What you saw there at the well is a different kind of resistance.''

''It's waking a lot of people up to what's going on in Tennessee,'' Dr. Franklin said. ''The downside is that it was a nonviolent action without any strategy. And so how do you counter the assault that Republicans are going to take?''

But it has also made some colleagues uncomfortable.

At one point after their protest, Mr. Jones, Mr. Pearson and Ms. Johnson were confronted by two senior Black Democrats -- Representatives Joe Towns Jr. and Karen Camper, the House minority leader -- warning them that the Republican majority was preparing an expulsion vote and trying to calm the situation.

The group appeared to have a tense exchange, according to a video posted on Twitter, in which Ms. Camper, 65, could be heard ordering the lawmakers off the floor. In an interview later, Ms. Camper said her intent was to protect them from expulsion, and she acknowledged the pair had provided a burst of energy to the Democrats.

''I did reflect on the '60s,'' she said.

Mr. Towns said it was a lawmaker's duty to be effective and ''bring things back'' for the district. ''There's always a time to protest and there's a certain way you can do it, but in any environment you go into, you must know the rules,'' he said.

This week, Gov. Bill Lee, a Republican, whose wife lost a friend in the shooting, called for the legislature to take up a measure that would give courts the ability to restrict someone's ability to access guns if the person is deemed dangerous, and signed an executive order intended to strengthen background checks. Republicans have not yet publicly rallied behind such a measure, and the legislative session will soon end.

Both Mr. Pearson and Mr. Jones say the movement is evidence that their strategy is working.

On Thursday morning, after Mr. Pearson was reinstated, the pair embraced in the chamber. Mr. Pearson held his fist up high after retaking his oath of office. Almost immediately, the two men plunged into a heated debate with Republicans over an education bill they warned would stifle efforts to teach about racism and sexism in the United States. Republicans abruptly cut off debate over the bill, over the objections of Democrats.

''They really tried to silence those two young men like they have the rest of us, but they have a different way,'' Mr. McKenzie said. ''It's just a different generation. They have a different way of communication. They have a different tolerance level. They're more immediate, 'I want my say right now.'''

Eliza Fawcett contributed reporting.Eliza Fawcett contributed reporting.

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: State Representatives Justin Jones, left, and Justin J. Pearson at the Tennessee State Capitol. (A1)

The expulsion and reinstatement of Justin J. Pearson, standing, and Justin Jones, far right, fueled a debate about race and democracy. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JON CHERRY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16) This article appeared in print on page A1, A16.

**Load-Date:** April 18, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Who Should Run in 2024? We Asked Our Readers.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66X8-2RG1-JBG3-634W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 21, 2022 Monday 11:09 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2274 words

**Byline:** New York Times Opinion

**Highlight:** More than 10,000 told us about their ideal candidates.

**Body**

The midterm elections left neither Democrats nor Republicans with a clear advantage heading into the next presidential campaign season. Donald Trump just announced his candidacy, but that’s not stopping other Republicans from considering jumping in. President Biden says he will make a decision about a re-election bid early next year; some Democrats say they don’t want him to run again, but it’s hardly obvious who else would be a formidable Democratic Party nominee in 2024.

It seems like America’s next presidential race is anybody’s game.

Well, not just anybody. Voters this month opted for a wide variety of leadership styles and policy priorities in their choices for governors, the House and the Senate, a set of results that left Times Opinion editors wondering: Who exactly do Americans want leading them? What type of candidate would they trust to take on issues most important to them, and who might be able to get them — and keep them — excited about voting in two (long!) years?

So we posed those questions to our readers. In more than 10,000 responses we heard from a lot of Democrats, yes, but also Republicans, independents, Libertarians, centrists, conservatives, liberals and those who reject political labels altogether. Keep reading to find out who has caught their attention as they begin their journey to Election Day 2024.

A hero for the ***working class***

As a Catholic and former Democrat, I find the current G.O.P. toxic and dangerous. I lean toward the Democrats, especially on social justice issues and foreign policy. But I find the left wing of the party insufferable. The party’s reflexive, one-dimensional position on abortion (like the G.O.P.’s) is beyond understanding, and its tolerance for the left’s cancel culture is absurd.

I’d like a Midwesterner with some cachet among rural and ***working-class*** voters, a whole population that the Democrats largely walked away from over the past 50 years. Gretchen Whitmer, Sherrod Brown or Amy Klobuchar might fit the bill. — Bruce Daigle, 68, independent, Rhode Island

John Fetterman seems to cut through the typical political obfuscation and virtue signaling and connect with people in an honest way. He seems like someone in my family and doesn’t pretend to be fancy or superior. — Stacey Atwell-Keister, 45, Democrat, Roseburg, Ore.

A centrist who can unite us

I think it’s time for a centrist party or to eliminate parties altogether. The two-party system is at the foundation of the “us versus them” mentality plaguing the country today. Till then, there are several possibilities on my list: Mark Kelly, Big Gretch [Gretchen Whitmer] and my soon-to-be former governor, the Honorable Larry Hogan — a purple governor of a bluish-purple state. — Didi Peck, 64, unaffiliated, Greenbelt, Md.

I am moderate, pragmatic and purple. I’d like to see gerrymandering rendered moot, candidates of both parties tackle real reform in the tax code to relieve the middle class, fair immigration policy, energy diversity or independence, more U.S. manufacturing and environmental protections. And I’d like to see some Midwestern common sense candidates run — people like Jon Tester, Amy Klobuchar, Mark Kelly and Janet Mills. — Jayne Johnsen-Seeberger, 68, Democrat, Long Island, N.Y.

Someone to lure the elusive swing voter

I’m a third-party voter but have held my nose and voted with the Democrats since Trump’s presidency. But to be successful in the long term, they need to stop taking the nonwhite vote for granted and make further inroads in rural, nonmetropolitan areas. Gretchen Whitmer has a demonstrated record of success in a key swing state and has done some massively successful party-building this year. I think she would elevate herself even more on the national level. — Colin Zentmeyer, 23, D.C. Statehood Green Party, Columbia, Mo.

I’d like to see the Democrat Mitch Landrieu of Louisiana run for president. He is currently a senior adviser to President Biden and the coordinator for the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act. More importantly, he built a coalition of whites and Blacks as mayor of New Orleans, bringing in new investment to the city as well as reforming city bureaucracy and the police force. He’s proven he can unite Democrats, both pragmatic and progressive. Being a Southern white male Democrat — already a rarity — he might also bring Southern and Western conservatives or independents to his ticket. And he’s younger than President Biden in a time when America needs strong physical and mental leadership. — Miles Abernethy, 22, Democrat, Blacksburg, Va.

First, I have some conditions …

As a member of Gen Z, I see only one issue on the 2024 ballot: climate change. I am registered as a Democrat, but only for the purpose of voting in the primaries. I do not consider myself to be aligned with any particular party. My ideal candidate would have a decisive plan for major action on climate change and be unabashedly pro-labor. Moreover, I want to elect a president who is firmly convinced that these issues require immediate attention, and who will not be swayed by bribes and empty promises. The only candidate who meets these criteria is Bernie Sanders. — Meg Dillingham McCullough, 24, Democrat, Brookline, Mass.

I want an honest candidate, either Republican or Democratic, with a platform that will stabilize the economy, preserve the U.S. commitment to NATO and the climate accords, guarantee access to health care for all citizens and have a sensible solution for immigration. A campaign of sound bites and lies must be avoided. A young candidate with new ideas would be ideal. — Sharon Tauber, 75, Republican, Florida

I’m moderate and like moderates from both parties. I want to see a unifier; the country is weaker when we are divided, and Adam Kinzinger has proven to care more about public service than power. But I won’t support the Republican Party again until they drain their own swamp. And I’m not in favor of the Democratic Party becoming more progressive. — Nathan Dunkel, 41, Democrat, Atlanta

A candidate that would lean to the left

I align with the Democratic Party of my youth. That used to mean individual liberty, as in pro-choice, pro-marriage equality and socioeconomic mobility. Republicans have been successful shifting political dialogue to the right, and Democrats have countered with social elitism and big spending rather than working on substantive policy for issues like the environment and economic measures to help the middle class. They need to go further left in local races and safe districts to energize the base, but find common-ground candidates for Senate, gubernatorial and national races.

Mark Kelly, Raphael Warnock and Gretchen Whitmer have strong liberal values but also some crossover appeal. The best is the one who can represent core Democratic values without alienating the rural and blue-collar voters that used to be the base. — Elliott H., 46, independent, Salt Lake City

I have felt forced to align myself with the Democratic Party my entire life. I registered with them in 2015 so that I could vote for Senator Sanders, but there is nearly nothing they have done that I am happy about. The message is: Vote for us or they will make it even worse. True enough, but hardly inspiring.

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez is the only leader in America right now who has what this nation so desperately needs: not only the critical policies that are the only hope for our future — much higher taxes on the rich and corporations, a real safety net, Medicare for all, real climate action, worker’s rights, voting rights and human rights — but also the intelligence, grit and charisma it takes to inspire and lead people. But that isn’t very likely, is it? So I guess I’m just going to have to vote against open fascism like I have all my life. Sigh. — Paul Chhabra, 57, Democrat, Shelton, Conn.

Look to the right

I’m Black and a lifelong Democrat, but I would vote for Liz Cheney in a heartbeat if she decided to leave the Republican Party. She’s shown more backbone and ethical behavior lately than anyone in either party. She sacrificed her career to be on the right side of history. Her passion and levelheadedness under pressure makes her a keeper in my book. Democrats need to be more vocal and get into the fray. Only recently did they appear to take the threats to our country’s democracy seriously. And they need to stop taking minority votes for granted. — Patricia Walker, 70, Democrat, Connecticut

I align with the Republican Party. I’m happy with their openness to solving problems through the free market rather than through government programs. And I would like to see them assert America’s leadership role on the world stage rather than embracing increasingly isolationist policies. Hillary Clinton is cleareyed about her economic policies, experienced on the world stage and is in the best position to capitalize on the social issues that are important to many voters. — Thomas Larrison, 28, unaffiliated, Tampa, Fla.

Charlie Baker of Massachusetts, if he runs with a moderate Democrat. Rebuilding American industry by growing jobs in infrastructure and support of community colleges, trades and green industry training are all very important to me, but Dems need a simple and clear message on issues like the border, crime, climate change and jobs. — Edmund Lee, 63, Democrat, Huntington, N.Y.

I’m a registered Republican, but I’m really more of an independent or Libertarian. I want smaller, less obtrusive government, which is something neither major party will ever deliver. I want someone younger than Trump or Biden, and a good selection of people to choose from who will focus on crime, immigration and the economy. I would like to hear from a variety of candidates. Among the Republicans, Ron DeSantis, Nikki Haley, Mike Pompeo or Mike Pence. Among the Democrats, Gretchen Whitmer, Gavin Newsom and Amy Klobuchar. — Rick Peterson, 64, Republican, Papillion, Neb.

Let’s stick with what’s working, or close to it

Joe Biden is the most successful Democratic president since L.B.J. in terms of significant legislative accomplishments. Republicans can’t seem to find a coherent way to paint him. He’s either a terrifyingly left-wing revolutionary plotting to destroy America or a senile old man who can’t talk without a prompter. I don’t see a very deep Democratic bench right now, and definitely no one with a real national profile like DeSantis or Trump, so Biden seems like the right move. — Joe Killiany, 44, Democrat, Washington, D.C.

I ceased being a Republican in 2016. Now I identify as an independent and frequently vote against the Republican rather than for the Democrat. I am pleased with this administration’s return to serious, calm governance, but as a baby boomer I firmly believe it is far past time to pass on the mantle. Pete Buttigieg ticks all the buttons for me: He is intelligent, articulate, willing to work across party lines for compromise. — Karen Whitley, 65, independent, Mississippi

I don’t need to be excited to vote. It is my duty to vote and use all the common sense and research I can when doing so. I want Biden to run in 2024. The nation has been too stressed and traumatized to needlessly cut this president’s second term. It is too early to begin yet another horse race. We need to decompress. — Celeste Pettijohn, 72, Democrat, Florida

Anyone who can put Trump in the rearview mirror

I have always voted Republican (the only Democrat I was even close to voting for was Andrew Yang), and although I am disappointed that the red wave turned out to be a red ripple, in many ways I am pleased. I point the loss squarely at Trump. He is a disgrace. And he is dangerous. I want him out. I’m hoping this midterm election loss may finally allow the party to give Mr. Trump, along with his wild conspiracies, denialism, narcissism and provocative antics, the boot.

Long term, I am hoping that Ron DeSantis can win a presidential victory in 2024. He is smart, articulate, bold, principled and a veteran. He pushes back on progressive orthodoxy. I hope his election will force Democrats to look at themselves and force them to finally push away their dislikable and threatening obsession with wokeism. — Andres Gonzales, 32, Republican, Austin, Texas

I would like to see a populist or centrist, white, Christian, heterosexual man who can appeal to Republicans run — and I’m a progressive, atheist woman. To run against Trump we need a nominee that can get the crossover voters. Give me Andy Beshear, Jon Tester or Mark Kelly. We need to be pragmatic, sacrifice “me” for “we.” — Jane Martin Buckley, 62, Democrat, Louisville, Ky.

Any Republican who stands up against Trump appeals to me. I’ve voted Republican my whole life, but I refuse to vote for him or anyone who supports him. — Tom MacMillan, 63, Republican, Illinois

My ideal candidate would be plain-spoken, direct and even blunt. Zero political-speak and zero clichés. Tough and not afraid to tell the unvarnished truth about our problems and what we must do to solve them, even if it offends or alienates some. Folks yearn for that. Trump gets it but his directness is all lies. Imagine if it was the truth. — Ron Kammann, 77, Democrat, San Francisco

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; Photographs by Anna Moneymaker, Stacy Revere, and ROBERTO SCHMIDT, via Getty, and Gayatri Malhotra, via Unsplash FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2022

**End of Document**



[***New York City Will Offer Paxlovid at Mobile Testing Sites, a First in the U.S.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65TK-M571-DXY4-X211-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 30, 2022 Thursday 18:59 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 705 words

**Byline:** Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Highlight:** Mayor Eric Adams says that offering immediate prescriptions to people who test positive at the mobile sites will help address concerns over inequities in distributing antiviral treatments.

**Body**

Mayor Eric Adams says that offering immediate prescriptions to people who test positive at the mobile sites will help address concerns over inequities in distributing antiviral treatments.

New York City is creating the first mobile testing units in the United States that will allow people who test positive for the coronavirus to immediately receive for free the antiviral treatment Paxlovid.

Mayor Eric Adams announced the new program on Thursday in Manhattan with Dr. Ashish Jha, the White House Covid-19 response coordinator.

The new “Test to Treat” mobile unit program is part of [*federal and city efforts to reduce the impact of the virus*](https://www1.nyc.gov/site/doh/covid/covid-19-whensick.page) and to prepare for future waves of cases. Health officials want to improve access to antiviral drugs for vulnerable New Yorkers who may not know about the treatment or do not have a primary care doctor or health insurance.

Mr. Adams, a Democrat who took office in January, tested positive for the virus in April and has said that [*his infection was mild in part because he took Paxlovid*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/19/nyregion/adams-mask-mandate-covid-new-york.html). The treatment, made by Pfizer, has been found to [*substantially reduce the chances of severe illness*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/26/us/politics/paxlovid-white-house-covid-deaths.html) in high-risk people if patients start taking it early in the course of infection. Federal regulators [*authorized the drug for emergency use late last year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/22/health/pfizer-covid-pill-fda-paxlovid.html), and on Thursday [*Pfizer said it had applied to the Food and Drug Administration*](https://investors.pfizer.com/Investors/News/news-details/2022/Pfizer-Announces-Submission-of-New-Drug-Application-to-the-U.S.-FDA-for-PAXLOVID/default.aspx) for approval of the treatment.

“By getting lifesaving medications into the hands of New Yorkers minutes after they test positive, we are once again leading the nation to quickly deliver accessible care to those who need it,” Mr. Adams said in a statement.

President Biden announced a [*national “Test to Treat” effort*](https://www.hhs.gov/about/news/2022/03/08/fact-sheet-biden-administration-launches-nationwide-test-treat-initiative-ensuring-rapid-on-spot-access-lifesaving-covid-treatments.html) in his State of the Union address in March. [*The federal program relies on*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/26/us/politics/paxlovid-white-house-covid-deaths.html) hundreds of local pharmacy-based clinics and community health centers to prescribe antiviral treatments on the spot. No other city besides New York has yet used mobile testing units for the program.

Starting on Thursday, [*three of the city’s mobile testing units*](https://www1.nyc.gov/office-of-the-mayor/news/465-22/mayor-adams-launches-nation-s-first-mobile-test-treat-program-provide-immediate-access-to) will include a clinician who can prescribe antiviral medications for those who are eligible. The units will be set up outside local pharmacies that can immediately fill those prescriptions. The sites will be in the Inwood section of Manhattan, South Ozone Park in Queens, and in the East Bronx —  all neighborhoods away from downtown or midtown Manhattan that have many ***working class*** residents.

The number of mobile sites that can offer the prescription will expand to more than 30 by the end of July, city officials said, adding that later this summer the city will begin offering antiviral medications directly at the 30 mobile units, rather than through a nearby pharmacy. The city already [*offers free home delivery*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/30/nyregion/nyc-covid-antiviral-pills-delivery.html) of antiviral treatments.

Dr. Ted Long, executive director of the city’s Test &amp; Trace Corps, said that the first patient at the new mobile testing site outside Inwood Pharmacy this week was a woman who did not have a cellphone and was recently exposed to the virus. She tested positive and left the pharmacy with Paxlovid.

“This effort is focused on equity,” he said.

Dr. Jha said in an interview that there had been a major increase in the use of Paxlovid across the country over the last three months, and that 240,000 new prescriptions for the treatment were reported last week, the highest weekly total so far. But he said that people who test positive in poorer communities had not accessed antiviral treatments as often as people in wealthier communities had.

“I love this idea,” he said of New York’s mobile program. “You can go to people where they are. I expect this to go very well, and it will be a great model for the rest of the country to follow.”

A [*recent study released by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/21/world/antiviral-drugs-for-covid-are-inequitably-prescribed-a-cdc-study-finds.html) found that people who reside in the most socially and economically disadvantaged areas in the United States were half as likely as those in wealthier communities to be prescribed the new antiviral treatments, even though many of the distribution sites are in those areas.

Dr. Jha and Dr. Ashwin Vasan, New York City’s health commissioner, said that there was plenty of Paxlovid available for New Yorkers who need it.

“Now we’re kind of awash in Paxlovid,” Dr. Vasan said.

**Load-Date:** July 1, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Republicans’ Fake War Against ‘Woke Capital’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:62D7-3FS1-JBG3-6002-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 9, 2021 Friday 23:19 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1205 words

**Byline:** Jamelle Bouie

**Highlight:** If they really wanted to help the ***working class***, there is plenty they could do.

**Body**

If they really wanted to help the ***working class***, there is plenty they could do.

The Republican Party may not have much of an agenda to sell to the public right now, but it does have an enemy with which to rally its troops: “woke capital,” or those corporations that have adopted progressive rhetoric on social issues and used their platforms to support voting rights or back movements like Black Lives Matter.

“Parts of the private sector keep dabbling in behaving like a woke parallel government,” [*Mitch McConnell*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931), the Senate minority leader, told reporters on Monday. “Corporations will invite serious consequences if they become a vehicle for far-left mobs to hijack our country from outside the constitutional order.”

Senator Marco Rubio of Florida [*wrote*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931) the commissioner of Major League Baseball to condemn the organization for moving its All-Star Game from Cobb County, Ga., to Denver in response to Georgia’s new election law. That decision, Rubio said, was “woke corporate virtue signaling.”

To the extent that “woke capital” even exists, it involves real questions of political economy. Simply put, there are few countervailing forces in American life to corporate speech, corporate money and corporate political action. If “woke capital” is a real problem, then the solution is to reanimate those countervailing forces, which is to say, to put life back into organized labor.

Some Republican critics of “woke capital” seem to understand the need to put some distance between their party and corporate America. Rubio, for example, has backed the effort to unionize an Amazon warehouse in Bessemer, Ala., as a punishment of sorts for the company’s occasionally progressive messaging. “It is no fault of Amazon’s workers if they feel the only option available to protect themselves against bad faith is to form a union,” [*he wrote in an op-ed for USA Today*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931). “Today it might be workplace conditions, but tomorrow it might be a requirement that the workers embrace management’s latest ‘woke’ human resources fad.”

Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri, largely quiet since he tried to challenge the Electoral College results in January, has also [*pledged*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931) to take action against the “MLB &amp; the giant woke corporations” that “keep telling Biden’s big lie about Georgia &amp; election integrity.” Hawley said he would soon “introduce a trust busting agenda for 21st century.”

Erick Erickson, a conservative commentator and radio host, has similarly [*urged*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931) Republicans to take action against corporate power. “We must begin now aggressively pushing back on corporations involving themselves in public policy and advocacy,” he wrote in his personal newsletter. “The second thing we should do,” he added, “is commit to a ban on corporate welfare to attract Fortune 500 companies to red states.”

None of these things — the unionization of a single warehouse at a single firm, new antitrust legislation or an end to corporate welfare — is bad. But they are modest and would do little to curb corporate power in the aggregate. If Republicans are truly serious about standing up to “woke capital” — if this is more than just a messaging ploy meant to smooth over ideological division within the party’s ranks — then there are a few other, larger, things they can do.

For example, Republicans and conservatives could support the [*Protecting the Right to Organize Act*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931). If signed into law, the act would override “right to work” laws and impose tough penalties on employers who interfered in employees’ attempts to unionize. If part of the problem of “woke capital” is that individual workers lack the power to stand up to employers who don’t share their values, then allowing workers to act and bargain collectively is necessarily part of the solution. And if you fear the overall power of “woke” corporations on American politics, then unions representing the ***working class*** are your best weapon against that influence.

Similarly, Republicans and conservatives could work to end “at will” employment, in which workers can be fired [*for any reason*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931). If American corporations have been captured by activists eager to “cancel” dissenters, then workers need robust protections in the event they run afoul of an overzealous human resources department or some “woke” Walmart commissar.

A higher federal minimum wage and a more robust social safety net would also work to strengthen employees vis-à-vis their employers. The less an individual worker needs to rely on market income to survive, the more he or she can pick and choose between jobs. The more corporations have to spend on recruiting and retaining workers, the less they can spend on influencing politics.

If “woke capital” is a real problem, then it’s a labor issue as much as it is a cultural one. And there are many other policies — antitrust regulations against tech companies, “co-determination” to give workers a seat at the corporate table and strict limits on corporate political spending, to name just a few — that would curb the power of corporations to impose their values on both their employees and the broader public.

We know, of course, that Republicans aren’t interested in any of this. McConnell might denounce actual corporate speech, but he is a major recipient of corporate dollars and a staunch defender of corporate spending in elections. (He has already [*backed off*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931) on his comments. “I didn’t say that very artfully,” he explained the next day.) Neither Rubio nor Hawley has ever met a corporate tax cut he couldn’t support, and the entire Republican Party is united in support of an anti-labor politics that puts ordinary workers at the mercy of capital.

Recall Senator Mitt Romney’s [*critique*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931) of the White House’s relief package from February: “The Biden stimulus calls for checks of $400 a week in addition to state checks through September. At that level, the majority of the unemployed would make more by not working. Employers already complain that they can’t find employees.”

Republican “woke capital” critics are not actually interested in curbing corporate influence and putting power in the hands of workers. They don’t have a problem with corporate speech as a matter of principle. They have a problem with corporate speech as a matter of politics. If the situation were reversed, and corporations were vocal supporters of “election integrity,” it’s hard to imagine that McConnell or his allies would have a problem.

“Woke” capital also does not actually exist. A Black Lives Matter advertisement does not make up for the McDonald’s exploitative relationship to labor and the environment. Amazon might take a few items deemed offensive off its shelves, but it still relies on overworked and underpaid workers in its warehouses and delivery vehicles.

Capital is capital, and, culture war agitation notwithstanding, the Republican Party is more than willing to back its interests when it matters most.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931), [*Twitter (@NYTopinion)*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931) and [*Instagram*](https://twitter.com/burgessev/status/1379074791961980931).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 9, 2021

**End of Document**



[***Why Union Drives Are Succeeding***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:65Y6-1BT1-JBG3-62MC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 17, 2022 Sunday 22:26 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1685 words

**Byline:** Ian Prasad Philbrick

**Highlight:** College-educated workers are driving a spike in union organizing.

**Body**

College-educated workers are driving a spike in union organizing.

After decades of declining union membership, organized labor may be on the verge of a resurgence in the U.S. Employees seeking better working conditions and higher pay have recently organized unions at Starbucks, Amazon, Apple and elsewhere. Applications for union elections this year are on pace to approach their highest level in a decade. I asked Noam Scheiber, who covers workers and labor issues for The Times, what’s behind the latest flurry of union activity.

Ian: You recently [*profiled Jaz Brisack*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/19/business/starbucks-union-rhodes-scholar.html), a Rhodes scholar and barista who helped organize a union at a Starbucks in Buffalo that was the first at a company-owned store in decades. Why did she want to work there?

Noam: Jaz comes out of a tradition. We saw it during the Depression; people with radical politics taking jobs with the explicit intention of organizing workers. The term for this is “salting,” like the seasoning. The practice has had some limited success in recent decades, but we’re seeing a broader revival of it, and Jaz is part of that. Several salts got jobs at Amazon and helped [*organize a facility on Staten Island*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/01/technology/amazon-union-staten-island.html). Academics like [*Barry Eidlin*](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0160449X19828470) and [*Mie Inouye*](https://bostonreview.net/articles/labors-militant-minority/) have written extensively about this.

Jaz is very public about her beliefs. She wore a Karl Marx sweatshirt at Oxford University and once pressed the University of Mississippi’s chancellor — during a reception in Jaz’s honor — to remove a Confederate monument from campus.

She’s idealistic and ambitious, but being a social creature hasn’t always come naturally to her. She told me that when she first got to college, she was “incredibly socially awkward,” partly because she’d been home-schooled. Yet she would kind of will herself to do things that required interacting with strangers in order to advance the cause, like passing out fliers to promote a union campaign at a nearby Nissan plant.

Employees at nearly 200 other Starbucks have organized since Jaz’s store [*unionized in December*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/09/business/economy/buffalo-starbucks-union.html). Did they follow her lead?

After their union won, Jaz and the other organizers got inquiries from Starbucks workers all over the country. They would go on Zoom calls and tell them how to get started. I was with the Buffalo organizers on the day the union won at a Starbucks in Mesa, Ariz., the first outside Buffalo during the campaign. One worker at Jaz’s store, Michelle Eisen, had been in close contact with the Mesa workers. I went to dinner with her and some of the other Buffalo organizers that night, and they were giddy. They took pride in what they’d set in motion.

So [*these things catch on*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/12/business/economy/amazon-starbucks-union.html). Whenever I cover a union campaign these days, I ask, “Have you been paying attention to what’s going on at Starbucks? At Amazon?” Invariably the answer is not just yes, but, “We were inspired by it, we were motivated by it, it showed us it could be done.” That was the case when I interviewed [*Trader Joe’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/08/business/economy/trader-joes-union.html) and [*Apple*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/18/technology/apple-union-maryland.html) workers. And, historically, unionization tends to happen in spurts.

College graduates seem to be driving this spurt.

A key part of the story is the [*radicalization of the college-educated worker*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/28/business/college-workers-starbucks-amazon-unions.html). You had a grinding recovery from the Great Recession followed by the pandemic. Being college-educated doesn’t necessarily mean being on board. But whether it’s Starbucks, Amazon or [*REI*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/02/business/rei-union-new-york.html), college-educated workers have been heavily involved.

As a group, college-educated Americans are becoming more liberal than ***working-class*** Americans. Has that been a barrier to organizing workers without degrees?

College-educated workers often get the ball rolling, but they’re pretty skilled at bringing together a diverse group. I talked to Brima Sylla, a Liberian immigrant who helped organize his co-workers at the Staten Island Amazon facility. He’s got a Ph.D. in public policy and speaks several languages. He helped sign up hundreds of people, a lot of them fellow African or Asian immigrants. Another organizer was Pasquale Cioffi. He’s a former longshoreman and has a more traditional ***working-class*** background. He was good at talking to noncollege folks and Trump supporters. Having a coalition that put Brima and Pat together helped the union win.

You compared today’s organizing to the 1930s. What parallels do you see?

The Great Depression was obviously a traumatic moment. The financial system was breaking down. The economy was collapsing. Unemployment was at 25 percent. But by 1936, things were substantially better, though still not great. That’s been true during the pandemic, too. A lot of people lost their jobs in 2020, but by 2021, the labor market was tight, and [*workers felt empowered*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/20/business/economy/workers-quit-jobs.html). That one-two punch — a traumatic event, and then things improving — is a recipe for successful organizing.

Your profile of Jaz reads differently from many Times stories. You talk about yourself — like her, you were a Rhodes scholar and interviewed your former classmates, contrasting their business-friendly outlook of the late 1990s with her skepticism. Why did you write it that way?

Once I understood Jaz’s background and role in the Starbucks campaign, my first thought was, “Wow, this probably wouldn’t have happened among my cohort of Rhodes scholars.” My reflex was to compare it to my group and marvel at the differences. It seemed more honest, authentic and compelling to just own that.

More about Noam: He joined The Times in 2015 after almost 15 years at The New Republic and lives near Chicago. After a bad experience involving a late-night cup of coffee, his college humor magazine and an 8 a.m. math class, he avoids caffeine.

For more

* How [*Amazon fought back*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/15/briefing/amazon-union-warehouse.html) after workers organized a Staten Island warehouse.

1. But a similar effort to unionize a nearby Amazon facility [*failed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/02/technology/amazon-union-staten-island.html).

NEWS

International

* President Biden [*is framing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/world/middleeast/biden-saudi-arabia-china-russia.html) his meetings with Middle East autocrats as an effort to contain Russia and outmaneuver China.

1. Russia’s defense minister [*ordered troops*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/world/europe/russia-ukraine-donbas-shoigu-pause.html) to step up attacks in Ukraine.
2. President Vladimir Putin is making [*sweeping changes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/world/europe/russia-putin-schools-propaganda-indoctrination.html) to school curriculums to shape the views of young Russians.
3. Europe is at [*a fragile moment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/world/europe/europe-italy-economy-crisis.html): It is confronting tests of its democracies, a plunging currency and the war in Ukraine.
4. Dozens of wildfires [*have swept*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/world/europe/uk-europe-heat-wave.html) across Europe, driven by a heat wave.

Other Big Stories

* The pandemic is still [*a driving factor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/business/global-recession-risk.html) behind the world’s economic woes.

1. A conservative lawyer pitched Donald Trump in late 2020 on [*a “martial law” plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/us/politics/trump-olson-lindell-election.html) to overturn his election loss.
2. Some residents of a North Dakota city were excited about a new mill and its promise of jobs, but its [*ties to China*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/17/us/grand-forks-north-dakota-fufeng-china.html) turned others against the project.
3. New state abortion bans will likely have [*an outsized impact*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/us/abortion-bans-children.html) on the youngest pregnant girls.

FROM OPINION

* Ireland and the U.S. have [*traded places on abortion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/opinion/ireland-abortion-roe.html), Maureen Dowd argues.

1. [*Seeing America*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/opinion/america-west-road-trip.html)gives Ross Douthat hope for it.
2. One ruling [*best captures*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/17/opinion/kennedy-bremerton-supreme-court.html) the Supreme Court majority’s efforts to inflict its religious agenda on the country, Pamela Paul argues.

The Sunday question: Should Biden have met with Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman of Saudi Arabia?

Biden’s meeting on Friday with Prince Mohammed after condemning him for a journalist’s murder affirms the idea that the U.S. [*only selectively cares about human rights*](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2022-07-13/true-costs-bidens-saudi-visit), Agnès Callamard argues in Foreign Affairs. Yasmine Farouk writes that while it may not have been Biden’s main objective for resetting relations, the meeting was [*a chance to pressure Saudi Arabia on human rights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/opinion/biden-mbs-saudi-visit.html).

MORNING READS

On the dance floor: A Middle Eastern party scene [*is thriving*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/movies/brooklyn-laylit-middle-east-north-africa.html) in Brooklyn.

Travel woes: It’s [*getting harder*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/travel/passport-renewal-summer-travel.html) to get a passport quickly.

Sunday routine: A cruise boat captain [*tries to steer crowds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/15/nyregion/statue-of-liberty-ferry-captain.html) as close to the Statue of Liberty as possible.

Advice from Wirecutter: Moving your home office outside this summer? [*Bring a fan*](https://www.nytimes.com/wirecutter/blog/work-outdoor-office/) — not just to keep you cool, but also to repel mosquitoes.

A Times classic: A [*timeless tomato tart*](https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/17/dining/heirloom-tomato-tart-recipe.html).

BOOKS

Forget the beach reads: These [*historical novels*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/15/books/review/m-son-of-the-century-antonio-scurati.html) are worth the weight.

By the Book: The [*last great book*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/14/books/review/teddy-wayne-by-the-book-interview.html) that Teddy Wayne read was Alison Espach’s “Notes on Your Sudden Disappearance.”

Our editors’ picks: The journalist Katy Tur’s memoir, “Rough Draft,” and [*nine other books*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/14/books/review/recommended-new-books.html).

Times best sellers: Henry Kissinger’s “Leadership,” which profiles statecraft strategies, [*is a nonfiction best seller*](https://www.nytimes.com/books/best-sellers/combined-print-and-e-book-nonfiction/2022/07/24). See [*all our lists here*](https://www.nytimes.com/books/best-sellers/).

The Book Review podcast: Our [*critics discuss*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/15/books/review/podcast-son-of-elsewhere-elamin-abdelmahmoud-colony-mormons-mexico-sally-denton.html) “Why We Did It,” by Tim Miller.

THE SUNDAY TIMES MAGAZINE

On the cover: Can planting [*a trillion trees*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/magazine/planting-trees-climate-change.html) save the world?

Recommendation: [*Talk to yourself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/magazine/talking-to-yourself.html).

Tip: How to [*recover from being ghosted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/magazine/how-to-recover-from-being-ghosted.html).

Diagnosis: A mysterious fall [*was the first sign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/magazine/myxoma-heart-diagnosis.html) that something was wrong.

Eat: The case for [*grilling cucumbers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/magazine/grilled-cucumber-recipe.html).

Read [*the full issue*](https://www.nytimes.com/issue/magazine/2022/07/15/the-71722-issue).

THE WEEK AHEAD

What to Watch For

* Stephen Bannon, the former top adviser to Donald Trump, will go on trial tomorrow on a charge of contempt of Congress.
* Maryland [*will hold*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/16/us/politics/maryland-primary-tom-perez-wes-moore.html) its primaries on Tuesday.

1. Vladimir Putin will [*meet with the leaders of Iran and Turkey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/12/world/europe/russia-putin-iran-erdogan.html) on Tuesday.
2. Italy’s prime minister, Mario Draghi, is expected to [*address Parliament*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/14/world/europe/italy-mario-draghi-confidence-vote.html) on Wednesday to clarify the country’s political future.
3. The Jan. 6 committee will hold a hearing on Thursday to walk through a minute-by-minute accounting of Donald Trump’s actions during the Capitol riot.
4. Major League Baseball’s All-Star Game is on Tuesday. First up is its Home Run Derby tomorrow.

What to Cook This Week

Rethinking your grocery budget because of inflation? Emily Weinstein [*suggests moving away from meat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/15/dining/inflation-cooking.html) and embracing beans and vegetables with these and other recipes: [*pasta with tuna, capers and scallions*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1020949-pasta-with-tuna-capers-and-scallions) and [*vegan coconut-ginger black beans*](https://cooking.nytimes.com/recipes/1021097-vegan-coconut-ginger-black-beans).

NOW TIME TO PLAY

Here’s a clue [*from the Sunday crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/crosswords/game/daily/2022/07/17):

45 Down: Language in which “khoobsurat” means “beautiful”

[*Take the news quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/07/15/briefing/news-quiz-shinzo-abe-joe-biden-emmys.html) to see how well you followed the week’s headlines.

Here’s [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/puzzles/spelling-bee). Here’s [*today’s Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/games/wordle/index.html). After, [*use our bot*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/upshot/wordle-bot.html) to get better.

Thanks for spending part of your weekend with The Times.

Matthew Cullen, Claire Moses and Ashley Wu contributed to The Morning. You can reach the team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](mailto:themorning@nytimes.com).

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/newsletters/morning-briefing).

PHOTO: Starbucks workers in Buffalo celebrated the outcome of the union vote on Dec. 9, 2021. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSHUA BESSEX/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

**Load-Date:** July 18, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Is It the Gas Prices, Stupid?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66G9-FPN1-DXY4-X0N2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 26, 2022 Monday 11:05 EST

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 880 words

**Byline:** Nate Cohn

**Highlight:** A simpler explanation for a Democratic turnaround.

**Body**

A simpler explanation for a Democratic turnaround.

Democratic fortunes have improved markedly over the last few months, with the party overtaking Republicans on [*the generic congressional ballot*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/polls/generic-ballot/) in the aftermath of the Supreme Court’s decision to overturn Roe v. Wade.

But there’s another, simpler explanation for a Democratic turnaround, one that lines up nearly as well as abortion: gas prices.

The price of gas fell for [*98 straight days*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/21/business/gas-prices-decline-streak.html) beginning June 14 — 10 days before the court’s Dobbs decision on Roe. At the time, the average price of gas nationally was over $5 per gallon. Prices were at $3.67 by the end of the streak.

While few would dispute that the Dobbs decision helped energize Democratic voters, it seems clear that falling gas prices have helped as well. After all, voters say that the [*economy and inflation*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1675/most-important-problem.aspx) — not abortion — are the most important issues facing the country. There’s a longstanding relationship between economic performance and the president’s standing. As James Carville once said: It’s the economy, stupid.

So is it the gas prices, stupid? It’s hard not to wonder after looking at this chart by my colleague Francesca Paris.

I first saw a chart like this from the folks at Data for Progress [*nearly a year ago*](https://www.dataforprogress.org/blog/2021/11/17/do-voters-disapprove-of-biden-or-rising-gas-prices). I’ll be honest: At the time, I thought it was a little too cute. President Biden’s ratings fell most sharply in August 2021 — amid the Afghanistan withdrawal — just before gas prices really increased. The chart makes it easy for you to overlook that minor fact.

The finding also seems to imply that Mr. Biden’s ratings would have stayed high if gas prices had stayed low, but it is utterly typical for presidents’ ratings to decline during their first year in office, as postelection honeymoons fade and the messy business of governing invariably tarnishes their reputation. No special explanation was necessary.

But this chart started to speak to me a little bit more over the last few months. Not only did Mr. Biden’s ratings fall in the early summer, as gas prices surged, but his ratings also began to improve as gas prices dropped. His ratings have leveled out over the last couple of weeks, just as gas prices have started to bottom out.

It would probably be a little too clever to go all in on “it’s the gas prices, stupid,” and dispute the role of Dobbs or Mr. Biden’s legislative successes in explaining Democratic gains over the last few months. But on balance, the role of falling gas prices has probably been underappreciated.

After all, the Dobbs ruling didn’t seem to do any good for Mr. Biden. While Democrats immediately surged on the generic ballot, Mr. Biden’s ratings stayed low after the court’s ruling, including a paltry 33 percent approval rating in [*our July poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/13/upshot/poll-2022-midterms-congress.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article). Maybe Democrats could have sustained their post-Dobbs bounce even without any improvement in Mr. Biden’s standing, but there’s no doubt that his subsequent gains put the party on firmer ground.

Lower gas prices have also helped Democrats capitalize on their opportunities. Imagine what might have happened if gas prices had stayed high — or even kept rising to $6 dollars or more. The political environment might be very different. Voters would be furious. Republicans would be on the attack. Media coverage would be relentless, at the expense of coverage on other issues like abortion. Would Joe Manchin have been willing to support new spending bills without late-summer signs of slowing inflation? We don’t know.

Here’s what seems clear, though: A rising cost of living is often a key ingredient in political upheaval. Everyone knows about hyperinflation in Weimar Germany, but ***working-class*** riots sparked by high bread prices can figure as prominently as bourgeois liberalism in a book on the French Revolution. In this country, inflation helped spur conservative gains in the late 1970s and 1980s. Conversely, deflation — which added to the debt burden of farmers and reduced profits from food sales — helped spark calls for Free Silver and America’s strongest populist movement in the late 19th century.

When in doubt, I’d err toward believing that these issues matter more than your median affluent, very online political junkie might otherwise assume. (I’m not talking about anyone here, of course.)

Oil isn’t the only economic factor

The price of [*oil declined*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/09/23/business/economy-news-inflation-stocks#oil-prices) yet again on Friday, this time to its lowest level since January.

But that was basically the only good economic indicator for Mr. Biden on Friday, as the stock market fell and [*financial markets were roiled*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/09/23/business/economy-news-inflation-stocks#stock-market-today) by inflation fears and rising interest rates.

Many economic measures have gotten considerably worse over the last few weeks. The apparent slowing of inflation over the summer gave way to a [*disappointing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/13/business/economy/inflation-cpi-federal-reserve.html) Consumer Price Index report and a new wave of interest rate hikes — not only in the United States but around the world. The stock market has been down considerably over the last month.

The poor economic news might help explain why Mr. Biden’s approval ratings stopped increasing over the last several weeks. According to FiveThirtyEight, his ratings have [*essentially stayed even*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/biden-approval-rating/) in September.

If the economic news stays bad or worsens, low gas prices may not be enough to keep Mr. Biden’s ratings afloat.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Etienne Laurent/EPA, via Shutterstock FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 26, 2022

**End of Document**



[***The Fight Over Fox Hunting: A Cold War on England’s Muddy Fields; England Dispatch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67J0-2GX1-JBG3-60M0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 12, 2023 Sunday 06:09 EST

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1438 words

**Byline:** Euan Ward

**Highlight:** Some groups still ride out even though the hunting of foxes using dogs was banned in 2004. They are confronted by anti-hunt activists in a very British clash of class, tradition and town versus country.

**Body**

Some groups still ride out even though the hunting of foxes using dogs was banned in 2004. They are confronted by anti-hunt activists in a very British clash of class, tradition and town versus country.

WARWICKSHIRE, England — The S.U.V. trundled along the winding English country road at dawn, its five masked occupants decked head to toe in black as the hills of the Warwickshire countryside rolled past.

Squinting through the rain-flecked windows, they spotted their target in the distance: hunters on horseback on the grounds of a grand 18th-century estate.

The distant howls of baying dogs sounded out, their cries drawing closer.

Suddenly, a pack of about 20 hounds appeared at the end of the narrow road, followed by dozens of galloping horses, their riders sporting navy blue jackets and cream jodhpurs.

Cries of “Go, go, go!” rang from the vehicle as the doors flung open and the masked occupants leaped out.

The chase was on: The hunters had become the hunted.

On these muddy fields in England’s rural heartland, a kind of cold war rages. In simple terms, the conflict is between those who support fox hunting and those who are against it. But at a deeper level, the dispute reveals the class divides, clash of traditions and town versus country arguments that still fracture British society.

Although the hunting of foxes — or any wild mammals — using dogs was [*outlawed in Britain in 2004*](https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2004/37/contents), “trail hunting,” where the hounds are supposed to be chasing an artificially laid scent, is allowed.

Anti-hunt activists say that the exemption is a smoke screen and that the dogs often wind up killing an actual fox. A killing [*can be prosecuted*](https://www.cps.gov.uk/legal-guidance/hunting-act-2004) if there is evidence that the hunters should have been aware that the hounds were pursuing a live animal and did nothing to stop them. Hundreds of such cases have been brought over the past decade.

The hunters say that they only trail hunt on private land with permission from farmers and that they do not kill live animals; they accuse the activists of trespassing.

The activists riding in the S.U.V. that dawn are part of a small group, commonly known as “hunt saboteurs,” who venture into Warwickshire, a county in western England, intent on disrupting the practice of fox hunting, a centuries-old blood sport in which the animals are tracked, chased and then killed by trained hounds.

At least three times a week, rain or shine, the activists pursue the galloping riders by S.U.V. and on foot through forests and fields, both to film evidence of what the activists say are illegal activities and to do whatever they can to hinder the actual hunt.

Turning the hunters’ tools against them, the activists blow their own hunting horns and crack whips in an attempt to confuse the hounds. They also wield canisters of citronella spray to mask the foxes’ scent and employ small amplifiers that play the sound of crying hounds to unsettle the pursuing pack further. Every activist has a walkie-talkie.

On this occasion, the activists were targeting the Warwickshire Hunt, founded in 1791 and considered one of England’s most prestigious hunting groups.

As she trudged along in pursuit of the hunt, Cathy Scott, a 20-year veteran of the group, said, “It’s a war, and it’s a war that needs winning.”

The activists have spent years harrying the hunters. To confuse the pursuit of the fox, they master use of the hunting horn and learn dozens of distinctive shouts, including the “tallyho” that is yelled when the animal is spotted.

“To fight your enemy, you have to think like them,” said Ms. Scott, 46.

Saboteurs have been known to risk serious injury by charging into the path of sprinting horses to get between them and a fox. Ms. Scott says she has been assaulted multiple times by hunt supporters, at least once badly enough to need hospitalization.

Death threats, she adds, are commonplace. Some activists in other saboteur groups, which exist across England, report that their vehicles have been [*rammed off the road*](https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/hunt-saboteurs-car-rammed-video-grove-rufford-newark-a8830231.html). Mutilated foxes have been dumped outside homes. Gasoline has been poured through letter slots.

The risks are worth it, the saboteurs say, if a fox can be spared the gruesome death that comes if the hounds catch up with it.

“It’s not a quick kill,” Ms. Scott said. “It’s brutal. They’re ripped to shreds.”

To the hunters, the saboteurs are “rural terrorists” threatening an age-old tradition in pursuit of a class-driven vendetta.

Sam Butler, 65, the Warwickshire Hunt’s chairman, said, “They simply do not like us.”

“They don’t like what we stand for,” he added. “It’s payback time for this, that and the other. Knock the toffs. Knock the Tories. Red-faced gentlemen in red coats riding horses, that sort of thing.”

The saboteurs, he suggested, are not really motivated by concern for the fox. “This was always about political prejudice,” he said.

The hunt saboteurs — a term the activists embrace — say they are wildlife lovers, driven to vigilantism because of government apathy. Ms. Scott works in customer service. Another member, Dave Graham, 37, works in online retail. The group’s driver, Martina Irwin, 56, runs a small bakery.

“We’re just ordinary people with ordinary backgrounds,” Ms. Irwin said as she pushed her fogging glasses back up the bridge of her nose. “The state won’t stop them, so we have to.”

For the activists and the huntsmen alike, this is a propaganda war, too — a battle for hearts and minds. Video cameras are everywhere, some wielded by the activists, some carried by the hunters.

As one of the hunters came galloping past, she shouted at Mr. Graham: “You’re trespassing! Don’t film my children!”

Unfazed, he zoomed in with a hand-held camcorder on a group of hunters standing nearby on the windswept hillside. Without uttering a word, they turned their phones on him, recording the recorder.

Video clips of the confrontations are uploaded to social media accounts with tens of thousands of followers.

“The camera is the most effective tool post-ban,” Mr. Graham said, referring to the 2004 prohibition. The saboteurs turn the footage over to law enforcement in the hope of prompting prosecutions. (Even the videos can be contentious. Two years ago, Mr. Graham was found guilty of perverting the course of justice and received a suspended sentence for presenting artificially looped footage of an assault on him by a member of another hunt to make it appear as though he had been repeatedly attacked.)

There is a looking-glass quality to the confrontations, with the hunters tracking the saboteurs as they trail the hunters. There is familiarity, too: That morning, a member of the hunt group, riding not a horse but a quad bike, was radioing in the activists’ position.

“You’re trespassing, Cathy!” he shouted at Ms. Scott.

“How do you know my name?” she yelled back.

“Everyone knows your name around here, Cathy,” he replied. “You’re famous!”

The hunters often refer to the activists as “townies,” accusing them of being naïve to the importance of hunting to rural communities. The activists argue that fox hunting encapsulates the brazen “mafia mentality” of England’s upper classes.

Ms. Irwin, the bakery owner, underlined that tension. “I grew up on a council estate,” she said. “Here, it’s about privilege. They have wealth. Everything they will ever need. They shout insults at us for being poor, but the countryside is wasted on the people who live here.”

The opposition Labour Party has vowed to eliminate the “trail hunting” exemption if it wins the next general election. Another hunting group in the area, the Atherstone Hunt, has already shut down, partly because of the activists’ efforts.

“It shows what a small group of ***working-class*** people can do,” Ms. Scott said. “It literally is a dying sport. There will come a time when this will disappear.”

As it grew dark, Ms. Irwin pulled up in the S.U.V. and the saboteurs jumped in. “Have they behaved today?” she asked, referring to the hunters.

“No foxes today,” Mr. Graham replied.

PHOTOS: Top, a member of the Warwickshire Hunt, a prestigious hunting group in England, using her cellphone to film activists she accused of trespassing. Left, Martina Irwin, a “hunt saboteur” who lives in Warwickshire. “The state won’t stop them,” she said of the fox hunters, “so we have to.”; Members of the Warwickshire Hunt preparing to head out. To disrupt the hunt, the activists have mastered using the hunting horn and learned distinctive calls, including the “tallyho” that is shouted when the fox is spotted. “To fight your enemy, you have to think like them,” said Cathy Scott, right, a longtime activist. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** February 14, 2023

**End of Document**



[***How Democrats Can Save Themselves; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:63TW-K9D1-JBG3-6386-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 12, 2021 Tuesday 12:58 EST

Copyright 2021 The New York Times Company All Rights Reserved

**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1553 words

**Byline:** Ross Douthat

**Highlight:** Liberals need to go beyond what polls well.

**Body**

Normally the political party that loses an election goes through a period of soul-searching and vigorous internal debate, while the winning party embraces a smug certainty about its own inevitable multigenerational dominance. In 2021, though, the roles are reversed.

The widespread belief that Donald Trump was, in some sense, the real winner of an election that he lost has succeeded in pre-empting a Republican debate about why the Democrats captured the White House last year. Meanwhile, the Democrats, despite their control of the Congress and the presidency, are increasingly the ones arguing as though they’re already in the wilderness.

The Democrats’ angst strikes me as a healthy development for liberalism. One problem with the emergency thinking that Trump inspires in his opponents — and one reason to resist it — is that it occludes real understanding of the political conditions that put him in power, and that might do so again. This is what you saw happen to the Democrats after 2016: The sense of being lightning-struck sent the center-left wandering into a maze of conspiracies, a haunted wood where villains like Vladimir Putin and Mark Zuckerberg loomed larger than the swing voters they had lost and savior figures like Robert Mueller were supposed to unmake Trump’s power for them.

Only the party’s left, its Bernie Sanders wing, fully developed a more normal theory of the 2016 defeat, trying to understand Obama-Trump voters in the context of globalization and deindustrialization as well as racism, fascism and Putinist dirty tricks. But this created a fundamental imbalance in the party’s conversation: With the Sanders faction trying to pull the party toward social democracy and the establishment acting as if its major challenges were Russian bots and nefarious Facebook memes, there was hardly anyone left to point out the ways that Democrats might be in danger of moving too far left — and the writers who did so were generally dismissed as dinosaurs.

So it was up to Democratic voters to exert a rightward tug on their party — first by saving the party from the likely disaster of nominating the intelligentsia’s candidate, Elizabeth Warren, and ultimately by putting up a nominee, Joe Biden, whose long career as a moderate gave him some distance from the “Great Awokening” that swept liberal institutions in 2020.

Now, though, with the increasing awareness that Bidenism is probably not a long-term strategy, we’re finally getting the fuller argument that should have broken out after 2016 — over what the Democrats can do, and whether they can do anything, to win over the ***working-class*** and rural voters alienated by the party’s increasingly rigorous progressive litmus tests.

A key player in this argument is the pollster and analyst David Shor, whom my colleague Ezra Klein interviewed for a [*long essay*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/08/opinion/democrats-david-shor-education-polarization.html) last week, and who has emerged — after a temporary 2020 cancellation — as the leading spokesman for the pragmatic liberal critique of progressive zeal.

This critique starts with a diagnosis: Democrats misread the meaning of Barack Obama’s 2012 victory, imagining that it proved that their multiracial coalition could win without downscale and rural white voters, when in fact Obama had beaten Mitt Romney precisely because of his relatively resilient [*support*](https://hbr.org/2020/11/how-biden-won-back-enough-of-the-white-working-class) from those demographics, especially across the industrial Midwest. And this misreading was particularly disastrous because these voters have outsize influence in Senate races and the Electoral College, so losing them — and then beginning to lose culturally conservative minority voters as well — has left the Democrats with a structural disadvantage that will cost them dearly across the next decade absent some kind of clear strategic adjustment.

From this diagnosis comes the prescription, so-called popularism, glossed by Klein as follows: “Democrats should do a lot of polling to figure out which of their views are popular and which are not popular, and then they should talk about the popular stuff and shut up about the unpopular stuff.”

You will note that this banal-seeming wisdom is not an ideological litmus test: Where left-wing ideas are popular, Shor Thought would have Democrats talk about them more. But where they are unpopular, especially with the kind of voters who hold the key to contested Senate races, Democrats need a way to defuse them or hold them at a distance.

Thus a “popularist” candidate might be a thoroughgoing centrist in some cases, and in others a candidate running the way Bernie Sanders did in 2016, stressing the most popular ideas in the social-democratic tool kit. But in both cases such candidates would do everything in their power not to be associated with ideas like, say, police abolition or the suspension of immigration enforcement. Instead they would imitate the way Obama himself, in his first term, tried to finesse issues like immigration and same-sex marriage, sometimes using objectively conservative rhetoric and never getting way out ahead of public opinion.

Which is easier said than done. For one thing, the Democratic Party’s activists have a different scale of power in the world of 2021 than the world of 2011, and the hypothetical “popularist” politician can’t make their influence and expectations just go away. For another, as my colleague Nate Cohn [*points out*](https://twitter.com/Nate_Cohn/status/1447208506592006146), Obama in 2011 was trying to keep white ***working-class*** voters in the Democratic fold, while the popularist politician in 2022 or 2024 would be trying to win them back from the G.O.P. — a much harder thing to achieve just by soft-pedaling vexatious issues.

At the very least a Democratic strategy along these lines would probably need to go further along two dimensions. First, it would need to overtly attack the new progressivism — not on every front but on certain points where the language and ideas of the progressive clerisy are particularly alienated from ordinary life.

For instance, popularist Democrats would not merely avoid a term like “Latinx,” which is ubiquitous in official progressive discourse and [*alien*](https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2020/08/11/about-one-in-four-u-s-hispanics-have-heard-of-latinx-but-just-3-use-it/) to most U.S. Hispanics; they would need to attack and even mock its use. (Obviously this is somewhat easier for the ideal popularist candidate: an unwoke minority politician in the style of Eric Adams.)

Likewise, a popularist candidate — ideally a female candidate — on the stump in a swing state might say something like: I want this to be a party for normal people, and normal people say mother, not “birthing person.”

Instead of reducing the salience of progressive jargon, the goal would be to raise its salience in order to be seen to reject it — much as Donald Trump in 2016 brazenly rejected unpopular G.O.P. positions on entitlements that other Republican rivals were trying to merely soft-pedal.

But then along with this rhetorical fire directed leftward, popularists would also need go further in addressing the actual policy concerns surrounding the issues they’re trying to defuse. Immigration is a major political problem for Democrats right now, for instance, not just because their activists have taken extreme positions on the issue, but because the border is a major policy problem: The effects of globalized travel and communication make it ever easier for sudden migrant surges to overwhelm the system, and liberalism’s shift away from tough enforcement — or at least its professed desire to make that shift — creates extra incentives for those surges to happen under Democratic presidents.

So in the long run — especially given climate change’s likely effects on mass migration — there is no way for Democrats to have a stable policy that’s pro-immigration under the law without first having a strategy to make the American border much more secure than it’s been under the Biden administration to date. How to do that humanely is a policy challenge, but if you really want to court voters for whom the issue matters, you have to take the challenge seriously — because the problem makes itself salient, and it isn’t going away.

It’s worth noting that even this combination — attack progressive excess, show Obama-Trump voters that you take their issues seriously — is still a somewhat defensive one. As Cohn notes, when Trump reoriented the Republican Party to win more ***working-class*** votes, he made a sweeping and dramatic — and yes, demagogic — case that he would be better than Hillary Clinton for their interests and their values. Democrats have specific ideas that poll well with these voters, but it’s not clear that even a sweeping “heartland revival” message could actually reverse the post-Trump shift.

But even a strictly defensive strategy, one that just prevents more Hispanic voters from shifting to the Republicans and holds on to some of Biden’s modest Rust Belt [*gains*](https://hbr.org/2020/11/how-biden-won-back-enough-of-the-white-working-class), would buy crucial time for Democrats — time for a generational turnover that still favors them, and time to seize the opportunities that are always offered, in ways no data scientist can foretell, by unexpected events.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://help.nytimes.com/hc/en-us/articles/115014925288-How-to-submit-a-letter-to-the-editor). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com).

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.facebook.com/nytopinion), [*Twitter (@NYTOpinion)*](http://twitter.com/NYTOpinion) and [*Instagram*](https://www.instagram.com/nytopinion/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Brian Munoz for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 12, 2021

**End of Document**



[***A Cold War Over Fox Hunting Heats Up in the Countryside***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67J0-3DB1-DXY4-X056-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 12, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4; ENGLAND DISPATCH

**Length:** 1341 words

**Byline:** By Euan Ward

**Body**

Some groups still ride out even though the hunting of foxes using dogs was banned in 2004. They are confronted by anti-hunt activists in a very British clash of class, tradition and town versus country.

WARWICKSHIRE, England -- The S.U.V. trundled along the winding English country road at dawn, its five masked occupants decked head to toe in black as the hills of the Warwickshire countryside rolled past.

Squinting through the rain-flecked windows, they spotted their target in the distance: hunters on horseback on the grounds of a grand 18th-century estate.

The distant howls of baying dogs sounded out, their cries drawing closer.

Suddenly, a pack of about 20 hounds appeared at the end of the narrow road, followed by dozens of galloping horses, their riders sporting navy blue jackets and cream jodhpurs.

Cries of ''Go, go, go!'' rang from the vehicle as the doors flung open and the masked occupants leaped out.

The chase was on: The hunters had become the hunted.

On these muddy fields in England's rural heartland, a kind of cold war rages. In simple terms, the conflict is between those who support fox hunting and those who are against it. But at a deeper level, the dispute reveals the class divides, clash of traditions and town versus country arguments that still fracture British society.

Although the hunting of foxes -- or any wild mammals -- using dogs was outlawed in Britain in 2004, ''trail hunting,'' where the hounds are supposed to be chasing an artificially laid scent, is allowed.

Anti-hunt activists say that the exemption is a smoke screen and that the dogs often wind up killing an actual fox. A killing can be prosecuted if there is evidence that the hunters should have been aware that the hounds were pursuing a live animal and did nothing to stop them. Hundreds of such cases have been brought over the past decade.

The hunters say that they only trail hunt on private land with permission from farmers and that they do not kill live animals; they accuse the activists of trespassing.

The activists riding in the S.U.V. that dawn are part of a small group, commonly known as ''hunt saboteurs,'' who venture into Warwickshire, a county in western England, intent on disrupting the practice of fox hunting, a centuries-old blood sport in which the animals are tracked, chased and then killed by trained hounds.

At least three times a week, rain or shine, the activists pursue the galloping riders by S.U.V. and on foot through forests and fields, both to film evidence of what the activists say are illegal activities and to do whatever they can to hinder the actual hunt.

Turning the hunters' tools against them, the activists blow their own hunting horns and crack whips in an attempt to confuse the hounds. They also wield canisters of citronella spray to mask the foxes' scent and employ small amplifiers that play the sound of crying hounds to unsettle the pursuing pack further. Every activist has a walkie-talkie.

On this occasion, the activists were targeting the Warwickshire Hunt, founded in 1791 and considered one of England's most prestigious hunting groups.

As she trudged along in pursuit of the hunt, Cathy Scott, a 20-year veteran of the group, said, ''It's a war, and it's a war that needs winning.''

The activists have spent years harrying the hunters. To confuse the pursuit of the fox, they master use of the hunting horn and learn dozens of distinctive shouts, including the ''tallyho'' that is yelled when the animal is spotted.

''To fight your enemy, you have to think like them,'' said Ms. Scott, 46.

Saboteurs have been known to risk serious injury by charging into the path of sprinting horses to get between them and a fox. Ms. Scott says she has been assaulted multiple times by hunt supporters, at least once badly enough to need hospitalization.

Death threats, she adds, are commonplace. Some activists in other saboteur groups, which exist across England, report that their vehicles have been rammed off the road. Mutilated foxes have been dumped outside homes. Gasoline has been poured through letter slots.

The risks are worth it, the saboteurs say, if a fox can be spared the gruesome death that comes if the hounds catch up with it.

''It's not a quick kill,'' Ms. Scott said. ''It's brutal. They're ripped to shreds.''

To the hunters, the saboteurs are ''rural terrorists'' threatening an age-old tradition in pursuit of a class-driven vendetta.

Sam Butler, 65, the Warwickshire Hunt's chairman, said, ''They simply do not like us.''

''They don't like what we stand for,'' he added. ''It's payback time for this, that and the other. Knock the toffs. Knock the Tories. Red-faced gentlemen in red coats riding horses, that sort of thing.''

The saboteurs, he suggested, are not really motivated by concern for the fox. ''This was always about political prejudice,'' he said.

The hunt saboteurs -- a term the activists embrace -- say they are wildlife lovers, driven to vigilantism because of government apathy. Ms. Scott works in customer service. Another member, Dave Graham, 37, works in online retail. The group's driver, Martina Irwin, 56, runs a small bakery.

''We're just ordinary people with ordinary backgrounds,'' Ms. Irwin said as she pushed her fogging glasses back up the bridge of her nose. ''The state won't stop them, so we have to.''

For the activists and the huntsmen alike, this is a propaganda war, too -- a battle for hearts and minds. Video cameras are everywhere, some wielded by the activists, some carried by the hunters.

As one of the hunters came galloping past, she shouted at Mr. Graham: ''You're trespassing! Don't film my children!''

Unfazed, he zoomed in with a hand-held camcorder on a group of hunters standing nearby on the windswept hillside. Without uttering a word, they turned their phones on him, recording the recorder.

Video clips of the confrontations are uploaded to social media accounts with tens of thousands of followers.

''The camera is the most effective tool post-ban,'' Mr. Graham said, referring to the 2004 prohibition. The saboteurs turn the footage over to law enforcement in the hope of prompting prosecutions. (Even the videos can be contentious. Two years ago, Mr. Graham was found guilty of perverting the course of justice and received a suspended sentence for presenting artificially looped footage of an assault on him by a member of another hunt to make it appear as though he had been repeatedly attacked.)

There is a looking-glass quality to the confrontations, with the hunters tracking the saboteurs as they trail the hunters. There is familiarity, too: That morning, a member of the hunt group, riding not a horse but a quad bike, was radioing in the activists' position.

''You're trespassing, Cathy!'' he shouted at Ms. Scott.

''How do you know my name?'' she yelled back.

''Everyone knows your name around here, Cathy,'' he replied. ''You're famous!''

The hunters often refer to the activists as ''townies,'' accusing them of being naïve to the importance of hunting to rural communities. The activists argue that fox hunting encapsulates the brazen ''mafia mentality'' of England's upper classes.

Ms. Irwin, the bakery owner, underlined that tension. ''I grew up on a council estate,'' she said. ''Here, it's about privilege. They have wealth. Everything they will ever need. They shout insults at us for being poor, but the countryside is wasted on the people who live here.''

The opposition Labour Party has vowed to eliminate the ''trail hunting'' exemption if it wins the next general election. Another hunting group in the area, the Atherstone Hunt, has already shut down, partly because of the activists' efforts.

''It shows what a small group of ***working-class*** people can do,'' Ms. Scott said. ''It literally is a dying sport. There will come a time when this will disappear.''

As it grew dark, Ms. Irwin pulled up in the S.U.V. and the saboteurs jumped in. ''Have they behaved today?'' she asked, referring to the hunters.

''No foxes today,'' Mr. Graham replied.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/11/world/europe/fox-hunting-warwickshire-england.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/11/world/europe/fox-hunting-warwickshire-england.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, a member of the Warwickshire Hunt, a prestigious hunting group in England, using her cellphone to film activists she accused of trespassing. Left, Martina Irwin, a ''hunt saboteur'' who lives in Warwickshire. ''The state won't stop them,'' she said of the fox hunters, ''so we have to.''

Members of the Warwickshire Hunt preparing to head out. To disrupt the hunt, the activists have mastered using the hunting horn and learned distinctive calls, including the ''tallyho'' that is shouted when the fox is spotted. ''To fight your enemy, you have to think like them,'' said Cathy Scott, right, a longtime activist. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** February 12, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Making His Mark***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67VX-PHM1-DXY4-X0PP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 26, 2023 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2023 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section M2; Column 0; T: Design Magazine; Pg. 102

**Length:** 1426 words

**Byline:** By Nancy Hass and François Halard

**Body**

THE POLYMATHIC PARIS-based designer and entrepreneur Ramdane Touhami considers thinking overrated. ''For me, it's mostly a waste of time; instead I just do,'' he says midway through a breakneck monologue -- in which he describes his recent logo work for Moynat and Christofle, a hotel he's just acquired in Switzerland, the challenges of reviving the nearly 400-year-old candle maker Cire Trudon and his collection of works by the German industrial designer Dieter Rams -- as we drink takeout espresso in the late winter drizzle outside a coffee bar near his 10th Arrondissement studio. Most of the city has ceased masking, but not Touhami, and he stays outside when he can, no matter the weather, terrified of missing even a day of work because of illness. ''I have so many things going on that there's no room for that in my life,'' he says.

In theory, at least, the 48-year-old has earned some downtime. In 2021, he and his wife of 23 years, Victoire de Taillac-Touhami, 48, sold their fragrance company, Officine Universelle Buly -- which has dozens of vintage-inflected boutiques throughout the world -- to LVMH. Despite the windfall, however, the self-taught Touhami -- who was raised in the South of France in a family of ***working-class*** Moroccan immigrant farmers and, in his early 20s, was briefly homeless in Paris -- is indefatigable. As soon as the LVMH sale went through, freeing him from day-to-day responsibilities for Buly (de Taillac-Touhami, whose sister is the jewelry designer Marie-Hélène de Taillac, still works for the brand as the head of strategy and marketing), he vacated the company's offices in the Marais and moved to his current studio: a cavernous 7,000-square-foot Belle Époque-era event space. In just eight months, he and his regular team of artisans remade it, adding towering marquetry cabinets, spectacular moldings and faux marble surfaces to transform the place into a Baz Luhrmann-esque environment for his 25 or so employees, with a studio for his new podcasting company, a room dedicated entirely to the graphic fonts that are his specialty and a private chef who makes daily lunches for the staff.

But even such a mammoth project seems not to have satisfied the couple's constant need for creative upheaval. In early 2022, a few months after his offices were completed, Touhami and the equally kinetic de Taillac-Touhami -- with whom he has three children between the ages of 15 and 20 -- decided to buy a house on Rue Victor Massé, in the newly fashionable Ninth Arrondissement, near Place Pigalle and the Moulin Rouge. With characteristic impulsiveness, they completed the purchase only a week after they first heard of the house's existence from de Taillac-Touhami's sister, who passed along the listing from a real estate agent friend. It is their 18th residence in two and a half decades, including stints in Brooklyn and Tokyo (they still own the penthouse that Touhami elaborately transformed about 10 years ago on the genteel Rue du Bac across the Seine). ''This is what happens when you do instead of think,'' Touhami says.

IT'S LITTLE WONDER that Touhami found such an opportunity irresistible: Even in a city steeped in haute-bohemian lore, the four-story white masonry mansion, in a courtyard entered through an unremarkable Hausmannian locked archway, stands out. Built around 1870, the house had become a brothel by the turn of the 20th century. The artist Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, who often painted and patronized prostitutes and had a studio nearby on Avenue Frochot, is said to have been in residence for a time on the top floor. According to Touhami, after the brothel closed in 1931, the house, with a sweeping entry landing up a wide set of stairs and a capacious front garden, was purchased by a carpet maker who worked with the renowned Art Deco-era designer Émile-Jacques Ruhlmann. Touhami says Ruhlmann designed the monumental, still-intact curving plaster staircase, topped with a polished walnut handrail.

In 1976, the house became home to Jean-Claude Carrière, arguably France's most celebrated and prolific screenwriter, known for co-writing the Spanish filmmaker Luis Buñuel's trippy French-era films, including ''Belle de Jour'' (1967) with Catherine Deneuve and ''The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie'' (1972). Carrière owned the house for more than 40 years, until his death in 2021 at age 89 -- barely a year before the Touhamis first encountered it.

Touhami had the interiors planned out within days of signing the contract. In Carrière's time, the 5,400-square-foot house was an intellectual's retreat filled with walnut bookshelves and slouchy, off-white slipcovered furniture; now, after being stripped to the studs, it's a wild pastiche of periods, colors, effects and wall treatments. Accustomed to creating retail environments quickly, Touhami had it finished in a mere seven months, with his artisans sometimes working into the night.

On the Cover

Today, each room feels as though it might be in a different time or place, with its own logic. The main 860-square-foot salon, to the left of the staircase, has a louche fun house aura, with a high-concept illusion that Buñuel himself might have envied: Two-inch-thick burled-ebony veneered walls are engineered to appear as if they were peeling off at the top corners, revealing the pale, heavily ornamented 18th-century plaster surface below. ''The people working on it said it couldn't be done,'' Touhami says. ''You have no idea how hard it was to get that curl of the wood just right, to make it seem real.'' In a specially contoured niche in the veneer above the fireplace -- among the few things in the house left untouched are the tarot card porcelain tiles, a gift from Buñuel, that surround the mantel -- hangs what Touhami believes is a portrait by the 16th-century Venetian painter Titian. Attached to the room's periphery is a custom-created tangle of thick felt tubes in shades of gray, navy, buff and currant, evoking a duct system run gloriously amok: a site-specific sculpture that doubles as seating. The dining room across the entry hall resembles a ship captain's private salon on an Art Deco-era luxury liner, with a long, rounded mirror-polished table of Touhami's own design ringed by a series of narrow, flush built-in cabinets; set into each door are circular portholes with etched patterns by Christian Fournié, a specialist in historical reproductions of French muslin glass. On the ceiling above the table, instead of a chandelier, three giant metal spiders with lighted abdomens seem to be crawling across the ornate plasterwork. Along the crown molding, the names of those he says made their mark on the house over the years are spelled out in plaster, in a blocky all-capitals font created by Touhami's boutique typography studio: Buñuel, Carrière, Ruhlmann, Toulouse-Lautrec and, of course, Touhami himself. (The house has its own custom-branded cutlery and ceramics, and a logo.) In the kitchen next door, every surface, including the ceiling, is covered in clay tiles handmade by a company in Umbria, Italy; the effect is almost medieval.

Upstairs in the primary bedroom, where the ceiling slants precipitously, Touhami was able to cajole his team of artisans, who numbered in the dozens, to create a series of identical Louis-style plaster wall frescoes that descend in size while maintaining precisely the same scale. (''They were not at all happy,'' he says of the craftspeople.) Such ornamentation contrasts with the modern Italian furnishings he favors, in styles ranging from Futurist to Memphis. In the basement, he's installed a five-foot-deep, 15-foot-long pool with a retro tile surround. Across the space, a guest room with a glass door to the side garden has been fitted with a 1930s suite of near-black mahogany furniture from the Clignancourt flea market, intricately carved with a hallucinogenic menagerie of animals. ''The guests will sleep here and it will be insane,'' Touhami says.

While he designed a primary bathroom for de Taillac-Touhami, with several types of deep-hued, highly figured marble and a sculptural, squared-off tub, he has left two small powder rooms on different floors as he found them, each covered top to bottom in a seemingly random pastiche of small multicolored glazed tiles. Buñuel gave the tiles, which were from one of his film sets, to Carrière. ''Only a fool would remove them,'' says Touhami. ''Even when you're making something entirely new, you have to recognize if you come upon magic. You have to know just to leave it alone.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/20/t-magazine/ramdane-touhami-paris-home.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/20/t-magazine/ramdane-touhami-paris-home.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: In the living room of Ramdane Touhami and Victoire de Taillac-Touhami's Paris home, a painting he says is attributed to Titian hangs above a fireplace mounted with tarot cards that were gifted to the previous owner by the filmmaker Luis Buñuel, and sofas and ottomans designed by Touhami. The dining room is a tribute to the 1930s, with polished mahogany built-in cabinet doors, a lacquered table and chairs and a terrazzo floor all designed by Touhami. On the table are silver-plated pieces from Christofle's Fjerdingstad collection. Opposite: in the entry hall, a large ceiling light in neon, brass and copper designed by the architect Ottorino Aloisio in 1948 for his Cinema Massimo in Turin, Italy

a 1970s mirror by Vittorio Introini

an Ettore Sottsass Solitaria console from 1992

a chair by Anacleto Spazzapan

and artworks by Adel Abdessemed and Gilbert & George. From top: in the primary bedroom, paneling by S.O.E. Stuc & Staff, a 1960s floor lamp by Ignazio Gardella, a Hans Wegner Flag Halyard chair and an ottoman designed by Man Ray in 1971

Italian wood, glass and brass tables from the 1950s and articulating sconces from the 1940s flank a pair of 1960s beds by Carlo de Carli for Sormani. The cashmere bedspreads were designed by Touhami and the floor is white oak parquet de Versailles. Opposite: in the primary bathroom, Blue Bahia granite and Carrara, Rosso Levanto, Verde Guatemala and Rosa Tea marbles, fittings from l'Atelier Traditionnel du Vimeu, an Eileen Gray mirror and sconces by Pierre Chareau. Clockwise from above: in the terra-cotta-clad kitchen, copper cookware from Mauviel, a tea set by Tom Dixon and a custom Abimis cook space with Gaggenau appliances

the pool and sauna, with clay tiles by Cotto Etrusco and mosaics by Ezarri

the guest room is furnished with a set of French furniture with animal motifs produced in the 1930s. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY FRANCOIS HALARD) This article appeared in print on page M2102, M2103, M2104, M2105, M2106, M2107, M2108, M2109.

**Load-Date:** March 26, 2023

**End of Document**



[***How to Hand Out Billions in Climate Subsidies? Podesta Aims to Tread Very Carefully.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:673J-X7X1-DXY4-X2MM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 16, 2022 Friday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2022 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

**Length:** 1220 words

**Byline:** By Lisa Friedman

**Body**

John Podesta, the White House aide overseeing new tax credits, said rules were expected to be in place within months. Avoiding waste and fraud is a priority.

WASHINGTON -- John Podesta, President Biden's clean energy adviser, said the administration was working to ensure that a record $370 billion in new federal subsidies for electric vehicles, wind farms, batteries and other clean energy technologies is spent properly and avoids waste and abuse.

Mr. Podesta said the White House would issue tax code guidelines by early next year to speed the delivery of the money, and was meeting with inspectors general from across the federal government to get advice on ways to safeguard against fraud.

''It's always better to have a lock on the barn door than to go chase the horse once it's out,'' he said in an interview.

The internal watchdog at the Department of Energy, one of several agencies that is receiving an influx of money under the Inflation Reduction Act, has already warned that her office does not have enough resources to properly monitor all the programs that will be created.

Under the new law, the Department of Energy budget will grow from $45.3 billion to more than $100 billion in funds and $336 billion in loan authority. Another new law, the CHIPS and Science Act, will pump an additional $30.5 billion into the department.

Republicans, who will take control of the House in January, have suggested that they will investigate the Biden administration's handling of the flood of tax rebates, loans and incentives under the landmark climate and tax law.

Mr. Podesta, who is responsible for overseeing the disbursement of the money, said complex rules expected from the Internal Revenue Service and other agencies would clarify who qualifies for various incentives and how the money will be doled out.

The federal dollars will be consequential to unleashing trillions of dollars in private sector energy investments, he said.

''I've spent a fair amount of time listening to people who are anxious to invest in the United States as a result of this legislation, and are preparing business plans, assuming that those tax credits will have certainty,'' Mr. Podesta said. He said the agencies were ''on track'' and would begin to issue official guidance ''by the end of the year and early next year.''

On Thursday the White House made public a guidebook meant to help companies and consumers as well as state, local and tribal governments navigate the new law. Mr. Podesta said his aim was to create a road map that would especially help communities that disproportionately face pollution and climate hazards to take full advantage of the tax incentives.

The guidebook breaks down the approximately two dozen tax provisions by agency and area of investment, like electricity, domestic manufacturing, energy development on tribal lands and the deployment of clean vehicles.

''Our challenge is to ensure that these programs are stood up, particularly given the fact that two-thirds of the support for clean energy is coming through the tax code,'' Mr. Podesta said.

As the White House works to turn the new law into reality, the stakes are high. President Biden has promised to cut United States greenhouse gas emissions at least 50 percent below 2005 levels by the end of this decade, a target aimed at keeping rising global temperatures on a trajectory that would most likely avoid the most catastrophic consequences of climate change.

The ability to meet that goal depends on how quickly the new law helps shift the American economy away from coal, oil and gas and toward wind, solar and other cleaner energy sources. It also will require new federal regulations to further cut emissions from power plants and vehicles, which Mr. Podesta said would be issued ''very soon.''

The administration is under pressure to move quickly. It has just two years left to prove its theory that a low-carbon America can also create jobs and turn a profit.

''John's biggest challenge is to prove to ***working class*** voters who have gone increasingly Republican that clean energy can bring them economic and consumer benefits, not just cut emissions,'' said Paul Bledsoe, a former climate aide in the Clinton administration who now works at the Progressive Policy Institute, a think tank.

''There's still a perception of a lot of these technologies as elitist,'' Mr. Bledsoe added, saying the Biden administration must ''reach the average American where they live and work'' by things like ensuring apartments have adequate electric vehicle charging stations, or rural areas see new jobs in solar production.

Battles are already brewing. This week Senator Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia, warned Janet Yellen, the Treasury secretary, against a ''broad interpretation'' of the law's electric vehicle tax credit. Mr. Manchin has said that could benefit foreign automakers. The law includes a provision inserted by Mr. Manchin that requires electric vehicles to be assembled in North America and use batteries made with minerals from allied nations in order to qualify for the $7,500 credit to consumers.

Another tension is around how quickly energy projects can be built. Mr. Podesta called the current pace of permitting and building solar and wind farms and the necessary transmission lines a ''huge challenge'' and ''one of the things that keeps me up a little bit at night.''

But plans to speed up the permitting process are mired in politics. The Senate is expected to vote Thursday on a proposal by Mr. Manchin to overhaul environmental permitting. But while President Biden and Democratic leadership support the plan, progressive Democrats argue it will lead to more fossil fuel development and oppose it. Republicans generally favor permitting reform but some are nevertheless withholding support to deprive Mr. Manchin of a legislative victory.

Heather Reams, president of the Citizens for Responsible Energy Solutions Forum, a clean energy group that works closely with Republican lawmakers, said the new law has the potential to benefit and win over conservative America, but stalemates on issues like permitting reform hurt.

''A lot of the money going out the door is going to benefit red states,'' Ms. Reams noted.

Meanwhile Republicans, none of whom voted for the new climate law, seem intent on slowing down its implementation.

Representative Cathy McMorris Rogers, a Washington Republican who is likely to chair the House Energy and Commerce Committee in January, has said she plans to investigate the billions of new dollars that will flow from the Department of Energy's loan office. About a decade ago that office under the Obama administration issued $500 million to Solyndra, a solar company that filed for bankruptcy two years after receiving the loan. Ms. Rogers has called the new climate law ''Solyndra on steroids.''

''They'll try to find the one loan that for whatever reason goes bad, and my guess is there will be a big hunt for that on the House side,'' Mr. Podesta said. But he dismissed the threat of hearings as an effort among Republicans to ''rerun the last playbook'' and ''gum up the works'' -- a move he insisted would fail.

''We have the law on our side, we have the investment portfolio on our side and we'll go ahead and implement the program,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/15/climate/podesta-climate-law-fraud.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/15/climate/podesta-climate-law-fraud.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** December 16, 2022

**End of Document**